AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

THE COMMUNICATIVE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION OF COGNATE INFINITIVES IN LEBANESE ARABIC

by

ANA IRIARTE DÍEZ

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submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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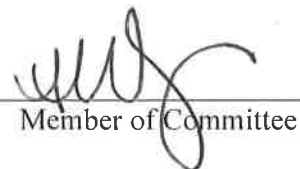

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I am also grateful to my colleagues and heroes in AIDA (International Association of Arabic Dialectology). To the young researchers that made it possible 26 years ago. Thanks to their selfless efforts and dedication Arabic dialectologists around the world now have a home.

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

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Title: <u>The Communicative Grammatical Function of Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic</u>

Cognate Infinitives have been identified and described as productive linguistic features within Arabic language and along the Semitic continuum. However, the full range of function of Cognate Infinitives remains largely unstudied in the spoken varieties of Arabic. For this reason, the present study aims at describing the (communicative) grammatical function of Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic.

Through the analysis of an extensive corpus of socially and communicatively contextualized data collected over four years of fieldwork and eight years of linguistic and cultural immersion, this study explores the formal and communicative factors that correlate with the use of CIs in LA in order to create a grammatical model upon which the function of the CI in LA may be described.

The new grammatical model for the analysis and description of Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic that this study proposes accounts for this feature's semantic, informational, affective and social functions. I suggest that Cognate Infinitives function as focus markers and are efficient communicative tools for a variety of attention management actions as well as for 'face' management strategies. Moreover, the findings of my research replace the omnipresent notion of 'adverbial emphasis' with a definition of "focus" that comprises both informational and affective factors.

PREFACE

This study aims at elucidating the communicative grammatical function of Cognate Infinitives (CI) in Lebanese Arabic (LA) in the light of socio-cognitive and functional-pragmatic linguistic theories. It is a data-driven study, which means that the corpus of data I gathered during the data collection process was the main source for all the subsequent analyses I propose in this study.

It consists of six chapters, Chapter 1: Introduction to Cognate Infinitives; Chapter 2: Methodological and Theoretical Approaches; Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework; Chapter 4: The Cognate Infinitive in Lebanese Arabic as a Focus Marker; Chapter 5: Modeling the Grammar of Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic; and Chapter 6: Conclusions.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the CI construction in LA, defining its formal boundaries while exploring what has been said in the literature about CIs in other Arabic and Semitic varieties. This exploration helps the reader identify the gaps and challenges of the existent literature of CIs in Semitic, elucidating the objectives of this research.

Chapter 2 introduces the reader to the main theoretical decisions underlying the study, and systematically explains the methodological strategies that followed both in the data collection and in the data analysis processes of this research.

Chapter 3 presents the 'Multidimensional Model of Communication' (MMC), a theoretical construct that serves as the overarching theoretical framework of this study, integrating the communicative, pragmatic, cognitive and social theoretical concepts necessary for the analysis of the data that takes place in subsequent chapters. The objective of this chapter is to establish a common language for the analysis presented in Chapters 4 and 5. The MMC thus ensures a shared understanding of the theoretical terms used in the analysis as well as of the concepts behind them.

Chapter 4 explores the limitations of the existing definitions and classifications of focus using examples from the CI corpus while probing contextualized CI data for functions and motivations beyond the informational. As a result, this chapter provides concrete evidence for the need for an alternative conceptualization of focus, and uncovers the multidimensionality of

LA speakers' motivations to use the CI, highlighting the importance of the affective nature of CIs in LA.

Chapter 5 provides the reader with a new communicative grammatical model for the CI in LA that relies on the results of the analysis of the social and communicative contexts in which, according to my corpus, the CI is currently used by LA speakers. Within this communicative model, this chapter provides a comprehensive and detailed description of the full functional range of CIs in LA.

Chapter 6 synthesizes the main findings of this study and puts forward the ways in which these findings have contributed to current theories of general and Arabic linguistics, as well as on the broader theoretical implications of these contributions. The chapter closes with a discussion on further research and the author's desiderata.

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NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTIONS AND GLOSSES

This study focuses on the analysis of a syntactic structure, specifically, a syntactic reduplication; hence, the transcription of the data in this study is phonemic rather than phonetic. The absence of audio recordings no doubt affected the phonetic accuracy of the data transcriptions; however, since this study does not address the sociolinguistic distribution of this feature, the lack of phonetic accuracy does not affect the reliability of the data or of the study's results.

Two transcription details deserve clarification: (1) All short unstressed vowels are transcribed as schwa /ə/. (2) Given the abundant use of French and English borrowings and of the occurrence of code switching with these two languages, both borrowings and code-switched items are not phonetically transliterated, but rather keep their written from in the language of origin, which appears as subscript (EN-English; FR-French).

CONSONANTS			VOWELS		
Standard Arabic	*Lebanese Arabic Transcription*	*Phonemic Transliteration*	*Standard Arabic*	*Lebanese Arabic Transcription*	*Phonemic Transliteration*
أ	ء / أ	ʔ	ا	ا	ā / ē
ب	ب	b	و	و	Ū
ت	ت	t	يـ	يـ	Ī
ث	ت/ث	t/s	ـَو	ـَو	Ō
ج	ج	ʒ	ـَيـ	ـَيـ	Ē
ح	ح	ḥ	[schwa]		ə
خ	خ	x			
د	د	d			
ذ	ذ/د	d/z			
ر	ر	r			
ز	ز	z			
س	س	s			
ش	ش	š			
ص	ز/ص	ṣ/z			
ض	ض	ḍ			
ط	ط	ṭ			
ظ	ظ	ẓ			
ع	ع	ʕ			
غ	غ	ġ			
ف	ف	f			
ق	ق	q/ʔ			
ك	ك	k			
ل	ل	l			
م	م	m			
ن	ن	n			
هـ	هـ	h			
و	و	w			
ي	ي	y			

Lebanese Arabic in the Arabic Script

All the Lebanese Arabic data has been transcribed as well into the Arabic script to facilitate reading for those Arabic speakers who might not feel comfortable when reading phonetic script. The following conventions are followed in the transcription, with the aim of balancing the dictates of Lebanese pronunciation and writing conventions on one hand, with maintaining the relationship between LA and Standard Arabic:

- Short vowels are only marked when necessary to avoid potential ambiguities.
- Possessives and object pronouns of the third person *3ms, 3fs and 3p (-(h)a,-(h)o,-(h)on)* are written هن ، ها- ،ه— respectively. While this ه is not pronounced by many LA speakers, it is heard, and preserving it also maintains morphological transparency as noted above. Lebanese phonemes /ē/ and /ō/ (typical from the Beirut koine) are represented as ي and و respectively. This decision is also representative of those Lebanese varieties where these vowels are pronounced as diphthongs *–ay* and *–aw* .
- Foreign words (but not full sentences or codeswitched words and phrases) are transliterated phonetically as pronounced by LA speakers.
- Following the convention of many LA writers, the orthographic *alif* appearing at the end of the perfective verbs in the 3rd person plural, e.g. صاروا, and at the end of the 2nd and 3rd person plural of imperfective verbs, e.g. تصيروا ، يصيروا, is not preserved.
- *Hamza*s are only written in those few cases where they are pronounced as a glottal stop.
- Following Standard Arabic conventions, monoliteral prepositions and conjunctions such as ʕa-; *ta-; la-* and *b-* appear attached to the word after them (بـ ،لـ ،تـ ،عـ) This is also applicable to the demonstrative *ha-* (هـ -), habitual verbal markers *b-/bə-* ; *m-/mə-* for 1st person plural (بـ - ، مـ -), and future verbal marker *ḥa-* (حـ -). Progressive marker *ʕam-* (عم) appears separated from the verbal form.
- The feminine singular subject pronoun *ʔente* is written with a final ي–.
- Letter qaf is maintained as such in transcription for transparency as noted above, and also because several LA dialects pronounce it as /q/.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

Data Tag Abbreviations

AKK	Akkadian	MEH	Mehri
BH	Biblical Hebrew	MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
CA	Classical Arabic	NENA	Northeastern Neo-Aramaic
CRA	Christian Arabic	OA	Omani Arabic
EA	Egyptian Arabic	OAR	Old Aramaic
EB	Eblaite	PH	Phoenician
JA	Jordanian Arabic	RPA	Rural Palestinian Arabic
LA	Lebanese Arabic	SSA	Sason Arabic
MAL	Maltese	SYR	Syriac
MEH	Mehri	UG	Ugaritic
MAN	Mandaic		

Acronyms in the dissertation

CCG	Core Common Ground
CE	Communicative Environment
CG	Common Ground
CG	Common Ground
CH	Cognate Head
CI	Cognate Infinitive
CO	Cognate Object
DDM	Dynamic Model of Meaning (Kecskes, 2008)
ECG	Emergent Common Ground
FE	Focus Environment
IABS	Infinitive Absolute
ICNS	Infinitive Construct
IS	Information Structure
MMC	Multidimensional Model of Communication
NSI	Noun of Single Instance
S	Speaker
SOA	Set of Alternatives
X_{FOC}	Focused Constituent (Alternative)

Interlinear Glosses

Given the space and format limitations, interlinear glosses line up vertically with the phonemic transliteration, but not with the Arabic transcription. In the Semitic examples in Chapter 1, the examples have been copied exactly from the original source, and interlinear glosses have been added only to those examples belonging to Arabic varieties where the morphological-syntactic description in the gloss was necessary to illustrate the explanations in the text. Glosses I have added to examples cited from other works appear between brackets. Examples from Semitic languages cited from other works appear as originally glossed in the original source. However, in these examples, the CIs and CHs are identified and marked within all the examples.

Abbreviations in glosses

1/2/3	1st /2nd /3rd person	M	Masculine
ACC	Accusative	NEG	Negative
ACT	Active	NOM	Nominalizer
DET	Determiner	NSI	Noun of single instance
DIS	Discourse marker	OBJ	Object marker
F	Feminine	P	Plural
FOC	Focus	PASS	Passive
FUT	Future	PFV	Perfective
HAB	Habitual	PROG	Progressive
IMP	Imperative	PRSN	Presentative
INF	Infinitive	PTCP	Participle
INT	Interjection	S	Singular
IPFV	Imperfective	TOP	Topic
		VOC	Vocative

إلى لبنان وشعبه الحرّ

To Lebanon and its free people

CHAPTER 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO COGNATE INFINITIVES

1.1.   Introduction

For centuries, Semitic scholars have noticed the existence of Cognate Infinitives and attempted to describe their formal and functional nature. However, unfortunately for researchers such as myself, the common interest of these scholars did not help them reach a consensus as far as terminology is concerned, as different grammatical approaches gave rise to many distinct nomenclatures for one single linguistic form: *Mafʕūl muṭlaq mubham* in Classical Arabic (Al-Zamaxšarī, 1870: 111); Paronymous Complement in Syrian Arabic (Cowell, 1964); Unmodified Cognate Complement in Rural Palestinian Arabic (Shachmon & Marmorstein, 2018); Tautological Infinitive in Biblical Hebrew (Goldenberg, 1971); Infinitive Absolute in Syriac (Nöldeke, 2003); Paronomastic Infinitive in Akkadian (Cohen, 2004), etc.

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the lack of agreement in terminology surrounding cognate infinitive structures we are able today to group together this myriad of grammatical labels because both the formal and functional characteristics of Cognate Infinitives seem to be clear enough for scholars to identify them and describe their functions in their works, shaping the valuable body of literature that the present work stands on.

In an attempt to contribute to this body of Semitic literature on the topic, while also reminding the reader of the importance of Arabic within Semitic studies, the present chapter presents an introduction to the formal and functional features of Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic. This description is situated within a brief review of the existing literature in some Semitic varieties, to the extent that is required to elucidate a broader, more inclusive vision of the grammatical nature of this linguistic construction that represents a valuable contribution to the commonplace explanation of 'emphasis' that dominates the literature written in Arabic on the topic.

Before embarking on CI's formal description and literature review, it is pertinent for me to inform the reader that the literature about CIs in Semitic and Arabic is relatively scarce and unevenly distributed; while full dissertations have been written on the Tautological Infinitive of Biblical Hebrew, the very existence of CIs in many spoken varieties of Arabic still remains

undocumented. I believe a full picture of this family of constructions can only be achieved with time, by building on the existent literature with a critical eye, which is precisely what this chapter aims to do. In this spirit, I would like to encourage the reader to think of each piece of information given in this chapter as a tiny fragment of the tridimensional mosaic that CI represents— despite providing valuable information, it will only truly help us imagine how the bigger picture looks when placed in the context of other pieces.

1.1.1. Cognate Infinitives vs Cognate Objects

In this section, I will describe and introduce terminology for two types of cognate constructions that I argue are discrete formally and functionally.

At the formal level, a Cognate Infinitive construction is formed by two essential elements: (1) a finite verbal form that functions as the lexical head of a predicate (from now on 'cognate head' or CH[1]) and (2) a less finite verbal form (usually an infinitive) that depends syntactically on and is cognate with the cognate head and stands indefinite and unqualified (from now on 'cognate infinitive' or CI). The following is an example in Lebanese Arabic; as we see, the infinitive *barəm* is unspecified and unmodified:

[LA.1]   برمت برم السيارة

baram-ət	*barəm*	*əs-siyāra*
PFV.circle-3FS.*CH*	circle.INF.*CI*	DET-car

'The car [really] spun (lit. *The car circled circling)'

In contrast, the following examples contain variants of a construction that looks quite similar, but with a difference that the infinitive in this case is specified, modified or qualified in some way as shown in [LA.1a] and [LA.1b]:

[LA.1a]   برمت برمة السيارة

baram-ət	*barm-e*	*əs-siyāra*
PFV.circle-3FS.*COGNATE HEAD*	circle-NSI.*COGNATE OBJECT*	DET-car

'The car toured once (lit. The car toured one tour)'

---

[1] The term 'cognate head' has been taken from Bond & Anderson, 2014.

[LA.1b] السيارة برمت برمة سريعة

əs-siyāra	baram-ət	barm-e	sarīʕ-a
DET-car	PFV.circle-3FS	circling-NSI	fast-F.S

'The car did a quick tour (lit. The car toured a long tour)'

In [LA.1a], the prefix –a(t)/-e(t), which in Arabic may be used to form the noun of single instance— also called *nomen vicis,* or اسم المرّة *ism al-marra*— modifies the CH indicating that the action has taken place once. Cognate nouns of single instance in Lebanese Arabic are often qualified, as in [LA.1b], where the noun with the adjective 'fast' modify the verb adverbially, explaining how the action took place. The infinitive may also be made definite by a genitive construction or إضافة *iḍāfa*, as in the following example:

[LA.1c] السيارة برمت برمة العروس

əs-siyāra	baram-ət	barm-et	əl- ʕarūs
DET-car	PFV.circle-3FS	circle-NSI	DET-bride

'The car took a long detour (lit. The car circled the circle of the bride)'

Each of these three examples shows a kind of specification or qualification of the cognate infinitive that contrasts with the bare infinitive in [LA.1]. It is my contention that this formal difference is significant for functional reasons as well. Therefore, I propose to distinguish them from each other terminologically: I will call the bare infinitive construction Cognate Infinitive (CI), and the specified or modified infinitive Cognate Object (CO).

In Arabic, these two concepts have been traditionally studied as two faces of one grammatical category: المفعول المطلق *al-mafʕūl al-muṭlaq* (Ibn As-Sarrāj, 1985) [2]— which has often been roughly and literally translated as 'Absolute/Inner Object'.[3]

---

[2] Despite being undoubtedly the most widespread denomination among Arab grammarians, the term "*mafʿūl muṭlaq*" is a well-known post Sībawayhian denomination coined by Ibn As-Sarrāj's (d.929 CE) in the 9th century in his كتاب الأصول في النحو *kitāb al-ʾuṣūl fī n-naḥw.*

[3] According to Arab grammarians, the term *mafʿūl* "denotes the sense of the act performed by the agent" (Levin, 1991: 920), hence, strictly speaking, it does not denote an object. As for the term *muṭlaq,* contrary to many modern grammarians' interpretations, it refers to the term *mafʿūl* itself, and not to the specific word that will be known by this

Sībawayh (d.796 CE) provided us with what remains until today one of the most detailed and exhaustive accounts of *mafʕūl muṭlaq* in Classical Arabic (CA), which he referred to as المصدر المنصوب *al-maṣdar al-manṣūb* (lit. infinitive accusative). According to Sībawayhi's description, *al-maṣdar al-manṣūb* may fulfil three functions (Sībawayhi, 228-235):

(1) Reinforcing or strengthening the meaning of what precedes it (e.g. جلست جلوسًا [lit. I sat a sitting]). This type of *maṣdar,* analyzed by Sībawayhi in a section of his *Kitāb* entitled: ما ينتصب من المصادر توكيدًا لما قبله *mā yantaṣib min al-maṣādir tawkīdan limā qablahu* (lit. on accusative infinitives emphasizing what precedes them), does not add any new content to the verb. Ibn Yaʕīš also notes that it appears always undefined and in the accusative case and refers to it as *manṣūb mubham* (منصوب مبهم) (lit. ambiguous accusative) (Al-Zamaxšarī, 1870: 111).

(2) Expressing quantity or number (e.g. قعد قعدة أو قعدتين [lit. he sat a sitting or two sittings]). This type of *mafʕūl muṭlaq* indicates the number of times that the action of the verb has taken place. Sībawayhi referred to this type as مصدر منصوب لبيان العدد *maṣdar manṣūb li-bayān al-ʕadad* (lit. infinitive accusative expressing number).

(3) Expressing manner (e.g. ضربته ضربًا شديدًا [lit. I hit him a hard hitting]. This type of *maṣdar* appears accompanied by a qualifier that adds information on manner that could not have been known from the verb. Sībawayhi referred to this type as مصدر منصوب لبيان النوع *maṣdar manṣūb li-bayān an-nawʕ* (lit. infinitive accusative expressing manner). Later grammarians grouped (2) and (3) together arguing that both types of *maṣdar* are qualified and add otherwise unknown information to the sentence. This group has been traditionally referred to as *manṣūb muwaqqit* (منصوب موقت) (lit. accusative determining the time) (Al-Zamaxšarī, 1870) or later as *manṣūb muxtaṣṣ* (منصوب مختصّ) (lit. accusative of distinction) (Hasan, 2009).

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term. In Levin's words, "the word *al-muṭlaq* in the term *al-mafʕūl al-muṭlaq* is opposed to *muqayyad bi-ḥarfi l-ǧarr*"(lit. complements bound by a preposition [other types of complements whose names in Arabic grammar include prepositions) (Levin, 1991: 921) and its purpose is to differentiate the *mafʕūl muṭlaq* from the other *mafaʕīl* (i.e. *al-mafʕūl bihi, al-mafʕūl fihi, al-mafʕūl lahu,* and *al-mafʕūl maʕahu*) that seem to be restricted by a combination of *ḥarf ǧarr* + genitive.

The three functions of the *mafʕūl muṭlaq* specified by Sībawayhi are equivalent to the functions of both CI and COs illustrated in the previous LA examples: [LA.1] and [LA.1a/b/c]— while Sībawayhi's example (1) above would be classified as CIs, (2) and (3) would be classified as COs. The functions are similar, but distinct, and it is especially important to distinguish the 'undefined' and 'strengthening' function of (1) from the qualifying and quantifying functions of (2) and (3).

The combined analysis of CIs and COs in Classical Arabic—which strongly influenced the analyses in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and other Semitic varieties such as Syriac—can only be explained due to an excessive reliance on morphological and syntactic elements. Most probably, it was the cognate and accusative[4] features that both elements share in CA that led traditional grammarians to pair them up together; unfortunately, this analysis neglects the abundant Semitic evidence of analogous constructions that draw a clear grammatical line between these two structures, both on formal and functional grounds.

Table 1 illustrates this differentiation in a variety of Semitic languages. In the column titled Cognate Infinitive, we can see that CHs (underlined) appear always accompanied by a cognate infinitive (in bold), thus indefinite and unqualified. In contrast, the examples in the Cognate Object column show that the CHs are accompanied by cognate verbal nouns that appear consistently qualified by adjectives or genitive constructions.

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[4] Although the accusative case seems to be a shared feature of CIs and COs in Classical Arabic, this is not the case in other Semitic languages such as Ugaritic or Akkadian. For more details on the CI's syntactic case see 1.2.2.1.

	COGNATE INFINITIVE	COGNATE OBJECT
AKKADIAN	[AKK.1] *[š]a ta[q]biam / ana ᶠPN/ ana ešrīšu aqbīšim-ma / apālum-ma* [CI] *ul īpulanni* [CH] "[Wh]at you to[l]d me I told ᶠPN ten times but *answer me* she did not" AʙB 10, 8:16-19 ғʀᴏᴍ Cᴏʜᴇɴ 2004:107	[AKK.2] *mīnam ēpuškāma ḫa-lu-qám ra-bi-a-am* [CO] *tuḫallaqanni* [CH] 'what have I done to you, that you are completely ruining me' [lit. *that you are ruining me a big ruining] Kᴏᴜᴡᴇɴʙᴇʀɢ 2017: 653
BIBLICAL HEBREW	[BH.1] *sāqôl* [CH] *yissāgel* [CI] *haššôr* "the ox shall be stoned" Exᴏᴅ. 21:28 ғʀᴏᴍ Vᴀɴ ᴅᴇʀ Mᴇʀᴡᴇ ᴇᴛ ᴀʟ., 1999: 159	[BH.2] *way-yeḥᵉrad* [CH] *Yiṣḥāq ḥᵃrādâ gdolâ* [CO] "And Isaac trembled a very great trembling" Gᴇɴ. 27:33 ғʀᴏᴍ Gᴏʟᴅᴇɴʙᴇʀɢ, 2013: 295
CLASSICAL ARABIC	[CA.1] *wa yasʾalūnaka ʿani l-jibali fa-qul yansifuhā* [CH] *rabbī nasfan* [CI] *fa-yadharuhā qāʿan ṣafṣafan* 'And they ask you about the mountains, so say, "My Lord will blow them away with a blast"' Qᴜʀʾᴀɴ xx, 105-106 ɪɴ Tᴀʟᴍᴏɴ, 1999: 111	[CA.2] *Man dhā lladhī yuqriḍu* [CH] *lāha qarḍan ḥasanan* [CO] "Who is he that will lend God a good loan" Qᴜʀʾᴀɴ II, 254 ɪɴ Tᴀʟᴍᴏɴ, 1999
SYRIAC	[SYR.1] *meštaq* [CI] *šteq-ʷ* [CH] 'They were completely silent' Rᴏʙɪɴsᴏɴ & Cᴏᴀᴋʟᴇʏ, 2013: 66	[SYR.2] *mít* [CH] *mawtā bíšā wa-mṭarpā* [CO] 'He died an evil and painful death' Sɪᴍ. 333, 3 ғʀᴏᴍ Nöʟᴅᴇᴋᴇ, 2003: 237
MANDAIC	[MAN.1] *miqam* [CI] *qaimia* [CH] 'thou certainly knowest' Gʏ, 209: 9 ɪɴ Mᴀᴄᴜᴄʜ, 1965: 436	[MAN.2] *anhimth* [CH] *nhimta ḏ-nšia* [CO] 'I made him moan like women (lit. I made him moan the moaning of women)" Gʏ 91: I, ɪɴ Mᴀᴄᴜᴄʜ, 1965: 439
MEHRI	[MEH.1] *yishōt* [CH] *ḥābū saḥṭ* [CI] [lit. he slaughters people slaughter] 'he absolutely slaughters people [with his prices]' Wᴀᴛsᴏɴ, 2012: 215	[MEH.2] *katays* [CH] *mən ḳaṭāt ḳənnət* [CO] 'he cut her lightly' (lit. he cut her a little cut) Rᴜʙɪɴ, 2010: 219
MALTESE	[MAL.1] *johrog* [CH] *hrug* [CI] 'he goes out extensively' Mᴀᴀs, 2005: 416	[MAL.2] *għajtu* [CH] *għajta ta' ferħ* [CO] 'They shouted a shout of joy' Sᴜᴛᴄʟɪғғᴇ, 1960: 169
LEBANESE ARABIC	[LA.1] *baramət* [CH] *barəm* [CI] *əs-siyāra* 'The car [really] spun'	[LA.1b] *əs-siyāra baramət* [CH] *barme sarīʕa* [CO] 'The car took a quick tour'

Table 1: Instances of Cognate Infinitives and Cognate Objects in several Semitic varieties

In Biblical Hebrew (BH), the separation is such that not only a morphological distinction is made between CIs[5] and COs[6] but also there is a morphological differentiation between two different forms of infinitive, commonly called 'Infinitive Construct' (ICns) and 'Infinitive Absolute' (IAbs), the latter being specifically used in the formation of CI constructions in Biblical Hebrew (BH). It is worth noting that the distinction between these two forms is both morphological[7] and syntactic[8], and that the morphological distinction between the IAbs and ICns seems to be an innovation of BH, given that it cannot be traced back in the Semitic continuum.[9]

Classical and Modern Standard Arabic seem to be, in contrast to BH, the most outstanding exception to the aforementioned Semitic constant that distinguishes morphologically between CIs and COs. In these varieties, both COs [CA.4] and CIs [CA.3] may be formed with a مصدر *maṣdar*, although the use of a noun of single instance (NSI) in CO constructions is also accepted [CA.5]:

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[5] Often referred to in the literature as 'Tautological Infinitive' (Goldenberg, 1971; Kim, 2006; 2009.)

[6] Often referred to in the literature as 'Inner/Internal Objects' (Goldenberg, 1971).

[7] Morphologically, the ICns has the same form as the masculine singular imperative (e.g. /k-t-ḇ/ *ktoḇ*) while the IAbs is characterized by the appearance of a long 'o' (e.g. /k-t-ḇ/ *katôḇ*). Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 581) argue that these two forms are "historically distinct and unrelated"— while the *Qal* IAbs of BH *qātôl* finds its origins in proto-Semitic **qatāl*, the ICns developed from the Semitic nominal pattern **qtul* or **qutul.* Cf. Kim (2006: 223): "As far as the evidence goes, in these languages [Semitic] the tautological and non-tautological infinitives share the same form, supporting the view that the Hebrew infinitive absolute and construct developed from a single form".

[8] Syntactically, while the ICns occurs in relation to another verbal form performing the typical functions of an infinitive — i.e. adverbial phrases (purpose, temporal)— and combines with different grammatical and lexical morphemes, the IAbs cannot be governed by prepositions or take a pronominal suffix. The different semantic functions of both infinitives are related to their syntactic nature. While the ICns show a behavior similar to other non-finite forms in other world languages (e.g. infinitive and gerund in Romance languages), the IAbs in BH may either intensify a finite verb, serve as a word of command, or directly function as an independent finite verb (Waltke & O'Connor, 1990: 581).

[9] "Although there is a syntactic usage corresponding to the formula known as the 'infinitive absolute' construction in the grammars of latter West Semitic languages, in Ugaritic there does not seem to have been a productive separate form so used in contradistinction to the standard verbal noun" (Bordreuil & Pardee's, 2009: 56).

[CA.3] قمت قيامًا

qumtu   *qiyām-an*

(PFV-stand.1S   stand.INF-ACC)

[lit. I stood standing][10]

[CA.4] قمت قيامًا طويلًا

qumtu   *qiyām-an*   *ṭawīl-an*

(PFV-stand.1S   stand.INF-ACC   long.M.S-ACC)

[lit. I stood a standing][11]

[CA.5] قعد قعدة القرفصاء

qaʕada   *qaʕda-t*   *al-qurfuṣāʔ*

(PFV-sit.3MS   sitting-NSI   DET-squatting position)

[He squatted][12]

In fact, maybe the shared use of the *maṣdar* between CIs and COs was one of the reasons that led traditional Arabic grammarians to group these two phenomena under one single grammatical category, which they called: المفعول المطلق *al-mafʕūl al-muṭlaq*.

Before Ibn As-Sarrāj coined the term in the 9th century, Sībawayh (760-796 CE) used to referred to this notion as *maṣdar* مصدر, more concretely as *al-maṣdar al-manṣūb* المصدر المنصوب.[13] Sībawayhi's choice manifests the 'double' nature of the grammatical notion of *maṣdar,* that integrates both the notions of "infinitive" and of "verbal noun" simultaneously, given that a *maṣdar* has both a verbal and a nominal nature. About this, Talmon (1999) maintains that when the cognate *maṣdar* is followed by a qualifier —this is, in a CO

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[10] Al-Zamaxšarī, 1870: 111; my glossing.

[11] Al-Zamaxšarī, 1870: 111; my glossing.

[12] Sībawayhi: 112; my glossing.

[13] Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that quite often Sībawayhi used different terminology when referring to the *maṣdar* itself: he referred to it as *ḥadaṯ* (حدث), *ism al-ḥadaṯān* (اسم الحدثان)*;* and *mafʿūl* (مفعول). This terminology is, however, consistent with Sībawayhi's conception of the *maṣdar*. He describes it as the source from which the verb is derived, that speaks exclusively of the 'action', devoid of tense, person and number. Other grammarians, such as Al-Mubarrad (826-898 CE), who shared a similar vision of the *maṣdar,* also adopted the term *maṣdar manṣūb* to refer to the *mafʿūl muṭlaq.*

construction— the substantival character of the *maṣdar* comes forward. In contrast, when the cognate *maṣdar* appears undefined and acts as an emphasizer —that is, in a CI construction— the *maṣdar* shows an infinitival character.

It was precisely this verbal infinitival character that the *maṣdar* shows in CI constructions that motivated me to choose the term "infinitive" over that of "verbal noun" or of "*maṣdar*"— which would have been, in my opinion, less accurate grammatically and subject to ambiguity as well as potentially less recognizable for non-specialists of Arabic grammar terminology.

What one notices about the distinction between CI and CO is that the functions of the CO are more clearly defined than those of the CI, at least within the literature written in Arabic. This is precisely the gap I wish to address in the present study. Thus, given that the present work will consist of an analysis of Cognate Infinitives in LA, it will suffice to define CIs and COs as separate grammatical forms. No further information on Cognate Objects will be provided, for their analysis falls out of the scope of this investigation.

1.2. The Cognate Infinitive: Formal Features

The present section elaborates on the morphological and syntactic features of Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic in comparison to those of analogous forms in different Semitic varieties. Its main purpose is to provide the reader with a formal description of CIs in LA, while exposing the reader to the formal variation that this construction has shown through time and space. The features that will be addressed here include morphological features such as form and pattern of CIs' and pattern correspondence between CIs and CHs, as well as syntactic features such as CIs' syntactic case, their position in the sentence and the presence of enclitics.

1.2.1. Morphological features

The morphological features explored in this introduction are the infinitival patterns (1.2.1.1) and the pattern correspondence between the Cognate Infinitive and the Cognate Head (1.2.1.2)

1.2.1.1.   <u>Infinitival patterns</u>

Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic are infinitives that share their root with a Cognate Head. Infinitives are the 'simplest' form of verbs in terms of their informational content, being devoid of time, aspect, mood, person and number. In LA, infinitives can be formed according to a variety of patterns (أوزان), and, in fact, one single verb may have more than one productive infinitive, e.g. درس *dərəs* (to study) has both درس *darəs* and دراسة *dirāse* as infinitives —which present different semantic nuances (i.e. although both could be translated as "study", the first can be also a 'lesson', a 'class', or even a 'chapter' or a 'class hour', the latter may refer either to an 'academic' study or be a synonym of 'education').

Speakers form CI constructions with the productive infinitive of the CH's corresponding pattern. [14] However, verbs with two productive infinitives may make use of both, each of them adding the semantic nuances carried by the infinitive itself. The followings are some examples of the aforementioned:

[LA.2]   الألمان بيدرسو الإسلام دراسة

əl-almān	*b-yədərso*	*l-islēm*	*dirāse*
DET-Germans	HAB-IPFV.3P.study	DET-Islam	study.INF

'Germans really study Islam [academically/thoroughly]'

[LA.3]   التواريخ بدّك تدرسهن درس

əl-twērīx	*badd-ak*	*tədrəs-on*	*darəs*
DET-dates	want-you.M.S	IPFV.2MS.study-them	study.INF

'The dates, you have to really study them [memorize them]'

The variation in infinitives is especially common in reflexive forms of quadrilateral verbs (تفعلل *tfaʕlal*) in LA, where the two patterns فعللة *faʕlale* and تفعلُل *tfəʕlol* are productive:

[LA.4]   مبارح تبهدلت بهدلة بالشغل

mbērəḥ	*tbəhdalət*	*bahdale*	*bə-š-šəġəl*
yesterday	PFV.1S.be.humiliated	humiliate.INF	in-DET-work

'Yesterday I got humiliated at work' [someone humiliated me]

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[14] For more information about pattern correspondence, see next section 1.2.1.2.

[LA.5] يا حرام الصبي، تبهدَل تبهدُل

yā	*ḥarām*	*əṣ-ṣabe*	*tbəhdal*	*tbəhdol*
VOC	sin	DET-boy	PFV.3SM.be.humiliated	INF.be.humiliated

'Poor boy … he was completely humiliated' [by something out of his control or by something he did himself].

This difference in the semantic nuances presumably added by *bahdale* or *tbəhdol,* and reflected in my translation, was reported by some of our informants in the acceptability tests (See paragraph (3)2.4.2 and Appendix III), while some others found the two uses semantically identical. It would be especially interesting to study more in depth how both passive and reflexive patterns interact with this construction.

1.2.1.2. Pattern correspondence between CH and CI

CIs in Lebanese Arabic generally share their pattern with their CHs when said heads are in pattern I (فعل *faʕal*), II (فعّل *faʕʕal*), III (فاعل *fāʕal),* X (استفعل *istafʕʕal).* In the cases of those patterns that carry passive, reflexive or reciprocal values, such as V (تفعّل *tfaʕʕal*), VI (تفاعل *tfāʕal*), VII (انفعل *nfaʕal*) or VIII (افتعل *ftaʕal*), CHs take the cognate infinitive of their corresponding active pattern.

Table 2 shows the pattern correspondence aforementioned, illustrated with actual examples of from LA speakers, along with the percentage of the occurrence of each pattern in my corpus. In Table 2 we can also observe that very few exceptions to this correspondence pattern were found in my LA corpus (only 3.76% of the total of instances), being all these exceptions, phonetically and/or semantically motivated.

CH's PATTERN	CI's PATTERN	EXAMPLE		% OF OCCURRENCES
I	I	مقطوشة قطش	maʔṭūše ʔaṭəš	67.67 %
II	II	مسطّل تسطيل	msaṭṭal ṭaṣṭīl	14.29 %
III	III	تساعدوني مساعدة	tsēʕdūne msēʕade	0.75 %
V	II	بتتلخّص تلخيص	btətlaxxaṣ təlxīṣ	2.26 %
VI	III	تخانقو خناق	txēnaʔo xnēʔ	0.75 %
VII	I	بينمشى مشي	byənmašā maše	3.01 %
VIII	I	نشتغلها شغل	naštəġəla šəġəl	0.75 %
X	X	استقبلته استقبال	staʔbalto stiʔbēl	0.75 %
QI	QI	فرفط فرفطة	farfaṭ farəfṭa	2.26 %
	QII	مقرقد تقرقد	mʔarʔad tʔərʔod	2.26 %
QII	QI	تبهدلت بهدلة	tbahdalət bahdale	0.75 %
	QII	تبهدل تبهدل	tbahdal tbəhdol	1.5 %
Exceptions				3.76%

Table 2: Pattern correspondence between CHs and CIs in LA and their percentage of occurrence in the corpus

The two exceptions found of a CH in pattern I (a CH pattern I with a CI pattern III [LA.6] and a CH pattern I with a CI pattern II [LA.7]— are presented here:

[LA.6]   بنطرك مناطرة عالأخبار كل ليلة

bə-nṭr-ak   mnāṭra   ʕal-əxbār   kəl   leyle
HAB-IPFV.wait.1S-you.M.S   wait.INF   on-DET-news   every   night
'I [impatiently] wait to see you in the news every single night!'

[LA.7]   فظيعة... بتلقطيهن تلقيط

faẓīʕa...   b-təlʔaṭī-on   təlʔīṭ
terrific.F   HAB-IPFV.catch.2FS-them   catch.INF
'You are amazing… you [just] catch them all!'

I would argue that these two seeming 'deviations' from the norm are semantically motivated. In [LA.7], the CI pattern I for the root *n-ṭ-r* (presumably نطر *naṭər*) does not seem to be productive at all in LA. More importantly, the CI مناطرة *mnāṭra* carries pattern III's *unilateral* and *associative* semantic nuances, which in this case reinforce the speaker's unilateral action of waiting (devotedly) for someone. In [LA.8], the speaker was a beauty salon client praising

an employee's dexterity in removing excess hair from her client's eyebrows. The use of the CI pattern II cognate with the CH pattern I could be explained given that: (1) the use of the CI pattern I for the root *l-ʔ-ṭ,* لقط *laʔəṭ* is commonly used in CI constructions to reinforce the figurative meaning of the verb (understand, catch an idea), rendering it less appropriate for this context, and (2) that the CI تلقيط *təlʔīṭ*, carries pattern II's *event repetition* and *intensity* nuances, which in this case, reinforce the multiplicity and speed of the event.[15]

Notwithstanding the aforementioned exceptions, it is worth mentioning that very similar patterns of pattern correspondence between CHs and CIs were present both in Syriac and BH— I would go as far as affirming that the patterns are identical if it not for the fact that the documented data in these varieties is, unfortunately, not enough for us to make an empirical claim.[16]

In Syriac, like in LA, CH and the CI generally share the same pattern [SYR.3]:

[SYR.3] *mashādú* [CI] _tashed_ [CH] *ʿal napšāk*

"tu portes témoignage sur toi-même"[17] [you bear witness of yourself]

Passive verbal forms (i.e. *ethpʿel; ethpaʿal; ettaphʿal*) tend to take the infinitive of their corresponding active pattern [SYR.4], [SYR.5]:

[SYR.4] *meḥzā* [CI] _ʾethāzā_ [CH] *ʰwāt leh ṣúr mtúm*

"il n'avait jamais vu Tyr"[18] [he had never seen Tyre]

[SYR.5] *ʾelú kulmedem mšamāšú* [CI] _ʾeštamaš_ [CH]
"si tout servait"[19] [if everyone would serve]

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[15] The other three exceptions in the corpus are examples [LA.21], with a CH in pattern III and a CI in pattern IV; [LA.50], with a CH in pattern VI and a CI in pattern I; and [LA.118] with a CH in pattern II and a CI in pattern I.

[16] In the absence of studies on the matter, my impression is that other Levantine varieties of Arabic also follow the aforementioned patterns of pattern correspondence.

[17] Anal. Syr. 19, 9 from Duval, 1881: 333; translation mine. Both CH and CI are in the *paʿel* pattern.

[18] Ined. Syr. 2, 14 from Duval, 1881: 333; translation mine. CH is in *ethpʿel* —passive counterpart of *pʿal* —and CI is in *pʿal pattern*.

[19] Spic. Syr. 3, 23 from Duval, 1881:333; translation mine. Finite verb is in *ethpaʿal* —passive counterpart of *paʿel*— and CI is in *paʿel* pattern.

As for Biblical Hebrew, normally, the CI and the CH share the same pattern[20], as in [BH.3]:

[BH.3]   כִּי-גֻנֹּב גֻּנַּבְתִּי, מֵאֶרֶץ הָעִבְרִים

kî *ḡunnōḇ* [CI] *gûnnaḇtî* [CH] , mē-ʾęręṣ hāʿiḇrîm

For *indeed* I was stolen away from the land of the Hebrews" [21]

However, Gesenius' grammar (Cowley & Kautzsch, 1910: 345) specifies that with a verb of the derived conjugations, not only the IA of the pattern can be used, but also one of other patterns—especially the corresponding IAbs in the *Qal* pattern—as "the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea"; this is specifically common with verbs in the *Niphal* pattern, the passive or reflexive form of the *Qal* pattern [BH.4]. [22]

[BH.4]   לֹא-תִגַּע בּוֹ יָד, כִּי-סָקוֹל יִסָּקֵל אוֹ-יָרֹה יִיָּרֶה--אִם-בְּהֵמָה אִם-אִישׁ, לֹא יִחְיֶה; בִּמְשֹׁךְ, הַיֹּבֵל, הֵמָּה, יַעֲלוּ בָהָר

loʾ tiggaʿ bô yāḏ, kî sāqôl [CI] *yissāqel* [CH] *ʾô yāroh* [CI] *yiyyāręh* [CH]. *ʾim bhemâ ʾim ʾîš, loʾ yiḥyê; bimšôḵ, hayyoḇel, hemmâ, yaⁿlû ḇā-hār*

"*They are to be stoned* or *shot with arrows*; not a hand is to be laid on them. No person or animal shall be permitted to live. Only when the ram's horn sounds a long blast may they approach the mountain". [23]

These regular 'non-correspondences' in pattern between CH and CI have also been documented in Classical Arabic. Grammarians seem to agree on the fact that some finite verbs in a certain pattern might govern a *maṣdar* of the same root but a different pattern [CA.6]:

[CA.6]   وتبتّل إليه تبتيلًا

wa-tabattal   *ʔilay-hi*   *tabtīl-an*

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[20] Only 22 of the 244 cases analyzed by Kim (2006: 197) show discrepancy between the pattern of the IA and that of the cognate verb.

[21] Gen. 40:15. New International Version (NIV) translation. Both main verb and the CIAbs share the *Pual* form.

[22] Cf. Cowley & Kautzsch, 1910: 138: "The older grammarians were decidedly wrong in representing *Niphʿal* simply as the passive of *Qal*; for *Niphʿal* has (as the frequent use of its imperat. shows), in no respect the character of the other passives, and in Arabic a special conjugation (ʾinqăṭălă) corresponds to it with a passive of its own".

[23] Exod. 19:13. NIV translation. The main verb is in *Niphal* form while the CIabs is in the *Qal* form.

(and-IMP.2MS.devote [CH]   to-him   devotion.INF-ACC [CI])

'And devote thyself to Him whole-heartedly'[24]

Ibn Yaʿīš argues that in these cases, the two forms of the verb (in the previous example, II and V) carry the same meaning (Al-Zamaxšarī, 1870: 111). However, Sībawayh and Al-Mubarrad, among other grammarians, consider that the lack of pattern correspondence is due to the elision of the verb. This process would also explain the label of *mafʕūl muṭlaq* that traditional Arab grammarians apply to constructions where the verb and the *maṣdar* have completely different roots but carry similar meanings (e.g. أبغضته كراهة [lit. I despised it/him a hatred] [Al-Zamaxšarī, 1870: 112]). [25]

On the topic of pattern correspondence, Talmon's study on the *mafʕūl muṭlaq* occurrences in the Qurʾān shows that 61/64 of the *maṣādir* appearing in constructions of *mafʕūl muṭlaq mubham* (i.e. CI constructions) share both the root and the pattern with their governing verb[26] (see [CA.1] in Table 1 above) reaching an 'almost perfect' pattern correspondence.

The Semitic language which—at least according to the literature[27]—seems to present an apparently 'perfect' pattern correspondence between CHs and CIs is Akkadian. Most of the studies on the topic (Goldenberg, 1971; Cohen, 2004; 2006; Kouwenberg, 2010) highlight the existence of a 'perfect' pattern correspondence between the infinitive and the verbal form in the Akkadian CIs. This fact is corroborated by Kim (2006: 197), who compiles 228 examples of CIs and proves the exact pattern correspondence between CIs and CHs throughout the different

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[24] Al-Zamaxšarī, 1870: 111. CH is in pattern V *tafaʕʕala* and CI is in pattern II *faʕʕala.*

[25] In my opinion, these sometimes-far-fetched explanations provided by traditional grammarians reveal their reticence to accept what they perceived as 'irregularities' or 'imperfections'— even if, as we have seen, these are patterns that spread regularly over several varieties of the Semitic continuum. This is no surprise, for, as I argued in [LA.6] and [LA.7], I believe 'exceptions' are equally motivated. Speakers will generally have distinct motivations (phonological, prosodic, semantic, etc.) to steer a form away from a pattern.

[26] As opposed to the much lower number (30/66) of the verbs governing COs in the Qurʾān (expressing quantity or manner) that correspond with their *maṣdar* in their pattern. See [CA.2] in Table 1.

[27] Only the following example of Old Assyrian found in Kouwenberg (2017: 659), would break the otherwise perfect pattern correspondence in Akkadian: *a-ma-ru-u [m-ma] ula ni-na-m [e-er]* 'we have not met' (AKT 1, 13:7-8, with a G-stem infinitive and a finite verb in the N-stem).

stages of the Akkadian language.[28] Finet (1952: 21-22) also affirms that this is true as well for the Mari dialect and illustrates his argument with examples like the following.

[AKK.3] *du-ul-lu-um-ma* [CI]   *tu-da-al-šu* [CH]

"tu le fais malgré tout travailler"[29] [you make him work despite everything]

[AKK.4] *a-yi-i-iš [...] šu-úš-šu-um* [CI]   *tu-ša-aš- [š]a* [CH]

"où […] feras-tu donc porter?"[30] [where (…) will you have (it) carried?]

1.2.2. *Syntactic features*

The distinguishing syntactic features of CIs explored in this section are syntactic case (in 1.2.2.1), and the position of the CI in the sentence (in 1.2.2.2).

1.2.2.1.   Syntactic case

Given that, in general, syntactic case is not marked in Lebanese Arabic, CIs are not marked with any syntactic case in this variety. This is also the case in Arabic spoken varieties as well as in the great majority of Semitic varieties studied in this work, except for Akkadian, Ugaritic and Classical Arabic, the only Semitic varieties which are known to mark syntactic case. Although syntactic case has no bearing on LA, looking at the case of Cognate Infinitives in case-bearing Semitic languages provides relevant information about the function of the CI in some Semitic varieties.

As I mentioned in section 1.1.1, Classical Arabic (CA) grammarians were so concerned about the syntactic marking of the CI, that some, such as Sībawayhi and Al-Mubarrad, even decided to name this construction after its syntactic case (i.e,. *maṣdar manṣūb,* lit. 'infinitive accusative'). As this name indicates, CIs in Classical Arabic appear in the accusative case, generally marked with the indefinite accusative ending *–an.*[31] Ibn As-Sarrāj specifies that the *maṣdar* used to strengthen the meaning of the action has to be in the accusative: " فاذا لم يكن فيها

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[28] This is a fact that, for Kim, evidences the formal distinction between the CI and the CO in Akkadian —which do not show such pattern correspondence.

[29] ARM I, 61, 9 from Finet, 1952: 21; translation mine.

[30] ARM 72, 7-8 from Finet, 1952: 21; translation mine.

[31] See [CA.1] [CA.3] and [CA.6].

"الّا التوكيد نصبت والرفع بعيد جدا" [if its only [function] is emphasis, then it [appears] in the accusative, for the nominative is too far] (Ibn As-Sarrāj, 1985, 168; translation mine).[32]

However, notwithstanding the consensus on the primary classification of CIs as accusatives, Sībawayhi conceives both accusative or nominative as acceptable options and places the decision in the speakers' hands: "وكذلك جميع المصادر ترتفع على أفعالها إذا لم تشغل الفعل بغيرها" [in the same way, any *maṣdar* may be in nominative of their verb if (the verb is) not (syntactically) occupied with another (subject)] (Sībawayh: 229; translation mine).[33]

As a matter of fact, Sībawayhi's demand for flexibility regarding the case marking of CIs goes in line with the general situation in Semitic. Both –u(m)/ -u(n) —generally associated with nominative in Semitic— and –a(m)/ -a(n)— generally associated with accusative in Semitic— appear marking CIs in case bearing Semitic languages. However, while in Classical Arabic accusative seems to be the norm, in Akkadian and Ugaritic the situation seems to be the opposite.

Although Lewy (1946: 410) mentions some instances of CIs in Old Assyrian where the infinitive appears in the accusative *(-a[m])*, he states that the majority of the CIs that have been documented in Akkadian present the ending –u(m). In fact, far from the nominative vs accusative discussion of CA grammarians, the controversy in Akkadian revolves around the true nature of the –u(m) ending. Some scholars simply resist accepting that this ending marks a nominative (Lewy, 1946)[34], while others suggest that the ending –ûm indicates a locative-

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[32] Categorizing a *mafʕūl muṭlaq* as such was, in fact, oftentimes exclusively dependent on the syntactic case of the *masdar*, to the extent that neither did he or other grammarians stipulate that the verb and the *maṣdar* should share the same root. As a matter of fact, Arab grammarians provided us with an exhaustive description of various cases where the *maṣdar manṣūb* stands alone after the elision of the verb. However, this analysis falls out of the scope of our study for those constructions do not show an explicit verbal root repetition.

[33] It is worth noting that of all the grammatical accounts of the *mafʕūl muṭlaq* we have reviewed, Sībawayhi's is, in our opinion, the most holistic and comprehensive. Moreover, his approach could be considered, in many ways, the most innovative as he accounts for the semantic and pragmatic considerations of the CI construction rather than focusing exclusively on its morphosyntactic specificities.

[34] Lewy suggests that the –u(m) ending is in fact replacing the prepositions *ana* —or its allomorph *ina*—, and assuming, thus, this particle's function. He posits (1946: 415) that the particle *ana* here functions as an accusative marker, and in order to prove this argument, he draws a parallelism with those West-Semitic constructions where a

adverbial case clearly differentiated from the nominative (Aro, 1961; Huehnergard, 1997; Malbran-Labat & Vita, 2005).[35]

Finet (1952) and Kouwenberg (2017: 659), providing evidence from the Akkadian dialect of Mari and Old Assyrian respectively, suggest that the –u(m) ending of the CIs in Akkadian expresses a nominative case. However, while for Kouwenberg CIs appear in nominative because this is functionally the unmarked case in Akkadian, for Finet the use of the –u(m) ending in CIs only confirms the marked usage of the nominative as a way to call attention to an important word in the sentence. [36]

Goldenberg tries to reconcile both theories by arguing that "the nominative as well as the accusative or any other adverbial case or construction can rightly be expected" (Goldenberg, 1971: 75).[37] Likewise, Cohen provides several arguments in favor of both theories to finally conclude that from a synchronic point of view, the ending –um has no value of its own and therefore "is regarded neither as a nominative nor as a locative adverbial" (Cohen, 2004: 110).[38]

In Ugaritic, the situation seems similar to that in Akkadian. However, when dealing with Ugaritic it should be born in mind that the final ending of the infinitive is only discernible in

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noun preceded by the preposition *la/ l-/li* functions as an ordinary direct object. Consequently, he concludes that the –u(m) ending of the CI is by no means a nominative and should not be attributed to a late 'negligent' use of the case system but rather be considered as a postposition taking the place of the accusative –a(m) (Lewy, 1946: 413-415). Goldenberg (1971: 74), on the other hand, qualifies Lewy's reflection as "vague" and advocates for the abandonment of any suggestion of West-Semitic influences on the cognate infinitive constructions of Akkadian.

[35] Part of this suggestion is based on the claim that the –u from the locative adverbial ending –ūm in Akkadian is long, unlike that of the nominative marker. However, the lack of evidence in the Akkadian dialect of Mari of long vowels in –u(m) endings led Finet (1952: 22) to believe that the ending –u(m) of CIs indicates a "*nominativus pendens*" rather than a locative.

[36] *"Ceci est conforme à l'usage, même abusif, de ce cas pour mettre en valeur le mot important de la phrase"* (Finet, 1952: 22).

[37] Although he does not seem to favor any of the two theories, Goldenberg (1971: 75) states that "if indeed extraposition is involved, there is no sound reason to reject on syntactical grounds the interpretation of *-um* infinitives as being in the nominative".

[38] In a later work, Cohen (2006) accounts for the CIs with an accusative ending –a(m). This last study, however, focuses on identifying their function rather than discussing the implications of their accusative ending vs. the nominative.

III-ʔ roots (i.e. roots whose last radical is / ʔ/). [39] In these cases, paronomastic infinitives show an –*u* ending. This fact triggered a discussion that resembles that of Akkadian— some adopted the interpretation of the –*u* ending as a locative-adverbial case (Rosenthal, 1942; Pope: 1951[40]; Huehnergard, 2012), some preferred to think of this ending as a nominative (Driver, 1956) and some others stayed neutral on the grounds of lack of sufficient evidence (Goldenberg, 1971; Bordreuil & Pardee, 2009).

Beyond the aforementioned discussion on the syntactic function of Semitic –*u(m) / -u(n),* the present section shows that a wider review of the literature on case marking that observes Arabic varieties as part of the Semitic continuum affirms that CIs are syntactically marked throughout the literature as salient entities and bearers of adverbial meaning rather than objects. In the following chapters, we will return to the notion of salience as a pivotal notion for the understanding of the grammatical function of CIs in LA.

1.2.2.2.   Position in the sentence

The position of CIs in the different varieties seems to be one of the formal features more widely studied through the Semitic literature. The literature suggests that, while in most Arabic spoken varieties and in South Semitic languages CIs show consistently a post-verbal position, this does not seem to be the case in other Semitic varieties, generally belonging to the Northwest and East Semitic groups which tend to show a pre-verbal position, in some occasions accepting CIs both before and after the cognate verbal head.

1.2.2.2.1.   Post-verbal

CIs appear after the verb—although not necessarily immediately after it—in the vast majority of Arabic spoken varieties[41], of which LA can be considered an example:

[LA.8]   ما بيسكّرو الباب... بيخلعوه خلع

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[39] The Ugaritic script was consonantal except for the three syllabic *alif* letters (representing *ʔa, ʔi, ʔu*), which means that the vocalic reconstruction is often problematic. Cf. Owens (2006: 84): "the question of Ugaritic is not very satisfying, as the only direct evidence for case endings comes from the word-final symbol for the glottal stop". On the other hand, there is evidence of the existence a case system from the syllabic texts (Sivan, 2001: 82-83).

[40] Pope (1951: 124) who defines the ending –*u(m)* in the Ugaritic as the "bearer of the adverbial meaning".

[41] With the exception of Sason Arabic (Akkuş & Öztürk, 2017).

mā	*b-ysakkro*	*l-bēb,*	*b-yəxlaʕū-(h)*	*xaləʕ*
NEG	HAB-IPFV.close.3P	DET.door	HAB-IPFV.slam.3P.it	slam.INF

'They don't close the door, they slam it!'

[JA.1] *il-bandora… ynaššfū-ha tanšīf*

def-tomato dry-sbjv.3mp-3fs drying

'As for tomatoes, they used to dry them properly'[42]

[EA.1] *nāyim fī l-ʿasal nōm*

sleep.ptcp in the-honey sleep

'He is sleeping soundly'[43]

[RPA.1] <u>*yixinkūna*</u> [CH] *xanīk* [CI] 'they suffocate us completely'[44]

A strictly post-verbal position is also typical of CIs of South Semitic languages such as Mehri [MEH.3] or Ge'ez [GE.1]:

[MEH.3] <u>*ḥṣūr*</u> [CH] *ḥābū ḥāṣar* [CI] 'he wiped the people out'[45]

[GE.1] *zabṭəwwo* [CH] *zəbṭata* [CI] 'They whipped him heavily'[46]

As the previous examples show, in those varieties where CIs appear post-verbally, CIs tend to occupy a clause-final position, which, at least in many varieties of spoken Arabic, is oftentimes reserved for contrast (Brustad, 2000). [47]

As for the elements that may stand between the CI and its CH, it is common to find object pronouns [LA.8] [JA.1] [RPA.1], whole objects [MEH.3] or, more rarely, full adverbial

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[42] Personal communication. See Herin (forthcoming) in References.

[43] Woidich, 2006: 269.

[44] Schachmon & Marmorstein, 2018: 32.

[45] Watson, 2012: 215.

[46] Lipiński, 2001: 520.

[47] "Subject pronouns in **post-verb positions** fulfill a different function than pre-verbal subject pronouns: the former represent a focus of contrast, while the latter represents (non-contrastive) sentence topics" (Brustad, 2000: 343; emphasis mine) "Subjects that are contrastive, on the other hand, can occupy **clause-final position**" (Brustad, 2000: 362; emphasis mine).

syntagms [EA.1]. Nevertheless, far from being conclusive, these differences, in my opinion, result from different informational and discursive strategies of the speakers rather than from purely syntactic restrictions. For instance, in the following LA example, the object appears after the CI, preceded by an object marker *la-* — in what represents a pragmatically marked structure in LA (see section 4.2.1 'Information Structure in LA'):

[LA.9]   ليكي ليكي! برشته برش للعصفور

leyke	*leyke*	*barašet-o*	*barəš*	*la-l-ʕaṣfūr*
INT.F	INT.F	PFV.grind.3FS-it.MS	door.INF	to-DET-bird

'Look! look! It [the cat] literally finished the bird!'

However, once again, we must bear in mind that word order could change according to the informational needs of the speaker. In this way, for example, the utterance البسينة برشت العصفور برش *əl-bsayne* <u>*barašət*</u> *əl-ʕaṣfūr barəš* 'The cat totally finished the bird', would have been appropriate for a less pragmatically marked utterance, while an utterance such as هيداك العصفور... برشته برش البسينة *haydēk* *əl-ʕaṣfūr...* <u>*barašeto*</u> *barəš əl-bsayne* 'That bird got totally finished by the cat', would have been ideal for a speaker that wants to highlight the entity of the bird, thus, topicalizing the object and leaving the subject for the end.

1.2.2.2.1.   Pre-verbal position

According to the literature, Akkadian, Phoenician and Eblaite, along with Sason Arabic place the CI in a pre-verbal position. In Akkadian, the CI precedes regularly the main verbal form[48], following the [CI + CH] order in affirmatives and [CI + NEG + CH] in negative utterances.

[AKK. 5]   *[ša i]štu ṣeḫrēku lā āmuru / [am]ārum-ma* [CI] <u>*ātamar*</u> [CH]

"[That wh]ich I have not seen [si]nce I was young I have seen now"[49]

This is also the case in the few documented instances of CI in Eblaite [EB.1], Phoenician [PH.1] and Ugaritic [UG.1]:

[EB.1]   *pá-kà-ru* [CI] <u>*a-pá-kà-ru*</u> [CH]

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[48] With the exception of the utterance: <u>*at-ta-kil*</u> [CH] **ta-ka-lu** [CI] "I trusted" (Kim, 2006: 192; Rapallo, 1971:108).

[49] AbB 11, 34:5-6 from Cohen 2004:108.

"They should join firmly"[50]

[PH.1]   ʾm nḥl [CI] _tnhl_ [CH] mgštk ʿlk wmgšt ʿly

"If you shall come into possession of it (the money), your share is yours and my share is mine"[51]

[UG.1]   ydʿm [CI] _l ydʿt_ [CH] *[yadāʿu-ma lā yadaʿta]*

"verily you (m.s.) knew not"[52]

Kim (2006) argues that the pre-verbal position is also the most common order in all the extant Semitic languages, and counters Solá-Solé's (1961: 191) theory, who regards the post-verbal position as the original one, and the opposite as a later development due to the influence of Akkadian. Finet (1952: 22) argues that the reason why Akkadian does not allow the infinitive to follow the verb —unlike Hebrew and Aramaic— is that the unmarked position of the verb in Akkadian is the clause final position. Nevertheless, Kim (2006: 201) considers this unlikely in the light of the similar order of the CI in Ugaritic. [53]

In the realm of currently spoken languages, an interesting case is that of Sason Arabic, where, in contrast to the post-verbal position of CIs most Arabic spoken varieties, both CIs [SSA.1] and COs [SSA.2] are canonically placed before the CH:

[SSA.1]   şuşa qarf [CI] _ınqaraf_ [CH] 'The glass broke a breaking'[54]

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[50] Lipiński, 2001: 520.

[51] Krahmalkov, 2000: 210.

[52] 2.39, 14 in Sivan, 2001: 123.

[53] The case of Ugaritic seems to be especially problematic. Kim (2006:201) lists two possible exceptions: (1) **yspʾI** [CH] **spʾu** [CI] "he ate" (1.20 II, 10 in Kim, 2006: 201) and (2) ʾal tʾud [CH] **ʾad** [CI] "you should never claim" (2.26:19-20 in Kim, 2006: 201). Objections have been made about both exceptions. Sivan (2001: 124) and Huehnergard (2012:60) think that in (1) spʾu could be interpreted as a participle, thus: "the eater ate" or "let the eater eat". As for (2), Tropper (2000: 493) suggests that ʾad could be an imperative. Solá-Solé (1961: 204) identifies 441 examples of CIs in Ugaritic with the infinitive preceding the verb and 71 where the infinitive in postposition. Relying on Gordon's data (1965), Muraoka (1985: 89 n.19) deems the number of postpositive paronomastic infinitives even lower than that suggested by Solá-Solé.

[54] Akkuş & Öztürk, 2017: 3.

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[SSA.2]   *babe fadu-ma* [CI] *hedi ınfada* [CH] 'The door opened a slow opening'[55]

1.2.2.2.2.   Pre-verbal or post-verbal position

More often than not, scholars have insisted on classifying CIs either as pre-verbal or as post-verbal in their varieties of study. However, the truth is that not all languages have clear preferences for pre-verbal or post-verbal positions, and what is more, most of those where CIs are fairly well documented often exhibit both. Some examples of the latter are Biblical Hebrew, Syriac, Mandaic, and NENA dialects where, according to the literature, CIs may be found both pre- and post-verbally.

In Biblical Hebrew, CIs occur frequently in immediate connection with their CH both before [as in BH.5] and after it [as in BH.6] (Cowley & Kautzsch, 1910: 342):

[BH.5]   *heʾaḵôl* [CI] *ʾakalnû* [CH] *min hameleḵ*
     "Have we eaten *at all* any of the king's provisions?" [56]

[BH.6]   *šimʿû* [CH] *šāmôaʿ* [CI] *w-ʾal tāḇînû, w-rʾû* [CH] *rāʾô* [CI] *w-ʾal tedʿû*
     "Be ever hearing, but never understanding, be ever seeing, but never perceiving." [57]

Given that the pre-verbal position (and often clause-initial) of the infinitive seems to be the most frequent[58] and often regarded as the "basic structure" (Goldenberg, 1971: 65), there is a vivid scholarly debate as to whether the post-verbal position is syntactically conditioned or not.[59]

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[55] Akkuş & Öztürk, 2017: 3.

[56] 2Sam. 19:43. NIV translation. See also Gen. 37:8; Isa. 50.2.

[57] Isa. 6:9. NIV translation. Other preverbal CIs in BH are [BH.1], [BH.3], [BH.4].

[58] Kim (2009: 46) notes that the most frequent order of the pattern is [CI + CH but also identifies thirteen occurrences (out of 224) whose order is [CH + CI].

[59] Some scholars who agree with the former (Cowley & Kautzsch, 1910: 342; Van der Merwe et al., 1999: 158; Goldenberg, 1971: 64; Harbour, 1999; Kim, 2009: 46) enumerated a series of syntactic conditions under which the CI cannot precede a verb: (1) when the main verb is an imperative; (2) when the main verb is a participle; (3) when the main verb is an imperfect consecutive or a perfect consecutive. Nevertheless, many have been the objections to the theory of syntactic conditioning. Hatav (2017: 226) provides evidence of some cases where the CI follows the finite

The situation is quite similar in Syriac (Hoffmann, 1827: 341; Duval, 1881: 333; Nöldeke, 2003: 235), and Classical Mandaic (Nöldeke, 1875: 399; Macuch, 1965: 436) where CIs can stand both before and after the CH, while the pre-verbal position is most commonly found:

[SYR.6]   *meparq* [CI] *lā praqt* [CH]

"nondum liberasti" [not yet have you liberated][60]

Nöldeke (2003: 236) believes that in Syriac, the post-verbal CI expresses a higher degree of emphasis while Duval (1881: 332) finds that there is no difference in meaning between both variables— an opinion he bases on Barhebraeus' silence on the matter. [61]

Also, the different Spoken Aramaic dialects are an excellent example of variation on the CI's position. In Ṭurōyo we only find pre-verbal CIs [TU.1]. However, in some NENA dialects such as that of Barwar we can find both pre-verbal [NENA.1] and post-verbal CIs [NENA.2], while in others, such as that of Qaraqosh, only post-verbal CIs occur [NENA.3] (Mengozzi & Miola, 2008).

[TU.1]   *gnōwo* [CI] *gnūlox* [CH]

'you stole it (you did not buy it)'[62]

[NENA.1]   *ʾána zála* [CI] *har-zílən* [CH] *bìya*

'I have absolutely gone with it! (i.e. I am finished!)'[63]

[NENA.2]   *ʾɛga lanwa briθa* [CH] *ʾana braya* [CI]

'At that time I was not even born'[64]

[NENA.3]   *ʾu-hádax ḥawàka gzaqərwa* [CH] *zqàra* [CI]

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verb, and yet there is no clear pre-verbal element to block the raising. Likewise, after analyzing the thirteen examples showing post-verbal order in his corpus, Kim (2009: 46-50) concludes that some of these instances are too hard to pin down and cautiously suggests that the syntactic environment is not the sole responsible of the change of order of the constituents in CI constructions.

[60] Exod. 5:23 from Hoffmann, 1827: 341; translation mine.

[61] Interestingly enough, both Nöldeke and Macuch make an analogy with the Arabic notion of *mafʕūl muṭlaq* to explain CIs in Mandaic, but not with the 'Tautological Infinitive' parallel of Biblical Hebrew, which may indicate that they were greatly influenced by the Arabic grammatical tradition.

[62] Ritter & Sellheim, 1990: 58.

[63] Khan, 2008: 731.

[64] Khan, 2008: 732.

'And so, the weaver would weave'[65]

1.2.2.2.2.1. Two syntactic positions, one single grammatical form?

In their attempt to understand the syntactic variation of CIs, many scholars have traditionally identified the most frequent position in the varieties they studied, then proceeded to find the formal explanations of what conditions the occurrence of the 'exceptions' to the rule they had themselves drafted.

Immersed in this process, both groups of scholars seem to have overlooked the possibility that pre-verbal and post-verbal CIs could be, in fact, two separate (although closely related) grammatical forms —with their corresponding functions— rather than two different manifestations of one single grammatical form. Different approaches in the literature have inevitably resulted from the nature of the available data in each variety, but also from the feeding influences from diverse grammatical schools they may have received and, especially, from the authors' attitudes towards other related Semitic varieties.

Studies on the CIs in most Semitic varieties have explored both positions as two different manifestations of the same form (Goldenberg, 1971; Cohen, 2004, 2006; Mengozzi & Miola, 2008). As for Arabic, the few descriptions of CIs in Arabic varieties —where the grammatical tradition establishes the post-verbal position of the *mafʕūl muṭlaq*— hardly ever include examples of the so called "pre-verbal' or "extraposed" CIs, for they are considered to be, simply, a separate grammatical entity. Moreover, one of the few studies that actually include such examples— Blau's *Grammar of Christian Arabic* [66]— rules out the possibility of extraposed CIs existing in Christian

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[65] Khan, 2002: 359.

[66] Christian Arabic is a main source for the study of Middle Arabic. The majority of the texts written in Arabic by Christians have been found in the South of Palestine and the Sinai and go back to the eighth century CE. As Blau observes, "Christian and Jewish authors were less devoted to the ideal of C[lassical] A[rabic] than their Muslims confrères" (Blau, 1966: 19), and consequently, the language of these texts was much less influenced by the literary variety. However, we must bear in mind that most of the texts are translations from Greek or Syriac what might create confusion when trying to discern between interferences from the vernacular and those from the translation's original language (Versteegh, 2014).

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Arabic, and ascribes their occurrence to a Greek-Aramaic interference resulting, presumably, from poor translations (Blau, 1967: 605). [67]

[CRA. 1]   سمعا يسمعون ولن تفهمون وبصر تبصرون ولن تنظرون

> "hear indeed and understand not, and see indeed and perceive not!"[68]

The truth is that, although extraposed CIs are rarely documented along with CIs, contrary to Blau's opinion, they seem to be indeed used in Spoken Arabic. The followings are some examples from Lebanese and Najdi Arabic (NA):

[LA.ext1] *weqraye kenna neqra qimet saʿa unēss ben-nhār bel-qeṣaṣ wer-rwāyāt el-ġrāmiye*

> "Notre travail durait environ une heure et demie par jour et consistait dans la lecture d'histoires amusantes et romans d'amour" [69] [our daily work would last around an hour and a half and it would entail reading entertaining stories and romantic novels]

[NA.1]   *hawāš   hāwaš-t-ih*

        Rebuking   rebuked-I-him

        'As far as rebuking is concerned, I have rebuked him'[70]

Oftentimes, these extraposed CI may appear followed by a –*w* introducing the CI, contributing to the expression of topicalized enumerations in Lebanese and Egyptian Arabic:

[EA.2]   *bōs wi bosti. hizār wi hazzarti. liʿb wi liʿbti*

> As for kissing, you kissed. As for flirting, you flirted. As for playing, you played.[71]

[LA.ext2] أكل وأكلنا، رقص ورقصنا... ما في شي ما عملناه

        akəl   w-akalna   raʔəṣ   w-raʔaṣna

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[67] Blau's reasoning leaves original CRA examples as ام مزاح تمزح؟ ("or are you joking?") (Blau, 1967: 605) unexplained. Moreover, given that similar constructions of topicalized infinitives are also readily available in the spoken varieties of Arabic, Blau's argument is, in our opinion, a questionable one.

[68] Blau, 1967, 604.

[69] Feghali, 1935: 10; translation mine.

[70] Ingham, 1994: 43. Ingham refers to extraposed CIs as 'Cognate Topics'.

[71] From the movie: *El nōm fī-l-ʿasal* ('Sleeping in Honey').

eat.INF	and-PFV.eat.1S	dance.INF	and-PFV.dance.1S
ma	*fi*	*ši*	*ma*	*ʕamelnē*
NEG	there.is	thing	NEG	PFV.do.1S.it.M.SG

'We ate, we danced… there is nothing we did not do!'

As the previous examples show, at least in Spoken Arabic, extraposed CIs seem to function as regular topics. The infinitive in this case is the chosen form for the topicalization of the finite CH.[72] Extraposed CIs, could thus be simply considered Infinitival Cognate Topics [73], as Ingham (1994: 43) suggested, which, as infinitives in topic positions " can be used to encode states of affairs as topics" (Maslova & Bernini, 2006: 83).

In this sense, it is my impression that, at least in Spoken Arabic, these extraposed CIs, which we may as well refer to as "Infinitival Cognate Topics", have a more accentuated nominal character than that of (post-verbal) CIs. For this reason, perhaps, it is common to find in extraposition those infinitives that have been almost completely nominalized (e.g. *akəl, raʔəṣ, qraye,* etc.). [74] This, along with the function of topic, would differentiate them (but not isolate them) from the CIs studied in this dissertation.

Were the case of Spoken Arabic applicable to other Semitic languages, there would be a possibility that the existence of both pre-verbal and post-verbal positions of the CI be just a manifestation of two closely related grammatical forms. One would be a reduplication of the verb that has been fronted, therefore topicalized, while the other represents the reduplication of the verb that focuses on the event expressed by the CH.

In this case, although the joint analysis of Infinitival Cognate Topics and CIs — originally based on an excessive concern for the 'form' to the detriment of function— that has often been

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[72] This is, according to Bernini, a common practice in a variety of languages. "Many languages tend to resort to inflected forms with the least amount of specification with respect to the major variables of speech act form and topic time, such as the infinitive forms of Italian, Yiddish, Russian and German." (Bernini, 2009: 113). For more examples of extraposed CIs in the world languages see Mengozzi & Miola, 2008: 272-279.

[73] In line with type A of CIs in Biblical Hebrew (Goldenberg, 1971) and Old Babylonian (Cohen, 2004).

[74] "In Indo-European and in other languages, forms of this kind are removed from the prototype of the verb category and overlap with nouns in many aspects of their behavior" (Bernini, 2009: 113).

adopted in the literature might raise some doubts from a functional perspective, it would be also understandable given the lack of extensive and comprehensive data available in most of the studied varieties.

Another difficulty that might have added to the typological confusion is that the line between the pragmatic notions of topicalization and focus is not only thinner than what it seems, but also, practically imperceptible for scholars working with written texts and consequently deprived from any information regarding the communicative contexts of the utterances in question. With such thin a line, it is not surprising that topics and focus sometimes overlap. In fact, the function of topicalization (normally assigned to pre-verbal CIs) could have overlapped with that of focus (normally assigned to post-verbal CIs) under the umbrella of CIs in languages such as Old Babylonian (Cohen, 2004)— which exhibited two functions but only the pre-verbal extraposed position. This could indicate that the two CIs might have had a shared pre-verbal origin.

1.2.2.3.   Enclitics

Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic do not present any kind of enclitics, as it is the case in the majority of the other Semitic varieties. The review of the literature in Semitic has shown, nonetheless, that in two of the studied varieties—namely Akkadian and Ugaritic—CIs systematically present the enclitic *-ma / -m* respectively. Therefore, giving some attention to understanding the grammatical function of this enclitic may shed light on the function of CIs as a whole.

In CI constructions in Akkadian (i.e., what scholars referred to as the *parāsum (-ma) iprus* type), the enclitic particle *–ma* often appears attached to the infinitives.[75] However, while the enclitic *-ma* seems to appear very frequently in Akkadian CIs, it is almost non-existent in COs.[76] This 'emphasizing' particle marks, according to Huehnergard (1997: 325), the "logical

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[75] See examples [AKK.1] and [AKK.3] for instances of CIs with the enclitic *–ma.*

[76] Only two instances where *–ma* is attached to an accusative CI (i.e. the *parāsam iprus* type) have been documented. See Cohen, 2006: 428.

predicate of a sentence" while for Buccellatti (1996: 387) –*ma* "is more often than not associated with emphasis of limitation".[77]

Nevertheless, as the following example illustrates, it is important to bear in mind that the addition of –*ma* does not seem to be requisite, for its absence does not significantly modify the basic semantic interpretation of the utterance.

[AKK.6]   *Lā taqabi ummāmi / ṣabum ša ištu GN / illikam aniḫ kī ana birtim uššab / itnû* [CH] *lītenû* [CI] */ ištēn persum ištēn warḫam lišib liṣi-ma / persum šanûm līnīšu*

"Do not say as follows/ 'The army which came from GN is tired, / how can I serve as garrison?' / Let them *just relieve each other* (lit. (it is) to *relieve each other* that they should relieve) / Let one (army) section serve for one month / let it (then) leave and let another section replace it" [78]

The situation is similar in Ugaritic, where the so-called paronomastic infinitive (i.e. Cognate Infinitive) appears with an enclitic –*m.* Pope (1951: 124) thinks that the enclitic –*m* attached to CIs in Ugaritic indicates "merely additional emphasis" and its omission or addition does not affect the meaning perceptibly. Scholars agree that the Ugaritic –*m* is related to the aforementioned Akkadian enclitic –*ma*.

[UG.2] *lʾakm* [CI] *ʾilʾak* [CH] *[laʾāku-ma ʾilʾaku]* "I will surely send" [79]

[UG.3] *mtm* [CI] *ʾamt* [CH] *[mātu-ma / mūtu-ma ʾamūtu]* "verily I will die" [80]

According to the literature, the presence of enclitics in Akkadian and Ugaritic—two of the oldest documented Semitic languages, points directly at the correlation between the use of CIs and

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[77] In fact, Buccellatti claims that –*ma* would be precisely the best option to translate the English 'just'. Perhaps, Buccellatti's "emphasis of limitation" is, thus, equivalent to the notions of exhaustive and/or corrective focus. See 1.3.1 (Emphasis).

[78] ARM 1, 20:4'-9' from Cohen, 2004: 108.

[79] 2.30, 19-20 in Sivan, 2001: 123.

[80] 1.17 VI, 38 in Sivan 2001: 124.

the marking of logical predicates, limitation and/or focus— being all of these, as we will see in subsequent chapters, quite relevant functional remarks.

1.3. The Cognate Infinitive: Functional Features

After having reviewed what the literature had to say about the formal features of CIs, the present section will provide the reader with a brief overview of the functional features of CIs, as described in the Arabic and Semitic literature.

Unlike the formal features' review, this section will not include examples of Lebanese Arabic nor will it suggest possible functional applications of CIs in this variety. A functional analysis of CIs in LA is, in fact, the main purpose of this dissertation, and its results will be thus presented with abundant data in subsequent chapters.

It is important to bear in mind that a functional review of the literature of CIs will be necessarily shorter than a formal one, given that most previous studies have tended to focus on the latter dimension of CIs, often at the expense of the first. The main functions of CIs identified in the literature are presented here under four sections: Emphasis (1.3.1), Asseveration (1.3.2), Contrast (1.3.3), Topic (1.3.4), and Focus (1.3.5). A last section entitled 'Expressive and conversational tool' (1.3.6) gathers the most relevant comments made in the literature about the discursive and pragmatic character of the CI.

1.3.1. Emphasis

"Emphasis", closely followed by its corresponding translations and synonyms (e.g. "توكيد" "intensification", "strengthening", "reinforcing", etc.), is undisputedly the most popular functional label given to the CI throughout the literature of all Semitic varieties. This is, nonetheless, hardly a surprise for, as Ingham observed, "the term 'emphatic' is much abused in linguistics as a blanket term for undetermined distinctions" (Ingham, 1994: 148). In fact, very few of the CI descriptions that make use of this term contain an explanation of where this "emphasis" actually lies, or shed light on when or why the speaker decides to place it.

In line with the vagueness of the 'emphatic' label, some scholars have often treated CIs as redundant, literally as mere "ornaments" (Guismondi, 1913: 65) or as a "purely rhetorical" complementation (Krahmalkov, 2000: 210). This functional stance is also quite present in the

underlying implications of other qualifiers that have been traditionally used in the literature to name CIs—such as *paronomastic,* which implies some kind of pun or play on words, or *tautological*, which directly implies that this infinitive is not necessary and thus "syntactically and pragmatically insignificant" (Callaham, 2006: 4).

Fortunately, not all scholars have taken such stances. In an attempt to address a bit of the functional vagueness surrounding the CIs, some works have defined different kinds of emphasis according to the constituent that the CI reinforces. Hoffmann (1827: 340-341), for instance, defines three main functions of the CI in Syriac: (a) intensify the meaning inherent to the verb, (b) emphasize certain qualities of the sentence, (c) render the whole sentence 'more vivid'. Costaz (1997: 190) understands that it highlights either the 'factuality' or the 'intensity' of the state or the action expressed by the verb[81] while Muraoka (2005: 81) says it adds a "tone of insistence". Especially useful is the 'notional typology of emphasis' suggested by Buccellatti (1996) in his grammar of Babylonian, who specifies that emphasis can be caused as a consequence of (1) *verification* or (2) *limitation* —and identifies within the latter the notions of *contrast, excellence* and *addition* (Buccellatti, 1996: 385-389; original emphasis).

Thus, except for the very few approaches that attempted to clarify the actual nature of emphasis, a review of the literature evidences that notions such as emphasis and intensification (provided without further specifications) have been excessively used in the literature.

1.3.2. Asseveration

'Asseveration' is one of the functions commonly ascribed to CIs in the literature. The Oxford Dictionary defines *asseveration* as: "the solemn or *emphatic* declaration or statement of something", so, as one can imagine, a big part of the notional vagueness around the term of emphasis spreads also to that of 'asseveration'. I said "part of it", because authors have defined and seemingly agreed significantly more on what they mean by 'asseveration' than on what they meant by 'emphasis'.

'Asseveration' seems to be related to the expression of assertive utterances meant to add clarity in doubtful or ambiguous environments. In Syriac, CIs "sometimes have an asseverative function

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[81] "Il souligne soit la réalité, soit l'intensité de l'état ou de l'action exprimés par le verbe" (Costaz, 1997: 190)

and denote a strong assertion" (Hoffmann, 1827: 340-341; translation mine). In NENA dialects, Khan specifies that CIs can be used "to make a forceful assertion to dispel the doubt of a question posed by the interlocutor" (Khan, 2008: 732).

This asseveration seems to be also expressed by CIs in Classical Arabic, at least at the semantic level. In fact, according to the rules of eloquence, CIs should only be used in cases where the meaning of the action is doubtful or vague. Consequently, expressions such as أكل أكلا (lit. 'He ate an eating') or قعد قعودًا (lit. 'he sat a sitting'), although grammatically correct, are considered by some grammarians as rhetorically weak, since the meaning of the verbs أكل (to eat) or قعد (to sit) are not in a situation of uncertainty or doubt. In sentences like طارت السمكة في الجوّ طيرانًا (lit. 'the fish flew a flight in the air') however, the use of the CI is justified by the bizarreness of the meaning and the potential skepticism of a listener that may question the truth of the statement (Hasan, 2009: 327; translation mine; emphasis mine). In this sense, the use of "asseveration" in the literature seems to be directly related to the notion of verum focus—that we will explore in section 4.3.2.3.

In the Semitic literature, asseveration[82] is associated with the common occurrence of CIs in curses, promises and oaths. In this sense, when speakers use CIs "they commit themselves to the verity of what they say, predict, or promise" (Van der Merwe et al., 1999: 158). Not surprisingly, as I will further explain, CIs in Spoken Arabic are also very common in oaths and curses (see section 5.3.3.1 'Cognate Infinitive Curse').

1.3.3. Contrast

For some scholars, the 'emphasis' expressed by CIs comes from highlighting the CH's action in contrast to other potentially competing actions. Contrastive analyses of the CI necessarily take into consideration the discursive context in which they occur— and consequently symbolize a step ahead towards a wider understanding of the construction.

Nöldeke (2003: 235) provided examples of such contrast in Syriac, noting that some CIs emphasize the verb by contrasting the action of the verb with some other action. In Ṭurōyo, as [TU.1] illustrates, CIs are sometimes used to "give prominence to the verbal action by cancelling

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[82] Joüon (1923: §123d) calls it "affirmation", Van der Merwe et al., (1999: 158) refers to it as "verification" and Davidson (1896: 117) as "asseveration".

a competing possibility" (Ritter & Sellheim, 1990: 58-59). Similarly, in the Neo- Aramaic dialect of Barwar, the "prominence" that CIs grant to the predicate in some instances comes from a contrast with other element of the adjacent context (Khan, 2008: 730). Also in BH, in those examples that clarify the context around the CI utterances, there seems to be a clear contrast between the action marked by the CI and a second action.

Oftentimes, in the Semitic literature, contrast is related to the common occurrence of CIs in utterances that indicate an instruction or a request. Excellent examples of this are the CI occurrences attested in Old Aramaic (OAR)[83], all of them in the Sefire stele (Kim, 2009)[84]. These occurrences, when analyzed in their original context, illustrate that the CI in OAR is often used in utterances indicating instructions or requests in contrast with previous negative utterances, underlined in the following examples:

[OAR.1]   ( ) *wynll mln lḥyt / lʿly / [ʾt l] tqḥ /mlyʾ mn ydh / hskr thskrhm / bydy*

'(If anyone rants) and utters evil words against me / [you] must [not] accept / such words from him / You *must* hand them over into my hands'[85]

[OAR.2]   ( ) *wyhkn ḥlb / lts [k l]hm lhm wltʾmr lhm / šlw ʿl ʾšrkm / wlthrm nbšhm mny / rqh trqhm*

'(If someone flees from me) and they go to Aleppo / you must not gi[ve th]em food / or say to them / 'Stay quietly in your place' / not turn them from me / you *must* placate them'[86]

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[83] 'Old Aramaic' refers to the most ancient variety of the Aramaic language, which appears in the first attested texts in the Aramaic script which date back to the 9th century BCE (Mario Fales, 2011: 555).

[84] Contradicting Solá-Solé's conclusion (1961: 130), which affirmed that CI instances could not be found in early stages of Aramaic, Kim (2009: 119) provides evidence of seven CIs from Old Aramaic stele dating back to the 8th and 7th century BCE. His analysis focuses on defending the possible originality of this construction in Aramaic, thus refuting Fitzmyer's (1991: 148) thesis that points on the direct influence of Canaanite languages as an explanation of the use of CI in Old Aramaic. Nevertheless, Kim (2009:118) merely documents the seven occurrences of CIs —five of them in Sefire stele III, one in Ashur Ostraca and one in the Nerab inscriptions— of which, the last two CI instances are considered doubtful. For a detailed corpus of Old Aramaic texts see Fitzmyer, J. A. & Kaufman S. A., 1992.

[85] Sefire III, 2-3 from Morrow, 2001: 89.

[86] Sefire III, 5-6 from Morrow, 2001: 90.

Another relevant inscription, this time one in Phoenician, found on the Sarcophagus of Tabnit, king of Sidon, and dating back to the 5th century BC, shows two coordinated CIs that appear in contrast to a preceding negative utterance. Interestingly, the two actions designated by the CHs (i.e. *ptḥ, rgz)* also appear in coordination twice in previous lines of the inscription, this time as a reiterative prohibition: *ʾl ʾl tptḥ ʿlty wʾl trgzn* "Don't, don't open it and don't disturb me" (McCarter, 2003):

[PH.2]   *ʾm ptḥ tptḥ ʿlty wrgz trgzn <ʾl ykn lk zrʿ bḥym tḥt šmš>*

"If you do open (my coffin) and disturb me, <you shall not have descendants among those living under the sun>"[87]

Other instances of CIs in utterances indicating instructions or advice are also common in different varieties of contemporary Spoken Arabic. Sentence [OA.1] is an example of Sanʿaani Arabic:

[OA.1]   *lammā tijay bayt aš-šayṭān tiftaḥi ʿuyūniš tirtāḥi rāḥa*

'When you [f.s.] come to the devil's house, open your eyes and relax'[88]

1.3.4.   Topic

Pre-verbal Cognate Infinitives have been commonly classified as 'topics' in some Semitic varieties (i.e. especially in those which show a dominant pre-verbal position). According to this, CIs are a reduplication of the CHs that is topicalized by extraposition.

According to Goldenberg's (1971) classification of the Tautological Infinitive (TI), [89] which he established in the light of the study of the structure in Syriac and Babylonian Talmudic

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[87] Krahmalkov, 2000: 210. The previous explicitness of the prohibitions makes the CI work as a resumptive mechanism as well. Given that the strengthened verbal forms are part of a protasis, the emphasis here adds to the severity of the potential curse that will arise should Tabnit's prerequisites not be maintained (Kitz, 2014: 96).

[88] Watson, 1993: 145.

[89] This is probably the classification of CIs that has resonated the most in the field of Semitic studies, where it has even adapted as a theoretical background for the analysis of CIs in other Semitic languages (e.g. such as Cohen's study in Old Babylonian).

Aramaic,[90] 'topic' is one of the three functions of CIs in Semitic. Type A TIs for Goldenberg are turned into 'logical subjects' (Goldenberg, 1971: 36-49) when placed in extraposition and have, therefore, the same syntactical status than any extraposed noun or pronoun. [91] Usually, the root shared by both the CH and the CI has already appeared in the preceding sentence in some form. Thus, Type A TIs often have a resumptive character.

Following Goldenberg's classification, Cohen's affirms that the Type A of TI that he distinguishes in Old Babylonian functions as a "topicalization of the verbal lexeme" (Cohen, 2004: 106). This type of CI usually occurs with the enclitic –*ma*[92], and it is the only subtype that allows negation.

As I previously mentioned in 1.2.2.2.2.1, although often neglected in the literature, these structures, that I have referred to before as Infinitival Cognate Topics, are productive in many other languages[93] and also, although rarely and irregularly documented, in many spoken Arabic varieties.

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[90] Goldenberg's (1971) clear-cut notions of *Tautological Infinitive* and *Inner Object* (equivalent to those of CI and CO), albeit mainly applied to BH, emerge from a comparative Semitic —and even crosslinguistic— study. His rather rigid classification leaves Arabic (both written and spoken) out of the bigger group of Semitic languages where *Tautological Infinitives* (CIs) are attested, and considers the grammatical concept of '*mafʕūl muṭlaq*' a mere synonym of his notion of *Inner/Cognate Object* (CO). Needless to say, this work not only disagrees with this view, but also provides abundant evidence that proves the existence of CIs in both written and spoken varieties of Arabic. Goldenberg's notion of *Tautological Infinitive* is, therefore, a more restricting notion than the Semitic Cognate Infinitive notion this study suggests.

[91] According to Goldenberg, the isolation of the infinitive in the front position indicates that the "temporal-modal-personal situation indicated in the finite form may expressly be marked as valid only and exclusively so far as the literal meaning of the verb here is concerned" (Goldenberg, 1971: 38).

[92] However, the use of said particle in instances where the CI functions as a *topic* is regarded by Cohen (2004: 106) as a result of contamination from other subtypes of CIs—in my opinion, a rather implausible theory directly resulting from a dichotomist approach towards the notions of focus and topic.

[93] Italian: leggere, leggo, ma non capisco; French: pour vêler, a vêlera; mais on peut pas savoir au juste quand a vêlera; Spanish: él, saber, no lo sabe; German: können, könnt' ich wohl, aber… (Rapallo, 1971: 112-3).

1.3.5. Focus

The present section gathers some of the works in the literature that identify CIs as focus markers. Given the continuing discussion on the true nature of the notion of focus, as the reader will surely notice, this section inevitably juxtaposes references with very distinct understandings of focus. This is, by itself, an indicator of the conceptual and terminological chaos around the notion of focus, which I will try to clarify in Chapter 4.

According to Goldenberg's classification (1971: 112-113)— later adopted by Cohen (2004) for Old Babylonian— Type B TIs place a focus on the verbal lexeme normally for reasons of contrast or exclusiveness, while Type C TIs place the focus on the predicative link or nexus.[94] Nevertheless, despite being probably the most thorough and detailed description of CIs at the Semitic level, Goldenberg's classification has not remained exempt from criticism, given that at the practical level, many scholars have found especially hard to differentiate these two types. [95]

Later analyses of CIs in BH, such as Pereltsvaig's (2002), consider CIs to be "focused adverbial cognate objects". According to Joüon (1923: §123d) and Callaham (2010) the CI does not really place the focus on the action itself, but rather on a modality of the main verb. Meanwhile, Kim (2009: 71) believes that, pragmatically speaking, CIs in BH "put a special focus on the factuality of the proposition". For Hatav (2017), however, Kim's concept of the "factuality of the proposition" is not less vague than the notion of 'emphasis' that classic Hebrew grammarians used to fall into. Instead she affirms that the CI in BH is used, *inter alia*, for contrastive or exhaustive focus.[96]

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[94] Cohen (2004: 108) defines *nexus* as "the relationship found between the subject and the predicate", this is, between the person and the verbal lexeme (root and pattern).

[95] The main objections to his classification come from the scarcity of examples of TIs of Type B and from the vagueness with which Type C's function is described. Muraoka (1985: 91) goes as far as saying that "at least as far as Biblical Hebrew is concerned, Goldenberg is attempting to see more than there actually is". Kim (2009:71), is of the opinion that each syntactic pattern should have a single syntactic function and therefore does not seem convinced by the differentiation between subgroups of structures which share the same syntax. He blames the inaccuracy of Goldenberg's study on its excessive reliance on the Aramaic material.

[96] Her approach towards the CIAbs is sustained on Holmstedt's definition of *theme, rheme, topic* and *focus* (2009).

Such a contrastive understanding of focus is shared by Coghill (2018), who argues that in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Telkepe the CI puts the focus on the verbal lexeme of a finite verb, contrasting it with one or more alternatives. Along these lines, Mengozzi & Miola argue that in most NENA dialects, pre-verbal CIs function as markers of "focus on the state of affairs, and on the truth-value of the proposition (often in contrast to what might be expected from the context)" (Mengozzi & Miola, 2018: 298; emphasis mine).

On the matter of contrastive focus, Kim highlights in a brilliant reflection the relevance of both the speaker's assumptions and communicative context in the functional analysis of CI utterances:

> When tautological infinitives are used for contrastive focus, contrast can be contextual contrast, situational contrast, or the contrast created by general knowledge. In other words, the constituents in a contrastive relation with the focused element can be observed in the contextual background or assumed by the speaker in the situational communication settings or in the knowledge of the world shared by the speaker and the addressee. (Kim, 2009: 75)

Another recent important contribution to the literature is Shachmon & Marmorstein's (2018) detailed analysis of CIs in Rural Palestinian Arabic (RPA). These scholars suggest that, semantically, CIs "place the focus on a semantic feature of the verbal event and exhaust its semantic potential, thereby indicating that the event is carried out to its outmost possible effectiveness" (Shachmon & Marmorstein, 2018: 44), identifying the notions of phasality and boundedness as "especially relevant" to understand the interaction between the CH and the CI.

1.3.6. *Expressive and conversational tool*

Although generally reserved for the very end of CI descriptions, the expressive nature of the CI has been effectively noticed by some Semitics scholars.

Regarding CIs in BH, Davidson (1896: 118) suggested that the CI construction's emphasis is especially felt in passages where the speaker (a) gives a report; (b) repeats the words of another; or (c) repeats his own thoughts. In this line, Muraoka (1985: 89) later concluded that the CI construction is rarely found in simple narrative prose but rather it seems to be mainly used in "lively (and often strong emotional coloring) conversation and legal texts".

These arguments are corroborated by Kim (2009: 76), who affirms that CIs in BH tend to be found in conversational dialogues or monologues— as for the few occurrences of CI that appear

in a narrative frame, Kim suggests that they may express the narrator's involvement in the story. Such a distribution leads him to identify this construction as a special focus marker which is thus used in "more lively communicative settings" (Kim, 2009: 76; emphasis mine). Eskhult (2000: 32), drawing on Rieder's work (1872), suggests that CIs found in 'discourse' contexts "emphasize a point in the utterance by putting the inf.abs. in fronted extraposition" while, in narration, CIs expand and expound a situation.[97]

Such considerations throw into relief the oral character of CIs and grant importance to the speaker's involvement towards the utterance and towards the interlocutor(s). In this respect, according to Muraoka (1985: 88), it is necessary to bear in mind that the basic idea behind the different types of CI is the isolation and distinction of the verbal form, which is thereby stressed. By placing this stress, the speaker would manifest a strong personal interest in what is expressed by the verb as well as an implicit invitation (or even a request) for the interlocutor to concentrate his/her attention on that specific part of the speech[98]. As a result, according to Van der Merwe et al. "when a speaker has used this construction, a listener would not be able to claim at a later date that the speakers have not expressed themselves clear enough" (Van der Merwe et al.:1999: 158). These arguments render likely the conjecture that CI in BH were presumably accompanied by a specific intonation which carry certain shades of meaning that, given the lack of a conversational context, can hardly ever be reproduced accurately in translations (Davidson, 1896: 117).

On the expressive power of CIs in Moroccan Arabic and Maltese, Maas (2005: 417) highlights the oral and spontaneous character of this feature that makes its elicitation a troublesome task, and affirms: "There is evidently an expressive moment bound to this construction and they are thus most common in a lively spoken register. Therefore, these expressions can be found in quoted speech, especially in very emotional verbal exchanges" (Maas, 2005: 417; emphasis mine).

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[97] Previous to this conclusion, Eskhult (2000) study conveniently explores the relation between the post-verbal position of the CI and its predominance in the narrative prose.

[98] As a result, according to Van der Merwe et al. (1999: 158) "when a speaker has used this construction, a listener would not be able to claim at a later date that the speakers have not expressed themselves clear enough".

For Shachmon & Marmorstein's CIs in Rural Palestinian Arabic are used pragmatically "in order to display emotionality and involvement" (Shachmon & Marmorstein, 2018: 59; emphasis mine). In their opinion, speakers use CIs when wishing to "communicate their highly emotional and agitated stance" (Shachmon & Marmorstein's, 2018: 56; emphasis mine). Especially common within evaluative narrations, CIs in RPA are a powerful expressive tool which enable speakers to express a series of intense, strong emotions while "involving the listener and evoking such strong feeling on his part too" (Shachmon & Marmorstein's, 2018: 56).

A review of the functional feature of the CI as reported in the literature across Semitic CIs has revealed that Cognate Infinitives are thought to be especially effective in placing a focus on different constituents of the utterance (i.e. verbal lexeme, factuality of the proposition, truth-value of the proposition, etc). In addition to this, the literature defines CIs as linguistic features with a marked oral character that occur within lively and emotional communicative contexts and that conveys the speaker's expressive and involved stance.

1.4. Conclusions

The present chapter has provided the reader with a broad comparative description of the formal variation that Cognate Infinitives present across time and space within the Semitic continuum. This wider image of CIs revealed that important typological mistakes may often result from an excessive reliance on syntactic and morphological elements as well as from isolating Arabic language and treating it as alien to its Semitic sisters.

At the functional level, this chapter collected the pool of suggestions that have been made in the literature about the CI's function in Semitic, which represent a valuable addition to the overused explanations of 'emphasis' and 'intensification' that unfortunately monopolize the literature on CIs in Arabic. Moreover, the functional review suggests that the possible functions of CIs in the different Semitic varieties—such as contrast or focus—may be uncovered by considering the communicative context that surrounds CI occurrences and grant it the relevance it deserves.

This chapter has also highlighted important gaps in the literature and suggests an appropriate methodology to fill them. In this case, the manifest lack of agreement with regard to the function

of CIs, paired with the disparity and dissonance of the existent opinions, points to the necessity of a comprehensive analysis of the CI that attempts to explain in depth their communicative function in the hopes of avoiding the vagueness of previous form-oriented and isolating analyses.

After carefully reviewing previous studies on the CI we can affirm that the best way to do so is within a theoretical framework and through a methodology that, like the one I present in the next chapter, not only acknowledge the conversational and expressive natures of this linguistic and communicative device but also revolve around them.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

"Basic information about syntactic structure cannot be derived from experimentation in the absence of prior knowledge derived from observational methods."

Milroy, 1997: 149

2.1. Introduction

The present chapter aims to provide the reader with a detailed depiction of the methodology that underlies this study. This includes a rationale of the linguistic theories supporting the choice of the methodology as well as a description of the processes of data collection and analysis that shed light on both the strengths and the limitations of the methodology chosen.

2.2. Language as a Communicative Social Tool

This study takes as its most basic premise that language has an essentially communicative and social function. Speakers communicate through a linguistic system thus granting it life, 'simply' by putting it into use. Language is thus born from interaction, and it is precisely the processes of human interaction along with general human cognitive processes which form and shape languages (The "Five Graces Group", 2009: 1).

Repeated occurrences of linguistic interaction within different communicative environments eventually generate a diversity of linguistic forms that will be used with more or less frequency. Interaction is, therefore, the engine of language change and language development, while the very use of a linguistic system is what keeps it constantly changing; in a perpetual state of transformation. Thus, language is fundamentally a social tool that behaves as a dynamic, ever-changing system.

On the one hand, as a social tool, language's origins and functions are also dependent on its role in human's social life (Croft, 2009). This means that, if we aim to understand the real functioning of language, we cannot do so outside of a social and communicative context. On the other hand, given that language behaves as a dynamic ever-changing system, its users interact with one another in different ways depending on the social and linguistic environment. Thus, if we

mean to understand the emergent trends of this system and the 'nature' of linguistic change, we must do so through a theoretical framework that (1) grants due importance to the notion of 'social and communicative context' and (2) revolves around the notion of change rather than denying its existence.

On this basis, although the approach of my study could be considered 'functional' in nature, I do not closely follow any particular theory of functional paradigms. Instead, I opted to develop my own theoretical framework, which I call the 'Multidimensional Model of Communication,' and which respects the emergent and dynamic nature of language and springs from the integration of functional-pragmatic and socio-cognitive approaches to communication. This model will be elaborated in detail in the next chapter.

Although emergence and dynamicity are clear traits of language, given the place it occupies in the social context (Croft, 2000), many traditional approaches to linguistics have treated languages as rigid and fixed systems of symbols that find their rightful order in structural grammars and that are governed by pre-established sets of rules. Moreover, the execution of these kinds of static conceptualizations of language and its grammar have often come hand in hand with the creation and perpetuation of linguistic dichotomies: language and speech; signifier and signified (Saussure, 1916); innate and acquired; nature and nurture (Chomsky, 1986).

The present study is based on a very different view, one that assumes that both grammatical meaning and form can only come into being through the repetition in time of certain instances of language use within diverse communicative contexts, that is, from interaction (Bybee, 2006). Speakers (re)create grammar through using language in and for communication, based on patterns they have heard previously. As a result, the notion of grammar is deeply and essentially linked to that of communication. For this reason, in this work there will always be an intended communicative reading of notions such as 'grammatical description' or 'grammatical function.' In other words, a 'grammatical description of the Cognate Infinitive will be understood to include, and to be incomplete without, an exploration of its communicative and social dimensions.

Shifting from a structural view of grammar to a communicative one also involves shifting from a form-oriented understanding of language into a speaker-oriented one, for linguistic conventions derive from the communicative experiences of every speaker of a community. In this respect, this work has found inspiration in previous studies on spoken Arabic that recognize the centrality of

speaker control at different levels of language use (Brustad, 2000; Haeri, 1996; Belnap, 1991; Holes, 1983).

Inevitably, the more one takes due heed of the relevance of speakers' role as creators of grammar, the more one will shift from the study of language in isolation to the study of language in context, which includes both the study of linguistic forms in their corresponding communicative and social context, as well as the study of linguistic varieties in their corresponding geographical, historical and cultural context.

As I see it, such a series of shifts in the understanding of language and grammar must inevitably result in the dissolution of traditional dichotomies and rigid classifications in favor of more integrative analyses through the use of continua and spectra rather than categories.[99] In line with this view, my theoretical framework and analysis will approach the grammatical (including, communicative) description of the CI in LA by integrating traditionally opposed notions such as the core and the emergent, the referential and the affective, or the informative and the performative. This study argues that these 'static' and dichotomic notions are but the result of the artificial extraction of linguistic absolutes which otherwise represent stages of fluid and flexible communicative continua.

2.3. Research Questions

Previous analyses of the CI tried to answer questions about its formal features and its syntactic and semantic function. Most scholars attempted to classify them and categorize their different subtypes (Goldenberg, 1971; Cohen, 2004; 2006) and some even tried to find systematical adequate translations according to these typologies (Schachmon & Marmorstein, 2018).

The present work poses a simple albeit challenging question:

(1) What is the grammatical function of the Cognate Infinitive in Lebanese Arabic?

If we consider the aforementioned definition of 'grammar', then, in order to understand the grammatical function of the CI in LA, we would need to understand the social and

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[99] "The speaker's own internal grammar is not structured entirely in categories, but includes continua as well, and this grammar allows him or her a great degree of control in how he or she presents information to his or her interlocutor" (Brustad, 2000: 9).

communicative contexts in which CIs occur in LA, to be able to grasp finally, the socio-communicative motivations that prompt speakers to make use of these tools. Consequently, the underlying questions behind the main research question would be the following:

(1.1)   What is (are) the communicative function(s) of CIs in LA?

   (1.1.1) In which communicative contexts do LA speakers use the CI?

   (1.1.2) What are LA speakers' communicative motivations to use the CI?

(1.2)   What is (are) the social function(s) of CIs in LA?

   (1.2.1) In which social contexts do LA speakers use the CI?

   (1.2.2) What are LA speakers' social motivations to use the CI?

2.4. Methodology: Challenges and Approaches

This study presents the results of a four-year investigation (2015-2019) that took place in Lebanon (mostly in Beirut) and that was based primarily on a participant-observation method of data gathering. The following sections explain in detail the elements of this investigation: data collection, corpus, and data analysis, along with the challenges associated with it.

2.4.1. Methodological Challenges

In his study on *Syntactic Reduplication in Arabic,* Maas already highlighted that the oral and spontaneous character of the Cognate Infinitive makes its elicitation a "troublesome task" (Maas, 2005: 417).[100] This statement sheds light on both the methodological challenges of the research topic as well as on the methodological limitations of previous studies.

As we saw in Chapter 1, the Semitic literature defines CIs as linguistic features with a marked oral character that occur within lively and emotional communicative contexts. This is also the case in Lebanese Arabic. In fact, I believe that the most significant challenges that the study of CIs presents are (1) their marked conversational and emotional nature, (2) the variety of linguistic, social and communicative contexts in which they occur, and (3) the extreme difficulty of eliciting them (discussed further in section 2.4.2).

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[100] In this study, Maas uses the name of "reduplicated *maṣdar*" and studies its formal and functional features in Moroccan Arabic and Maltese.

The corresponding methodological limitations of previous studies on the CI results from the fact that they did not succeed in addressing the aforementioned challenges sufficiently. In my opinion, the great majority of the limitations of previous studies spring from one main methodological challenge: examples in the corpora are not adequately contextualized both at the discursive and at the social level. Given the variety of communicative and social contexts where the CI appears, as well as the marked conversational character of this feature, only a corpus containing well-contextualized instances that have been collected in a variety of social contexts would be able to truly account for the full functional spectrum of CIs. In this respect, I believe previous studies did not cast their data-collecting web wide enough in terms of variety of communicative and social situations.

Of course, some previous works, especially those on extant Semitic languages and on strictly written varieties, are inevitably based on data extracted from written texts. By analyzing the CI occurrences of a very restricted corpus (e.g. that of a specific book, such as Talmon's on the Qur'ān [1999]) researchers not only limit their results to a specific written variety, but also to a very specific register and to its corresponding specific linguistic functions.

Other studies of CIs in spoken varieties make use of single genre-corpora, which are often restricted to narration. This method of collection or elicitation tends to exclude interaction and turn-taking, which together constitute the emergent dimension of communication. While narration provides excellent material for analyzing many linguistic structures, there are others that tend to occur only in interactive settings.

My experience researching the CI has shown me that the lack of contextual and social variation within linguistic corpora renders the data in them of little use for studying sociolinguistically complex structures.[101] I thus offer the present work as an attempt to broaden the way we document and study spoken language, in the hopes that participant observation will claim a place in linguistics.

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[101] As Milroy & Milroy (1999) point out, some linguistic studies do not measure language use in specific situations, but rather "collect their data by means of standardized, well-controlled experimental types of procedure which differ considerably from everyday communicative events" (Milroy & Milroy, 1999: 105).

Even a well-integrated researcher may fail at collecting useful data, should (s)he choose unhelpful methods for data collection. In my case, the path to choosing an appropriate methodology was rather long and full of lessons.

The first phase of my investigation was characterized by constant observations, the fine-tuning of data collection methods, and the creation, confirmation and correction of preliminary impressions on the formal and functional features of CIs in LA. The main sources of data collection during this phase were: (1) sociolinguistic interviews; (2) a review of the literature; and (3) acceptability tests. [102]

(1) Sociolinguistic interviews: Probably the most significant of the limitations that sociolinguistic investigations face is what Labov aptly described as the observer's paradox. Researchers are often faced with the contradiction between their wish to elicit as informal a sample as possible, and the irremediable changes that the attention brought to the respondent's speech by the researcher may cause (Mallinson et al., 2013).

The effects of the observer's paradox were patent in the seven socio-linguistic interviews I carried out with a selection of LA native speakers, searching for a spontaneous narration about a topic of their choice that they had to be especially enthusiastic or emotional about. Not only was the number of occurrences was relatively low in comparison to the real frequency I had previously sensed (three occurrences in almost 15 hours of recorded speech; all of them coming from two of the seven speakers), but also, I observed that the few occurrences were quite similar in function, and they did not represent the complex spectrum of functions that I had perceived during previous informal observations.

I understood that a high level of social and linguistic integration would not compensate for the methodological mistake I had been making. By choosing a sociolinguistic interview as a main data-collection method I was depriving my participants of a natural social and communicative context. In doing so, I was neglecting the essential role that real interaction and turn-taking play in communication, thus preventing the speakers from creating a series

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[102] This research project was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of the American University of Beirut (Protocol ID: KS1.06).

of assumptions and emergent intentions[103]— which happen to be essential factors for triggering the use of CIs in LA as I will demonstrate later.

(2) Review of the literature: Comparison is essential for any researcher to acquire a real and profound knowledge of the true nature of a linguistic feature. In fact, comparison is not only useful "to relativize a phenomenon that we tend to consider as outstanding" but also necessary "to understand the role of the specific grammar of a dialect in leading to a type of evolution" (Ibrahim, 2011: 128). In this spirit, I carried out a thorough review of the relatively scarce literature on CIs, whose main conclusions I provided in Chapter 1. The purpose of this review was to gain awareness on the formal and functional variation that CIs shows along the Arabic and Semitic continuums in order to be able to better evaluate what were (1) the morphological and syntactical factors that effectively differentiated CIs from COs, and (2) the pragmatic and discursive factors that could hold the key to a deeper understanding of the CI's function.

(3) Acceptability test: The difficulty of analyzing syntactic features such as the CI lies partly in the fact that "it can never be guaranteed that a sufficient quantity of tokens of a given type of construction will ever appear in a piece of spontaneous speech" (Milroy, 1997: 144). For this reason, in order to gain further insights into the constructions and on how they are produced and received by speakers, I decided to carry out an acceptability study of both COs and CIs structures among native speakers of LA. Taking Labov's and Harris' studies on syntactic variation (Labov, 1972; Harris, 1984) as models, I developed a questionnaire[104] that aimed to present respondents with a series of sentences including a variety of CI and CO constructions —targeting relevant morphosyntactic factors— to analyze their gradient of acceptability among LA native speakers (Appendix III) and to elicit the participants'

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[103] See section 3.2.1.4 (Assumptions) and section 3.2.2.1.1 (Core and Emergent Intentions) in Chapter 3.

[104] The questionnaire was piloted first through a focus-group interview. A group of 4-6 participants meeting the requirements explained above were called to an informal assembly to elicit acceptability and native perceptions, feelings and ideas about CIs and COs in LA through some language samples. At the end of the initial discussion, a preliminary interview was conducted with the whole group following a technique of cognitive interviewing (Campbell-Kibler, 2013). The purpose of this was to try to ensure that the instrument would not fail to include relevant topics and to make sure that the chosen questions were meaningful and salient to the respondents (Garrett et al., 2003).

impressions of their grammatical function.[105] I personally interviewed 40 male and female LA native speakers[106] of different legal age groups from different origins (within Lebanon). The results of these tests were useful to confirm and refute some of my preliminary hypothesis on CIs—especially as far as formal features are concerned— as well as to elicit more pragmatically related data. Nevertheless, the participants' remarks about function were too vague, falling into the same conceptual obscurity of previous descriptions of CIs, and oftentimes too contradictory to be treated as conclusive or reliable data. For these reasons, the full report of the results will not be included in this study. However, those conclusions extracted from these tests' results that could be indicative of an important trend about the speakers' impressions will be included in the analysis.

2.4.3. Data collection: Participant Observation

The data collection methods that were applied in this study result directly from the application of the linguistic theories presented in section 2.2. If language is a human phenomenon born from social interaction, then accurate linguistic descriptions need to be based on abundant empirical data that have been observed or elicited through extensive fieldwork within the specific community of speakers whose variety is being described. In other words, "only in the authentic setting do we get complete information about the language, the text being naturally linguistically and socially integrated" (Eksell, 1995: 63; emphasis mine).

Although my focused research on CIs started in 2015, the actual full research process behind this study lasted a total of the eight years during which I lived as a participant observer in Beirut, Lebanon.[107] The linguistic set of skills I developed over this period opened for me the doors to a

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[105] Even in natural situations that do not involve a sociolinguistic interview, the speakers may feel the need to move upwards on the speech continuum. This is the main reason why I decided to use *Arabizi* as a writing system for the LA examples provided in the acceptability test (Appendix III)— to stay away from potential interferences caused by the Arabic writing system, which, in Lebanon is tightly linked to CA and MSA. Also, although the questionnaire is written in English for the purpose of this dissertation, all questions were introduced and explained personally to the participants in LA.

[106] The common denominator of the participants is that they were all identified by themselves and by other speakers as being native speakers of LA and that they had resided in the country for at least 80% of their lives.

[107] I have had the privilege to spend the four-year period of my PhD residing in Beirut, which made it possible for me to conduct thorough and continuous observations of LA native speakers' linguistic interactions. Previous to

whole community of speakers, giving me access to their culture, history and traditions. However, it was the personal and emotional involvement that I felt towards Lebanon and towards Lebanese Arabic that played a big role in helping me integrate into these speakers' lives, dreams and fears. Such generous and intimate encounters, which soon became also a great part of my own social and personal life, shaped the vast, profound, and life-changing experience I had the chance to live in Lebanon. This experience eventually enabled me to become linguistically and socially integrated, both as a researcher and as a human being. This linguistic and social integration is, undoubtedly, the stepping stone of this study and one of the factors that enabled the fieldwork to be extensive and comprehensive enough to provide me with a body of significant and reliable data.

After my unsuccessful experience with sociolinguistic interviews I realized that if I had been able to sense that the data I was extracting was limited, it was only because through previous random observations I had already been exposed to a greater variety of CIs —this is, that I had already been exposed to a greater variety of social contexts— than what sociolinguistic interviews could offer me. Paradoxically enough, from the beginning of the investigation, I had had at my reach the most appropriate methodology for the collection and subsequent analysis of CIs in LA— carrying out a thorough, continuous and systematic participant-observation method during a total estimation of 7200-7500 hours.

Participant observation is the main method used by anthropologists. Fieldwork through this method requires "active looking, improving memory, informal interviewing, writing detailed field notes, and perhaps most importantly, patience" (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002: vii). One of the essential requirements for a research to conduct participant observation is to have spent a considerable amount of time in the context (s)he is studying. Both a long experience and a high degree of integration facilitate 'prolonged engagement', which is necessary to establish trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). My years in Lebanon granted me the opportunity to participate in a higher number and a wider range of activities and situations, and choosing a participant-observation method allowed me to benefit from the wide variety of speakers and social contexts that I had gained access to through these activities. As time passed, I grew convinced that, as Kawulich

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that, I lived in Beirut since 2010 (four years before the beginning of my PhD), allowed me to reach a level of command of the Lebanese Arabic variety that enabled me to participate fully in group conversations with LA speakers.

(2005) points out, participant-observation was not only the best way, but also the only way to collect data for my study.

In the studies that Milroy (1977) and Labov et al. (1968) carried out in Belfast and Harlem respectively, the fact that fieldworkers adopted the role of participant observers diminished considerably the effects of the so called observer's paradox. Similarly, the limitations imposed by the observer's paradox became drastically minimized when, rather than an observer, I started to approach data collection as an active (often indispensable) element of the communicative and social setting of the utterances. Hence, the range of communicative and social contexts from which the data was extracted was, in principle, similar to that of a LA native speaker of a similar age, sex and educational level, minus the lack of linguistic consciousness that characterizes native speakers' natural relation with their mother tongues.

Although choosing this method implied becoming a researcher throughout my waking hours, data collection rarely felt like a burden. Most of the time, in fact, I would not be aware that I was 'collecting data' until someone would utter a CI. Here is where the process would start. First, I would continue the conversation as long and naturally as possible to make sure the speaker remained unaware of having used a CI. Then, as discreetly as possible, I would carefully record the details of the occurrence, which would include details about the speaker, hearer, discursive and situational context. Although I was not always able to take full descriptions of the details, a tidy version of the entries of every occurrence I took manually would normally include the points illustrated in Table 3:

Table 3: Information collected about CI instances through a participant-observation method

[LA.X]	AGE	SEX	ORIGIN	OBSERVATIONS (intentions, assumptions, reactions, emotional states=)
SPEAKER				
HEARER				
RELATIONSHIP SPEAKER- HEARER				
OCCURRENCE				
DISCURSIVE CONTEXT	*before*			
	after			
	alternatives			
SITUATIONAL CONTEXT				

The lack of a direct and simple isomorphic relationship between function and form entails that speakers can —and actually do— exercise "a great deal of choice in the way they encode their meanings" (Milroy, 1997: 144). Syntactic variation is, therefore, a result of this choice. For this reason, in my notes and observations, I always paid special attention to the speaker's apparent intentions, feelings, and possible assumptions. In many of the instances, when the circumstances allowed it, I would ask the speaker *a posteriori* about his/her motivations for that specific use of the CI and on his/her impressions on whether (s)he felt there was a relationship between his/her choice of using a CI and the specificities of the communicative setting in question.

Through the systematic recording of CI occurrences throughout the nearly three years that this second phase of data collection lasted, I created a corpus of CI in LA (Appendix II) which was the main instrument I relied on for the data analysis.

2.4.4. The Corpus

My corpus includes 133 CI occurrences in LA. Among these, three different kinds of CI occurrences can be distinguished according to the collection technique applied for their collection[108]:

(1) CI occurrences within communicative instances where I played an active role, by being one of the interlocutors. These instances represent 59.40% of the corpus occurrences. Informants of this kind of instances belong to the first and second order zone of my social network (Milroy, 1987)— which roughly includes friends, colleagues, acquaintances, workmates, etc. along with their friends and family.

(2) CI occurrences within communicative instances where my role in the communicative setting was either inexistent or passive— this is, where I had overheard CI occurrences and I was able to capture and record the necessary contextual information required by my data collection criteria to include them in the corpus. These instances represent 20.30% of the corpus occurrences. Informants of this kind of instances were native speakers of LA from a broader network.

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[108] The different origins of the instances are specified under the 'source' of every instance of the corpus in Appendix II.

(3) CI occurrences extracted from Lebanese TV and radio shows, films, songs, and theater plays. These instances represent 20.30% of the corpus.

Communicative theories on language maintain that the inner grammatical 'rules' that native speakers apply every time they make use of a particular structure, such as the CI, are a result of a dynamic process of synthesis of the use of all previous occurrences to which they have been exposed during their lives. The body of linguistic experiences of any native speaker includes communicative instances coming from diverse sources, and where speakers play both active and passive communicative roles. All of them, without exception, contributed to shaping the grammatical function of CIs in the mind of the speakers, as well as in its evolution and change through time and space.

I decided to include all (1), (2) and (3) in my corpus —although in different proportions—, in an attempt to design a solid and realistic corpus that reflects as much as possible the same kinds of exposure that native speakers have. Figure 1 and Table 4 illustrates the proportions of the total of instances gathered in my corpus according to their different collection techniques.
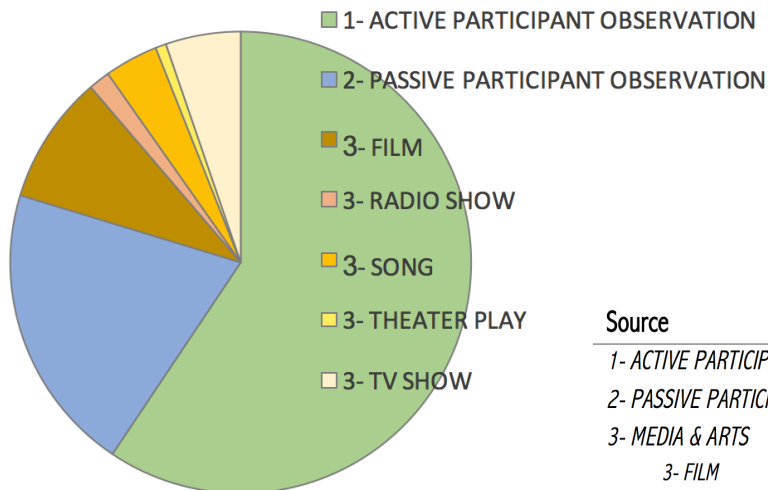
Figure 1: Corpus instances according to source

Source		
1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	79	59.40%
2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	27	20.30%
3- MEDIA & ARTS	27	20.30%
3- FILM	12	9.02%
3- RADIO SHOW	2	1.50%
3- SONG	5	3.76%
3- THEATER PLAY	1	0.75%
3- TV SHOW	7	5.26%
Total	133	100.00%

Table 4: Corpus instances according to source

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CI occurrences were excluded from the corpus when (a) I did not obtain the necessary contextual information as required by the data collection criteria specified above; and (b) there was reason to doubt that the speaker was a native speaker of Lebanese Arabic.

Needless to say, in (1) instances where I played an active role in the communicative instance, the speakers of all the CI utterances included in the corpus were duly informed and asked for their consent, which they all generously granted me— usually accompanied by thorough explanations and curious inquiries on my investigation and analysis. In all cases, and as an additional measure to protect the privacy of all my informants, all examples in this dissertation have been coded by participant role (Speaker, Hearer), respecting the anonymity of both parties. Other interlocutors that may have been mentioned in the instances are referred to by their initials.

2.4.5. Approaching the data

The analysis of the data was of a qualitative nature and focused on— but was not limited to— the pragmatic and semantic features of CIs in LA. All occurrences recorded manually through the data collection were recorded in an Excel sheet with all their formal and pragmatic details.

The many sources on general linguistics and communication theory I reviewed in the early stages of the investigation[109] provided me with tremendously valuable theoretical insights and helped me identify the pragmatic factors I had to focus on. As my formal understanding of the form of the construction increased, and the formal patterns and their corresponding exceptions became clear and stable, I was able to pay full attention to the pragmatic and discursive features of CIs, which are the features provided in the abridged version of the corpus offered in Appendix II. On the one hand, the literature provided me with a big part of the terminology I needed to explain my data, on the other hand, it inspired the design of the 'Multidimensional Model of Communication', that I use as a theoretical framework for this study (see Chapter 3). This theoretical framework, in sync with socio-cognitive approaches, grants a great deal of relevance to the speaker's agency over the use of language.[110] Consequently, during the analysis of the data,

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[109] The review of the literature included mainly functional, pragmatic and socio-cognitive approaches. See section 3.1.

[110] "It follows from the assumption of the non-randomness of variation that the speaker has some degree of control over the structures she or he uses" (Brustad, 2000: 7).

attention was especially paid to both the informational (cognitive) and affective states of the speaker, and to the different intentions that emerge as different communicative and social circumstances reshape these states through interaction.[111]

Due to the nature of the construction on which the present study is focused, as well as the methodological approach I chose to analyze it, the data analysis of this study entailed a constant process of re-adjustment of the theoretical notions and frameworks applied and re-negotiation of my own ever-changing assumptions about the construction's function. During this process, when doubts arose, I always had the fortune to be able to consult the opinions of native speakers of Lebanese and other varieties of Arabic, and the privilege to count on the invaluable expert advice of specialists in both general linguistics and in Arabic language and dialectology.

2.4.6. Presenting the data

The analysis of the data collected in the corpus will be the subject of the following chapters. Due to spatial limitations, not all examples in the corpus can be cited in the analysis, but they remain available to the reader in Appendix II. In all cases, CI instances from the corpus will be presented for analysis including the following elements (as illustrated in Figure 2):

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[111] The different informational and affective aspects I focused on in the analysis are thoroughly explained and illustrated with data from the corpus in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.
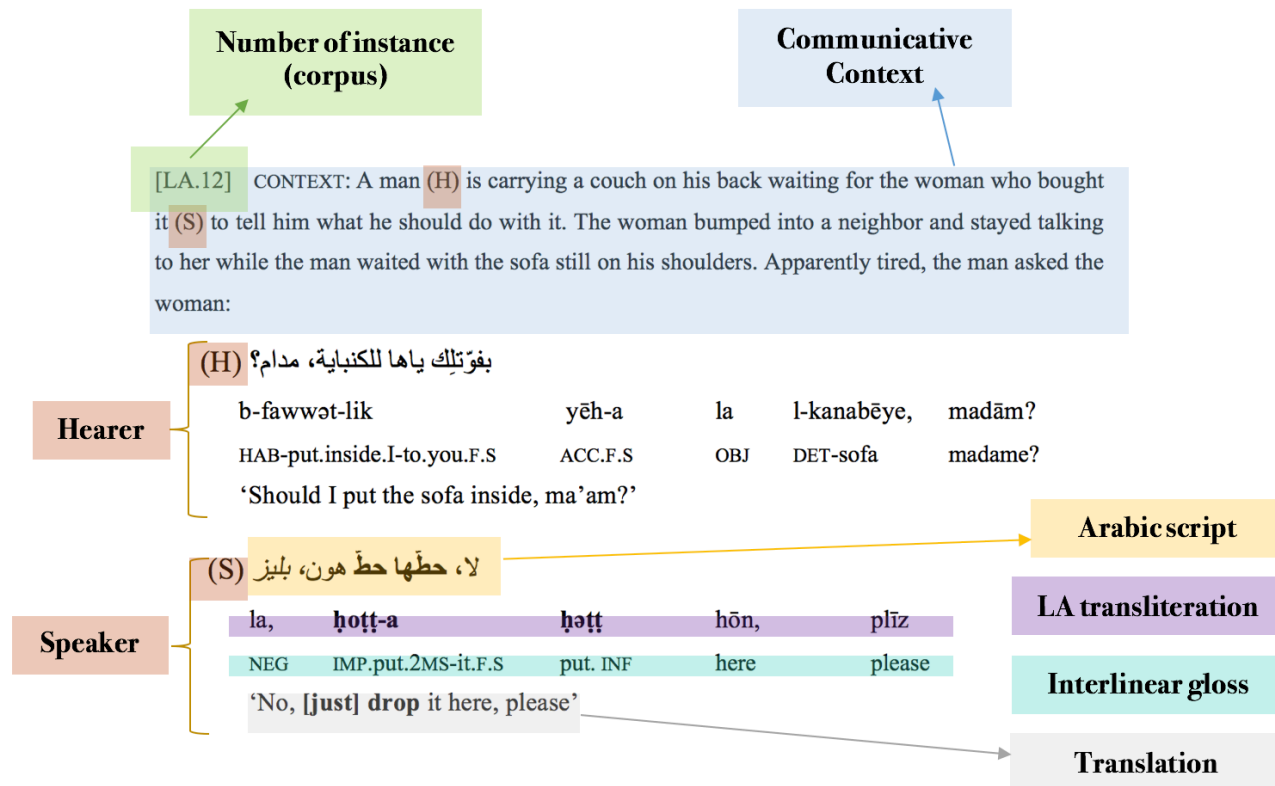
Figure 2: Example of CI instance in LA as presented in the data analysis

1. Number of instance: CI instances in LA gathered in the corpus will be numbered and preceded by the letters LA (Lebanese Arabic) (i.e. [LA. ⁿ]). The number assigned to every CI example corresponds to its number of instance within the corpus. This will allow the reader to consult the corpus (Appendix I and Appendix II) for further details of a concrete CI utterance.

   This system will help the reader differentiate CI examples in LA from two other types of examples that are provided in this study: (a) CI examples in another languages—which will be numbered and preceded by their corresponding abbreviation (e.g. [BH.3])[112]— and (b) other general examples in a variety of languages (which don't contain CIs) and will be illustrative of different linguistic matters—which will be simply enumerated (e.g. [14]).

2. Communicative context: In the body of this dissertation, CI instances in LA from the corpus will be presented preceded by their communicative context that includes information that will allow the reader to able to identify the speaker (S) and the hearer (H),

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[112] For a list of the abbreviations used for different languages see section Abbreviations and Acronyms.

along with their relation and the relevant communicative circumstances surrounding the utterance (or lack thereof).

3. CI utterance: The whole LA utterance containing a CI will be provided in the Arabic script, and in a phonemic transliteration of Lebanese Arabic, along with an interlinear gloss and an English translation. [113] In this study, the interlocutor uttering the CI will be considered and labelled as 'Speaker' while the interlocutors will be labelled 'Hearer(s)'. In the case of multiple hearers having a relevant role in the communicative situation, they are numbered as H_1, H_2, etc. In those cases, where previous or subsequent utterances that were uttered by hearers are considered to be fundamental for the analysis of the CI instance, the instance will provide a detailed reproduction of these utterances as well.

2.4.7. Lebanese Arabic

'Lebanese Arabic' may on the face of it seem too vague a term to be useful especially in the context of linguistic description. In fact, this term was not commonly used in traditional linguistic works describing the Arabic varieties spoken in Lebanon.[114] This is not surprising if we consider that during the 20th century, the unity of Lebanon as a political entity has never been agreed on: it obtained statehood in 1943 and went through a long civil war and several periods of foreign occupation, in addition to extensive foreign political intervention. One can imagine then the tremendous amount of variation that the actual meaning of the word 'Lebanese' and its cultural, religious, social and political implications has experienced over the last 100 years. If we add to this the social linguistic variation existing in these territories (Feghali, 1919; 1928; Barthélemy, 1954; El-Hajje, 1954; Fleisch, 1963, 1974; Jiha, 1964; Abu-Haidar, 1979; Zein, 1981; Tohme, 1989; Srage, 1997; Germanos, 2007; 2009; 2011) and the fact that linguistic varieties transcend political borders, it becomes obvious why agreeing on a common definition of what 'Lebanese' means has been and still remains a work in progress.

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[113] To know more about the criteria behind the decisions concerning the writing of LA in the Arabic script, the phonemic transliteration of Lebanese Arabic and for a list of the abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses see section Notes on Transcriptions and Glosses.

[114] More generic terms such as 'Syrian' and 'Levantine' were used.

For the purpose of this study, I refer to Lebanese Arabic as the "mixed, representative dialect with features from both the mountain and Beirut" (Thackston, 2003: viii). In other words, Lebanese Arabic is for me, simply, what native speakers recognize and accept as Lebanese Arabic. Although such an inclusive definition leaves space for all urban and rural varieties, however, it is worth mentioning that this study inevitably reflects a marked urban bias, with a preponderance of a variety that I refer to as 'Beirut koine'.[115] This preponderance is contingent to the circumstances of the data collection— given that I speak exclusively the Beirut koine, it was inevitable that, in those communicative situations where I was an interlocutor, the speakers would accommodate to this variety.[116] It would be logical to speculate, then, that many of the CI utterances included in the corpus belong thus to the Beirut koine. However, it is essential to remember that this does not exclude them from being possible in other regional varieties. In fact, both the variety of origins of

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[115] This is not the traditional dialect of Beirut, but rather a variety which emerged in Beirut in the 20th century, among both incomers and native Beirutis. The historical socio-political circumstances that Beirut lived as an urban center during the 19th and 20th century made the city a fertile ground for the emergence and development of a koineized urban variety that I will refer to as the Beirut koine. Notwithstanding its perhaps misleading name, this variety is not limited to the geographical boundaries of Beirut, but rather has become almost a standard variety often identified as *əl-ḥake l-ʕāde* (the normal [way of] speaking) or simply as *lebnēne* (Lebanese). Born in an ethnic and religious melting pot, this variety soon became a vehicle of communication among members of very diverse communities and remained relatively neutral until today. This is probably why it is used as the main variety in Lebanese media and, to some extent, in the production of local culture (Germanos, 2007; 2009; 2011).

[116] The accommodation to this variety is, nonetheless, related to the urban context in general, and not only to the interlocutor's variety. Previous studies on LA native speakers' attitudes (Iriarte Díez, 2016) suggest that the decision of speaking the Beirut koine —whenever this implies a shift in the variety— is ultimately linked to a matter of identity. Collective identities are experienced at a personal level since it is the individual who lives them and confers them a certain meaning in his specific social and cultural setting (Suleiman, 2003). When Lebanese speakers shift from their regional variety to the Beirut koine they may feel they are inevitably moving from one of their collective identities —represented by their hometown or region of origin— to another —represented by Beirut and their life in the city. While some speakers may consider shifting varieties a betrayal to their origins, for others it is a natural process to which they ascribe positive connotations (e.g. flexibility, adaptability). The speakers' attitudes towards this shift and towards the variety itself will depend on the extent to which their perception of themselves acknowledges the collective identity represented by the Beirut koine as a part of their own individual identity, or considers it a threat to their 'original' collective identity.

the speakers recorded in the corpus—illustrated in Figure 3— and the acceptability test carried out in the exploratory phase revealed that CIs occur in different geographical locations and by speakers of a diversity of profiles. This consistency led us to presume that the use of CIs may not be necessarily limited to any specific regional variety within Lebanon.

At a broader scale, the literature review on CIs in Arabic and Semitic varieties strongly suggests that the use of this feature transcends much farther spatial and temporal borders—a suggestion that is reinforced by the argument that syntax is not an area of great variation among varieties of spoken Arabic (Brustad, 2000). Moreover, given that my main concern was analyzing the functional nature of CIs, and not its distribution in regional subvarieties, setting excessively restrictive criteria concerning the origin of speakers seemed both a useless and a counterproductive effort.

Figure 3: Origins of corpus speakers

2.4.8. *Limitations of this study*

The quantity and sociolinguistic range of the data presented are arguably one of the main limitations of this study as far as the data collection is concerned. A wide, well-studied range of social backgrounds of speakers had to be sacrificed in order to be able to attain a body of data that could reflect a realistic diversity of communicative and pragmatic contexts. Also, the lack of audio recordings made it impossible to draw any conclusive information about any phonetic or prosodic features of CIs in LA.

Moreover, the mere choice of a qualitative methodology over a quantitative one may imply to some an increased research bias, and consequently, an increased subjectivity in both the collection and the analysis of the data. In this respect, I agree with those who believe that the researcher's subjectivity may, at times, facilitate understanding the world of others (Kawulich, 2005, from Ratner, 2002). Given that speakers inevitably perceive and produce language from an originally

subjective and egocentric stance, I regard a higher degree of subjectivity as a necessary sacrifice resulting from the researcher's attempt to replicate native speakers' processes of assimilation and actual use of language. Nevertheless, I believe the acceptance and awareness of the natural subjectivity that comes with the very 'role' of being a speaker should not prevent the researcher from understanding how her/his gender, sexuality, class, age, ethnicity, attitudes and beliefs may affect her/his observations the interpretation of the data (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002).

Finally, this study includes different personal linguistic analyses whose validity cannot be proved through outside "tests". It is important to keep in mind, however, that there is no way to independently verify or disprove pragmatic analyses, even more so when social and affective complexities are involved.

2.5. Conclusions

The present study has been carried out according to a participant-observation methodology that aimed to collect and analyze a wide-ranging linguistic corpus of CI occurrences in LA that is representative of the actual use of this feature in its natural social and communicative environment.

Despite the impossibility for such a corpus to support conclusions about the quantitative distribution of CIs' use among the community of LA speakers, I believe the quality of the collected data—which springs from its pragmatic richness—makes the corpus a solid, reliable and suitable instrument for an in-depth description of the communicative grammatical function of CIs in LA.

Limitations notwithstanding, I hope that the present study can provide a useful and solid basis for future studies to build upon, both on the existing corpus and on the theoretical framework. Most importantly, I hope that it has the ability to raise relevant, nuanced, and sophisticated questions that may inspire future researchers to continue looking for improved ways to comprehend better the multiple dimensions of human communication.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical framework

A Multidimensional Model of Communication

> *"Speech acts are produced not in the solitary philosopher's think-tank, but in actual situations of use, by people having something "in mind." Such a production naturally presupposes a "producer" and a "consumer," human agents, whose intentions are relevant and indispensable to the correct understanding and description of their utterances, quite contrary to the constructed, non-use-oriented examples of most grammarians and philosophers"*
>
> Mey (2001: 93–94)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the 'Multidimensional Model of Communication' (MMC), a theoretical construct that serves as the overarching theoretical framework of this study, for it integrates the communicative, pragmatic, cognitive and social theoretical concepts necessary for the analysis of the data that takes place in subsequent chapters.

Therefore, this chapter aims to establish a common language that ensures a shared understanding of the theoretical terms used in the analysis as well as of the concepts behind them, through which, this study will subsequently analyze CI instances such as the following:

[LA.10]انتبهي مامي! هيدي السكّينة بتقصّ قصّ!

ntəbh-e	*mami!*	*hayd-e*	*s-sikkīne*	*bə-tʔoṣṣ*	*ʔaṣṣ!*
watch.out-IMP-2FS	mommy	this-F.S	DET-knife	HAB-3FS.cut	cut.INF

'Be careful, baby, this knife is really sharp'

At first sight, the previous utterance would surely allow us to draw many assumptions about the formal functioning of this structure. Morphologically, it could be concluded that the CI entails the coexistence of an infinitive cognate with the main verb of the sentence. Syntactically, it could be deduced that said infinitive seems to appear after the verb and in sentence-final position.

Semantically, it could be inferred that the repetition of the lexical root grants this construction some kind of an emphatic value.

These and other formal facts would be helpful for us to draw a formal grammatical profile of the structure as well as to identify any other occurrence of it. However, these conclusions do not account for the motives that led the speaker to choose this particular linguistic option over all other available possibilities, including a null option. For us to try to grasp the motivations behind the speaker's choice, we would need to stop conceiving of this utterance as an isolated happening, and consider it as one of the hundred of thousands of pieces that together constitute the intricate mechanism of the cognate infinitive construction. Consequently, the first —and probably most important— step is understanding how this mechanism functions and recognize the communicative and social context within which it occurred.

The specific goal of understanding the CI in all its communicative complexity led me to try to understand the pragmatics of human communication in general. I argue in this dissertation that the various dimensions of the CI in LA can only be fully understood and analyzed through the lens of a holistic and integrative theoretical framework, such as the Multidimensional Model of Communication (MMC), that I present in the present chapter.

This framework has been adapted from current linguistic, psychological and cognitive theories that may be tentatively grouped in two main approaches— the Functional-Pragmatic approach and the Socio-Cognitive approach.

In the Functional-Pragmatic approach, the main condition for communication to be successful is for the speaker's intentions to be recognized by the hearer through pragmatic inferences. This means that the speaker's *a priori* intention —based on his/her understanding of the common ground— lies at the core of communication. Pragmatics is mainly concerned with the way the hearer catches and interprets these inferences in order to determine the complete meaning of the speaker's utterances. Therefore, this approach regards communication as a collaborative act during which the interlocutors mutually recognize their intentions and goals and agree on the rules to formulate them, which guarantees cooperation and comprehension (Clark, 1996; Grice, 1975)

The Socio-Cognitive approach, on the other hand, casts doubts on both the relevance of *a priori* intentions in the communicative process and on the exclusively collaborative nature of communication. The socio-cultural interactional approach, for instance, considers that intentions

are mainly *post factum* constructs that can emerge and be reached only through and during communication (Haugh, 2008). As for cognitive theories, they report that speakers commonly adopt 'egocentric' communicative attitudes, meaning that they tend to rely more on their own knowledge than on mutual knowledge and often regard their conversational experience as more important than any of the maxims ruling discourse (Giora, 1997; 2003).

The theoretical framework presented in this section draws on both of these approaches, each of which has been equally indispensable in the formation of the theoretical framework proposed here. On the one hand, the Functional-Pragmatic approach has helped set the conceptual boundaries for quite hazy grammatical and informational notions such as 'common ground' and 'focus'. On the other hand, the Socio-Cognitive approach has provided a deeper, more complex understanding concept of common ground by claiming its emergent properties, which, at the same time, bring to the fore the relevance of attentional traits in a general theory of communication.

The following sections provide the reader with my understanding of several linguistic notions as they will be used in this study in order to avoid any potential confusion on the definitions of these widely-discussed concepts. This theoretical framework aspires to contribute a new perspective to the discussion, that is, another stone on the path leading to a more holistic and accurate understanding of human communication. Needless to say, this stone could not have been placed had the path not been already solidly paved by the numerous works that have contributed to the development of these pivotal communicative principles.

3.1.1. The Functional-Pragmatic Approach and Information Structure

Grice (1975) argued that speakers design their utterances to meet the demands of successful communication. There are a set of conditions regarding conversation—irrespective of its subject matter— on which the interlocutors have to reach a mutual agreement in order to guarantee the utterances' successful comprehension.

The pragmatic communicative approach establishes that speakers package[117] the concrete pieces of information they wish to communicate in diverse linguistic forms, adapting them to the

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[117] Chafe (1976) was the first scholar to use the term *packaging* to refer to information structure, restricting his definition to the aspects that relate to the temporary state of mind of the hearer/addressee.

circumstances of the communicative environment. These pragmatic circumstances, along with the cognitive and mental state of both speaker and hearer, play a determining role in the formal structuring of sentences (Lambrecht, 1994: 3).

Contrary to other parts of grammar, Information Structure (IS) [118] is not primarily concerned with the actual meaning of words or sentences and its interpretations, but rather with the precise way speakers 'package' their information and with the reasons why they do so. Therefore, it is intimately related to the most basic communicative aspects of language as it focuses on the correlation between linguistic form and the communicative urgencies of all the participants who are involved in communication. In simpler words, the study of IS helps explain why people say things in different ways. Understanding the motivations behind the speaker's communicative choices are particularly important in studying an optional syntactic structure such as the CI.

Taking, for instance, Dik's example (1997: 309), one proposition (a) with one only semantic meaning such as '*The duckling was killed by this farmer*' could lead to several alternatives where prosody and word order could vary (being the stress in intonation marked by the capital letters):

[1a]   The DUCKling was killed by this farmer

[1b]   The duckling was KILLED by this farmer

[1c]   The duckling was killed by THIS farmer

[1d]   The duckling was killed by this FARmer

[1e]   By this farmer the duckling was killed

However, it would be unfair to classify these options as mere alternatives, for, each of them has a different focus—if it is true that they share the same meaning, not all of them would be pragmatically felicitous in depending which communicative environment. For instance, [1a] would be an appropriate answer to the question '*What was killed by this farmer?*' but yet an infelicitous one to the question '*Who killed the duckling?*'

Therefore, it is not surprising that the notion of information structure is a universal linguistic phenomenon. However, mechanisms regulating discourse pragmatics are known to vary greatly

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[118] IS is also referred to as discourse pragmatics; for a detailed description, see Lambrecht (1994: 4).

between languages (Krifka & Musan, 2012: 5).[119] In this dissertation I argue that the Cognate Infinitive is one of the tools that regulates discourse pragmatics in Lebanese Arabic[120]—more concretely, I will argue that CIs in LA are tools for focus marking (see section 4.2.3).

In a broader communicative sense, functional-pragmatic approaches understand communication as the expression and recognition of intentions (Grice, 1957; 1969).[121] Clark (1996) developed this into a more dialectical analysis of communication by expanding the notion of utterance (message) into an interactionally developed notion of 'contribution'. According to the Contribution Theory (Clark & Brennan, 1991; Clark, 1996), interlocutors construct Common Ground (CG) in order to reach understanding. Participants 'contribute' to the process of updating their CG in an organized sequence that Clark refers to as 'grounding'. The communicative sequence has two phases, the presentation phase and the acceptance phase, meaning that interlocutors, after uttering a proposition, look for negative or positive evidence of understanding from the hearer. These two notions have been very helpful to the development of the framework proposed in the present work, specifically in the development of the concept of intention and its different levels (see section 3.2.2.1).

To sum up, most pragmatic theories conceive communication as a mainly cooperative act, and they tend to overlook the importance of what is actually happening during communication. Nevertheless, the 'dialectical turn' of Clark moved in the direction of socio-cognitive approaches, to which we will now turn.

3.1.2. The Socio-Cognitive Approach and the Dynamic Model of Meaning

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[119] The wide variation of the nature of these mechanisms across languages makes us question the validity of the nomenclature of 'information structure' and the tightly related idea of 'packaging', for these two terms seem to refer exclusively to the modification of word order— which happens to be one of the main tools for the regulation of discourse pragmatics in Western languages.

[120] Chapter 4 of this study introduces the main informational mechanisms in Lebanese Arabic and elaborates on the informational specificities of the CI in LA.

[121] These 'contextualist' approaches stand in opposition to theories that follow the 'literalist' current, which claim that fully propositional semantic content can, in fact, exist in isolation from contextualization. One of these theories, namely the theory of Semantic Minimalism (Cappelen and Lepore, 2008) actually holds that the semantic decoded content of an utterance represents the interlocutor's only tool to avoid confusion and misunderstandings in communication.

According to the cognitive approach, the pillars of human communication are the *meaning construction system* and the *meaning prompting system.* While the first one is considered to be ever-evolving, dynamic and flexible, the second one (the linguistic system) is regular and relatively stable. In other words, meaning is regarded as a fluid, on-the-spot phenomenon and the human mind as a pattern recognizer. If linguistic expressions 'contain' meanings, it is because they encode the context of their prior uses, this is, of previous experiences and encounters (Kecskes, 2008: 386). Each interlocutor —whether (s)he is a speaker or a hearer— builds a database of her/his own linguistic experiences and uses it as a tool for communication. Conversation is basically the encounter of those databases, which inevitably starts with the speaker's intention, that is, his/her aim to maximize his/her database to impose his/her agenda on the hearer's.

Following this logic, several cognitive theories contradict traditional pragmatic theories on cooperation and common ground, arguing that speakers and hearers commonly violate their shared knowledge and goals and adopt 'egocentric' behaviors, especially at the initial stages of communication, often relying on their own individual knowledge and underestimating the vagueness and ambiguity of their utterances (Keysar & Henly, 2002; Barr & Keysar, 2005). In the view of these theories, communication is not an ideal transfer of information, but rather a trial-and-error process that the participants co-construct dynamically throughout conversation. As we will see through this chapter and in Chapter 4, the notion of egocentrism will be essential in understanding CIs, for it is the theoretical *raison d'être* of the speaker's individual assumptions and expectations in communication.

The Dynamic Model of Meaning (DMM), presented by Kecskes (2008), represents an attempt to integrate both the pragmatic and the cognitive approaches into a comprehensive framework that focuses on understanding the role of context in the process of meaning construction. For the DMM, meaning is "the result of interplay between the speaker's private context and the hearer's private context in the actual situational context as understood by the interlocutors" (Kecskes, 2008: 390). Kecskes' integrative effort is evident in his understanding of context as a dual notion that includes both prior and present experiences with the world. Meaning is constructed thanks to the interplay of both the encoded private knowledge context of the interlocutors and the emergent situational context of the communicative act (Keskces, 2008).

Deeply influenced by cognitive theories, the DMM takes meaning as a starting point and attempts to explain the patterns that regulate it both at the level of word meaning and at the level of context meaning, building a holistic and comprehensive model for communication. These concepts contributed greatly to the formation of the Multidimensional Model of Communication (MMC), the theoretical foundation upon which the present study is built, and that is presented in the following section.

3.2. The Multidimensional Model of Communication (MMC)

I call the theoretical framework I developed to analyze the Cognate Infinitive in Lebanese Arabic the Multidimensional Model of Communication (MMC). This model arises from my attempt to integrate key concepts from both pragmatic and cognitive approaches.

In a nutshell, the MMC proposes that all communicative experiences are made of two essential substances that, together, form all communicative matter that can be perceived and transmitted: information and affect. This essential communicative matter is captured, contained, processed, stored and transformed by three main elements that interact and affect each other: the communicative environment, communicative agents, and communicative strategies and tools. Each of these elements has a multidimensional nature formed by interconnected and interdependent emergent and core dimensions.[122] While the core dimension will comprise the previously stored communicative experiences of the interlocutor (and everything that may be created out of them), the emergent dimension is concerned with the actual current communicative experience that the interlocutor is immersed in (as well as with the data that emerges from it). Last but not least, all communicative processes are motivated, fed and changed by two complementary and opposing forces: collaboration and egocentrism, which are, in the end, a reflection of the individual and communal dual nature of all human beings.

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[122] The differentiation between core/a priori and emergent dimensions that inspired the MMC starts in Kecskes' Dynamic Model of Meaning (2008) to be later adopted by Kecskes and Zhang (2009) in their work: *Activating, seeking and creating common ground*, where they establish a differentiation between 'emergent common ground' from 'core common ground' that aims to eliminate the conflict between pragmatic and cognitive accounts around the notion of CG.

In a more linear pragmatic way, we could say that the MMC perceives that the communicative environment shapes and influences the nature of the dynamics of the communicative agents, which, based on the last two elements, and influenced by the egocentric-cooperative forces of human communication, are responsible for determining the communicative strategies and tools they will choose to establish and carry out a specific communicative act; that is, to finally translate their communicative experience into language.

3.2.1. The Communicative Environment

The communicative environment is a broad theoretical notion that refers to the multidimensional space— physical, epistemic, cognitive and affective— in which, and based on which, communication takes place. It encompasses both the perceptual knowledge about the world that interlocutors have gathered from their individual experiences, and the more immediate and physical and social circumstances where the communicative act occurs.[123]

In this sense, the communicative environment has two dimensions: a core and an emergent one. While the core dimension includes the a priori experiential— informational, affective, social— load that each interlocutor carries before the communicative act, the emergent dimension refers to the actual situational environment where communication occurs, as well as the multidimensional data that emerges from it.

If we were to conceive communication as a game, the communicative environment would be the playground (i.e., the necessary space for the whole game to be put into play, and not merely the designated areas where the match takes place). Just as the shape, the size, or the elements available in the playing field will determine somehow the 'quality' of the game, the nature of the communicative environment will be decisive for both the development and the results of the communicative act.

In the example provided at the beginning of this chapter [LA.10], the communicative environment would tell us the utterance was produced by mother (S) and directed to her daughter

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[123] My notion of 'communicative environment' is influenced by that of *socio-cultural background* in Kecskes and Zhang's (2009: 334) definition of communication: "the result of interplay of intention and attention on a socio-cultural background […] motivated by socio-cognitive factors".

(H) in the kitchen of their house, right after H picks up a knife. In this case, the relation between S and H reveals the existence of certain levels of intimacy and an emotional strain that will definitely affect the communicative outcome.

In the following sections, some of the linguistic elements of the communicative environment will be analyzed at three different levels: word meaning, context and common ground.[124]

3.2.1.1.   Word Meaning

Words constitute the minimal lexical units where the phonological, syntactic, lexical and conceptual structures meet in the memory of the interlocutors. This is probably one of the arguments that led Kecskes (2008) to take the meaning value of words as a starting point for the development of his Dynamic Model of Meaning (DMM). In this section, I rely on his model of word meaning that distinguishes two dimensions within the meaning value of words: coresense and consense.

3.2.1.1.1.   Coresense

Coresense is the abstracted form of a word prior to the actual contextual occurrences of it. It can be considered a summary of the most common, regular and typical uses of a specific word. Speakers form the coresense of a word through a process of generalization based on the conceptual features that a certain word has had in the most common contexts where it has been used —throughout the speaker's previous interactions. The coresense is, therefore, the meaning that is usually shared by the members of a linguistic community and consequently, it changes slowly and only diachronically. The verb *ʔaṣṣ* (قصّ) (to cut), that appeared before in [LA.10] is a fine example of a verb whose coresense (whose meanings and contexts) is remarkably similar across space and time in Arabic speaking communities.

However, the coresense of a word can vary dramatically between individuals belonging to different linguistic communities. A good example is the Arabic word *mara*, which in LA means 'woman' or 'wife.' In Egypt, however, while it refers to a human female, its use is perceived as insulting, with lower-class implications.

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[124] Kecskes' (2008) Dynamic Model of Meaning (DMM) inspired this division.

3.2.1.1.2.   Consense (context + sense)

In contrast to the coresense, which represents the most 'stable' dimension of meaning, the consense represents the possible variants, that is, the contextual meaning values of a word that vary according to actual situational contexts.

While the coresense changes slowly and diachronically, the consense's change is synchronic, for it may vary with every single use of the given expression in diverse actual situational contexts. We may take as an instance the verb *yšīl* (originally 'take out' 'put away') in LA, which has acquired new meanings in the last decade, especially among the urban young speakers of Beirut.

[2] S1:   بدّكن نروح عالبحر بكرة؟

badd-kon   n-rūḥ   ʕa-l-baḥar   bukra,

want-you.PL   1 PL -go   to-the-sea   tomorrow

'Do you guys want to go to the beach tomorrow?'

S2:   إيه، أنا بشيل

eh!   ʔana   b-šīl

yes   I   HAB-to.be.in.1SG

'Yes! I'm in/ I'm game!'

In this example, يشيل *yšīl is* not taken in its more common or frequent sense —which would correspond to its coresense (to take away, to remove)— but rather in the meaning of 'being in' or 'being game,' which is more appropriate for the emergent context.

The distinction between coresense and consense does not mean that these two notions are not somehow interdependent, for repeated and systematic changes in consenses will eventually affect the coresense of any given word.[125]

This distinction is, however, useful to understand the semantic dimension of the CI's function in LA: signaling the semantically salient meaning of the CH it accompanies. As

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[125] In Kecskes' words: "Linguistic signs encoding prior contexts are not mere indicators of pre-existing knowledge but resources that speakers can draw on and shape to their social and interactional needs. At the same time every use of a lexical unit contributes, to some extent, to its ever-changing content" (Kecskes, 2008: 388).

sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2,5.3.3 show, this salient meaning may be the coresense or a consense of the verbal lexeme depending on the positioning of the CI utterance and its speaker within the CI's grammatical communicative model.

3.2.1.2.   Context

The communicative context is, essentially, the individual and personal communicative environments of each of the different interlocutors involved in communication. A distinction between communicative environment and communicative context is necessary in order to accommodate the egocentric nature of communication, for even when immersed in the same communicative act, interlocutors may present differences in their perspective and perception of the communicative environment (emergent dimension), as well as in the multidimensional 'conclusions' that they draw from communication and then store individually for future interactions (a priori/core dimension).[126]

Building on these ideas, and on the bi-dimensionality of word meaning, it seems logical to argue that a bi-dimensional understanding of the nature of context is necessary in order to understand the process behind the construction of meaning. While 'a priori' individual contexts are essential for the formation of the coresense, emergent situational contexts are indispensable for the formation of the consense. With these considerations in mind, the DDM proposes the notions of core context and emergent context.

3.2.1.2.1.   Core context

The core context is created out of the speaker's previous experiences. These contextual features are encoded in lexical items in the mind of speakers within a speech community. It is important to highlight that core contexts not only include core 'public' knowledge—which, like coresense, is tied to prior experience and has been somehow conventionalized— but also

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[126] The autonomous nature of the speaker's and hearer's contexts— derived from their differences in perspective and perception— makes us question Kecskes' terminological choice within his DMM framework (2008), which separates between *private/individual* contexts and *actual situational* contexts.

an individual-specific understanding of the socio-cultural context that is proper to every speaker.

For this reason, when two interlocutors attempt to communicate, they are basically starting a negotiation between both their core contexts. Even if the lexical units they use are the same, that does not guarantee that each interlocutor's private context will give identical interpretations to all of them; when they do not, misunderstandings occur, given that the speaker's interpretation will be based on his prior experiences, both public and private, and so will be the hearer's.

3.2.1.2.2. Emergent context

The emergent context is, theoretically, the actual situational knowledge—formal, epistemic, physical, affective and social— available to the interlocutors at the moment of communication, on whose basis the consense of lexical units can be determined. In a successful communicative scenario, the emergent context provides the hearer with the necessary information to interpret and correctly decode what the speaker means in a specific communicative instance.

However, the fact that emergent contexts arise during the encounter of speaker and hearer during the communicative act does not make them exclusively 'common' or 'public.' As some mentalist approaches argue[127], what is actually perceived and considered to be part of the emergent context might differ between interlocutors. In other words, hearer and speaker might privately disagree about what information is considered salient (and therefore kept in mind) in the emergent context, and this may lead to miscommunication. This suggests that emergent contexts, just like core contexts, are private in essence.[128]

The relationship between the formation of meaning and context should be regarded as a dynamic, reciprocal one. Speakers adapt their utterances at the semantic, lexical and syntactic levels to a specific communicative environment. Just like coresense and consense relate, core

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[127] See e.g. Bach (2006).

[128] For, as we previously mentioned, both speaker and hearer have their own experience, perception and interpretation of these two dimensions. These considerations provide further evidence for the partially egocentric nature of communication.

contexts, shaped by prior experiences and encoded in language both condition and are conditioned by emergent contexts.

3.2.1.3.   Common Ground

Common Ground is a theoretical notion that has been used by many scholars to refer to the notion of mutually shared information within a communicative situation (see e.g. Stalnaker, 1978; 2002; Abbott, 2008; Kecskes & Zhang, 2009).[129] In the present section I propose a definition of Common Ground (CG) that, similar to the one suggested by Kecskes and Zhang (2009),[130] attempts to eliminate the apparent conflict between the pragmatic[131] and cognitive[132] accounts of this notion —i.e., between an idealized cooperative view of CG and its exclusively egocentric counterpart—by integrating the core and the emergent definitions of CG as different dimensions of the same construct.

On that account, I define CG as the informational, epistemic, formal (linguistic), affective and social mutually recognized shared space where both the core and emergent communicative contexts of the individual interlocutors meet. If we were to continue the metaphor that envisions communication as a game— the communicative environment being the playground, as we

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[129] The notion of Common Ground was first introduced by Stalnaker (1978; 2002) who built on a previous series of related notions such as *common knowledge* (Lewis, 1969), or *mutual knowledge* (Schiffer, 1972). Common Ground (CG) can be broadly defined as "the mutually recognized shared information in a situation in which an act of trying to communicate takes place" (Stalnaker, 2002: 704).

[130] Kecskes and Zhang define CG as a cooperatively constructed mental abstraction assumed by participants that "derives from both the interlocutors' information gained from prior communicative experience and current communicative experience" (Kecskes & Zhang, 2009: 346). I have preferred to suggest a modified definition since it seems to me that the different accounts and descriptions of their DMM do not determine clearly the notional boundaries of 'context' and 'common ground' and the nature of their relationship.

[131] Following the cooperation principle, most pragmatic theories have traditionally envisioned an idealized notion of CG, defining it as the shared mental state of interlocutors that exists prior to communication and facilitates the comprehension of the interlocutors' intentions (Stalnaker 1978; Clark and Brennan 1991; Clark 1996).

[132] The empirical cognitive research that argues the theory of cooperation by reporting the relevance of egocentric communicative behaviors also claims that CG is essentially a dynamic construct that is mutually built by interlocutors throughout the communicative process, and not prior to it (Kecskes, 2003; 2008; Giora 1997; 2003).

established— CG would be represented only by the designated areas of the playground where the players of both teams meet and interact during the match.

Of course, this 'encounter' happens at the two levels of word meaning and context. The place where the interlocutors' core contexts meet is therefore also the place where the coresenses, extracted from the core context, converge (i.e. the core common ground). In the same way, the space where the emergent contexts of the interlocutors convene is also where the words' consenses, extracted from the emergent context, meet (i.e. the emergent common ground).

Figure 4 illustrates CG as envisioned by the MMC, i.e. as the result of the encounter of the (private) core and emergent contexts of the speaker and the hearer in a certain communicative situation to create.
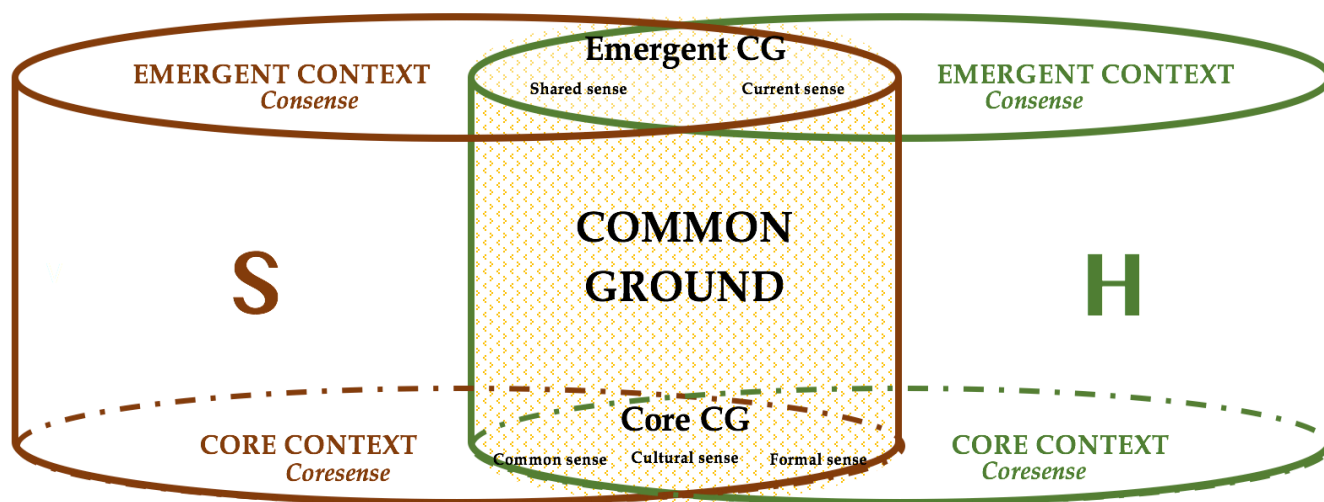
Figure 4: Common Ground and communicative environment in the Multidimensional Model of Communication

Even though the concept of CG may seem at first a rather stable and rigid notion, the truth is that in every communicative situation, the communicative agents (speaker and hearer) negotiate the content of the common ground, updating it with every single utterance, with every instance of body language, in response to every detail they perceive from the communicative environment.

Given the egocentric nature of communication, the speaker and the hearer's perception of the communicative environment is an originally interdependent process whose results may differ

greatly. These asymmetries in perception explain the generation of assumptions, which, as I will subsequently argue, play an important role in shaping the speaker's contributions to the CG. [133]

Whether or not through conscious action, interlocutors are greatly aware of the importance of the contributions to the CG, and, most of the times, they will, linguistically speaking, 'go the extra mile' in order to provide relevant updates to the CG, as well as to clarify their acceptance or refusal to their interlocutors' updates. This study will refer to this process as *updating* the CG. [134]

It was noted in passing above that the MMC distinguishes between two dimensions of the CG, the core Common Ground, and the emergent Common Ground; these are explained in the following sections.

First, however, it is essential to bear in mind that, in every conversation, interlocutors spontaneously attempt to fit their utterances to a situation or context that their language inevitably helped to create in the first place. Just as the previously mentioned dimensions of meaning (coresense and consense) and context (core and emergent) interact and feed into each other, the two dimensions of CG are, as we can see in Figure 4, two sides of the same space, and so, closely interconnected.

3.2.1.3.1. Core Common Ground

Core Common Ground (CCG) derives from the interlocutors' shared knowledge of their prior experience, whether common, cultural, or linguistic knowledge. Consequently, it can be said that CCG is relatively 'static' and does not change dramatically during communication.[135]

3.2.1.3.2. Emergent Common Ground

The Emergent Common Ground (ECG) represents the most private and dynamic dimension of CG, as it depends greatly on the immediate communicative context. Unlike CCG, ECG changes synchronically, for it comprises the part of knowledge that arises as shared in a particular situational context. ECG mainly derives "from the interlocutors' knowledge of prior

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[133] See section 3.2.1.4.

[134] Clark & Brennan (1991) refer to this process as *grounding*.

[135] However, it is necessary to bear in mind two considerations: CCG may change diachronically— even if at a very slow pace—, and it may differ widely from one individual to another— especially if they come from two different geographical or cultural realities (Kecskes & Zhang, 2009: 347).

and/or current experience that is pertinent to the current situation*"* (Kecskes & Zhang, 2009: 348). Therefore, ECG includes the emergent perception of the current communicative situation,[136] including all the particular knowledge about the experiences that are considered common to the interlocutors during the communicative exchange (but not necessarily to their community)[137].

Not only S and H may assimilate the situational context available to them according to their own perception, but they may also retain different moments and segments of one single event. For this reason, it is imperative to remember that emergent common ground is normally highly assumptive, and therefore it may sometimes need to be co-constructed.[138]

The following section will shed light on assumptions as necessary components of the communicative act.

3.2.1.4. <u>Assumptions</u>

Assumptions are necessary components of the communicative act as well. The speaker aspires to confirm, insinuate or induce her/his assumptions in the hearer's mind. Therefore, in the framework of the MMC, assumptions are not part of the speaker's intention, but rather, an important factor affecting the process of shaping and reshaping these intentions. In this model, the individual's creation of assumptions is an involuntary, mainly egocentric and affectively charged process. Every speaker perceives the landscape of communication through his/her own lens through the filter of his/her subjectivity.

The broad notion of assumption does not seem to have been tackled by linguistic theories in all its complexity. As far as I am aware, the existent literature focuses on defining the nature and implications of the similar (though not equivalent) notion of 'pragmatic presupposition.'[139]

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[136] Kecskes and Zhang (2009) refer to this notion as *current sense.*

[137] Kecskes and Zhang (2009) refer to this notion as *shared sense.*

[138] For an example of a communicative instance showing differences between interlocutors in their perception of the emergent common ground see example [4] in section 3.2.2.2.

[139] Stalnaker (1978: 321) defines pragmatic presupposition as "what is taken by the speaker to be the COMMON GROUND of the participants in the conversation, what is treated as their COMMON KNOWLEDGE or MUTUAL KNOWLEDGE'' (Stalnaker, 1978: 321). For Prince, the notion of pragmatic presupposition even merges with the concept of *givenness* which can be defined as "the sense of shared knowledge" In her view, presuppositions occur

Lambrecht describes it as: "The set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered" (Lambrecht, 1994: 52; *my emphasis*). In other words, pragmatic presupposition is usually defined as what S assumes to be accepted by H; i.e., what S assumes to be part of the CG.

One of the main differences between assumption and pragmatic presupposition is that the definition of the latter seems to be well grounded in pragmatic-functional theories that perceive of communication as a collaborative process, and are therefore concerned with what H knows and how it will help him/her determine the meaning of S's utterance. Assumptions, on the other hand, are envisioned within the MMC as the result of an egocentric perception process, which is influenced by the emotional state of the speaker; assumptions are therefore related to what S believes and/or feels (s)he knows, independent of H's knowledge. Moreover, the range of assumptions is not limited to the propositions that might have been 'lexicogrammatically evoked' in an utterance, but rather, they may include any information that the speaker believes and/or feels true and that is relevant to a specific communicative encounter at the time of the utterance.

One of the most common assumptions that tends to be generated during communication is the existence of informational and affective gaps. S assumes that there is an informative gap when (s)he assumes that H is lacking relevant information about one or several elements of the communicative situation. However, oftentimes, even when the informational side of the utterance has been satisfied, S may assume an affective gap if (s)he feels that his/her emotional involvement—along with the feelings that created it— is not being acknowledged by H.

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when "the speaker assumes that the hearer 'knows', assumes, or can infer a particular thing (but is not necessarily thinking about it)" (Prince, 1981:230). Stalnaker (2002; 2008) further argues that if an utterance activates a certain presupposition which cannot be considered 'shared information' by both interlocutors, miscommunication will occur and communication will have to be repaired and reestablished. This miscommunication is usually referred to as *presupposition failure.* According to Domaneschi et al., "presupposition failure is said to happen when a speaker utters a sentence *p* containing a presupposition trigger that activates a presupposition *q*, and *q* does not belong to the common ground. If this failure occurs, speakers are supposed to repair the failure to make sense of the utterance's felicity" (Domaneschi et al., 2014: 136).

The assumption of informational and affective gaps is often crucial to make the speaker feel the need to intervene in a communicative instance. For this reason, I will return to these concepts in chapter 5 along with the concept of speaker's agency.

We may summarize that assumptions are (1) a result of our personal and naturally subjective perception of the communicative environment and (2) tend to generate or be generated by affective factors. Thus, assumptions may be as varied and numerous as feelings are, for this reason, an assumption rarely comes alone, but rather it coexists with other assumptions that originate in different layers of both the emergent and the core context of the speaker. Contextualized utterances reveal the affective aspects of the speaker's status that contributed to the formation of her/his assumptions.

It is true that having knowledge of the speakers' assumptions will still never be enough to predict their actual utterances. However, it is also certain that the more knowledge we have about both the utterance and the nature of the assumptions, the closer we can get to determining the complexity of the intention lying behind S's utterance. Of course, a deeper understanding of the speakers' intentions will, in turn, help us make sense of and identify the motivations of the communicative agents (speaker and hearer) for their communicative choices.

3.2.2. Communicative Agents: Intention and Attention

The communicative agents S and H represent the original dual forces of communication: active and passive, producing and receiving, and so forth, taking turns during the communicative act. It is important to note that these roles carry inherent opposing dynamics: while the role of S is defined by intention, the role of H is marked by attention.[140] Both of these dynamics are equally important to the communicative act; however, due to the nature of my research questions, the MMC has been designed to focus more on developing the speaker-intention side of the construct. Nevertheless, I believe that, for a complete understanding of the functioning of Cis, it is necessary to bring together both the speaker's and the hearer's perspectives. For this reason, my communicative model follows that of Kecskes in conceiving communication as an "intention-

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[140] Communicative agents seem to be characterized by a certain duality and interdependence. The Speaker would not exist without a Hearer and vice versa, just as intentions would have no reason to exist if it weren't because there is someone there with a sufficient degree of attention to receive them.

directed practice" that, nonetheless, "also presents attention-oriented traits" (Kecskes & Zhang, 2009: 333).

In the following subsections we explore both intention and attention through their communicative agents.

3.2.2.1.   Speaker and Intention

The Speaker is the communicative agent that carries a communicative intention. Intentions are an essential property of discourse, and they can be defined as the individual communicative purposes of one or more of the participants involved in communication.[141] Intentions are, therefore, the result of the speaker's agency,[142] for they describe an a priori mental construct where an individual has a specific situation in mind that is not actualized, and (s)he actively prefers that this situation be actualized in a particular way (Haugh, 2008: 45). [143]

Quite often, traditional and old-fashioned view of intentions (many of which happen to be based on studies that rely on decontextualized utterances) generally classify them as informative, performative or emotive. However, the MMC holds that real intentions in natural communicative instances move, just like their speakers, along an informational – affective continuum. They cannot be purely the first nor the latter, for, as the next example shows, they are naturally both at the same time.

[3]   S: طب، شو في بهالدفتر السحرّي؟

    ṭəb šū   fī   bə-ha-d-daftar   əs-səḥre?

    well what there.is   in-this-the-notebook   the-magical

     'So, what is [written] in this magical notebook of yours?

    H: ما شي، بس في نوتس عن الأبراج وعن أحلامي

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[141] The individual nature of intention has also been challenged by the concept of *we-intention(ality)* proposed by Searle & Willis (1983), this is, collaborative interactions in which participants share both a goal and a commitment. However, this notion has been argued by other scholars to be overly 'internalistic' and too static to account for the dynamicity of implicatures and, in general, of the communicative process as a whole.

[142] The notion of speaker's agency will be fundamental for my analysis of CIs in LA. See section 5.2.2.

[143] Haugh's notion of 'pragmatic intention' contributed to strengthen the link between the concepts of intention and updating of the CG in the MMC.

ma	šī	bas	fi	notes_EN	ʕan	əl-ʔabrāʒ
NEG	thing	only	there.is	notes	about	the-horoscope

w-ʕan	ʔaḥlēm-e
and-about	dreams-my

'Nothing, it's only notes about horoscopes and dreams'

S: طب أوكي. ما تفرجيني ياه إذا ما بدّك

ṭab,	OK.	ma	tfarʒī-ne	yēh
well	OK	NEG	show.IPFV.you.F.S-me	ACC-it.M.S

ʔiza	ma	badd-ik...
if	NEG	want-you.F.S

'Alright, don't show it to me if you don't want to…'

While S's question seems to carry an exclusively informational intention, his subsequent reproach to H's answer, motivated by a certain set of assumptions (e.g. the notebook contains secret information, H may not want to show him the notebook) reveals that the apparently informative intention of his first utterance actually had quite a large affective aspect— S was actually subtly complaining because he wanted H to share with him the content of the notebook.

In this dissertation, I will show that S's positioning of his/her intentions in the informational–affective continuum, regulated by his/her assumptions, constitutes an important factor in determining the different strategies that S will implement at the two levels of intention formation (see below section 3.2.2.1.2). Moreover, as the previous example illustrates, the intention that S intends to communicate does not necessarily correspond to the intention that H perceives.

In the MMC, intentions are multidimensional and multileveled notions, which means that they also follow, like the rest of elements in the model, the core-emergent and egocentric-cooperative axes.

3.2.2.1.1. Core and emergent intentions

Recent approaches to communication in pragmatics have built onto the intention-based account of communication that started with Grice[144] and have predominantly regarded

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[144] After Grice's pioneering work (1969), human communication started to be studied as a complex operation that is achieved through the expression and recognition of intentions— rather than a mere encoding-decoding process. The

intention as an *a priori* mental state of speakers. However, this view takes no heed of several essential questions raised by the ambiguous nature of intentions, one of which is their temporal ambiguities: it is difficult to determine at which exact point during an interaction an intention is formed. Moreover, an initial (a priori) intention usually does not determine the course of a conversation, which suggests that there is also an emergent dimension to intentions that arises during the process of communication (Haugh, 2008: 49-50).[145] Consequently, this communicative model acknowledges both the core and emergent dimensions of intentions:

- *Core Intentions* have a private and pre-planned nature and represent the main organizing forces in the communicative process. The core intention of a conversation is the purpose(s) that S aims to attain from the conversation and, therefore, it is planned before the beginning of the discourse —as it is the engine that motivates S to start communication in the first place.

- *Emergent Intentions* are social and dynamically created by the interlocutors throughout the course of conversation. Emergent intentions, unlike core intentions, are co-constructed by participants during the communicative process.

In example [3], we could say that S's core intention for the conversation was probably 'finding out more information about H's notebook'. However, the fact that S felt that the underlying emotive and performative aspects of his intention were not recognized gave rise to emergent intentions, such as 'expressing hurt' or 'insinuating that there is something in the notebook H does not want S to see.'

Core and emergent represent two dimensions of the same reality. Mirroring the dynamic that exists between the core and emergent dimensions of the different levels of the communicative environment, core and emergent intentions inevitably affect and

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hearer does not only decode the communicated utterance but also recognizes the speaker's intention and inferentially constructs— based on both the context and the decoded content— the speaker-intended meaning. In the Gricean tradition, those propositions that are purposefully conveyed by the speaker in utterances without being part of its decoded meaning are referred to as *implicatures.*

[145] Haugh's work (2008) contributed to the shaping of my understanding of intentions as 'pragmatic intentions' with a marked emergent dimension.

continuously modify each other through the course of communication.[146]

Identifying emergent intentions as an important factor in communication is crucial for this study because, in our corpus, there are no examples in which S's choice to use a CI appears to be triggered by any specific core intention.[147] Rather, CIs appear to be greatly motivated by the interlocutor's emergent intentions, which spring from and during the act of communication itself. This suggests that CIs are, in fact, dependent on the creation and shift of emergent intentions rather than on core intentions.[148]

3.2.2.1.2.   The *What* and *How* of Intentions

Other methodological questions arise from the ontological ambiguity of intentions. As I previously mentioned, what the speaker implies is not always what the hearer actually understands, thus, one must differentiate between the notion of the speaker's intention and the intention that the hearer attributes to the speaker's utterance. Furthermore, as it was pointed out previously, cognitive research has established that hearer's inferences about speaker's intentions may, in fact, not play such a decisive role in communication, for speakers tend to show typically egocentric communicative attitudes, adjusting to the hearers' perspective only when a previous miscommunication requires them to do so (Barr & Keysar, 2005; Keysar, 2007).

Thus, it could be deduced that any hearer, in the process of inferring the speaker's intention, will necessarily make recourse to his/her own expectations about what may or may not be assumed in a certain context— according to the particular common ground established through the communicative situation. Therefore, the actual intention of an utterance and its possible implicatures cannot be based solely on the speaker's intentions

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[146] Not only do core intentions shape to a certain extent emergent intentions —for the latter are the small-scale tools that contribute to the bigger purpose to be achieved— but also emergent intentions, given their spontaneous nature born from the flow of conversation, may also affect and dynamically modify core intentions.

[147] Unlike other linguistic tools such as the use of *muḍāriʕ* in Arabic for lively past narratives.

[148] This is one of the multiple reasons why the traditional sociolinguistic interview was not a fruitful CI data-gathering method, for it simply provided the interviewee with a core intention (e.g. 'talk to me about what you did yesterday') but lacked the interactional aspect of 'real-life' communication that gives rise to emergent intentions and triggers the use of the CI in LA. For more details see 2.4.2.

or on the hearer's assumed understanding (and acceptance) of the speaker's intentions, but on a combination of these two.[149] This argument accounts for the necessity of a distinction between the different levels of the formation of intentions —presentation and reception levels.[150]

- At the presentation level: S attempts to update the CG. S feels his/her contribution is in order when S deems that the intention of his/her proposition is relevant. Although, as we have seen, intentions may carry different aspects, at the level of presentation, which is the level concerned with the *what*, the speaker tries to fulfil his/her communicative priority, which can range from referential to affective.[151]

- At the reception level: S evaluates the attention of H at the moment of the utterance in his/her quest to find a receptive environment for the uttered proposition. These subjective estimations will be a decisive factor for S to choose what kind of communicative stance[152] (s)he wants to adopt in order to manage H's attention successfully, i.e. in the way that best fits the communicative priority of his/her intention. In other words, at the level of reception, which is the level concerned with

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[149] I believe that intentions, like communication, have a double cooperative – egocentric nature. Although they might seem to be inherently **cooperative**— given that, through them, the speaker searches for collaboration while targeting the CG—, the main sources for the formation of speakers' intentions are, in fact, their own assumptions on the state of their hearers. For the sake of saving time and effort, speakers follow their own **egocentric** assumptions on the attentional status of H as well as on the potential acceptance of their propositions in order to move on with communication— only stopping and questioning them when/if miscommunication occurs.

[150] Inspired by Clark's phases of contribution (i.e. presentation and acceptance). In Clark's Theory of Contribution —that focused on the discourse level— these phases correspond to different utterances of a conversation. Nevertheless, the present work, which focuses on contextualized utterances, conceives *presentation* and *acceptance* as different levels that happen simultaneously, and thus, as processes devoid from any temporal or sequential implication.

[151] The Speaker's Communicative Priority represents an important continuum within Speaker's Agency in the forthcoming grammatical analysis of the CI in LA. See section 5.2.2.1.

[152] The Speaker's Communicative Stance represents an important continuum within Speaker's Agency in the subsequent grammatical analysis of the CI in LA. See section 5.2.2.2.

the *how,* S is worried about the proposition being salient to H's attention.[153] A key factor in S's linguistic choices lies in the interplay and integration of these two levels (presentation and reception) at both the informational and the affective aspects of intention, for the point where they meet represents the encounter of egocentric and collaborative forces.

As we shall see in the analysis explained in the following chapters, knowing the informational and affective aspects of S's intention when uttering a specific proposition, will help us to understand S's 'conditions' on H's attentional state, which will shed much on the communicative motivations for S's linguistic choices.

3.2.2.2.   Hearer and Attention

H is the communicative agent to whom S's utterance is directed, therefore, (s)he is the recipient of the speaker's message and intention. Just as intention is an attribute of S, attention is the corresponding attribute of H.

Most traditional linguistic definitions of 'attention' limit this notion to the "cognitive resources available to the interlocutor that make communication a conscious action" (Kecskes & Zhang, 2009: 342). However, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "attention" as "notice taken of someone or something; the regarding of someone or something as interesting or important ♦ the mental faculty of considering or taking notice of someone or something" (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2010). Before referring to attention as a mental ability, the ODE cites the meaning of "the regarding of someone or something as interesting or important." This takes us back to what I consider to be two essential characteristics about the notion of attention:

- Attention is subjective. Some entities may be worthy of interest for some people while being completely uninteresting for others.[154] Just like beauty, attention is in the 'eye' of the beholder.

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[153] As I subsequently explain, both attention and salience are multidimensional multilayered concepts, which means that a speaker may try for a proposition to be **salient** at various levels. See section 3.2.2.2. to know more about attention and section 3.2.3.1.2.2 for a definition of salience.

[154] "A certain symbol might be innocuous to one person, but might provoke strongly positive or negative reactions in someone else" (Biggs et al., 2012: 538).

- Attention is a multilayered concept. As human beings often have various interests, attention has multiple levels. Therefore, attention may have different degrees of informational, affective and social nuances. Moreover, attention may be all of the above at the same time, yet in different degrees, depending on the interlocutor's communicative environment and intentions. In this study, the notion of attention will encompass all semantic, informational, affective and social aspects of attention.

Even though any given H relies on an a priori core set of attentional resources (i.e. physical and psychological attributes, knowledge based on prior experience, etc.), just like intention, attention can also be emergent. Naturally, H's degree and quality of attention will depend on the emergent characteristics of the communicative environment at the moment of each utterance (i.e. relation with the speaker, subject of the conversation, emergent situational context, etc.). At both the cognitive-informational and the affective and pragmatic level, a combination of the aforementioned core and emergent factors will determine which entities, knowledge and emotions are more easily available and retrievable for H— that is, more salient[155] to H's attention.

Due to the fact that salience is inevitably tied to the interlocutors' private prior experiences, what is salient for S might not be salient for H, and what is relevant for S might not be relevant for H. It is precisely in these differences between what the interlocutors perceive as 'salient' that miscommunication might occur.

[4]   CONTEXT: In a movie, there is a scene of two lovers walking on the beach at sunset while a white dog runs and plays around them. The scene lasts around 3 seconds and then the camera focuses on the lovers. At this moment, S turns and asks H:

(S) Doesn't it look exactly like May [a dog S used to have when he was young]?

(H) What? Who?

The miscommunication we can observe in this example lies in the very essence of salience. For some seconds, S and H were exposed to the same emergent context. However, while S put his attention on the dog in the scene, considering it a salient entity, H did not seem to notice it as a relevant element (being focused on the lovers) and therefore, the difference between the degree of

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[155] For more information about salience see section 3.2.3.1.2.2.

salience of the dog granted by S and H is such that communication is not possible, for H is not able to find the 'correct' referent in the context.

3.2.2.2.1.   Assumed attentional status

Once the interlocutors are immersed in conversation, it is technically impossible for S to assess accurately and objectively H's level of attention at the time of the utterance.[156] Hence, S needs to generate his/her own evaluation of the attentional state of H in order to choose a communicative strategy that will satisfy their intentions.[157] This evaluation will rely on S's perception of the communicative situation and, consequently, also on the assumptions it generated. For this reason, we will refer to this evaluation as assumed attentional status.[158]

According to my data, when S estimates that the H's attentional status is not 'primed' to receive his/her proposition (it may be misplaced, insufficient or nonexistent), S tends to make use of one or more communicative strategies to manage H's attentiveness. As I will explain in section 3.2.3.1.2, focus is one of these strategies, and the CI is one of the tools that LA speakers have at their disposal to implement this strategy.

3.2.2.3.   Collaboration and Egocentrism

While, as we have previously seen in section 3.1 most pragmatic theories conceive communication as a mainly cooperative act, cognitive theories regard communication as a chaotic process where the interlocutors' communicative attitudes are egocentric by nature, in the sense

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[156] The only way to do so would involve speakers systematically inquiring hearers on their potential receptivity to the coming proposition. Such a dynamic would make communication an extremely long and boring process, devoid of any elements of surprise or spontaneity.

[157] I refer here to the **reception level** of the intention formation process. See section 3.2.2.1.2.

[158] For the purpose of this study, the notion of *assumed attentional status* will be even more relevant than the hearer's *actual attentional status,* given that it is precisely depending on the former, and not on the latter that speakers will define the tools they will make use of in each utterance in their quest to achieve the degree and quality of attention they deem adequate for their intentions. This process reminds us once more of the egocentric aspect of human communication.

that they rely on their private individual knowledge and their private contexts, each of which is based on their prior experiences.

My theoretical framework follows cognitive approaches when conceiving communication as a 'clash' between the interlocutors' private communicative environments, while not denying, nevertheless, that there is an intrinsic collaborative aspect to every communicative act.

In other words, I argue that the nature of communicative intentions is both collaborative and egocentric. In wanting to establish— and later, modify and update— a CG between her/him and H, S targets the common elements between them both, trying to reach out to build a common project. Therefore, all communicative acts are, in part, inherently cooperative, given that S could have always chosen simply not to communicate. It is the strategies that interlocutors use to fulfill their individual egocentric purposes— that form part of the essential collaborative purpose— that can be labelled as egocentric, for they are based in the interlocutors' individual own knowledge and assumptions (i.e. the interlocutors' individual communicative contexts).

In the 'game' of communication, every participating interlocutor has an egocentric independent purpose— normally, to score a communicative 'goal.' In fact, the existence of these purposes is what gives sense to the very occurrence of the match. However, for the match to take place, both teams have to agree to meet within a common space and to comply with a given set of rules.

It is precisely because interlocutors are not oblivious either to the confrontational nature of communication or to their collaborative shared intent, that they constantly make use of specific communicative strategies and tools whose aim is either to repair, to put remedy or to minimize the natural consequences of this communicative 'clash'. Oftentimes, as a result of language's social function, interlocutors inevitably deal with these 'clashes' through the management of social status — this is, by means of managing both their own faces and their interlocutors'.[159]

The following chapters will illustrate that the CI in LA functions, precisely, as one of the aforementioned communicative tools as they will provide the reader with a detailed explanation on its specific function and impact on communication.

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[159] See section4.4 for an explanation on the relation between CI in LA and the notions of social status and face.

3.2.3. The Communicative Strategies and Tools

Communicative agents are immersed in a communicative environment that shapes their communicative dynamics. Naturally, speakers develop a series of communicative strategies that will help them fulfill their multidimensional intentions —whose formation has been shaped by the nature of both their and the hearer's communicative contexts. In order to carry out these strategies, they resort to the communicative tools available in a particular linguistic system. Therefore, while Communicative Strategies are universal— common to human nature—, the Communicative Tools available to speakers will differ depending on the linguistic system and on its user.

In other words, and back to our metaphor, in a communicative 'match,' each team will choose its tactics and strategies according to its main objectives, which in turn will depend on various factors (e.g. what they know about the conditions of the playground, the other team, its physical and mental state, etc.). Each team chooses a strategy and maneuvers that best serve its purpose and fits its performance style.

As is the case with intentions, the informational and affective dimensions of strategies naturally overlap. For example, if I intend to inform a friend about a surprising incident I have experienced, my intention might be complex and have multiple aspects: it can be at the same time informative (I want to tell a certain story) and affective (I want H to understand and feel himself the surprise I experienced). Thus, I will probably require the use of several strategies: (1) I might want to keep some information from H to create an atmosphere of suspense and reveal it gradually and in strategic moments of the conversation; (2) I may purposely lead H into expecting a particular ending; (3) I might choose to highlight the surprising turn of the affairs in order to recreate for H the same feeling of surprise I experienced.

What is not a surprise is that human linguistic systems produce a plethora of communicative tools that match the complexity of the communicative strategies they are made to realize.[160] The following section will concentrate on the important communicative strategy of 'focus.'

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[160] Communicative tools can range from lexical choice, to the length of the utterance, the use of pauses, intonation, silences, body language, etc.

3.2.3.1. Focus and Topic

The notions of focus and topic both refer to communicative needs and linguistic tools used by S to adapt his/her propositions to the state of H at the moment of the utterance. Scholars seem to agree on the different informational considerations that give rise to the variation in linguistic structures, namely (a) what the speaker is attending to, (b) what the speaker wants the addressee to focus on, (c) what is assumed to be already known, (d) what is considered important and (e) what is considered background information (Arnold et al., 2013: 403).[161]

Two main approaches have been adopted by scholars in their studies on the structuring of information in a sentence or proposition. The first one draws a clear distinction between 'new' and 'given' information, while the second, and most popular, highlights the distinction between 'topic' (the thing or entity we talk about) and 'focus' (the most important or salient parts of what we say about the topic).[162] This dichotomist approach traditionally followed by both currents has left researchers a myriad of conceptual pairs that have attempted to cover the broad notions of givenness, newness, topicality and focality: topic and focus (the Prague School of linguistics), *mubtadaʔ* and *xabar* (Sibawayhi), *musnad* and *musnad ʔilayhi* (Levin, 1981:150); psychological subject and psychological predicate (Gabelentz, 1869: 378); theme and rheme (Ammann, 1928); topic and comment (Hockett, 1958: 201), etc. However, despite the richness of all these approaches, it seems that most of them have tended to overlook the importance of affective factors as key motivators for variations in information packaging.

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[161] Even with scholars having reached a consensus on these matters, the studies on IS are tremendously heterogeneous— a fact that at times has deprived this field from the necessary terminological and conceptual harmony that any scientific ought to have. In Levinson's words, this situation can be summarized as follows: "Terminological profusion and confusion and underlying conceptual vagueness, plague the relevant literature to a point where little may be salvageable" (Levinson, 1983: x).

[162] In a general framework of Information Structure, I believe these definitions of topic and focus inspired by Dik (1997: 310) are, to say the least, oversimplified generalizations. Both terms *topic* and *focus* have been used by several schools of linguistic thought to express different concepts, and it is our impression that to this day, unfortunately, we cannot speak of unified universal notions for *topic* and *focus*.

The present study will deeply explore the notion of focus, trying to build on the existing literature to provide an updated, more realistic definition of this notion that sheds light onto both its informational and affective components.

3.2.3.1.1. Topic

Initially, the notion of topic was identified with that of 'psychological subject' (Gabelentz (1869: 378), which referred to the object or entity which the speaker is thinking about. Later, the informational notion of 'topic' started to be defined simply as 'what a statement is about' (Strawson, 1964: 97).

More modern comprehensive studies on the nature and function of topics such as that of Reinhart (1982) started to move away from the idea of 'aboutness' by defining the notion of topic within a broader theory of communication that compares the human mind to a 'file card system'. In this system, information (i.e., comments) is thought to be organized and stored under different file cards bearing specific headings (i.e., topics). In this sense, the topic "identifies the entity or set of entities under which the information expressed in the comment constituent should be stored in the CG content" (Krifka, 2007: 41). In the following example from Syrian Arabic, for instance, the topic would be نحن 'niḥna' (we) which appears at an initial-sentence position (Brustad, 2000: 332):

[5]   نحن أكتر شي منعمله يعني كبّة مقليّة

Niḥna ʔaktar ši   mnaʕmlu   yaʕni   kibbe   maqliyye
We   most   thing prog-we-do-it   it-means   kibbe   fried
'We, the thing we make most, that is, is fried kibbe'

3.2.3.1.2. Focus

While there seems to be a degree of accord about the definition of topic, the notion of focus has been studied and described from various perspectives that do not often intersect. Focus has been traditionally identified as the 'most important' part of an utterance and/or as the 'new information' provided in a sentence. However, in the first place, the intrinsic subjective and ambiguous nature of the notion of 'importance' makes it impossible for us to accept this quality

as a *sine qua non* condition for the notion of focus[163]. Secondly, the numerous examples of cases where a focused constituent has been mentioned in previous utterances— and therefore provided as 'given' information— keeps us from accepting the quality 'new' as a defining feature of focused constituents.

With these considerations in mind, let us observe the following utterance, which was taken from an interview aired in the Lebanese news that became viral in the Lebanese virtual sphere:

[6] أنا ما بحبّ حدًا. أنا ما بحبّ حالي. أنا حالي ما بحبّه. سبحان الله

ʔana	ma	b-ḥəb	ḥadan.	ʔana	ma	b-ḥəb	ḥōli.
I	NEG	HAB-love.I	nobody	I	NEG	HAB-love.I	myself

'I don't love anyone. I don't love myself'

ʔana	HŌLI	[PAUSE] ma	b-ḥəbb-o,		səbḥān	allah
I	myself	[PAUSE] NEG	HAB-love.I-it.M.S		praised	God

'Not even myself[FOC] I love. Praise the Lord [= Can you imagine]!?'

In this utterance, the word حالي*[ḥōli]* is clearly— especially if one takes into consideration the speaker's intonation— the focus of the last sentence, despite being introduced in the previous utterance. In the last sentence, the focused constituent حالي*[ḥōli]* is at once the topic and the focus, what illustrates that the notion of 'newness' is not necessarily tied to the notion of focus.

I believe that the theoretical accounts that ascribe the condition of 'importance' and 'newness' to focused constituents are not adequate for any comprehensive linguistic analysis of focus in general, and therefore will not be useful for the purposes of this study in particular.

First, in linguistic systems with specific focus markers —such as the CI in LA— that do not systematically highlight new information, these theories would fail to explain the motivations behind the speaker's choice to use certain devices for focus marking.

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[163] In Krifka & Musan's words: "We are also not aware of any well drawn out theory of communication that has made clear what "importance" means, let alone one that has introduced a graded notion of importance" (Krifka & Musan, 2012: 17).

Secondly, adopting these theoretical approaches would lead to overlooking the multidimensionality of the notion of focus, more specifically, its affective dimension and the decisive role that affective factors play in the communicative dynamics that lead to the use of different focus markers, regardless of the informational 'newness' of the focused constituent.

Thirdly, the traditionally accepted definitions of 'new' or 'given' information seem to be restricted only to what is 'new' or 'given' with respect to the emergent common ground. However, a piece of information that can seem to have been newly introduced to the emergent common ground might be already part of the core common ground, if it belongs to the common, cultural or formal sense of the speakers (e.g. information that can be classified as 'general knowledge' or 'knowledge of the world').

In short, although some foci may happen to be at times both 'new' and 'important,' I consider that the relation between these qualities and the universal informational phenomenon of focus is merely circumstantial. Since these qualities are not applicable to all foci, they cannot illustrate the true nature of the notion of focus. As a consequence, the definition of focus adopted by this study must be broader that the ones aforementioned.

3.2.3.1.2.1.   Focus and Alternatives

The relation between focus and alternatives could be summarized by the famous quote attributed to Kierkegaard: "If you name me, you negate me. By giving me a name, a label, you negate all the other things I could possibly be." In this philosophical reflection lies the logic behind many linguistic theories, such as the theory of Alternative Semantics (Rooth, 1985; 1992) which establishes that, in order to be fully understood, focus should be seen as a device that introduces and regulates contextual variables. [164]

According to this view, focus is a universal category with an informational and an affective dimension that, at the level of information structure, has the role of highlighting and stressing the existence of particular alternatives. Through focus, the speaker draws the hearer's attention

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[164] "The key to a uniform interpretation for focus is an interpretation principle which introduces a variable, thought as of a **contrasting element or set of contrasting elements**. This variable can be anaphoric to a variety of pragmatic and semantic objects, resulting in a variety of focus-sensitive effects, including both discourse effects and sentence-internal association with focus effects" (Rooth, 1992: 113; my emphasis).

towards the focused constituent, which is hence highlighted over the rest of its potential alternatives — this is, the set of alternatives (SoA). For the purposes of this study, the nature (explicit/implicit) and quality (present/suggested) of the alternatives forming the SoA of specific focus instance will be theoretically contained in the notion of focus environment.[165] Therefore, just like a communicative instance occurs within a communicative environment, we must bear in mind that every focus instance can only happen within a focus environment.

On a more formal note, it is important to point out that the scope of focus, i.e. the nature of the focused constituents, can range from syllables to full predicates, and that one or more of the individual options that form the set of alternatives may or not be explicitly present in the previous discourse (Krifka, 2007).

In [7], for instance, the constituent "*dogs*" is focused and therefore picked within the SoA, i.e. among the potential alternative constituents that, in this case, fit the category 'animals:'

[7] *What animals does Sally like?*
Sally likes [dogs]$_F$
(SoA: cats; birds; snakes; spiders; dolphins; etc.)

By affirming that Sally likes dogs, it is implied that what she likes is not cats, birds, snakes or spiders. The focus environment of this instance (as best as we can determine given the lack of context) would be rather open, for no alternative from the SoA has been made explicit in the communicative environment.

In example [8], however, the focused constituent is an entire predicate, and the focus environment is more 'closed,' as one of the options of the SoA is explicitly mentioned in the interlocutor's question.

[8] *Are you coming to the hike tomorrow?*
No, [I am staying in town]$_F$. I have a lot of work.
(SoA: coming to the hike; going to the beach; visiting my family; etc.)

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[165] Focus environment will range from *closed* to *open* depending on the explicitness of the alternatives of the SoA. This notion of focus environment will be of the utmost importance for the analysis of CI instances in LA I provided in Chapter 5. See section 5.2.1.

As far as the informational dimension of focus is concerned, this study will adopt the definition of focus proposed by Krifka, which is built on the main claim of Alternative Semantics: "Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions" (Krifka, 2007: 18).

Unlike the qualities of 'newness' and 'importance,' the characteristic of 'manifesting the existence of a set of contextual alternatives relevant to the interpretation and understanding of a specific utterance' seems to me an informational quality, common to all foci, that represents accurately the informational nature of the function of focus.[166]

Thus, for the purpose of this study, focus plays with a set of existing alternatives, manifesting its presence and selecting one— the one that was uttered— in contrast to the others by drawing H's attention into it. Now, in order to fully understand the effect of this attention, we will need to bring into play the notion of salience, which we develop briefly in the next section.

3.2.3.1.2.2. Focus and Salience

Cognitive sciences generally define salience as a "cognitive mnemonic attribute" of parts of the representation of a mental model that are "likely to be more active in memory than others" (Falk, 2014: 2).

In linguistics, salience has been approached mainly through two lines of research. The first one concentrates on salience as a regulator of the backward anaphoric relationships in discourse (Ariel, 2001), and proposes that a constituent's accessibility is driven by its informational status in relation to previous discourse (Gundel et al., 1993; 2012). The second one proposes that *salience* functions mainly as a means to control and guide the listener's attention towards a specific entity that will be of importance in the following discourse (Chafe, 1994; Chiarcos, 2009).

The truth is that these approaches, rather than being opposites, may (and probably should) be understood as complementary. Generally, S chooses to draw H's attention towards an entity that

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[166] In their attempt to dissect, understand and explain the notion of focus, linguists who, following the theoretical approach of Alternative Semantics, have created several classifications of this notion. In the next chapter, I will elaborate on two widespread classifications (i.e. a classification of focus according to the **scope** of the focus; and a classification of focus according to the ways in which focus affects **the update of the CG**) with the purpose of testing their validity as typological models to accurately describe focus markers such as CIs in LA.

(s)he considers relevant and salient at a certain point in the discourse, so that, as a result, this entity may also become salient in the mind of H for the immediately following discourse. Therefore, a high degree of salience of an entity may be both the reason and the consequence of the action of 'drawing attention to it.' It might be only a matter of perspective.

Also, in a timeline, salience functions by helping S to retrieve and reinvoke entities from the 'past' discourse in order to bring them to the fore— and therefore to H's attention— because they will certainly be relevant in the 'future' discourse. However, while these two theories are concerned with the past and future of salience, they seem to pass over its present, despite the fact that the present is the obvious link between past and future.

Ergo, the question I find to be of greater significance is: how does salience manage to retrieve entities from the past and offer them a future in the discourse? Or, in other words, what is the 'present' or 'immediate' function of salience?

What is salient is prominent, meaning that what is salient has been drawn attention to. This is why the notion of salience is directly related to the notion of focus— or rather, the notion of salience is simply the other face of the notion of focus. Which brings us to the next question: Is the constituent focused because it is salient? Or it is the constituent salient because it is focused? As it is the case with thought and language, it seems rather pointless to try to determine which one comes first. On a functional basis, it would be much more fruitful to center on the fact that attention is the link that keeps them together.

The important distinction to make is that *focus* is one of the multiple ways in which salience can be summoned. However, this does not mean that focus (among other manifestations of salience) must be present in order for salience to exist.

In the preceding section, I mentioned the link between focus and attention. As for the link between attention and salience, previous psychologic research on semantic and affective salience has demonstrated that "meaning and emotional valence may jointly modulate attention" (Biggs et al., 2012: 538). In the next two chapters, we will see how some of the dimensions of salience seem to be more effective than others in keeping attention. [167]

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[167] Biggs et al. affirm that while "increased semantic salience leads to decrease attentional capture" (Biggs et at., 2012: 538), "affect can restore an item's ability to capture attention" (Biggs et al., 2012: 531).

It also follows that salience, just like attention, is a subjective and multilayered notion.[168] Salience depends entirely on the interlocutors, for they are the ones who— carrying with them their core and emergent contexts—will deposit attention into certain entities, granting them salience.[169]

My definition of salience encompasses semantic, informational, affective and social factors. For this reason, in order to refer to them, throughout this study, I will make use of four notions: semantic salience, informational salience, affective salience and social salience. However, this distinction should not be understood as a classification of different types of salience, but rather as a characterization of the different dimensions of this notion that will allow us to build a holistic understanding of salience and of all its potential implications and effects.[170]

Similarly, this study aims to provide the often-vague notion of focus with a broader definition that extends beyond its informational dimension and that adds to it the dimensions of 'attention' and 'salience.' With this goal in mind, the next section reviews my understanding of focus within the framework of the Multidimensional Model of Communication and, thus, as a multidimensional communicative strategy—where emergent, core, informational and affective aspects of communication meet.

3.2.3.1.2.3.   Focus as a Communicative Strategy

If communication is to be understood as a partially egocentric phenomenon and the communicative act as a 'clash'[171] of contexts, then the CG would be the communal areas that serve as a battlefield for said clash.[172] Although the borderlines of these areas are set by the core contexts

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[168] See section 3.2.2.2.

[169] "The salience of such items can be entirely dependent upon the observer's previous experience with events or circumstances associated with what the symbol represents" (Biggs et al., 2012: 539)

[170] Similarly, this distinction doesn't suggest that salience might not have other dimensions, only that they are not strictly necessary for the development of the present study.

[171] The notion of 'clash' has been inspired by the cognitive accounts. See section 3.1.2.

[172] Although the update of the CG may seem to take place in the *emergent common ground,* the truth is that we do not know enough yet about the nature of the updates in the *core common ground*, and to which degree and at which rhythm updates in the CG (naturally coming from the emergent side) modify the CCG.

of each interlocutor, the inherently dynamic nature of the communicative process modifies these fields constantly, enlarging and shrinking them with every utterance.

Krifka (2007) rightly conceives communication as a continuous change of the common ground, arguing that speakers naturally plan their contributions with respect to the CG, which in turn is continually enriched by said contributions. In this sense, I see focus as indicating that these contributions are taking place by spotlighting the constituents that are playing a role in updating the CG in each utterance.

Nevertheless, if, as we just argued, focus and 'new information' are not the same, and any speaker is, logically, perfectly able to update the CG by the mere act of sharing new information without needing to use a focus, then, why do foci exist? What is exactly their function and purpose?

This study understands focus as a linguistic strategy in charge of 'regulating' or rather 'optimizing' the update of the CG. In this sense, focus optimizes the update of the CG by bringing the attention of H to the focused constituent.[173] At the *presentation level,* the reason why S focuses a certain constituent— and therefore, draws H's attention to it— is because (s)he has the intention to introduce it in the CG in contradistinction to all the other potential constituents that could have similarly been introduced within the focus environment. At the *reception level*, the reason why S feels the need to focus a specific constituent is because (s)he estimates that the degree of attention of H is 'absent', 'scarce' or 'misplaced,' and therefore inadequate for S's intention, which creates a feeling of communicative urgency in the speaker that necessitates the use of focus.

As a result, I conceive of focus as a multidimensional interactional strategy that S puts into action when (s)he wants to draw H's attention to a specific constituent that is updating the CG in contrast with all the other possible alternative updates. The use of focus often happens when S considers that H's assumed attentional status is not primed to receive S's update on the CG in a way that fits S's communicative intention(s). By using focus, S draws H's attention on the focused constituent, increasing its salience.

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[173] This idea has been previously presented by Ersteschik-Shir (1997: 11): "The focus of a sentence S = the (intension of a) constituent of S which the speaker intends to direct the attention of his/her hearer(s) to, by uttering S".

As the analysis of the data will further illustrate, this definition of focus leaves room for the inclusion and integration of all semantic, informational, affective and social dimensions of this notion, which will be developed in more detail in the following chapters.

3.2.3.1.2.4. The Cognate Infinitive in Lebanese Arabic as a Communicative Tool

The communicative strategy of focus should be clearly distinguished from focus marking, i.e., its grammatical realization in the sentence. While the former has a universal nature, the latter varies widely between languages (Lambrecht & Polinsky, 1997); the grammatical means used to mark a focused constituent may range from prosodic and phonological mechanisms to syntactic and morphological devices.[174]

This study argues that the CI in LA functions as a verbal and predicate focus marker. In order to fully understand the implications of this statement within the MMC I will return once again to example [LA.10] that opens the present chapter, this time providing the full context and H's response:

> [LA.10] CONTEXT: A mother and her daughter are preparing dinner together in the kitchen of their house. The mother (S) is secretly supervising every action that the daughter (H) carries out. In some previous utterances, S corrected some of H's actions by giving H pieces of advice to which H seemed to pay little attention. Moments before the utterance, H starts simultaneously a conversation with H₂, occasionally looking at her while preparing the food. When H takes a big knife from the drawer in order to cut some cucumbers, S says loudly:

انتبهي مامي! هيدي السكّينة بتقصّ قصّ! (S)

ntəbh-e	*mami!*	*hayde*	*s-sikkīne*	*bə-t-ʔoṣṣ*	*ʔaṣṣ!*
IMP-watch.out-2FS	mommy	this-F.S	the-knife	HAB-3FS-cut	cut.INF

'Be careful, baby[175], that knife is [really] sharp'

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[174] For instance, contrary to most Romance languages, in many Chadic languages, like in Kwa languages (Niger-Congo), the focus marking strategies vary whether the focused constituent is a subject or non-subject (Zimmermann & Onéa, 2011: 1662). Similarly, and as it will be claimed in the next chapter, the grammatical strategies employed for marking verbal or predicate focus in Lebanese Spoken Arabic differ from those marking nominal focus. See section 4.2.2.

[175] *Reverse role vocatives* are a common phenomenon in LA. See Rieschild, 1998.

إيه ماما، بعرف... (H)

Eh,   māma,   ba-ʕrəf
Yes   mom   HAB-I.know
'I know, mom'

In this example, I argue that the Cognate Infinitive *[ʔaṣṣ]* functions as both a verbal and predicate focus marker. By making use of it, S draws H's attention to the information expressed by the focused constituent(s).[176]

At the presentation level, the mother forms her intention starting from her wish to make a relevant contribution to the CG that she shares with her daughter.[177] At the reception level, S uses a focus because she estimates that her daughter's attentional state at the moment of the utterance is not primed to receive her proposition in a way that fulfills the various aspects of her intention. In order to understand the motivations behind S's choice of using a focus, we should inquire about the reasons behind her evaluation of H's attentional status.

In many cases, such an evaluation comes simply from S's assumption that H does not have knowledge of the information expressed in the utterance. However, in this example, it seems clear that H— being 20 years old and having previously made use of this and other knives— is already aware that the knife she is holding has the property of 'cutting.' As H's answer further shows, this information was already known by H and shared by S and H— meaning it was part of their core common ground.

Therefore, this example provides evidence on two important points. First, speakers motivated by affective reasons may choose to announce a proposition as a relevant contribution to the CG regardless of the informational objective status of said proposition. Secondly, focus can be applied to a constituent that, objectively speaking, does not contain

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[176] To understand how the scope of the focus expressed by the CI in LA can be multiple, see section 4.3.3. in chapter 4.

[177] According to the theoretical accounts that would classify this focus as a 'polarity focus', the focused constituent ['this knife is really sharp'] would be introduced in the CG in contrast to its own negation ['this knife is not sharp']. See Chapter 4.

new information for H, and therefore, does not introduce objectively 'new' information to the CG.

Since the proposition does not seem to be objectively 'relevant' at the informational level, what are the dimensions of S's motivations that render the proposition relevant enough in S's mind to contain a focus marker? And, if H knows the information contained in the utterance, why did S still used a focus marker assuming H's attentional status to be insufficient?

From the beginning of this chapter, I have tried to stress the fact that an utterance should not be isolated from its linguistic and situational context (its communicative environment) nor from the interlocutors uttering and receiving it (its communicative agents).

The communicative environment plays an essential role in the emergence of S's assumptions of H's attentional status. Most probably these assumptions originate both in previous interactions between mother and daughter stored in S's core context (e.g. she may perceive H as 'clumsy' or 'careless' in her use of knives), and in the recent events just added to emergent context (e.g., S might have felt that H was not paying attention to her previous warnings).

Being mother and daughter, S and H share a broad core common ground defined by a concrete series of dynamics and feelings (e.g. love; respect; protection; fear to lose the other; fear that the other will be hurt, feeling of responsibility for the other's safety, etc.). All these factors indicate high levels of S's emotional involvement from the speaker in the communicative situation, which translates into a high degree of commitment towards the utterance (s)he produces.

Moreover, a significant action takes place immediately before the utterance in [LA.10]: the daughter picks up the knife. This shift in the current sense, that is perceived as 'potentially dangerous' by S,[178] kindles feelings of fear and worry in S that feed the formation of a set of assumptions in S's mind, among which, the most emergent one is the negative assumption

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[178] The action carried out by H (picking up the knife) is definitely part of the **current sense**. However, as we argued before, **shared sense** may vary from speaker to hearer, since interlocutors might have different cognitive perceptions of the actual situational context available to them. In this way, S might have perceived the dangers of the shift in the current sense while H has not. See section 3.2.1.3.2.

that H is not fully aware (according to S's standards) of the 'real' importance of S's proposition. As a result of this assumption— which mainly arise from S's high level of personal involvement— a sense of communicative urgency is inevitably born in the mother.

This feeling of urgency fed by S's assumptions shapes her intention, granting more weight to its performative and affective aspects, less to the informative and referential ones: apart from informing H about the function of the knife, the mother's priority is to make sure her daughter is careful, and to express her own concern.

Naturally, all these considerations contribute to S's choice of a communicative tool that grammatically marks focus: the CI. In combination with other communicative tools that also convey aspects of the message— the previous warning imperative انتبهي 'ntəbhe' (be careful), a reverse role vocative مامي 'mami', a rising intonation and a manifested body language— S intends for the CI to succeed in catching her daughter's attention, carrying her communicative intention more accurately and effectively.

3.3. Conclusions

This chapter has presented the Multidimensional Model of Communication as the main theoretical framework for the present study, upon which the entire linguistic analysis of the CI and LA in the following chapters is based.

The MMC accounts for the multidimensional elements involved in the complex system of human communication, as well as for the forces that originate it and dynamically modify it. The way these elements interact could be roughly explained through the following figure:
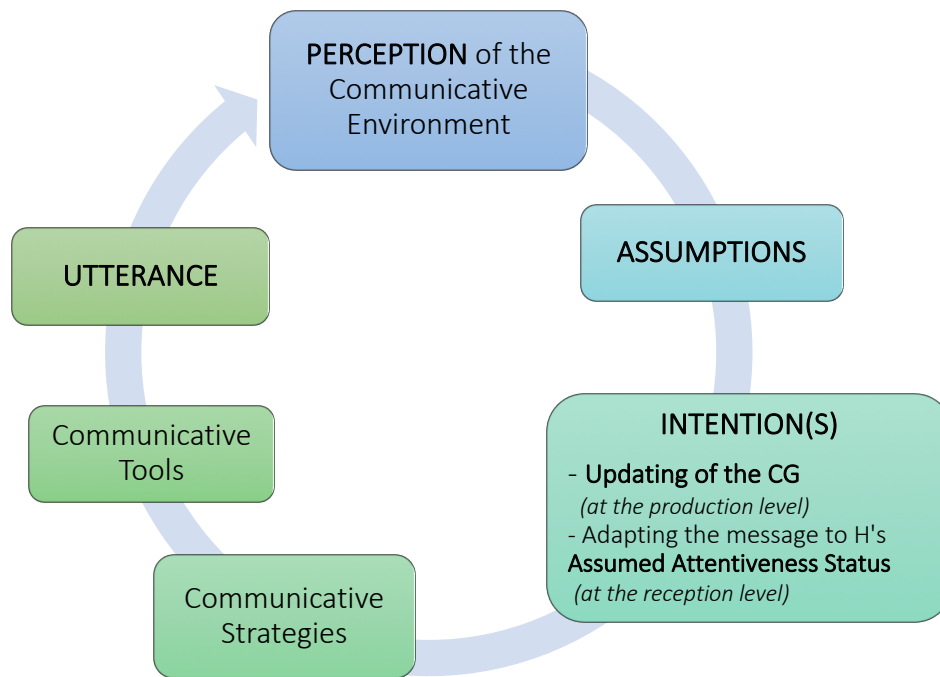
Figure 5: Graphic illustrating the interaction of the elements in the MMC

The speaker's perception of the informational and affective matter in the communicative environment shapes the assumptions of the speaker (communicative agent). From these assumptions springs the speaker's communicative intention— modeled by both S's assumptions on the assumed attentiveness status (at the reception level) and by the speaker's communicative priority of updating the CG (at the production level). Depending on the last two elements, the speaker will consider which communicative strategies to use, as (s)he picks a specific and available communicative tool for her/his utterance.

As Figure 5 above indicates, the MMC describes a flexible, dynamic, and most importantly, ongoing process. Every utterance that is produced automatically becomes part of the communicative environment, changing it, affecting it, and ultimately feeding the communicative cycle all over again.

Combined, Figure 4 and Figure 5 illustrate the overall logic of the MMC. While Figure 4 explains what would represent our imaginary playground for the game of communication, Figure 5 elucidates the rules of the match, this is, the norms and processes of communication.

In general terms, then, the MMC calls for a new methodological approach towards language where communicative experience is understood as the multidimensional multiaspected source of all linguistic activity. Such an approach must imperatively acknowledge both the emergent and the core dimensions of communication and must grant equal importance to the indispensable notions of information and affect. Moreover, by highlighting the importance of the communicative environment— which naturally surrounds every communicative act—, the MMC brings into light the necessity to illustrate linguistic theory by providing readers with complete contextualized and comprehensive utterances rather than with artificial isolated examples— which are often conveniently brought up only to exemplify specific theoretical notions.

At a more specific level, through the MMC, this chapter has provided the reader with a definition of focus that is consistent with a realistic model of human natural communication, and that is, I argue, also able to account for the numerous uses of the CI in LA as a focus marker.

Just as it happens in the communicative cycle, also in the MCC, the general purposes naturally feed the more specific ones. As we will see in the following chapters, a linguistic theory that neglects the relevance of affective components and deals with isolated utterances would have never been able to account for the real motivations of the use of focus, or for any of their grammatical manifestations— hence the need for the Multidimensional Model of Communication in this study.

CHAPTER 4

THE COGNATE INFINITIVE IN LEBANESE ARABIC AS A FOCUS MARKER

Informational and Affective Dimensions

> *"The term 'emphatic' is much abused in linguistics as*
> *a blanket term for undetermined distinctions"*

> Ingham, 1994: 148

4.1. Introduction

As Chapter 1 illustrated, the Cognate Infinitive has generally been said to express the vague notion of emphasis across the varieties of Arabic in which it has been studied. What this emphasis means; where, how, and why exactly this emphasis is placed; and how this emphasis affects the communicative situation remain open questions to which this study attempts to provide answers.

The previous chapter developed a model of communicative events, the MMC, that defines focus as a strategy that regulates and optimizes information structure and therefore facilitates the process of updating the CG.[179]

In this light, the present chapter demonstrates that what seems to create this 'emphatic' feeling is, in fact, the placement of a focus on the verb that the CI accompanies. First, it explores the limitations of the existing definitions and classifications of focus using examples from our CI corpus—for these definitions limit the scope of focus to the informational dimension, and thus are not sufficient to account either for the communicative functions of the CI, or the full range of S's motivations to use this tool. Secondly, this chapter probes contextualized CI data to seek functions and motivations beyond the informational. The CI is an appropriate structure to examine for extra-informational motivations precisely because (1) its use is optional and (2) its occurrence among close-knit social groups suggests social and affective meanings. This study argues that this new approach to focus is necessary because the need to express and transmit different kinds of affect is one of the motivations for its use.

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[179] For a more detailed explanation of this process see section 3.2.3.1.2. (Focus).

The approach to focus that I introduce in the present chapter, and that will be further developed in Chapter 5, aims to (1) present focus as a communicative strategy that, by managing the interlocutors' attention, increases the salience (semantic, affective, informational, social) of the focused constituent(s), and (2) present the CI as a focus marker that moves across an informational – affective continuum, through different pragmatic functions and different levels of language: semantic, informational, affective and social.

4.2. The Informational Dimension of the Cognate Infinitive

This section presents a brief overview of previous work on IS in LA, with special attention to focus.

4.2.1. Information Structure in Lebanese Arabic

The present section intends to provide the reader with a brief overview of the grammatical realizations of information structure in LA. However, it falls short of a general description of the IS in LA because, unfortunately, the scarce literature that addresses IS in LA (or for that matter in other related Levantine varieties) does not provide us with a full detailed picture of IS phenomena in these dialects. Nonetheless, these works contribute to our knowledge of the heterogeneity and variety of linguistic mechanisms regulating IS in Levantine Arabic (see especially Cowell, 1964; Ouhalla, 1999; Brustad, 2000; Chahal, 2001; 2003; Owens & Elgibali, 2013; Benmamoun & Bassiouney, 2018).

Intonation and variation in word order seem to be the most common techniques operating within LA to mark aspects of IS. Chahal (2001, 2003) affirmed that LA uses gradient manipulation of pitch range to mark focus, and that variation in the dynamic cues used may signal different types of focus (broad vs. narrow). Cowell (1964: 419) hinted at the correlation between certain syntactic inversions and high-pitch accents. As for word order variation, Brustad identified that "the inversion of unmarked word orders often results in either a focus of contrast or one of several kinds of topicalization (new topic, contrastive topic, or resumptive topic)" (Brustad, 2000: 362). The following example, taken from Cowell (1964: 430), illustrates how the extraposition of certain constituents mixed with intonation is used to regulate informational notions:

[11]   الشتويّة ببيروت، ما في أحلى من هيك

[əš-šətwiyye   b-bērūt]top/foc *mā*   *fī*   *ʔaḥla mən   hēk*

104

DET-winter	in-Beirut	NEG	there.is	nicer	than	like.this

'The winter season in Beirut— there is nothing nicer than that!

Another device that regulates IS in Levantine Arabic is the object marker *la-,* a construction used to mark definite, individuated objects (Levin, 1987; Khan, 1984) and that pragmatically functions as a resumptive topic marker, meaning it "recalls or reinvokes a topic into active registry," and that tends to occur in narrative contexts (Brustad, 2000: 355):

[12]   شفته لمحمّد اليوم؟

šəft-o   *la-mḥammad*   *əl-yōm*

(saw.2MS-him   la-Mohammad   DET-day)

'Did you see Mhammad today?'

The linguistic sensitivity and intuition of these scholars led them to hint correctly at the relationship between these pragmatic devices and affective notions such as control,[180] perception,[181] assumptions,[182] or emotions,[183] all of which, as we saw in the last chapter, are essential to understanding the functioning of human communication.

4.2.2. Focus in Lebanese Arabic

Speakers use focus markers to highlight a constituent of his/her utterance in order to draw H's attention to it in contrast to all other potential alternatives. There are a number of grammatical tools available in LA to mark a focus constituent, and, as the present section shows, they may vary

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[180] "As I argued to be the case for other syntactic structures examined in this study, speaker control plays an important role in the realization of sentence structure" (Brustad, 2000: 355). Brustad's notion of speaker control was the base for the creation of the notion of **speaker's agency** and of its related continua, which are pivotal elements of the analysis explained in Chapter 4.

[181] "The speaker's **perception of a state** or event determines its **portrayal** as topic-focused, event-focused, and the framing of entities as new topics, resumptive topics, contrastive topics, or new information" (Brustad, 2000: 355; emphasis mine).

[182] "In doing so, the speaker assumes that the listener knows the topic and can identify the specific referent, but feels the need to reinvoke the topic, perhaps because it has not been active in the conversational registry, or perhaps because the **speaker believes that the interlocutor has forgotten about it**" (Brustad, 2000: 355; emphasis is mine)

[183] Levin (1987) observes that the object marker *la-* occurs in contexts with an emphasis or emotional content.

depending on the nature of the constituent itself, whether it is a verb, a noun, a pronoun, a full predicate, etc.

Predicates, for instance, are commonly put into focus through predicate inversion, that is, by postponing the subject (Cowell, 1964: 419). [184]

[14]   ظريف كتير نبيل

zarīf   _ktīr_   _Nabīl_

(fun   very   Nabil)

'Nabil is a lot of fun'

Objects are generally put into focus by being extraposed. Although fronted objects can also mark these constituents as topics exclusively, the focused nature and contrastive function of an extraposed object is demonstrated by the absence of a resumptive pronoun (Brustad, 2000: 349-350):

[15]   إذن ما بتعطيني

_[ʔizən]_foc   _ma_   _b-taʕṭī-ni_

(permission NEG   HAB-2FS.give-me)

'Permission you won't give me'

Subject pronouns in LA, and in other varieties of Arabic, do not have to be explicitly present in verbal clauses, since Arabic verbs are already inflected with person, number and gender. This optionality strongly suggests that their position in the sentence must have a pragmatic function. While subject pronouns that appear in pre-verbal position are topicalized, subject pronouns are generally put into focus when they are placed in a post-verbal position (Brustad: 2000: 344).

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[184] According to Cowell (1964: 419), this inversion "puts relatively more emphasis on the predicate, less on the subject". Cowell falls into the 'emphasis' trap when what he really senses could be better identified as focus.

[16]   ما تتعذّبي. هلّق بينظّفو هنّي

ma	tətʕazzabe.	hallaʔ	b-y-naḍḍf-o	[hənne]foc
NEG	IPFV.2FS.bother	now	HAB.3.clean.PL	they

'Don't bother. They will clean now'

The contrastive focus expressed by the subject pronoun is evident in [16], where the 3rd person plural pronoun هنّي 'henne' contrasts with the subject of the verb in the first sentence, which is 2nd person feminine singular.

All of the above-mentioned focus strategies have one thing in common: they focus mainly nominal constituents. However, does this mean that there are no strategies to focus verbal constituents (i.e. verbs or verbal predicates) in LA? To the best of my knowledge, hardly anything has been written on verbal focus in spoken Arabic varieties. Rather than assume it does not exist, I propose here that this gap suggests that scholars have not yet fully identified the nature of verbal focus markers in the Arabic varieties, perhaps because such mechanisms may resemble neither those focusing nominal constituents, nor verbal focus markers in other languages.

The morphosyntax of Arabic varieties in general seem to preclude the use of word order-based strategies for verbal focus. Even if I were to consider LA an SVO variety[185], the fact that verbs in Arabic are already inflected with person gender and number would account for the omission of subjects and therefore for the fact that many unmarked sentences in LA in fact are headed by a conjugated verb. In these type of sentences, extraposition does not seem like a useful tool—for the verb already occupies an initial-sentence position in the unmarked order.

I argue that, along with other linguistic tools, such as intonation and the use of focus-sensitive particles such as بس bass (only) or حتّى ḥattā (even), the CI functions grammatically as a verbal focus marker that can target any verbal constituent. The following example, a fragment of a conversation overheard by the author at the American University of Beirut in September 2017, will serve to demonstrate:

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[185] I agree with Brustad (2000) in the existence of a variety of unmarked orders, for I find word order in Arabic varieties to be fluid and directly related to the speaker's intention and, therefore, to the nature and style of the speech.

[LA.11] CONTEXT: Two girls in their early 20's wearing athletic clothes. One of them (S) is proudly telling some male friends in university about their morning, which they spent walking by the seaside. One of these friends (H) puts into question the truth of their story in a playful tone:

مشينا عشرة كيلومتر اليوم (S)

mšī-na	*ʕašra*	*kilomətər*	*əl-yōm*
walk-PFV.1PL	ten	kilometer	DET-day

'Today we walked 10 kilometers'

والله؟ عشرة؟ مشيتوهن ولّا كزدرتو نصّهن بالسيّارة؟ (H)

w-allah?	*ʕašra?*	*mši-tū-on*	*walla*	*kazdar-to*
really	ten	walk-PFV.2PL-them	or	cruise-PFV.2PL

noṣṣ-on	*b-əs-səyāra?*	*[laughs]*
half-them	in-DET-car	

'Did you really walk for 10 km or did you do half of them by car?'

لأ! والله مشيناهن مشي! (S)

laʔ	*w-allah*	*mšinē-on*	*maše*
no	and-God	walk-PFV.1PL-them	crunch.INF

'No! I swear we did walked [them]!'

In example [LA.11] above, like in many other instances of my CI data, the hearer's response to the initial proposition helped generate all the communicative circumstances necessary to trigger in S the need to use a focus. By making alternatives explicit, H updates the CG with information that generates specific assumptions in the mind of the speaker about the CG and about the attentional status of the hearer (i.e. about the assumed informational gap(s) of the hearer), which trigger certain communicative motivations.

The following two sections will describe in depth the communicative motivations, both informational and affective, for the use of the CI by LA speakers as a tool to employ the communicative strategy of focus.

4.2.3.   The CI in LA as an Informational Focus Marker

As has been previously established in the Chapter 3, I understand that focus (1) pragmatically, "indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions" (Krifka, 2007: 18; emphasis mine); and (2) communicatively, is a strategy that S puts into action to optimize the updating of the CG when S assumes that H might not be prepared for S's update to the CG in a way that fits S's intention(s).[186]

It is on this basis that I claim that the CI construction in LA functions as a focus marker, for it plays the role of highlighting one action over the possible alternative action(s) within a specific set of alternatives (SoA) to be taken into account for the update of the CG. Let's examine the following example:

[LA.12] CONTEXT: A man (H) is carrying a couch on his back waiting for the woman who bought it (S) to tell him what he should do with it. The woman bumped into a neighbor and kept talking to her while the man waited with the sofa still on his shoulders. Apparently tired, the man asked the woman:

بفوّتلِك ياها للكنباية، مدام؟ (H)

b-fawwət-lik	*yēh-a*	*la*	*l-kanabēye,*	*madām?*
HAB-put.inside.I-to.you.F.S	ACC.FS	OBJ	DET-sofa	madame?

'Should I put the sofa inside, ma'am?'

لا، حُطّها حطّ هون، بليز (S)

la,	*ḥəṭṭ-a*	*ḥəṭṭ*	*hōn,*	*plīz*
no	IMP.put.2MS-it.F.S	put. INF	here	please

'No, [just] drop it here, please'

Pragmatically, S is presenting the action of 'dropping the sofa' in a specific location and highlighting it over the other potential alternatives contained in the SoA suggested by the communicative environment: *put the sofa inside*; *leave the sofa outside; put it back in the truck; take it upstairs,* etc. In this case, one of these alternatives, 'putting the sofa inside,' had been already made explicit by H in his previous utterance. S places a focus onto the predicate *'drop it here'* (حطّها حطّ *ḥəṭṭ-a ḥəṭṭ*) in order to (1) reject the predicate suggested by H, 'put it inside,' by

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[186] See section 3.2.3.1.2. for a full definition of focus.

disallowing its introduction in the CG and (2) to present it as the 'correct' alternative to be introduced in the CG.

Communicatively, S seems to be motivated to mark focus on the predicate 'drop it here' by the appearance of an explicit alternative (H's 'put it inside') that competes with it. H's utterance leads S to assume that H's attention is placed on an alternative that is 'incorrect' in her eyes, since, presumably, H is lacking information. The speaker's communicative intention is mainly performative[187] in the sense that S is trying to ensure H's complete comprehension so that he carries out the action that S wishes.

From the informational point of view, everything indicates that 'focus marker' is, in fact, the pragmatic and communicative function fulfilled by the CI in LA. However, even though this function is applicable to all the instances of our corpus, the analysis of the data gathered for this study reveals tremendous heterogeneity within that function. The CI in LA, just like focus markers in many other languages, appears in a variety of communicative and linguistic environments, and, accordingly, its use expresses a variety of nuances.

In an attempt to better understand the various nuances of the use of the CI in LA, I examined the attempts of previous scholars to classify the broad notion of focus. The following section provides the reader with a brief literature review with the main purpose of exploring whether the CI instances gathered for this study would fit into the available categories of focus as they have been proposed.

4.3. Previous Classifications of Focus

Over the past several decades, linguists have made progress in their attempts to dissect and explain the informational-structural notion of focus. They have created classifications of focus based on unifying definitions according to which representations of this notion across languages could convene. Initial classification systems that built largely on evidence from English have been challenged as new linguistic research on focus markers in world languages has been gradually coming to light (Kiss, 1998; Bond & Anderson, 2014).

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[187] Austin, J. L. (1975). *How to do things with words*. Oxford University Press. Later in the dissertation the term performative will be used differently.

One of the main concerns throughout this literature lies in whether focus affects meaning or not. This concern spawned one of the most common dichotomies in the classification of focus: *pragmatic vs semantic focus*. Krifka argues that 'pragmatic foci' are only helpful elements to "guide the direction into which communication should develop", whereas 'semantic foci' are those which have an effect on the truth-conditional content of the proposition (Krifka, 2007: 21). The establishment of semantic focus as an independent category has given rise to a myriad of other subtypes of focus (scalar, additive, exhaustive, etc.)[188] to the point that one may find in the literature as many focus types as focus-sensitive particles exist.[189]

Another tendency present in the literature has revolved around distinguishing between *informational* vs *contrastive focus* (Halliday, 1967; Lambrecht, 1994). This differentiation is essentially based on whether the alternative(s) to the focused constituent have previously been made explicit in the preceding discourse or not. Whereas 'information focus' (also referred to as 'presentational focus' or 'wide focus'; see Lambrecht, 1994; Kidway, 1999; Winkler, 2011) simply introduces new information to the CG, 'contrastive focus' (Dik, 1997; Mólnar, 2001; Lee, 2003; also referred to as 'narrow focus; see Rochemont, 1986; Frascarelli, 2010)— does so in a context where other contrasting alternatives have been previously mentioned.

Ever since it was born, this dichotomist classification has been constantly updated by studies proposing new types of focus, such as 'identificational focus' (Kiss, 1998),[190] or by new conceptualizations of focus, such as that of Krifka (2007), who establishes that all foci are, by

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[188] **Scalar focus**, usually marked in English with the particle *even,* is applied to constituents where, the focusing of the constituent *x* implicates the negation of any higher element of the scale (Rooth, 1992: 82-83). **Additive focus** is applied to a proposition "when the proposition is valid for the focus and for at least one other member of the set of alternatives" (Dimroth & Klein, 1996, taken from Watorek & Perdue, 2008) A classic example of additive focus marker in English would be *also.* **Exhaustive focus**, which may be often marked in English through the particle *only,* indicates that "the focus denotation is the only one among the alternatives that leads to a true assertion" (Krifka, 2007: 25; Kiss, 2010).

[189] For a general overview on different kinds of focus see Krifka, 2007; Skopeteas & Fanselow, 2009; Büring, 2010; Zimmermann & Onea, 2011; Van der Wal, 2016.

[190] Kiss' (1998) study analyzes **identificational focus** in Romanian and compares it also to parallel notions in other languages to conclude that 'identificational focus' should be considered an independent category of focus since its realization in different languages (Catalan, Italian, Finish) may have both exhaustive and/or contrastive value(s).

definition, contrastive.[191] In fact, the affirmation that alternatives— whether explicit or not—play a role in every kind of focus has shifted the concern from the (non)existence of the SoA onto its size and nature, which led Krifka to suggest what is, in my opinion, a much more useful classification: *open vs closed focus*, the former referring to foci with a restricted set of alternatives, and the latter to foci with an unrestricted set of alternatives. I found this distinction useful for the conception of the notion of 'focus environment', which I further develop in section 5.2.1 and which also ranges from 'closed' to 'open'.

As we will see, while some theoretical approaches have indeed taken an interest in the scope of focus and built classifications according to the size and nature of the focused constituents, thus distinguishing among nominal focus, verbal focus, predicate focus, etc. (Givón, 1975; Zimmermann & Hole, 2008); others seem concerned with the general ways in which focus-induced alternatives are used with respect to the common ground (CG), that is, with the ways in which focus affects updating, distinguishing among corrective focus, confirmation focus, selective focus and parallel focus, among others (Lambrecht, 1994; Rooth, 1992; Krifka, 2007; Zimmermann & Onea, 2011; Krifka & Musan, 2012).

In the two following subsections, I will review the main categories of focus that have been developed in the literature according to the two aforementioned criteria (e.g., focus scope and updating the CG). The purpose of this review is to test whether these categories can be used as a typological framework for our CI instances, and whether or not they can help us describe the CI's informational function fully and accurately.

4.3.1. *Types of focus according to updating the CG*

The main criteria upon which this classification stands respond to one question: What is being introduced and in contrast to what?

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[191] "Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions" (Krifka, 2007: 18).

Differences among the various types of focus can be based on the different ways in which the focused constituent interacts with the SoA made relevant[192] by the focus (Zimmermann and Onea, 2011: 1663).

The different ways in which focused constituents update the CG have generally been classified as: corrective, exhaustive, contrastive, parallel, selective and polarity focus, to name the most common (Krifka, 2007; Krifka & Musan, 2012). As the following section illustrates, the criteria often used to set the different kinds of foci off from each other normally rely on formal—and rather inconsequential— factors, such as the explicit presence of alternatives in the focus environment, the negation of one or more alternatives, the number of alternatives introduced in the CG, etc.

In the following subsections I provide a definition for each of the aforementioned types of focus and illustrate its use with CI instances from the corpus. In doing so, this review aims to test whether this classification of ways to update the CG could be the fundamental criteria for a comprehensive classification of the CI in LA as a focus marker.

4.3.1.1.   Corrective focus

Corrective focus has been previously described to occur when the focused constituent (X_{foc}) competes with one or more alternatives from the SoA for introduction in the CG. The alternatives must be explicitly mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse (Zimmermann & Onéa, 2011: 1662; Krifka & Musan, 2012: 11).

The CI instances present in my data that could be considered to have a corrective focus suggest three fundamental additions, or rather, clarifications, to this general definition. First, the introduction of X_{foc} in the CG cancels the introduction of the rest of alternatives. Secondly, the alternatives competing with X_{foc} might have been (1) explicitly mentioned in the preceding or immediately subsequent discourse by the speaker or the addressee(s) or (2) inferred from a non-linguistic element existing in the immediate context of the communicative situation. Thirdly, instances of focus with a corrective value often— but not always— show exhaustive nuances, i.e. indicate that "the focused constituent is the only one among the alternatives that leads to a true assertion" (Krifka, 2007: 25).

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[192] It is worth reminding that the degree of the 'relevance' of the alternatives in a determined utterance is ultimately decided by the speaker, according to his/her egocentric individual perception of the communicative environment.

In the following example, the CI is acting clearly as a corrective focus marker, because S focuses the predicate 'move the table' (X_foc), which competes for introduction to the CG with an alternative mentioned in the immediately preceding utterance by H: 'extend the table.' The introduction of X_foc automatically cancels that of H's suggestion and suggests that X_foc is the only valid alternative.

[LA.13]   CONTEXT: While they set up the table and move furniture to prepare the dining room for a family dinner, H tries to help her sister (S) when she sees her manipulating the table.

شو بدّك تعملي إكستنزيون للطاولة؟ (H)

šū,	*bədd-ik*	*taʕml-e*	extension_FR	*la-ṭ-ṭāwle?*
what	want.you.F.SG	IPFV.do.2FS.	extension	to-the-table

'Do you want to extend the table?

لا، بدّي زيحها زيح، بس هيك (S)

la,	*badde*	*zīḥ-a*	*zēḥ.*	*bas*	*hēk.*
NEG	want.I	move.I.IPFV- it.F.SG	move.INF	just	like.that

'No, I [just] want to move it. Just like this.

In [LA.13], S decides to focus the predicate 'move the table' in order to correct her sister's 'mistaken' assumptions embodied in the predicate 'extend the table,' reinforcing at the same time the invalidity of any other option: she wants to move the table only.

4.3.1.2.   Exhaustive focus

Instances of CI foci with an exhaustive value occur in my data when X_foc is announced by the speaker as the only alternative that should be introduced in the CG. The alternatives that are potentially competing with X_foc for introduction in the CG are not mentioned explicitly in the preceding discourse.

However, my data show that the use of exhaustive focus is probably motivated by the speaker's assumption that one or more of the possible unspecified alternatives might be dominant in H's

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mind, to which S reacts by asserting the exclusivity of X_{foc}, and consequently, the rejection of anything else.[193] In these cases, the CI co-occurs with the focus-sensitive particle بسّ *bass* (only).

In the following example, for instance, S may have assumed that H is considering an alternative ('S is asking for a raise from all neighbors'), which S would like to completely erase from H's mind— even though it has not been made explicit by H yet:

[LA.14]   CONTEXT: S, a concierge in H's building, complains to H about the low salary he receives for his job and asks for H to give him some extra money (at this moment H was leaving the house with his girlfriend [H₂]). After that, he starts telling H about his tragic family situation. At some point, H doubts whether S is asking this officially from all neighbors or whether it is a targeted request, and he poses this question to H₂ in English so that the concierge will not understand. Feeling H's hesitation, S then says:

أنا بسّ عم قلكن تَتساعدوني مساعدة، مش كرمال شي تاني. ما تخبّرو المدام   (S)

ʔana	*bass*	*ʕam*	*ʔəl-kon*	*ta*	*t-sēʕd-ū-ne*	*msēʕəde*
I	only	PROG	IPFV.I.tell-you.PL	so.that	IPFV-help-2P-me	help.INF

məš	*kərmēl*	*šī*	*tēne.*	*ma*	*t-xabbr-o*	*l-madām*
NEG	because.of	thing	other	NEG	IPFV.2-tell-PL	DET-madame

'I am just telling you so that you help me, and for no other reason. Don't tell the *madame* (the owner of the building and his employer)'

The speaker in [LA.14] clearly wanted to eliminate any possible alternative in H's mind for fear that any misrepresentation would get back to his employer. It is worth highlighting here that S was visibly anxious.[194]

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[193] The absolute rejection of any possible imaginable alternatives may be made explicit or not by the speaker, without affecting the exhaustive nature of the instance.

[194] As we will see in subsequent sections, affective circumstances like these, resulting from the communicative environment and from the relation between the interlocutors, play an essential role in the creation of the feeling of communicative urgency which triggers the use of the CI.

Exhaustive foci, are, in essence, closely related to corrective foci, for (1) both types imply a rejection of the alternatives in the SoA and (2), as we can see in the analysis of [LA.12], corrective instances can carry a nuance of exhaustive focus.

4.3.1.3. <u>Contrastive focus</u>

As I mentioned earlier, the label of 'contrastive focus' is one of the most disputed and over-used labels throughout the literature. However, I believe the reason behind this overuse lies in the lack of consensus on what 'contrastivity' really means— a confusion that may derive from a lack of attention to the role that assumptions play in it. In this respect, I agree with Zimmermann that "contrastive focus marking does not so much indicate the explicit or implicit presence of contrasting alternatives in the (non)linguistic context, although this may be a side effect, but rather a contrast between the information conveyed by the speaker in asserting α and the assumed expectation state of the hearer" (Zimmermann, 2008: 359; emphasis mine).

Contrastive focus has been described to occur when the focused constituent (X_{foc}) is 'juxtaposed' to one or more elements of the SoA (Zimmermann & Onéa, 2011: 1662). In my data, instances of focus with contrastive values occur when X_{foc} is introduced by S in the CG after one or more alternatives of the SoA have been already suggested to be prioritized for (re)introduction into the CG. This explains the focusing on X, which is, in the mind of the speaker, assumed to be less desirable than other suggested alternative(s) and therefore, unexpected by H.

The following example illustrates how S, after insinuating an alternative that entails a 'positive' outcome for the relationship ('the relationship continued to be fine'), introduces X_{foc} 'the relationship broke off,' which, at the moment, represents an unlikely and unexpected alternative in the mind of H.

[LA.15] CONTEXT: S and H are catching up after the summer vacation. H inquires about the status of S's relationship. After a silence, S asks H what happened, to which S answers, with a broken voice and visibly affected:

كانت ماشية العلاقة بس بعدين ما بعرف شو صار... انقطعت قطع (S)

kēnət	*mēšy-e*	*l-ʕilēʔa*	*bas*	*baʕdēn*	*ma*
was.3FS	walk.PTCP.ACT-FS	DET-relation	but	afterwards	NEG

b-ʕarəf		*šu*	*ṣār*	[pause]	*ʔənʔaṭaʕ-ət*	*ʔaṭəʕ*
HAB-IPFV.I.know		what	happened.3MS		was.cut-3FS	cut.INF

'The relationship was going [well] but then, I don't know what happened… it [suddenly] broke off'

By placing the focus in the predicate 'it broke off'— which appears, given the preceding discourse, to be less likely for H and, therefore, more unexpected—S contributes to creating both the feelings of suspense and later surprise in her interlocutor.

4.3.1.4.   Parallel focus

Parallel focus seems to be "one of the least understood aspects of focus" (Krifka & Musan, 2012: 11). It occurs when a constituent is put into focus in order to highlight interpretive parallels in a pair of comparable situations. In these cases, the alternatives are evoked by different parallel ideas with the same SoA (Krifka, 2007).

In my data, the concept of 'parallel ideas' seems to correlate with the existence of two different topics (α, β). In this way, X_{foc}, which is, presumably, part of the comment referring to the topic β, is introduced in the CG in parallel to a previous comment about topic α, which represents an explicit alternative within the SoA.

Unlike other types of focus, in cases of parallel focus, both the focused alternative X_{foc} and the 'contrasting' alternative that triggers the focus may be included in the CG under the 'file cards' of different topics. Alternatives in this case do not compete with each other, but rather clarify and explain each other. [195]

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[195] It may be this lack of competition among alternatives that makes parallel focus appear to Krifka and Musan (2012:11) as "less obligatory" than other kinds of focus. While this might be true for English, it does not feel accurate for Arabic, in which, at least as far as our data can tell. Both the frequency of use of parallel focus and the use of CIs to mark these foci are not unique to Arabic, but also common to other Semitic languages. CIs marking parallel focus are fairly common as well in Hebrew and in Syriac—[BH.4] and [BH.6] in Chapter 1 are examples of parallel focus. in Biblical Hebrew. In these languages, it is common to find double CI constructions, with one CI in each of the two parallel propositions— which are normally coordinate or disjunctive clauses.

In the following example, it is clear that both the focused alternative (X_foc: 'eat fried *kebbe*') and the parallel alternative (Y: 'eat grilled *kebbe*') are introduced in the CG; the first one under the topic 'you' and the latter under the topic 'we:'

[LA.16]   CONTEXT: S is a rather talkative taxi driver who seems excited to have met a foreigner living in Lebanon (H). After telling H about the town he is originally from (Baalbak), S asks H enthusiastically about her preferences in Lebanese cuisine:

إنتي كيف بتاكلي الكبّة، مشويّة؟ نحن عنّا منعملها مقليّة قلي (S)

ente	*kīf*	*b-tekl-e*	*l-kebbe,*	*məšwiyy-e?*
you.F.S	how	HAB- IPFV.eat-2FS	DET-kebbe	grill.PTCP.PASS-FS

[does not give H time to answer]

nəḥna	*ʕan-na*	*m-naʕməl-ha*	*məʔliyy-e*	*ʔale*
we	at-us	HAB-IPFV.we.do-it.FS	fry.PTCP.PASS-FS	fry.INF

'How do you like *kebbe*, grilled? We [in our town] make it fried'

In practice, parallel foci are frequently analyzed as contrastive. The overlap between these two 'categories' is far from being surprising, since the only real diverging points between them are (1) the relationship between alternatives, since in contrastive foci the focused and the suggested alternatives tend to be more divergent or conflicting than the parallel focus alternatives, which tend to have a more of a complementary relation; and (2) the presence of one or two topics respectively.

4.3.1.5.   Selective focus

Selective focus occurs when S introduces X_foc in the CG, being X_foc chosen from a restricted subset of the SoA, whose members have been explicitly or implicitly suggested to be introduced in the CG (Zimmermann & Onéa, 2011: 1662). As long as the alternatives are part of the CG, selective focus may also occur when the alternatives have not been mentioned in preceding utterances.

Although the focus indicates that one of the alternatives has been selected, selective focus (just like parallel focus) does not explicitly negate any of the remaining alternatives from the CG.

In the following example, H explicitly asks S about two alternatives from the SoA, 'read the scene' and 'act the scene,' to which S replies selecting the first one:

[LA.17]   CONTEXT: S and H are rehearsing for an audition for a theater play. After choosing the text, S asks nervously H to watch him perform. After this, the following exchange takes place:

يالله، هلّق رح تقرا أو رح تجرّب تمثّل إنت وعم تقرا؟ (H)

yalla,	*halla?*	*raḥ*	*t-ə?ra*	*aw*	*raḥ*	*t-ʒarrəb*	*t-massəl*
come.on	now	FUT	IPFV.2MS.read	or	FUT	IPFV.2MS.try	IPFV.2MS.act

?enta	*w*	*ʕam*	*tə?ra?*
You.MS	and	PROG	IPFV.2MS.read

'Ok, are you going to read it now or are you going to try acting it out while you read?'

هلّق رح إحكيها حكي وبعدين منشوف (S)

halla? raḥ	*?əḥki-a*		*ḥake,*	*w-baʕdēn*	*mən-šūf*
now FUT	IPFV.I.speak-it.FS		speak.INF	and-later	HAB-IPFV.we.see

'Now I will [just] say it (read it out loud) and then we will see'

The selection of the 'read the scene' alternative, nonetheless, does not negate that the second alternative 'act the scene' might take place at a later time. In this sense, [LA.17] is a good example of the ways in which selective focus can overlap with parallel focus, for one may consider the two aforementioned alternatives 'read the scene' and 'act the scene' as parallel alternatives under the two temporal topics of 'now' and 'later.'

4.3.1.6.   Confirmation Focus

Confirmation focus occurs when S introduces X_{foc} in the CG after X_{foc} has been previously introduced by H as the part of the SoA. The difference between selective and confirmation focus is that in the latter, S confirms the introduction of X_{foc} in the CG, which was the only alternative that was previously suggested by H:

[LA.18]   CONTEXT: S and her friends are coming back from the northern mountains of Lebanon towards Beirut. When they pass the village of Tannourine, they find a temporary diversion on the road that takes them up again to another small village. S stops the car to ask a man (H), who was sitting on the terrace of a small house by the road, how to get to Beirut from there.   H, behaving like a rather talkative man without much to do at the moment, starts asking questions: كيف وصلتو لهون؟ عاملين تحويلة؟ *Kīf wṣolto la-hōn? ʕamlīn taḥwīle?* 'How did you get there? Did they set up a diversion [again]?'). Before S has time to answer, he says:

(H) شايفة الطريق هنيك؟ كمّلي ودغري بتوصلي. رايحة ع جبيل إنتي إيه؟

šēyf-e	*əṭ-ṭarīʔ*	*əhnīk?*	*kaml-e*	*w-dəġre*
PTCP.ACT.see-F.S.	FUT-road	there	IMP.continue-2FS.	and-straight

b-tūṣale	[pause]	*rayḥ-a*	*ʕa-jbēl*	*ʔənte*	*ēh?*
HAB-IPFV.2FS.arrive		PTCP.ACT.go-FS	to-Byblos	you.FS	yes?

'Can you see the road over there? Continue straight and you will get there. You are going towards Byblos, right?'

[Already feeling impatient and irritated by the long time the process is taking, S says:]

(S) إيه إيه نازلة نزول

ēh	*ēh,*	*nēzle*	*nzūl*
yes	yes	PTCP.ACT.go.down-FS	go.down.INF

'Yes, yes. I am going down'

In [LA.18] S confirms the validity of the proposition 'going down,' which is the only alternative that was previously explicitly suggested for introduction in the CG by H. Pragmatically speaking, the CI is contributing here to expressing a higher degree of certainty and assurance that, from H's perspective, will help S understand H's needs and, hopefully, accelerate the process.

4.3.1.7.   Polarity focus

Polarity focus, closely related to verum focus (discussed in 4.3.2.3) (Ladd, 1981; Höhle, 1992; Romero & Han, 2004; Zimmermann & Hole, 2008; Lohnstein, 2012; 2016), has the particularity of being able to occur within contexts with (barely) any previous discourse where alternatives have not been presented explicitly. Given the lack of explicit or suggested alternatives[196], some scholars argue that these foci are placed on the 'polarity' of the proposition: that is, given the lack of explicit alternatives, the focus must highlight the focused alternative as opposed to its absolute negation (Bond & Anderson, 2014),[197] which, in the communicative context, usually represents the alternative that has been easily assumed by H at the time of the utterance.

Scholars agree that polarity focus indicates that S is certain that the focused proposition has to be introduced in the CG, in contrast to the implicit alternative of its absolute negation, therefore eliminating from the context any possible assumption or presupposition (Escandell Vidal & Leonetti, 2009). As a result, the truth-value of the proposition is highlighted, and hence the verum focus denomination.

The following could be an example of polarity focus according to its description in the literature:

[LA.19]   CONTEXT: After a night camping in the mountains, S meets H to spend the day at the beach. S is telling H how the night went while he scratches his leg, full of mosquito bites. When H looks down to S's leg, he exclaims 'Uff!', to which S answers:

إيه والله، مبارح البرغش أكلنا أكل (S)

ē,	*w-allāh,*	*mbēreḥ*	*əl-barġaš*	*ʔakal-na*	*ʔakəl.*
yes	and-God	yesterday	DET-mosquitoes	ate.3MS-us	eat.INF

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[196] These instances are commonly referred to in the literature as "out-of-the-blue utterances" (Partee, 1991). However, according to our MMC, even in the absence of previous discourse in the emergent context, every utterance is framed by the non-discursive circumstances of the emergent context of the speaker, as well as inscribed within his/her core context. Consequently, from a communicative approach, there is no such thing as an "out-of-the-blue utterance."

[197] Some others defend that polarity focus emphasizes "the validity of a proposition in the actual world in comparison to other possible worlds" (Mátic & Nikolaeva, 2009).

'Yes, I swear, mosquitoes ate us alive yesterday'

According to the theory of polarity focus[198], in this example, the speaker would be placing the focus on the proposition 'mosquitos ate us alive' in contrast to its implicit potential absolute negation 'mosquitoes did not eat us alive'. S, who knows the impossibility of his statement in the real world, is therefore anticipating H's possible assumption of the negation of the truth-value of the proposition. For this reason, the theory would argue, S uses a polarity focus, insisting on the truth of his statement by negating the potential—although unrealized— negation of his statement in the mind of H.

My data do not support a polar interpretation of this kind of focus instances. Instead, I suggest that the SoA of so-called 'polarity focus' cases is naturally less distinct (or at least perceived to be so by S). In most of my examples, the apparent 'lack of alternatives' of these instances results from a high level of implicitness of the SoA (i.e., alternatives are deep in the core context of S) that is oftentimes accompanied by a very scarce emergent CG incapable of shedding light onto the SoA.[199] As a result, S decides to focus the chosen constituent in order to remind the reader of the existence of a SoA that is relevant for the communicative instance.[200]

This data-based review of the literature on focus types according to the update of the CG has revealed a degree of overlap between some categories (e.g., corrective and exhaustive). While this classification provides some interesting pragmatic details of the different types of focus, it is not clear that it is the most productive approach to focus.

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[198] This interpretation serves the purposes of this study only as a review of the existent theory. However, I consider this classification incomplete and therefore inadequate for the explanation of [LA.19] and of other similar instances of my corpus. In fact, the acceptance of the notion of polarity focus may theoretically contradict the notion of semantic salience as understood by Giora (1998) and as adopted by the present study (see section 4.3.2.1 for a definition of semantic salience).

[199] See Figure 22 which illustrates this analysis and section 5.3.3, which applies this analysis to the data.

[200] This interpretation would be compatible with Mátic & Nikolaeva, (2009), definition of verum focus as marking "the validity of a proposition in the actual world in comparison to other possible worlds".

The next section will present an analysis of the various categories of foci according to scope that are relevant to the study of the CI. This analysis has been drawn from the literature as in the previous section.

4.3.2. Types of focus according to scope

The previous section elaborated CI classification based on the criteria of the different kinds of updating of the CG. In contrast, this section will describe the different categories of focus that CI can perform that answer the question: What is being focused?

In terms of the size of the constituent, the answers can range from full propositions, full predicates, to syntagms, words, syllables or even abstract notions such as the 'truth-value of the proposition.' As for the nature of the constituent, we may find that focused constituents can belong, practically, to any grammatical category, including nouns, adverbs, verbs, and prepositional phrases (Krifka, 2007).

According to our data, the CI is a rather versatile focus marker with a wide scope; as we will see, it may place a focus on constituents of quite different size and nature. We can best describe its range by viewing it as marking three aspects of verbal constructions: 'verbal semantic focus,' 'verbal predicate focus,' and 'verum focus.' However, as the following section indicates, the non-focused alternatives forming the SoA will obligatorily have the same size and nature than the focused component.

In the following subsections I provide a definition for each of the aforementioned types of focus (verbal semantic focus, predicate focus, verum focus) and illustrate their use through CI instances from the corpus. Consequently, the following section serves as a potential classification of the CI as a focus marker according to scope. The aim of this classification is to test whether 'scope' might be the fundamental criterion for a comprehensive classification of the CI in LA as a focus marker.

4.3.2.1. Verbal Semantic Focus

The CI may focus a verbal lexeme, this is, the semantic meaning of a verbal form. But what is the exact part of the meaning that is put into focus and in contrast to what?

Bond & Anderson posit that the Arabic "cognate accusative" of Classical Arabic (and other analogous forms in different African Languages) may express a 'scalar attainment of a goal.' In their own words, the use of a CI indicates that "the semantics of the predicate require the interpretation of a scale; the dimension of this scale is determined by the conventionalized goals (i.e., potential attainment) linked to the lexical semantics of the CH [cognate head]" (Bond & Anderson, 2014: 226). To a certain extent, I believe this could be applicable to CIs in LA as well, as the following example illustrates:

[LA.20] CONTEXT: During what looks like a weekly Sunday lunch in a restaurant, an old man (S) is speaking to his son (H) about a recent piece of news regarding the violent repression of a peaceful demonstration in Beirut. After the first utterance, S pauses approximately two seconds, probably waiting for a reaction from H, who seems uninterested and is visibly distracted, looking at his phone.

(S) مش إنو خبطوهن كيف ما كان إيه؟ خبطوهن خبيط

məš	*ʔənno*	*xabaṭ-ū-on*	*kīf*	*ma*	*kēn*	*eh?*
NEG	that	PFV.-3P-beat-them	how	NOM	PFV.3MS.be	eh?

xabaṭ-ū-on	*xabīṭ,*	*yaʕne.*
PFV.beat-3P-them	beat.INF	it.means

'They did not beat them any old way, they [really] beat them!'

SoA: [*beat (them) lightly; beat (them) fakely; beat (them) normally;*
beat (them) strongly, etc.]

As the example above demonstrates, the use of the CI can indicate the existence of a set of alternatives representing different degrees of intensity of the verbal meaning (e.g. beat (them) lightly; pretend to beat (them); beat (them) normally; beat (them) strongly, etc.). The speaker's assumption here is that H must have understood خبطوهن *xabaṭūon* 'they beat them' in any of the options available in the SoA— since the verb itself does not specify. It is probably the lack of a reaction from H that makes S insist on the intensity of the action expressed by the cognate head, خبطوهن *xabaṭūon*.

As Bond & Anderson (2014) point out, the use of a negation with a CI does not reverse the scale of alternatives and, therefore, the focused negated meaning remains a high-intensity one. The following example illustrates this point:

[LA.21]   CONTEXT: A group of friends (H) is speaking about the Druze community in Lebanon and their religion. A girl from the group asks S, who was born a Druze but considers himself agnostic, if he believes in reincarnation,[201] to which, he answers:

(S) أنا ما بآمن فيها.... يعني، ما بآمن فيها إيمان، بس سامع قصص من عالم بعرفهن منيح عن جدّ بيخوّفو

ʔana	*ma*	*b-ʔēmen*	*fī-a*	*[pause]*	*yaʕne*	*ma*
I	NEG	HAB-1S.believe	in-it.F.S		it.means	NEG

b-ʔēmen	*fī-a*	*ʔimēn*	*bas*	*ṣēməʕ*	*ʔoṣaṣ*
HAB-IPFV.1S.believe	in-it.F.S	believe.INF	but	PTCP.ACT.hear.M.S	stories

men	*ʕālam*	*b-ʕaref-on*	*mnīḥ*	*ʕan-ʒadd*
from	people	HAB-IPFV.1S.know-them	well	in-reality

b-yxawwfo

HAB.IPFV.scare.3P

'I don't believe in it […] I don't [blindly] believe in it, but I have heard really scary stories from people I know well'

> SoA: [*believe (in it) superficially, believe (in it) moderately, believe*
> *(in it) strongly; believe (in it) deeply; believe (in it) blindly, etc.*]

When I questioned S's intentions after uttering the proposition, he confirmed that he was emphasizing the idea that he did not believe in the notion of reincarnation as part of a creed, that

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[201] Reincarnation is part of the Druze creed. The soul of a Druze can only reincarnate in the soul of a new born in the community, which preserves their uniqueness and identity as a community.

is, in a religious way, but that he could not refute its existence completely, for he had not yet found a logical explanation to some stories he had been told.[202]

Clarifications like these suggest that, apart from the scalar value, there is another semantic nuance which can be added by the CI. Here, the word إيمان *ʔimēn,* which is the *maṣdar* of the main verb of the sentence ('believe') and at the same time a very common nominalized *maṣdar* meaning 'belief.' This means that *ʔimēn* carries the coresense of the noun 'belief' in LA.[203] It is precisely because in this specific communicative situation the negation of the verb بآمن *bʔēmen* 'I believe' could be understood in many different ways according to its wide coresense, that S, being an agnostic person, feels the need to qualify his first utterance, concretizing the actual consense of the verb 'believe' as he actually means it[204]— or in this case, as he actually does not mean it.

This suggests that, semantically speaking, CIs in LA may add more to focused verbal lexemes than just scalar value. Instances of CIs focusing verbs with figurative meanings, such as the following example, confirm this theory:

[LA.22]   CONTEXT: S was informing H that, after months of tension, she finally had an argument with a colleague with whom she had previously had serious problems at work. After announcing this, S went silent and adopted a look of superiority. H inquired of S what happened in the argument, to which S answered:

(S) ما شي... غسّلتها تغسيل للبنت. شرشحتها

ma	*šī...*	*ġassalt-a*	*təġsīl*	*la-l-bənət.*	*šaršaḥt-a*
NEG	thing	PFV.1S.wash-her	wash.INF	la-DET-girl	PFV.1S.humiliate-her

'Nothing… I [just] totally wiped the floor with her. I humiliated her'

The speaker of [LA.22], along with the vast majority of my informants, agreed that while in the utterance without the CI (i.e. غسّلتها للبنت *ġassalta la-l-bənət'*), the verb could be understood in

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[202] His exact words were: إنّو ما بآمن فيها متل ما بيآمنو الدروز المتديّنين "*ʔənno ma bʔēmen fiya mətəl ma byʔēmno l-drūz əl-mətdeynīn*" ('I don't believe in it the way the religious (believers) Druze believe in it').

[203] All this in Lebanon, a country with 18 recognized religious sects whose past and present are marked by religion.

[204] This strategy, at a communicative level, contradicts any potential assumptions that might have been generated in the hearer's minds and preserves S's desired status among the interlocutors. See section 3.2.1.4 (Assumptions) and section 4.4.3.4 (CI and Face Management).

a literal way ('I [literally] scrubbed her, that girl'), this interpretation would not be as available if the utterance contained a CI ("غسّلتها تغسيل للبنت" *ǵassalta təǵsīl la-l-bənət'*). These judgments indicate that the addition of a CI may also reinforce the understanding of the figurative meaning of the verb versus a potential literal meaning. This being the case, does it thus follow that the CI functions differently with verbs that have figurative and literal meanings?

The answer to this question brings us back to the notion of semantic salience, which I briefly introduced in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.3.1.2.2 Focus and Salience).

Salient meanings are conventional, frequent, familiar and/or enhanced by prior context (Giora, 1997).[205] Because they are readily available, speakers tend to rely on them, regardless of their literality or non-literality. In fact, both literal and nonliteral meanings are processed directly in an equal way,and understanding them "involves the same comprehension processes and contextual information" (Giora, 1997: 184).

The 'scalar attainment' theory does not seem to be able to explain the functioning of the focus at the semantic level in instances where the verbal lexeme has a figurative meaning— at least, not completely. I posit that the CI focuses the verbal lexeme of the verbal form it accompanies by selecting within the SoA the meaning of the verb that is more salient to both H and S— according to S's assumptions— in a specific communicative setting.

However, we must bear in mind that salience is not a rigid notion. Since it depends directly on the characteristics of the communicative setting (i.e. the core and emergent contexts for S and H; the word's core and consense; CG, etc.), salience is an adaptable and flexible linguistic concept. This is how Giora illustrates its flexibility (1997: 185):

> "If a word has two meanings that can be retrieved directly from the lexicon, the meaning more popular, or more prototypical, or more frequently used in a certain community is more salient. Or, the meaning an individual is more familiar with, or has learned recently is the more salient. Or, the meaning activated by previous context, or made predictable by previous context is the more salient one."

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[205] "The salience of a word or an utterance is a function of its conventionality, familiarity, frequency or givenness status in a certain (linguistic and nonlinguistic) context" (Giora, 1997: 185).

In a nutshell, the CI focuses the verbal lexeme of the verb in order to highlight the more salient meaning of the verbal form in focus, in contrast with a range of different potential meanings of the same verb; it may be a scale of different degrees in the attainment of the action, or a set of literal and nonliteral senses of the same verb, or simply a set of different meanings of a word that have been previously implied in the preceding discourse.

A CI marking a strong semantic focus on the verbal lexeme can be distinguished from other CIs because its strong semantic load makes its use compulsory, meaning that, without it, the utterance might become pragmatically infelicitous, unclear, or might even change its meaning. If we take the previous examples as a reference, we can see how in [LA.20] and [LA.21] the utterance would be incomplete without خبيط *xabīṭ* and إيمان *ʔimēn* respectively.

Pragmatically and at the discourse level, CIs marking a strong semantic focus in instances with a rather closed focus environment (i.e., a context where one or more alternatives have been explicitly stated) can be recognized and distinguished from other CIs because the verb that is put in focus also appears as the main verb in the alternative(s):

- [LA.20] *[məš ʔənno xabaṭūon kīf ma kēn eh?]*ALT1 [xabaṭū-on xabīṭ, yaʕne]FOC ALT

- [LA.21] *[ʔana ma bʔēmen fia]*ALT1 [yaʕne, ma bʔēmen fia ʔimēn bas ṣēməʕ ʔoṣaṣ…]FOC ALT

Unfortunately, the instances of my corpus which could be classified as 'verbal semantic focus' are probably not enough to allow us to draw definite conclusions about the exact functioning of the CI at the semantic level. Nonetheless, one thing seems to be clear: while the 'scalar attainment of a goal' or the 'event iteration' explanations can be applied only to some of the instances, semantic salience is, however, increased by the CI in all the instances where the CI seems to be marking a 'verbal semantic focus'.

This commonality suggests that the semantic nuances of 'scalar attainment of a goal' and 'event iteration' appear to be contingent upon semantic functions of the CI relating to the semantic type of the verb in question. Salience, however, seems to be a fundamental semantic notion, for,

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as we will see in subsequent sections, the more salient meaning of the verbal form is highlighted in all instances of the corpus, and not only in the instances clearly focusing the verbal lexeme.[206]

4.3.2.2. Verbal Predicate Focus

The CI may focus a whole verbal predicate, i.e. the main verb with its complements, in contrast to other alternative predicates with different verbal heads. The following is an example of a CI focusing a whole predicate:

[LA.23] CONTEXT: H is angry because S has still not bought a helmet despite her insistence on him doing so, forcing her to lend him her second helmet, which is too small for him, and he stretches it every time he wears it, which is every time they ride on the motorbike. Before going on a trip, H realizes that S has broken the clasp of the helmet and he is trying to fix it without H seeing him. H, visibly irritated, asks: ‏شو عملت؟‏ ‏فوّتها بالقوّة؟‏ *šū ʕamələt? fawwatta bəl ʔuwwe?* ('What did you do? Did you put it in by force [without unbuckling the clasp first]?') to which S answers:

‏أكيد ما فوتّها هيك! حطّيتها حطّ وسكّرتها (S)‏

ʔakīd	*ma*	*fawwatt-a*	*hēk,*
sure	NEG	PFV.1MS-put.inside-it.F.S	like.that

ḥəṭṭayt-a	*ḥaṭṭ*	*w-sakkart-a*
PFV.1MS-put-it.F.S	put.INF	and-PFV.1MS-close-it.F.S

'Of course I didn't wear it like that! I put it [normally] and then I closed it'

In this example, S puts the predicate ‏حطّيتها‏ '*ḥəṭṭayt-a*' ('I put it') into focus in contrast to other potential alternative predicates in the SoA, and specifically in contrast to the alternative ‏فوّتها بالقوّة‏ *'fawwatt-a bəl ʔuwwe'* ('I put it inside by force'), which is made explicit in the preceding discourse by H.

The focus on the verbal predicate is inherently contrastive to any other alternative predicate presented in the context. This contrast is sometimes reinforced in those cases where alternative

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[206] Which suggest that a simultaneous multiplicity of focus regarding scope is possible.

predicates have both different logical subjects (topics) and different complements such as the following:

[LA.24]   CONTEXT: After one hour and a half of being stuck in a traffic jam, S, who is eager to arrive at the beach, interrupts the discussion of his friends, who are deciding on what they will order at the restaurant, by interjecting the following utterance:

إنتو ما بعرف إذا بدكن تقعدو وتاكلو وهيك بس أنا بس أوصل عبالي شِكّ شَكّ (S)

Pənto	*ma*	*b-ʕarəf*	*Pəza*	*badd-kon*	*təPoʕd-o*	*w-t-ēkl-o*
you.P	NEG	HAB-1S.know	if	want-2P	IPFV.2.sit-P	and-IPFV.2.eat-P

w-hēk	*bas*	*Pana*	*bas*	*Pūṣal*	*ʕa-bēl-e*
and-like.that	but	I	as.soon.as	IPFV-1S.arrive	at-mind-my

šekk	*šakk*
IPFV.1S.plunge	plunge.INF

'I don't know, maybe *you guys* want to sit and have lunch and stuff, but as soon as *I* get there *I* want to plunge [into the water]'

In the previous example, for instance, the focus is being placed mainly on the predicate عبالي شِكّ شَكّ *'ʕabēle šekk šakk'* ('I want to plunge'), that appears in contrast with a parallel alternative بدكن تقعدو وتاكلو *baddkon təPoʕdo w-tēklo'* ('You want to sit and have lunch').

However, although the predicate as a whole is focused by these CIs, native speakers' impressions I collected clearly perceived that the semantic meaning of the verb is also somehow being "limited" or "explained" by the CI. Therefore, as we will further explore in section 4.3.3, it seems, in fact, possible that CIs mark verbal predicate and verbal semantic focus simultaneously.

4.3.2.3.   Verum Focus

The CI may focus also the verum operator, i.e. the truth-value of the proposition. Verum focus*,* which is often associated with (and often overlaps with) polarity focus, focuses on the truth-value of the content of a proposition—according to some, in contrast to its absolute negation (Escandell-

Vidal & Leonetti, 2009:16; Gutzmann & Castroviejo-Miró, 2011).[207] Although the polar alternative is rarely explicit in the preceding discourse, it remains always present in S's assumptions of H's beliefs, that is, in the vast and deep world of the H's core context. The following example illustrates this argument:

[LA.25]   CONTEXT: In order to fix some electrical problems in H's house, S, a handyman, has disconnected many of the house appliances, including the water heater. When H asks if she can turn the water heater on to take a shower, S gives her a reluctant look (probably because this would delay him in his task) and tells H that there is no need for that since the water is already hot. When H stays silent, obviously not convinced of his words, he decides to walk her to the bathroom where the water heater is and says, while extending his hand to touch the heater:

الميّ سخنة والله! ليكي! دقري! عم تغلي غلي! (S)

Ɂəl-mayy	*səxn-e*	*w-allah!*	*ləyke!*	*ᵊdɁār-e!*
DET-water	hot- F	and-God	INT-F.S	IMP.2FS-touch-F

[touches the heater and removes his hand fast as if he got burnt]

ʕam-təġle	*ġale!*
PROG-3FS.boil	boil.INF

'The water is hot! I swear to God! Look! Touch! It's boiling!'

Since, as we have been discussing before, the use of focus— and therefore of CI— is directly related to the managing of assumptions, it is not surprising that CIs are used to express the veracity of a proposition, especially if we take into account that pragmatically and discursively, the propositions whose truth-value is emphasized are normally assumed by S to be false in the mind of H (Halliday, 1967: 24; Watters, 1979).

In the previous example, the information contained in the proposition 'the water is hot' was implicitly put in doubt by H through her silence and doubtful expression, which prompted S to use a CI the second time he presented the idea in order to focus the veracity of his assertion against his assumptions of what H was thinking ('the water is not hot enough') based on her expression and body language.

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[207] See section 4.3.1.7.

For this reason, some scholars have noticed that verum focus "indicates something about the speaker's commitment to the truthfulness of the proposition expressed and therefore differs from predicate focus (where there is focus on a VP) or verb focus (where there is focus on the lexical content of the verb)" (Bond & Anderson, 2014: 23; emphasis mine).

In the following example, the aforementioned 'commitment' is clearly present:

[LA.26]   CONTEXT: S (woman) and H (man) are in a restaurant on a secret date. H, who is worried because his mother wants to arrange for him to marry his cousin, is telling S that if his mother finds out he is going out with S, she will get very angry at him. S responds in an aggressive yet seductive tone:

(S) لك شو بنت خالتك وشو بنت عمك هيدي؟ إيه والله والله يلّي بيجرّب يطّلع فيك تطليعة وحدة، لأدبحها دبح

lək	*šū*	*bənt*	*xālt-ak*	
INT	what	daughter	maternal.aunt-your.MS	
w-šū	*bənt*	*ʕamm-ak*		*hayd-e?*
and-what	daughter	paternal.aunt-your.MS		this- FS
ē	*w-allah*	*w-allah*	*yəlli*	*b-yʒarrəb*	*yəṭṭalləʕ*
yes	and-God	and-God	REL	HAB-IPFV.3MS.try	IPFV.3MS.look
fī-k	*təṭlīʕa*	*waḥd-e*	*la-ʔədbaḥ-a*	*dabəḥ*[208]
at-you.M.S	look	one-F.SG	OATH-IPFV.1S.slaughter-her	slaughter.IMP

'What cousin are you talking about? Yes, I swear. I swear to God that I will literally slaughter whoever tries to look at you even a single time'[209]

This S is visibly committed to her statement, which demonstrates that it is important to her that H believe her. This fact is reinforced by S's intense expression along with her body language: she grabs H's hand while telling him this. Nevertheless, in order to understand S's motivations for such an attitude, it is imperative to consider affective factors as well.

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[208] Although S is referring to women here, she uses the masculine singular. For further detail about reverse gender reference in Arabic, see Wilmsen, 2013.

[209] This example is taken from the movie نسوان 'Niswēn' ('Women') a comedy that happens in an imaginary Lebanon where women play the social role of men and vice-versa.

Even though recognizing the notion of 'commitment' clearly represents a step forward in the right direction, I believe that the literature has not given yet enough relevance to the notion of 'affective involvement,' which, I will argue later in this chapter, is a fundamental factor in all the CI instances in my corpus.

4.3.3. Limitations of traditional classifications

Having thoroughly reviewed the classifications of focus in the previous sections, I argue here that they are both inadequate and insufficient to account for the true nature and varied uses of the CI in LA as a focus marker. First, I will show that they are inadequate given the intrinsic complexity of many of the CI instances gathered in my corpus, which, as we saw in previous sections, do not easily fit into one of the previously proposed focus categories but rather point to ways in which the categories themselves overlap. Then, I will argue that they are insufficient, because they only address the informational side of the phenomenon of focus, overlooking the importance of other dimensions that I will prove to be at least as relevant.

Traditional classifications of focus are inadequate because in natural language, many instances of focus are complex; that is, could be classified in two or more categories. Let us see what happens if we were to apply the first classification (focus according to updating) to the following example:

[LA.27]   CONTEXT: After working late, S arrives late to a friends' gathering in the mountains. He arrives around two hours after dinner and finds his friends around a table with some pizza leftovers on it. Most of his friends were already in a goofy mood and had had a couple of drinks when he asked permission to have some of the pizza:

(S) فيني آكل شقفة؟

fi-ne	*ēkol*	*ša?fe?*
can-me	IPFV.I.eat	piece

'Can I have a piece?'

(H) أكيد، تفضّل! طازة!

?akīd,	*tfaḍḍal*	[pause]	*ṭāza!*	[laughs]
sure	go.ahead		fresh!	

'Sure, go ahead. It's fresh!'

إيه، بيبيّن عليها والله، بتقرش قرش! (S)

ē	*b-ybayyən*	*ʕaləy-a,*	*w-allah,*
yes	HAB-3MS.show	on-it.FS	and-God

b-taʔroš	*ʔarəš*
HAB-3FS.crunch	crunch.INF

'Yeah, it really shows. It is so crunchy!'

At a first glance, this example seems to be a clear case of confirmation focus [210] since the meaning of the proposition طازة '*ṭāza*' ('it's fresh') is semantically confirmed by the focused proposition بتقرش قرش '*btaʔroš ʔarəš*' ('it is [so] crunchy'). This semantic association is commonly made when referring to fruits or vegetables in which crunchiness is expected or desired. Pragmatically, however, both interlocutors know that a freshly baked pizza should be anything but crunchy, hence S's ironic tone. Thus, if the alternative بتقرش قرش '*btaʔroš ʔarəš*' ('it is [so] crunchy') is being introduced pragmatically (although not literally) in opposition to the alternative '*ṭāza*' ('it's fresh'), the CI would be marking a corrective focus [211] without an explicit negation of the explicit alternative. Moreover, S is clearly highlighting the truth of the statement— as the والله '*wallah*' ('I swear to God') indicates— in contrast to the potential polar negation of his statement, which suggests the CI could also be marking a polarity focus.[212]

Thus, a contextualized holistic analysis of [LA.27] reveals that the CI here is functioning as a marker of multiple pragmatic foci: a confirmation focus, a corrective focus and a polarity focus, all at the same time. It is precisely at this intersection of different pragmatic and semantic nuances of focus where the witty tone of the proposition lies.

The second classification reviewed in this chapter (focus according to scope) faces the very same limitation. Classifying the CI according to the nature of the focused constituent implies that CIs can only focus one constituent at a time. However, I believe the ability of CIs to focus constituents of different sizes and natures does not necessarily rule out its capacity to focus them all simultaneously. In fact, I argue that the CI places a focus on the three constituents I discussed

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[210] See section 4.3.1.6.

[211] See section 4.3.1.1.

[212] See section 4.3.2.3.

previously (i.e. verbal lexeme, verbal predicate and truth-value of the statement) at once, yet in varying degrees, according to the communicative event and its exigencies.

For instance, let us return for a moment to [LA.20]:

(S) خبطوهن خبيط مش إنه خبطوهن كيف ما كان إيه؟

məš	*Ɂənno*	*xabaṭ-ū-on*	*kīf*	*ma*	*kēn*	*eh?*
NEG	that	PFV-3P-beat-them	how	NOM	PFV.3MS.be	eh?

xabaṭ-ū-on	*xabīṭ,*	*yaʕne.*
PFV.beat-3P-them	beat.INF	it.means

'They did not beat them any old way, they really beat them!'

I argued previously that this CI is focusing the verbal lexeme (SoA: hit lightly; hit normally, hit hard, hit properly). However, this example suggests that the CI is also focusing the predicate in contrast to other potential predicates (SoA: they hurt them; they shot at them; they chased them; the police hit them then detained them, an agent threw tear gas at them; etc.). And it is also focusing the truth-value of the proposition in contrast to its absolute negation (SoA: they did not hit them) and highlighting the speaker's commitment to the validity of the content of the proposition. Consequently, the CI is focusing three 'different constituents' simultaneously.

I propose that the reason why the different foci can actually coexist is because the focus is, in fact, not being placed on different constituents, but rather happening at different levels of language—semantic, syntactic and discursive—which are deeply and closely interconnected, even as we can see them as distinct.

Another limitation I see in these classifications is that they only address the informational side of the phenomenon, leaving aside the broad multidimensional language system in which CIs are embedded, and which must include affective and social aspects. These classifications are insufficient for an investigation of the spectrum of motivations that push S to make use of a CI. As the following example shows, informational notions are not sufficient to explain certain instances of CI in my corpus:

[LA.28]   CONTEXT: A mother and her two children are sitting at a table in a restaurant. The boy is around twelve years old and his sister around eight (S). When the food arrives, the mother realizes that there

is a dish missing, so she decides to go back to the cashier to ask about it. Before doing so, the mother addresses the boy—who has already started eating his burger with gusto— in a low voice: ن، كول ع مهلك، عمول معروف. شوي شوي، ماما بليز *'N, kōl ʕa mahlak, ʕamōl maʕrūf. Šway, šway, mama, plīz'* (N., eat slowly, please. Slowly, sweetie, please). When the mother comes back after 4 or 5 minutes with the missing dish, N. has already finished his burger. The little girl (S), who has been silent until that moment, suddenly calls out to her mother and says:

(S)ماما! ليكي شو فجعان! زلطها للبرغر زلط!

māma	*leyke*	*šū*	*fəʒʕān!*
mum	INT-F	what	greedy
zalaṭ-a		*la-l*-burger_{EN}	*zalǝṭ*
PFV.gobble.3MS-it.F.S		OBJ-DET-burger	gobble.INF

'Look how greedy he is! He gobbled up the burger!'

The situation as I observed it barely provides us any preceding discourse, thus it does not offer explicit or implicit alternatives, which makes it hard to identify S's motivations for the use of this CI by relying solely on informational notions. However, this does not mean that such a communicative situation does not offer valuable elements that can help us reach a deeper understanding of the CI's functioning.

In fact, this example does offer a lot of information concerning the affective factors shaping the relations between the interlocutors. These factors, as the subsequent section illustrates, are remarkably relevant for a linguistic analysis of focus in general, and of the CI in LA in particular.

4.4. The Affective Dimension of the Cognate Infinitive

Along with information, speakers manipulate language to convey affect more accurately. Language, as a human creation, is inevitably marked and molded by humans' ability and need to feel, and to communicate what they feel.

I understand the quality of 'affective' as representing "the speaker's or writer's feelings, moods, dispositions and attitudes towards the propositional content of the message and the

communicative context" (Besnier, 1990: citing Lyons, 1977, who uses the term 'expressive'). In this vein, this dissertation will define affect as emotional involvement in the communicative exchange.

Despite the importance of affect to human expression, our understanding of it remains limited, and relatively few descriptive linguists have explored the significance of the affective dimension of language. Perhaps this negligence lies in part in the difficulty of identifying and defining concrete linguistic entities that systematically manifest affect in communication, itself in part a result of the difficulty of eliciting and recording them in taped interviews.

If we return to the immediately preceding example [LA.28] that we classified as 'informationally vague,' we notice that the context does offer important information concerning the affective factors shaping the relations between the interlocutors. From the initial worry and possible embarrassment that the mother feels about her son's behavior (hence the low voice), to the motivations that pushed the sister to draw her mother's attention to her brother's behavior— competing with her brother for her mother's attention, validation and appreciation—the set of interconnected feelings involved in the different dynamics between the interlocutors undoubtedly played an essential role in this specific communicative instance.

Examples like this, then, urge us to consider affect as both an important motivation for and an important outcome of the use of focus.[213] I will argue in this section that affective notions are vital to unravel the complex process behind the formation of the speaker's intention, and therefore, provide us with useful information about the impetuses behind the speaker's decisions to use the CI.

The following sections first present a brief overview of some affective markers in Arabic and then, more specifically, argue that the CI in LA has a clear affective dimension that we must acknowledge if we aim to truly understand the communicative function of this tool holistically.

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[213] In Sloman's words: "An affective state can be involved in communication, as one of its causes, as a reason or justification, as its intended effect, as unintended effect, as a side effect of the medium or mode, or as the content of what is communicated, implicitly or explicitly" (Sloman, 1992: 230).

Native speakers of LA naturally play with language, manipulating a variety of linguistic tools, in order for it to serve them more faithfully, flexibly, creatively, and accurately. This section will briefly comment on several strategies and tools that Lebanese Arabic speakers make use of in order to mark affect.

Speakers of LA often manipulate the unmarked word order of a sentence in order to express affect. In the previous section 4.2. we saw that focus sheds light on informational dimensions of communication, highlighting a constituent and attracting attention to it. I argue that we can extend that insight to include focus, which also sheds light on the affective aspects of the utterance, increasing its 'affective load.' Affectively charged propositions will often coincide with the use of focus. Let us consider now the following pair of utterances:

[11a] الأحمر حلو كتير عليكي

əl-ʔaḥmar	*ḥəlo*	*ktīr*	*ʕaləy-ke*
DET-red	beautiful.M.S	very	on-you.F.S

'Red looks really good on you'

[11b] كتير حلو الأحمر عليكي

ktīr	*ḥəlo*	*əl-ʔaḥmar*	*ʕaləy-ke*
very	beautiful.M.S	DET-red	on-you.F.S

'Red looks *really* good on you'

While [11a] presents an unmarked order, [11b] shows a focus on the predicate realized through subject-predicate inversion. According to native speakers' impressions I gathered, in the context provided, the use of the marked structure seems to be definitely more familiar and common. Most informants added a specific intonation and pauses to (11b) and insisted that the second one is more 'emphatic', 'familiar', 'genuine' and 'credible' than the first one.

Even though these are only speakers' impressions and not quantitative facts, they nonetheless reinforce the claim that the use of focus in (11b) is related to the communicative meaning and purpose of the proposition: (11) is a compliment, and compliments, by definition, carry an affective connotation.

Among the many tools that Arabic speakers have to mark affect we can find other morphological, syntactic and discursive devices, such as the use of diminutives (Badarneh, 2009), the feminine plural –āt (Brustad, 2007), reverse gender reference, (Wilmsen, 2013), the use of ethical datives (Lentin, 2003)[214]— later called attitude datives (Haddad, 2014)— and many others, studied and unstudied. Although a thorough analysis of these and other affective markers in Lebanese Arabic unfortunately falls out of the scope of this study, my corpus shows clearly that the CI is a focus marker that correlates with a high degree of affect and emotional involvement.

Returning to the example of compliments above, given that focus seems to be useful to mark affect and compliments are, by nature, expressions of affect, it is not surprising to find examples of compliments among the CI corpus of LA, such as the following:

[LA.29]   CONTEXT: After the weekend, S has just arrived at the entrance of the building where he works when the security guard tells him:

شو إنت؟ اسم الله عليك انحرقت حرق (S)

šū	*ʔənta?*	*əsm-allah*	*ʕalē-k*	*ənḥaraʔət*	*ḥarəʔ!*
what	you.M.SG	name-God	on-you.M.S	PFV.PASS.burn.2MS	burn.INF

'Wow! Look at you! You are literally melting!' [= you lost a lot of weight]'

In [LA.29] the expression اسم الله *əsm-allah*[215] strengthens even more the appreciative tone of the utterance and it is an excellent example of how the CI often coexists in discourse other aforementioned devices which also have a clear affective dimension.

In sum, this works posits that the CI functions partly as an affective marker in Lebanese Arabic (and very possibly also in other Arabic varieties). The next section provides further details and examples that evince and illustrate this argument.

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[214] In an argument that reinforces the affective nature of the ethical dative, Lentin (2008) suggest a grammatical relation between the ethical dative and the exclamation particles *lak*, *ulak*, *ləkk*, *ulō*, and *lēk* in Syrian Arabic.

[215] اسم الله *əsm-allah* is a phrase that is pragmatically used to show appreciation for a person or happening. This socially marked formula shows respect to the interlocutor and normally comes after a positive comment about someone or a compliment. The addition of اسم الله *əsm-allah* indirectly communicates to the hearer that the compliment (s)he just received was made with a good intention and free of any kind of envy.

4.4.2. The CI in LA as an Affective Marker

CIs in LA function partly as affective markers in LA. However, what is really the function of an affective marker?

Affective markers are called so because they increase the affective salience of the proposition. Biggs et al. (2012: 538) define affective salience as "how an individual feels about a particular item." Affective salience, like all kinds of salience, is based on the 'personal' relationship between S and the proposition, for salience is a subjective notion that is dependent on the interlocutors' previous linguistic experiences.[216] Affective salience has been proven to be a powerful element involved in attention control— in fact, affect is so powerful a factor in capturing attention that it can even make up for the loss of attention that normally comes with increased knowledge (Biggs et al., 2012).[217]

In the present study, affective salience refers to the degree of emotional involvement that S feels towards the proposition that (s)he utters and all the factors of the communicative situation in which this proposition is embedded (i.e. how S feels about her/his interlocutor, whether S is angry or feels close emotional ties, whether there is a relevant incident happening in the communicative environment, etc.).

In order to illustrate the increase of affective salience that comes with the use of the CI, I provide here an example from my corpus [LA.30a] along with its hypothetical counterpart, which lacks the CI [LA.30b] (elicited for contrastive purposes):

[LA.30] CONTEXT: A doctor comes to examine a patient in the hospital and the doctor tells him to describe the reason that brought him in:

(S) حاسس شي بضهري هون... كامشني كمش!

ḥēsis	*šī*	*bə-ḍahr-e*	*hōn…*	*kēmeš-ne*	*kamaš.*
PTCP.ACT.feel.M.S	thing	in-back-my	here	PTCP.ACT.grip.M.S	grip.INF

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[216] Section 3.2.3.1.2.2 (Focus and Salience).

[217] In their study *Semantic and affective salience: The role of meaning and preference in attentional capture and disengagement*, Biggs et al. conclude that "increases in meaning can reduce attentional capture […] this finding suggests that while increased knowledge can reduce capture, affect can restore an item's ability to capture attention" (Biggs et al., 2012: 531).

'I feel something in my back… it's like a really gripping pain'

[LA.30b]

(S) حاسس شي بضهري هون كامشني

ḥēsis	*šī*	*bə-ḍahr-e*	*hōn*	*kēmeš-ne*
PTCP.ACT.feel.M.S	thing	in-back-my	here	PTCP.ACT.grip.M.S

'I feel something in my back… it's like a gripping pain'

If we were to evaluate the difference between these two perfectly grammatical and pragmatically felicitous propositions, I would argue that the presence of the CI in [LA.30]: (1) highlights the semantic salience of a specific meaning of the verbal form which it accompanies كامشني *kēmešne* (i.e. it selects the most salient meaning among the available meanings of كامشني *kēmešne* within a specific set of semantic alternatives provided by the communicative context),[218] (2) highlights the informative salience of the proposition within the discourse in which it is embedded, and (3) increases the affective salience, since it expresses a higher involvement from S towards the proposition, in comparison to [LA.30b]. This involvement is directly related to the focus placed on the *verum* operator (i.e. the truth-value of the proposition). In other words, a speaker purposefully insists on the truth of what (s)he is saying especially when (s)he has affective motivations to do so (for a definition of verum focus see section 4.3.2.3).

4.4.3. *Affect and Face*

When speakers interact and communicate verbally, their interaction goes beyond the mere transmission of information. Each verbal interaction between S and H may be seen as a social action, for it makes use of a linguistic system collectively constructed in order to reach a social end. According to Lutz (1988), affect is also a social and culturally grounded notion, and the

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[218] See section 3.2.3.1.2.1.

affective part of interactions, may also be considered a form of social action (Boehner et al. 2005) that plays an important role in social change.[219]

  For this reason, the expression of affect is intrinsically correlated to social factors, and we will pay special attention to the study of affect in social interaction. Every speaker is also a social agent whose socio-communicative purposes are always contingent on the assumed perception of his/her social status. From now on, I will refer to this status by using the notion of face.

Face is a well-studied notion in linguistics. It has been defined as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 61) and also as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman, 1955: 215).

Unfortunately for our purposes, the traditional approach to the conceptualization of face as a positive image of the self and that of 'face-threatening acts' as impoliteness acts has reduced the scope of the notion of 'facework' to the use of (im)politeness strategies. Some theoretical solutions have proposed to use the term 'relational work' as a wider version of the same notion (Locher and Watts, 2005). In my opinion, however, it is more productive to work on broadening the concept of 'face' so that 'facework' would include all acts in which face is negotiated in communicative contexts.

I argue here that face is a socially attributed, discursively constructed, potentially infinite concept. And it is precisely because 'the other' plays such an important role in the construction of one's face that I will refer to the concept of face by borrowing Labben's definition: "The image of the self in the eyes of relevant others is face" (Labben, 2018: 70; emphasis mine).

A speaker naturally has different faces that are attributed to him/her in every interaction, hence the multiplicity of faces. My 'face' changes depending on the communicative context I find myself in, as well as on the social role(s) that I perform in each one of them. A different face will be assigned to me by other interlocutors whether I am playing the role of a PhD student, a daughter,

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[219] "To experience a feeling as, say, anger, love, happiness, lust, or frustration, one must be grounded in a cultural context that makes anger, love, happiness, lust, or frustration meaningful (and in turn determines a response to that emotion – whether it is something to be proud of, ashamed of, etc.)" (Lutz, 1988 in Boehner et al., 2005: 64).

a customer or a friend. In the light of this, faces are potentially infinite, "faces, in other words, are rather like masks, on loan to us for the duration of different kinds of performance" (Locher and Watts, 2005: 12).

It is when the speaker feels that her/his face—and to a certain extent, also her/his identity—is being 'managed' or 'negotiated' that a sensation of communicative urgency arises inside the speaker. Urgency, in this sense, can be translated as the speaker's 'eagerness' to intervene in the conversation in order to play a role in the negotiation of her/his face in a communicative exchange that is relevant for her/him at the socio-pragmatic level.

Inspired by Errington's definition,[220] I will refer to this socio-pragmatic relevance as social salience. However, as we will see, social salience is not an attribute unique to communicative situations. Linguistic tools and strategies belonging to different levels of language—phonetic, morphological, syntactic, discursive—may also be endowed with social salience. Of course, the social salience of these strategies, tools or situations will be granted differently by every speaker, since the understanding of what is socially marked may vary greatly among interlocutors and their communities.

For instance, for a member from the Druze community in Lebanon, the uvular realization of /q/ (as opposed to the urban realization as a glottal stop) might be an openly social or socio-political statement. In the same way, a Lebanese speaker from the mountain might be actively negotiating his/her face if (s)he decides to negate a verb with the suffix –š in Beirut among speakers of the urban variety (Germanos, 2009; 2011).

In a similar way, although probably devoid of the socio-political aspect that the two aforementioned features have, my corpus indicates that CIs are used in propositions that can be considered socially salient for the speaker who uttered it, meaning that the speaker feels that this proposition is somehow playing a role in the management or negotiation of his/her face or his/her interlocutor's.[221]

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[220] "The notion of pragmatic salience will be used here to deal with native speakers' awareness of the social significance of different leveled linguistic alternants, which is manifested both in statements about language and in spontaneous, natural use" (Errington, 1985: 294-295).

[221] The fact that this social salience is irregularly attributed by speakers accounts for and the unpredictability of use of the CI. See section 2.4.1.

The following sections explain in further detail the variety of ways of face management that correlate with the use of CIs in LA.

4.4.3.4.   CI and Face Management

Looking back at the MMC, we can explain the manifestation of a high affective salience when one or more elements of the emergent CG—that is, elements introduced into the actual conversational context (i.e., the relation with the interlocutor; the topic or ideas that are being discussed in the conversation)—happen to be emotionally or affectively salient as well for the interlocutor(s) in their respective core contexts.

Once more, if we take into consideration the social value of affect, face management is a logical social reaction to an increase of the affective salience of a proposition within a communicative instance. For this reason, affective salience and social salience will be closely linked in my analysis.

Highly affectively salient utterances may augment the speaker's motivation to manage different aspects of his/her own face or that of his/her interlocutors.

The speaker may feel a special involvement with the topic or with the matters being discussed in the conversation (and therefore a greater need to manage face) for disparate reasons: S has a lot of knowledge about this topic; S has personally experienced these matters; S believes that the discussion of these issues might lead to conclusions S does not agree with; and many others.

My data show that LA speakers use the CI frequently in instances where S believes that (s)he has a piece of information that is not known by H, or that this information has more relevance than H seems to be granting it. When this happens, like in the following example, S's use of the CI implies a reaffirmation of the speaker's hierarchical face on the topic under discussion over that of his/her interlocutor(s).

[LA.31]   CONTEXT: S and H are having a conversation about Arabic language and the origins of the Lebanese variety:

أصلًا، العربي كان موجود بلبنان قبل الغزو الإسلامي (H)

ʔaṣlan,	*ʔǝl-ʕarabe*	*kēn*	*mawʒūd*	*bǝ-lǝbnēn*
in.principle	DET-Arabic	3MS	existing	in-Lebanon

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Ɂabəl	*əl-ġazw*	*l-Ɂəslēme*
before	DET-invasion	DET-islamic

'In fact, Arabic existed in Lebanon before the Islamic invasion'

لا، انتبهي، اللغة العربيّة فرضولهن ياها فرض. هون العالم كانو يحكو سرياني. (S)

laɁ	*ntəbh-e*	[pause]	*Ɂəl-ləġa*	*l-ʕarabiyye*
no	IMP.watch.out-2FS		DET-language	DET-Arabic

faraḍ-ū-l-on		*yēha*		*farəḍ.*
PFV.impose-3P-to-them		ACC.it.FS		impose.INF

hōn	*əl- ʕālam*	*kēn-o*	*yəḥk-o*	*səryēne.*
here	DET-people	were-3P	IPFV.speak-3P	Syriac

'No, watch out. The Arabic language was imposed on them. Here people used to speak Syriac.'

In instances like the preceding example, where the CI is imposing S's hierarchal superior status and reinforcing his authority, the focus on the truth-value of the sentence can be felt intensely. However, in some other communicative instances, and especially upon H's request, S might use a CI in order to help highlight a piece of information that S can affirm thanks to his/her previous experiential knowledge, therefore reaffirming a non-hierarchical face with H:

[LA.32]   CONTEXT: S and H are fellow PhD students in the same department. Since S started her PhD earlier, H asked her for advice on how to reserve a carrel in the library (carrels are in a room with restricted access).

كيف عملتِ تيخلّوكي تفوتي؟ طلبتِ إذن من حدا؟ (H)

kīf	*ʕaməlt-e*	*ta-yxallū-ke*	*tfūte?*
how	PFV.do-2FS	so.that-IPFV.allow.3P- you.F.S	IPFV.go.in.2FS

ṭalabt-e	*Ɂəzn*	*mən*	*ḥadan?*
PFV.ask.for-2FS	permission	from	somebody?

'What did you do so that they let you in? Did you ask for anyone's permission?'

(S) لا، أنا ما طلبت شي. استأجرته استئجار

la,	ʔana	ma	ṭalab-ət	šī.	stəʔʒart-o	stəʔʒār
no	I	NEG	PFV.ask.for-1S	thing	PFV.rent.1s-it	rent.INF

'No, I didn't ask for anything. I [just] rented it.

Given that S had already gone through the process of 'getting access to the carrels,' she now had the experience to strongly affirm the proposition that she marked with a CI, stating her experiential authority in a non-hierarchical way.

Similarly, S may feel a special involvement with the interlocutor(s) participating in the conversation for various reasons: S considers the interlocutor(s) 'relevant' affectively; S holds a concrete social or professional position among the interlocutors; and so forth. When this happens, the CI helps bolster S's face vis-a-vis H or within a group of interlocutors.

In our corpus, the CI is frequently used in situations where S wishes to preserve, repair or reinforce his/her or the interlocutor's face in front of another interlocutor. In the following example, for instance, feeling that her status is being put in question, S reacts to H's comment, preserving her interpersonal face:

[LA.33] CONTEXT: The students in a graduate course have been thinking about asking for their professor to extend the deadline of a paper, but still have not taken this step. A couple of days later, S and H are studying in the graduate student office when the professor walks in to ask with irony how the paper is going. S and H answer with a brief "great" and a smile, and as soon as the professor leaves, H asks S:

(H) دكتور خ. بيعرف؟ كيف؟ خبّرتيه؟

doktor	خ.	b-yʕaref?	kīf?	xabbartī-h?
Doctor	K.	HAB-IPFV.3MS.know	how	PFV.tell.2FS-him

'Doctor K. knows? How? Did you tell him?'

(S) لا، بس مبارح كان مارق مروق وسمع

Laʔ	bas	mbēreḥ	kēn	mēreʔ	mrūʔ	w-səməʕ
No	but	yesterday	was	PTCP.ACT.pass	pass.INF	and-PFV.3MS.hear

'No, but yesterday he was [just] passing by and he heard.'

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The incriminating tone of H's question threatens S's face. As she perceived she is being accused of having filtered confidential information to the professor, S's use of the CI strengthens her defense in an attempt to 'restore' her face.

Oftentimes, the CI is frequently used in by native speakers of LA in situations where S manages his/her face within a certain group or community with a concrete set of values and ideas. In the following example, S reacts when he feels that his honor as a host has been put into question in front of his group of friends:

[LA. 34]   CONTEXT: Some friends are gathered for a drink after work to welcome H₁ one of the members of said group back from her recent trip. In a very relaxed atmosphere while everyone is laughing, H₂ decides to pick on S [who is a rather theatrical man] and tell everyone about how S invited him to a wine tasting evening where there was, actually, no wine. Everyone looks at S and starts laughing, and asking him how could he do such a thing. S then, looks at H₁ and says:

لا، اسمعي شو صار. أنا جبت معي أربع قناني نبيد من فرنسا. ما شحنتهن شحن! يا الله! (S)

بس م. وصل مؤخّر... شو ذنبي أنا؟

la?,	smaʕe	šu	ṣar.	ana	ʒəb-ət	maʕ-e	ʔarbəʕ
no	IMP.listen-2FS	what	happened.3MS	I	brought-1S	with-me	four

ʔənēne	nbīd	mən	fransa.	ma	šaḥan-t-on	šaḥən!
bottles	wine	from	France	DIS	shipped-1S-them	ship.INF

bas	M		wəṣəl	mʔaxxar,	šu	zənb-e	ʔana?
but	M		arrived.3MS	late		what	fault-my	I?

'No, listen to what happened. I had brought with me four bottles of wine from France. I [actually] shipped them! *[hearers laugh]* But M arrived late, how is it my fault?

In the previous example, S feels that H₂'s comment questions both S's sense of hospitality and his skills as a host, triggering in him a feeling that his in-group face is being questioned. Moreover, and as I will subsequently observe in section 4.4.3.5 this example is especially sensitive culturally and socially speaking, given that the threat that S feels to its in-group face is partially caused by what he feels is an attack to a broader collective face. S feels that his hospitality—one of the values

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that happen to be predominant cultural values among Lebanese—is being put into question (Feghali, 1997).[222]

After shedding light on some of the many aspects of face here, the next sections will provide a description of different modes of face management observed in the data.

4.4.3.4.1.   Face Preservation/Restoration and Face Attack

CIs commonly appear in socially marked situations where S assumes that his/her own face or the face of one or several 'relevant' interlocutors is being threatened or attacked in the communicative situation. It might be enough for S to assume that a threat might take place in the future for him/her to intervene and try to prevent it.

Upon encountering a face threatening act, speakers might choose to preserve their own face. In this case, the CI contributes to the attempt to control H's assumptions and reinforces the preemptive aspect of the utterance. In these instances from my corpus, the CI is used by speakers who seek to justify, excuse or explain themselves and avoid a misunderstanding.

In the following example, for instance, S feels his face is being threatened by H's doubts about his commitment to quit smoking, which makes him want to preserve his face by justifying or excusing himself.

[LA.35]   CONTEXT: S is having a beer with H after classes. Although S told H two days ago that he had quit smoking, he lights a cigarette while he drinks his beer. H looks at him and asks ironically: "Hadn't you quit smoking?" (S had previously tried to quit several times without success), to which S responds:

هيدي أوّل سيجارة بدخّنها اليوم، وما عم دخّنها، عم نفخّها تنفيخ (S)

hayd-e	*ʔawwal*	*sigāra*	*bə-daxxən-a*		*l-yōm*
this-F	first	cigarette	HAB-IPFV.smoke.1S- it.FS		DET-day
w	*ma*	*ʕam*	*daxxən-a,*	*ʕam*	*naffex-a*	*tənfīx*
and	NEG	PROG	IPFV.smoke.1S-it.FS	PROG	IPFV.1S.blow-it.FS	blow.INF

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[222] Feghali (1997) claims that **collectivism, honor** and **hospitality** are the predominant cultural values among Lebanese, hence being the values that Lebanese tend to identify with the most as a community. See section 4.4.3.5.

'This is the first cigarette I'm smoking today, and I am not smoking it, I am just blowing the smoke around'

On some occasions, S might also preserve the interlocutor's face. In this case, the CI contributes to the attempt to control the consequences of a face-threatening act against H by helping preserve or restore the hearer's face. In these instances, the CI contributes to the expression of solidarity and empathy.

[LA.36]   CONTEXT: H is having a family dinner with S's family (S and H are a married couple) when H stains her white shirt. H then says:

الأبيض مصيبة (H)

əl-ʔabyaḍ   mṣībe

DET-white   disaster

'White [clothes] are a disaster [waiting to happen]'

to which S responds:

إيه، الأبيض بيلقط الوسخ لقط (S)

ēh	*w-allah*	*əl-ʔabyaḍ*	*b-yəlʔaṭ*	*əl-wasax*	*laʔəṭ*
yes	and-God	DET-white	HAB-IPFV.grab.3MS	DET-dirt	grab-INF

'Indeed, white attracts dirt'

The love and appreciation that S feels for H prompts him to utter the CI proposition in an attempt to alleviate the feelings of embarrassment that S thinks H might be feeling, especially given the communicative situation, that is, to preserve or restore her face.

Sometimes, when S feels that H has committed a face-threatening act towards him/her or towards a relevant interlocutor, the speaker might also choose to attack H's face as a response.

[LA.37]   CONTEXT: An old woman is waiting for the green light to cross the street, but when she does, a man on a motorbike, neglecting the traffic light, drives through the zebra cross dangerously close to her. As a result, the old woman gets scared and screams at him:

الله يقصف عمرَك قصف! (S)

ʔallah	yə-ʔṣof	ʕomr-ak	ʔaṣəf
God	IPFV.3MS-bombard	lifetime-your.MS	bombard.INF

'May God destroy your life!'

Cognate Infinitive Curses, like the one in the example above, are probably the clearest and most frequent examples of instances of CI used with the purpose of face attack.[223]

In cases where S feels comfortable enough within a communicative setting, (s)he may even attack his/her own face with the intention of being humorous or of showing humility:

[LA.38]   CONTEXT: H$_1$ and H$_2$ are creating and editing a table of contents in Microsoft Word in the presence of S. When H$_1$ sees the surprise in S's face, H$_1$ asks him how he normally does his tables of contents, to which he responds:

أنا بكتبهن كتابة متل الكلب (S)

ʔana	bə-ktəb-on	kitēbe	mətl	əl-kalb
I	HAB-IPFV.1S.write-them	write.INF	like	DET-dog

'I write them [manually] like a [dumb] dog'

In this case, S had also a clear intention of being funny, probably because he'd much rather trigger his interlocutors' laugh than receiving a critical or condescending reaction. In this case, S is probably attacking his own face before anyone else does, which could be considered, paradoxically, a way of face preservation.

4.4.3.4.2.   Face Reinforcement

CIs are also commonly used in situations where S voluntarily, and feeling free of potential threats, chooses to reinforce face. In these instances, the propositions containing the CI are used to create a feeling of suspense and to transmit a feeling of reassurance to the interlocutor(s).

[LA.39]   CONTEXT: S is cooking a Lebanese traditional dish while H (her daughter's friend, who is also a foreigner) passes by the kitchen and, after complimenting the smell, asks S to give her the recipe. S, visibly proud and happy to be asked, accedes to H's wishes and explains to her every detail of the cooking

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[223] For a more elaborated discussion of Cognate Infinitive Curses in LA see section 5.3.3.1 of this study.

process. At a certain point, when H asks her about the way to cook the eggplant, she answers (with a smile on her face and visibly proud):

في عالم بيشوو البتنجانات، بس أنا بحبّ إقليهن قلي (S)

fī	*ʕālam*	*b-yešw-o*	*əl-bətenʒēnēt*	*bas*	*ʔana*
there.is	people	HAB-IPFV.grill-3P	DET-eggplants	but	I

b-ḥəbb	*ʔəʔlī-on*	*ʔale*
HAB-IPFV.1S.like	IPFV.1S.fry-them	fry.INF

'Some people grill the eggplants, but I like frying them.'

In the above example, S benefits from what pragmatically would be a parallel focus, in order to separate herself from 'ordinary people' and emphasizes the originality of her way of cooking a Lebanese traditional dish, thus reinforcing her own face as a unique and free-spirited and creative cook.

In a threat-free atmosphere, sometimes S may use the CI in order to contribute to reinforcing H's face:

[LA.40]   CONTEXT: S and H are talking about the thesis proposal examination they both have to pass as PhD students. S feels H is a bit anxious about it.

الثيسيس بدّها سنين، بس ما تعتلي همّ البروبوزل... بتمرّقيها تمريق (S)

*əl-*thesis_{EN}	*badd-a*	*snīn,*	*bas*	*ma*	*təʕtal-e*	*hamm*
DET-thesis	want-it.F.S	years	but	NEG	IPFV.carry-2FS	worry

*əl-*proposal_{EN}…	*bə-tmarrʔī-a*	*təmrīʔ*
DET-proposal	HAB-IPFV.2FS-pass	pass.INF

'The thesis takes years, but don't worry about the proposal… you will get it through just fine.'

In the previous instance, S, being an older PhD student, makes use of her experiential authority to reinforce H's face by giving her advice and by reassuring her.

4.4.3.4.3. Face Creation

CIs are also quite commonly used in situations where S voluntarily, in a communicative atmosphere free of potential threats and practically devoid of previous discursive context, chooses to create a face for himself/herself. In these instances, the propositions containing the CI are significantly expressive, and they can convey a wide range of emotions (i.e. anger, awe, indignation, love, disgust, surprise, etc.). The use of the CI in the next example, for instance, helps S create a 'devoted fan' face in front of her idol:

[LA.6]   CONTEXT: S is leaving a restaurant in Beirut when, suddenly, she comes face to face with her favorite news presenter (H). Visibly excited, she introduces herself and then says:

(S) بيه شو بحبّك! بنطرَك مناطرة عالأخبار كل ليلة

yī	*šū*	*b-ḥǝbb-ak.*	*bǝ-nṭr-ak*	*mnāṭra*
INT	what	HAB-IPFV.love.1S-you.M.S	HAB-IPFV.wait.1S-you.M.S	wait.INF

ʕa-l-ǝxbār	*kǝl*	*leyle*
on-DET-news	every	night

'Oh my God, I love you so much! I [impatiently] wait to see you in the news every single night!

It is worth clarifying that in many cases, what allows S to create or to give prominence to face is not only the use of the CI, but rather the interaction of different communicative tools, such as choice of words, intonation, body language, in which the CI might be included.

Given the multiplicity of faces, we should bear in mind that most of the time, one or more of these 'faceworks' naturally tend to overlap. One may, for instance, be preserving H's face while simultaneously creating a face for himself and/or attacking another interlocutor's face. In the following example, for instance, we can see S simultaneously preserving, reinforcing and attacking different faces:

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[LA.41]   CONTEXT: S, a female employee in a beauty salon, is doing A's facial hair with a thread, as a consequence of which, A is groaning in pain, when H, who is A's waiting boyfriend, says:

طب، هالقدّ بيوجّع؟ (H)

ṭəb,	ha-l-ʔadd	b-ywaʒʒəʕ?
well	this-DET-extent	HAB-IPFV.3MS.hurt

'Does it really hurt that much?'

to which S, who stopped working for a minute and stayed still looking at H, says:

يا حبيبي... إزا بشيلّك هلّق شواربك بالخيط بدّك تطّحبِش المحلّ تطّحبُش (S)

ya	ḥabībi…	ʔəza b-šil-l-ak		hallaʔ	šwērb-ak
VOC	dear	if	HAB-IPFV.1S.remove-to-you.M.S	now	moustache-your.M.S

bə-l-xēṭ	bədd-ak	əṭṭəḥbaš	əl-maḥall	əṭṭəḥboš!
with-DET-thread	want-you. M.S	IPFV.2MS.smash	DET-shop	smash.INF

'Oh, my dear… if I were to remove your moustache with the thread now you would smash the shop to bits!'

In the example above, S feels that A's face is attacked and, in solidarity with her, decides to impose her experiential authority, both as a woman who has undergone the pain that entails removing facial hair and as a professional, to attack H's face. Thus, S manages to preserve A's face, while reinforcing her own face (both as a woman and as a professional) through attacking H's face.

4.4.3.5.   CI and Identity

The concept of face is intimately related to the often vaguely defined sociolinguistic notion of identity. Both face and identity are relational and negotiable, and they are both involved in "the negotiation of relations and identities in interaction" (Locher, 2008: 533). According to the literature, some pivotal aspects of identity are equally significant for the definition of face: identity and face are both multileveled concepts, sensitive to the context of interaction, shaped by group membership and by the culturally defined self-esteem of the individual (Brewer, 1991; Hogg et al., 1995; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Stets & Burke, 2000; Labben, 2017).

Individual identity is considered to be a chaotic system given the infinity and self-similarity[224] of its potential subdivisions (Sade, 2011). I suggest that face can be understood as a subdivision of identity, and thus, individual identity as a compilation of the potentially infinite faces of an individual.

In fact, understanding face as a subdivision of identity is especially useful given the fact that identity may also be salient. Thus, when we say that some 'parts' of our identity are activated or feel endangered depending in which contexts, we are saying that one of the subdivisions of identity, this is, one of our faces, is being negotiated or managed.

Being a multileveled concept shaped by group membership, identity can also be constructed at a collective level, which entails that the identity of an individual will be formed partly by collective faces.[225] In Lebanon, for instance, as it is the case in other Arab countries, some of the most predominant cultural values associated with collective faces shaping individual identity seem to be three: "collectivism, honor and hospitality" (Feghali, 1997; emphasis mine).

Although it would be too much of a generalization to affirm that the use of the CI in LA is directly related to the expression of a 'Lebanese' identity—especially given the multiplicity of meanings that the notion of 'Lebaneseness' may have for different individuals—it seems certain that this tool might also relate to the management of a collective national/regional face. This appears clearly in several previously mentioned CI instances. In [LA.33], S explains herself to preserves her face defending the value of collectivism; in [LA.26], S attacks a third person's face to defend her honor; and in [LA.34], S feels the need to explain himself in front his friends (i.e. members of the same community) when he feels that his value of hospitality has been questioned.

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[224] Meaning that the infinite possibilities of an identity's internal subdivisions interact, as they influence and are influenced by each other (Sade, 2011).

[225] We should not forget that collective identities are experienced as well at a personal level since it is the individual who lives them and confers them a certain meaning in his specific social and cultural setting (Suleiman, 2003).

Instances like these confirm the results of a previous study on native attitudes towards cognate objects (CO) in Lebanese Arabic (Iriarte Díez, 2016: 20) which reported "a strong correlation between the use of a CO and a perceived 'Lebanese' typicality".[226]

4.5. Conclusions

The present chapter has attempted to document and describe the communicative multidimensionality of the CI in LA by analyzing in detail both its informational and affective dimensions as a focus marker.

Informationally, the Cognate Infinitive in LA may be understood as a tool of information structure; more concretely, a focus marker. In an attempt to clarify the vagueness that characterizes a great deal of the existing literature about focus, this chapter reviews two of the most prominent classifications. I argue that the parameters upon which these classifications are built (i.e., the presence of explicit alternatives in the preceding discourse; type of updating; semantic change; size and nature of the focused constituent) are based on properties of focus that are not inherent to the notion but rather merely circumstantial, in order to offer a working definition for focus that remains faithful to what I believe is its essential communicative function: drawing the interlocutor's attention into a specific constituent in contrast to alternative constituents suggested by the communicative environment. Taking the CI as a case study for focus marking, and analyzing some of my CI cases according to the aforementioned classifications, I argue that CIs in LA not only can mark multiple pragmatic focus at the same time, but also that they also place a focus simultaneously in the verbal lexeme (selecting the most salient meaning of the verbal form), the predication, and the truth-statement of the proposition.

In arguing for and exploring the affective dimension of CIs, I show that the use of CIs in LA correlates with a high degree of involvement of the speaker towards the proposition, and propose that the use of CI increases the affective salience of the proposition in which it appears. According to my data, the speaker's feeling of personal involvement is directly related to the assumption that

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[226] Further inquiry about the participants' arguments for such categorization contributed both to a deeper understanding of the social and pragmatic implications of the Cognate Object, and to the uncovering of a set of macro-scale attitudes.

his/her individual and/or collective faces are being negotiated. The data evidence that CIs are used in communicative situations that are socially salient for the speaker, where they contribute in several acts of face management, such as preserving, attacking, reinforcing or creating face.

When analyzed within its full natural communicative environment, CIs in LA may shed light onto the intrinsic complexity and multidimensionality of focus, challenging many of the theoretical approaches that have been offered previously. On this basis, and after concluding that the notion of focus needs to be revisited and redefined in a more comprehensive and holistic way that integrates both its informational and affective dimensions, I adopt a definition of focus that is built upon its most solid and fundamental communicative properties, this is, the managing of attention through the distribution of salience at different levels of language.

While the present chapter provided concrete evidence for the need of an alternative conceptualization of focus and uncovered the multidimensionality of LA speakers' motivations to use the CI, the next chapter continues to build on these findings and endeavors to provide the reader with a coherent description of both the communicative functions of the CI in LA and the continuums of contextual and agential factors involved in its use.

CHAPTER 5:

MODELING THE GRAMMAR OF COGNATE INFINITIVES IN

LEBANESE ARABIC:

Communicative Continua and Functional Spectrum

5.1. Introduction

Language is known to work as a dynamic system that continuously shifts and evolves as speakers use it. This entails that every use of a linguistic form effectively contributes to the future use of that same form, thus shaping its grammatical function. As I stressed in Chapter 3, linguistic expressions encode the contexts of previous uses and experiences (Kecskes, 2008: 386). For this reason, if we wish to determine the grammatical function of a specific linguistic form, we must first look into the communicative contexts in which it is being used by speakers. In Chapter 4 we looked at many CI instances within their corresponding communicative contexts. The present chapter provides the reader with a communicative grammatical model for the CI in LA that accounts for its functional description. This model is based on the results from the analysis of the social and communicative contexts in which, according to my corpus, the CI is currently used by LA speakers.

The reader should bear in mind that the communicative grammatical model presented in this chapter fundamentally (and purposefully) departs from traditional linguistic "classifications"—i.e. from the labelling and categorization of types and subtypes of concepts through a set of distinctive criteria—for it considers the CI a complex communicative unit that should be studied as a whole, this is, with a holistic approach. With this purpose in mind, I will avoid speaking about classes or types of CI and work instead with contextualized CI instances that can be placed along communicative continua and positioned within a functional spectrum, both notions of 'continuum' and 'spectrum' being defined by the absence of boundaries and borders.

I believe that understanding grammatical functions as the synthesis of patterns that emerge along communicative continua will help the reader conceive of the CI's different functional

nuances as different stages of a spectrum, rather than as isolated well-defined sets of events granted arbitrary labels.

Notwithstanding the vertical and hierarchical structure inevitably imposed by the written format, this chapter intends to present a fluid and homogenous model for the description of the CI in LA, built along communicative continua, in which the various elements involved in its use intertwine, overlap and even fuse. The dynamic and flexible behavior of the communicative factors that interact in the use of CI which is, in my view, a clear manifestation of the adaptable and complex nature of communication, highlights the ineffectiveness of any attempt to draw any dividing line, and leaves the researcher with no other methodological option.

Given that linguistic forms "are to be seen as epiphenomena of interaction" (Cameron and Larsen-Freeman, 2007: 6), those linguistic forms that have a higher frequency of use in certain communicative circumstances, that is, a higher general linguistic salience,[227] will logically be conventionalized and recognized faster and therefore, more efficiently accessed and more easily produced. This means that it is according to use—and to the salience that inevitable results from it—that linguistic forms disappear or remain and evolve depending on their semantic or pragmatic utility, their sociolinguistic characteristics, and so forth.

Linguistic salience results, then, from interactions. Thus, if every linguistic interaction is lived and analyzed by the speaker and stored as an experience, it is sound to affirm that interlocutors' communicative experiences shape grammar, and not the other way around. This is why it makes sense to see grammar as a "cognitive organization of one's experience with language," rather than a cognitive organization of language itself (Bybee, 2006: 711; emphasis mine).

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[227] By linguistic **salience** here I don't only refer to the absolute frequency of use of a linguistic form, but also to the degree of communal awareness of a linguistic form in a certain communicative situation. For instance, the property of salience can be applied to a scientific term that might be very useful semantically in a specific register, but not necessarily common quantitatively if compared to other words; to a specific phonetic realization that is systematically used by a prestigious group of speakers; or to a construction with a very specific function that is used in certain communicative environments. See section 3.2.3.1.2.2. for more information about salience.

Consequently, the most natural way to obtain an accurate grammatical description of a linguistic variety is to observe the speaker's communicative experiences in that language and to carry out a later analysis of the observations and data recorded.

It is along these lines that this chapter approaches the communicative grammatical model for CIs in LA in two different sections:

- The first part of this model (section 5.2) presents the communicative circumstances in which the CI is currently used in LA according to my corpus. This section benefits from the theoretical concepts introduced in theoretical framework (MMC)[228] in order to analyze the emergent patterns arising among the various communicative elements involved in the use of the CI, especially alternatives, assumptions, intentions, common ground, attention, and affect. As a result, this part of the model will help us understand the communicative range of use of the CI in LA.

- The second part of the model (section 5.3), which inevitably builds on the first, explores the communicative function of the CI, relying on the communicative circumstances in which it appears in LA. By shedding light on several stages of the spectrum of functions performed by the CI, this section's aim is to illustrate the wide functional range of this linguistic form in LA.

5.2. The Communicative Use of the CI in LA: Communicative Continua

Having been introduced to the complexity of the CI's use in LA in Chapter 4, readers can imagine by now that this section will not provide them with clear-cut rules of where, when or how the CI should be used. Instead, this section intends to shed light on the communicative elements that are predominantly present in the communicative instances of my corpus, for they represent the kinds of communicative contexts that LA native speakers themselves associate with the use of CIs and that shape their usage of them. As a result, this section will discuss the circumstances in which the CI is both used and pragmatically accepted by LA native speakers.

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[228] See Chapter 3.

Although, as we have seen, the CI in LA accompanies exclusively verbal forms, its use is not ultimately conditioned by 'formal' features of the immediate linguistic context (i.e. phonetic, morphological, semantic, lexical, or syntactic features). In other words, apart from always being tied to a verbal form, the CI's use is not tied, *inter alia*, to the presence of a certain phonetic sound, to any specific lexical category of verbs, or to the use of a particular subsuming syntactic construction.

However, this does not imply that the CI may be used in any situation. Quite the contrary, native speakers seem to have a fairly clear idea of the communicative instances that welcome the use of a CI, and also of those which simply do not. This is possible because the use of CI in LA correlates with the presence of communicative elements, informational and affective, rather than purely formal ones. Also, communicative notions that seem to be relevant for the use of the CI are subjective, rather than objective notions, and/or are unpredictable rather than predictable (i.e., depending on emergent intentions and context), a fact that makes its quantification and standardization as unfeasible as it is unnecessary.

Following the MMC explained in Chapter 3 and the analytical frame that I presented in the introduction of this chapter, the following subsections will explore what I perceive to be the most important communicative continua involved in the use of the CI in LA.[229] One of these continua, the focus environment, is defined by the communicative environment, and two others depend on the communicative agents: speaker's communicative priority (referential – affective) and speaker's communicative stance (informative – performative).[230]

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[229] Naturally, this dissertation cannot and will not include all the different kinds of communicative continua that may exist, for they may be as many as one could wish to create. Depending on the linguistic form under analysis and through the observation of natural communicative instances, the researcher will have to determine which elements from the communicative environment and from the communicative agents are relevant to the use of a certain linguistic form—for they will be also relevant for the determination of this form's functional range.

[230] It should be borne in mind that the identification and description of these concrete communicative elements do not make them valid to become criteria for classifying the CI, since by doing so we would be incurring the same mistakes of those who established the existing traditional classifications of focus we discussed in section 4.3.3. In fact, the relevance of these (and not other) elements lies in their correlation to the different functional nuances of the CI (see section 5.3).

5.2.1. Focus Environment: Closed-Open

Since Chapter 4 established that CIs in LA work as focus markers, addressing the notion of focus environment (FE) will be of primary importance for the purpose of modeling the grammar of CIs. As this section explains, the notion of FE encompasses all the elements from the communicative environment that may affect and/or condition the presence (or absence) of alternatives of the focus expressed by the CI.[231]

It should be borne in mind that some of the elements of the communicative environment and, thus, also the nature of FE tend to be of an arbitrary nature. In other words, the discursive and situational events are the pre-existent 'milieu' where S may move that is partly external to S, and may condition him/her in his/her communicative and linguistic decisions.

The FE is, therefore, a space where alternatives that are considered relevant by the speaker exist (both explicitly and implicitly), and therefore, a space S will want to mediate and even control. This helps to explain why speakers make use of focus management tools such as CI in order to maximize the agency that language gives them.

Since CIs in LA function as focus markers, the use of the CI necessarily entails, informationally speaking, the focusing of specific constituents in contrast to their alternatives.[232] Hence, it is necessary to understand how these alternatives are understood and interpreted within the interactive context in which CIs occur.

In this study, the notion of focus environment (FE) accounts for the nature of the set of alternatives (SoA) of those constituents focused by the CI. FE is conceived here as a continuum ranging from *closed* to *open*[233], depending on the degree of explicitness of the alternatives of the

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[231] In other words, the focus environment is just a microuniverse inside the universe of the communicative environment. If the communicative environment includes (1) the random result of the interplay of individual contexts (S & H); individual assumptions (which, in turn, originate the decisions of the communicative agents to update the CG in different ways) and (2) the arbitrary actions (performed by the interlocutors) or events (not performed by the interlocutors) that may happen in a communicative setting; then **focus environment may be defined as the communicative environment of a focus instance.**

[232] See section 3.2.3.1.2.1 and 4.2.

[233] As I mentioned in section 4.3, the 'extremes' of the focus environment continuum draw on Krifka's (2007) classification of *open* and *closed* focus, according to which, *open focus* referred to foci with a restricted set of

focus marked by the CI, as analyzed in the immediate communicative context of a certain communicative instance. Figure 6 illustrates the continuum of the FE, ranging from a closed FE that is characterized by a high degree of explicitness of the alternatives to an open FE, where alternatives have a greater degree of implicitness.

Figure 6: Focus Environment in the grammatical model for CIs in LA

Explicitness in the FE can be defined as the presence of one or more alternatives (of a focused constituent) in the Emergent CG of a specific instance of communication. In other words, alternatives will reach their higher degree of explicitness when they are perceived and known by both speakers within the emergent context. A closed FE will be, thus, characterized by more explicit alternatives, 'explicit' combining properties of both shared and emergent. Figure 7 maps the explicit alternatives on the MMC (see section 3.2), combining shared and emergent properties.

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alternatives, and *closed focus* to an unrestricted set of alternatives. However, Krifka does not explain what he means by 'restricted' or 'unrestricted', for he does not specify what factors actually grant the status of 'present' to an alternative, hence the need for this section.
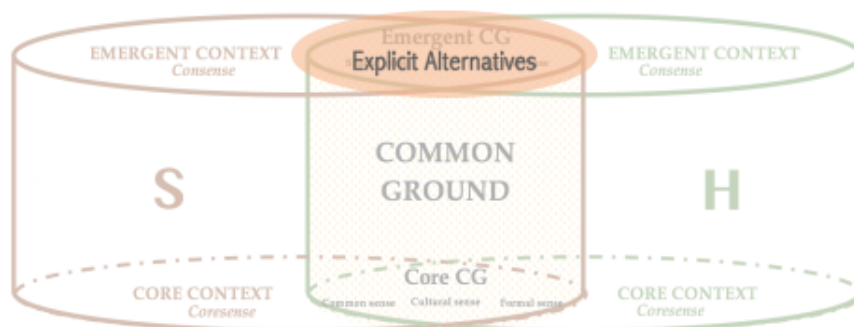
Figure 7: Representation of Explicit Alternatives in the MMC

For the purposes of this study, the degree of explicitness or implicitness of the alternatives, and therefore, the degree of openness of the FE, is relevant to the extent that it affects the speaker. If we imagine the notion of FE as the 'space' where the speaker can move, a more closed FE, which implies stronger contextual restrictions and less space, will limit the speaker and somehow force him/her to use a particular CI (or any other focus marker), while a more open FE, which implies weaker restrictions and more freedom for the speaker, will leave space for the speaker to use the CI in more original and creative ways. For this reason, and as we will see in subsequent sections, in my data, different FEs correlate to the different modes in which the CI manages attention, and to the different functional nuances of the CI in LA.

It is important to note that alternatives may be explicit in different dimensions of the emergent CG; for example, in the preceding discourse, presented either by H [LA.42] or by S [LA.43], or in the shared situational context [LA.44]. The following is an example of closed FE where alternatives are made explicit by H:

[LA.42] CONTEXT: H hurt his leg and his girlfriend S is cleaning the wound. Right after S places a big bandage on the wound, H, who is visibly in pain, screams and protests:

(H) آه! ليش كبستيها هالقدّ؟

Ah!	*lēš*	*kabas-tī-a*	*ha-l-ʔadd?*
INT	why	press-PFV.2FS-it.F.S	this-DET-much

'Why did you <u>press it</u> so hard?'

(S) ما كبستها يا حياتي. حطّيتها حطّ!

ma	*kabast-a*		*ya*	*ḥayēt-e.*	*ḥaṭṭəyt-a*		*ḥaṭṭ*
NEG	press.PFV.1S-it.F.S		VOC	life-my	put.PFV.1S-it.F.S		put.INF

'I didn't press it, honey, I [just] put it'

The event 'press it,' which is part of the SoA of the focused event 'put it,' is explicitly presented by H in this example. As [LA.42] illustrates, when using CIs in this kind of closed FE, the CI is often preceded by one or more negations that mark S's rejection of the alternative presented by H (in this case 'press it').

However, there are instances, like [LA.43], where S himself presents the alternative explicitly in the discourse preceding the CI:

[LA.43] CONTEXT: While H is parking her car, a man that was walking in the street (S) stops spontaneously to give her directions:

<div dir="rtl">

قرّبي قرّبي قرّبي... خلص، ما بتساعي. بدّك ترجعي رجوع (S)

</div>

Ɂarrb-e,	*Ɂarrb-e,*	*Ɂarrb-e…*	*xalaṣ*	*ma*
IMP.go.back-2FS	IMP.go.back-2FS	IMP.go.back-2FS	enough	NEG

bə-tsēʕ-e	*badd-ik*	*tərʒaʕ-e*	*rʒūʕ*
HAB-IPFV.fit-2FS	want-2FS	IPFV.reverse-2FS	reverse.INF

'Come forward, come, come… stop! You don't fit. You have to go in reverse'

Here, rather than 'correcting' H, S rectifies his own statement, marking the second event with a CI to draw H's attention to the sudden update of his own utterance. [234]

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[234] This example, as well as the next one [LA.44], deserve further analysis for the data they provide on the gendered use of CI; unfortunately that lies outside the scope of the present study.

In some closed FEs, an alternative may also be presented by an event that is happening in the situational context, but not necessarily present in the preceding discourse.[235] In the following example, for instance, S reprimands H precisely because he saw an opposing event taking place.

[LA.44] CONTEXT: S is instructing H on how to fix a car, and H tries to carry out S's orders. S tells H to open a valve, and after she (H) tries to pull a piece downwards, S screams:

لك قبّيها قبّ، شو قصّتِك؟ (S)

lək	ʔəbb-ī-a	ʔəbb,	šū	ʔəṣṣt-ik?
INT	IMP.pull.up-2FS- it.F.S	pull.up.INF	what	story-your.F.S

'No, pull it up! What is wrong with you?'

In the last three examples, the communicative circumstances generated a closed focus environment where an alternative was explicitly presented. Whereas these examples may seem quite different, they share the contextual factor that seems to be most relevant to the functional uses of the CI: the presence of one or more explicit alternatives. As we will see more in detail in section 5.3.1, it is the explicitness of the alternative that overtly attracts H's attention, making the introduction of a focused alternative 'more necessary' for a deeply committed S with an urgent correction.[236]

Nevertheless, the use of the CI does not only correlate with a closed focus environment. In fact, speakers also seem to use CIs when focus alternatives show lower degrees of explicitness. However, what does it mean for an alternative to be less explicit in the FE?

Theoretically speaking, everything that is not explicit (i.e., that is not both shared and emergent) is, therefore, implicit. In other words, if the presence of one or more alternatives is not

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[235] "There is nothing abnormal about a speaker relying, for the interpretation or evaluation of what is said in a speech act on information that has its source in the speech act event itself. Suppose Alice says "She is the senior senator from California", pointing to a woman standing in the corner. A certain woman must be salient for her use of "she" to be appropriate and successful (where salience is presumably to be explained in terms of common belief), but it was Alice's speech act, and the accompanying gesture, that made her salient" (Stalnaker, 2002: 711).

[236] This explicitness is common in instances of corrective and exhaustive focus (see sections 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2) See also section 5.3.1. 'Recovering attention'.

a communicative fact (i.e. an event that is perceived and acknowledged by both S and H during the communicative instance), it must then be an assumption. The more open a focus environment becomes, the more the interlocutors find themselves in the vast realm of assumptions. The different degrees of implicitness in the alternatives will affect the functional nature of the functional nuances of CIs.

Unlike explicit alternatives, which were defined above as both shared and emergent, implicit alternatives may be (1) emergent, but not shared by S and H; (2) shared, but not emergent, part of the core; (3) partially emergent and partially shared; or (4) neither shared nor emergent. As we will see below, (3) and (4) are the least anchored to the CG, and therefore at this end of the spectrum the S can exert more control and use CI in ways that H might not expect. I will now illustrate these four types of 'open' FE with examples from my corpus.

(1) Implicit alternatives may appear as the result of an individual (not shared) perception of an emergent event. In these cases, like in the following example, an event that is presumably only perceived by one of the interlocutors, and not openly acknowledged to have happened (here, one that belongs to H's emergent context, but not to the emergent CG) may trigger a series of assumptions containing the presence of an alternative:[237]

[LA.45]　CONTEXT: During Sunday lunch at his grandparents' house, H sees what he feels could be a look of disgust on his grandfather's (S) face while drinking the wine that H has brought to the lunch. Upon seeing this, H asks S:

(H)　شو في جدّو؟

šū　　　fī　　　ʒəddo?

what　　　there.is　　　grandpa

'Is there anything wrong, Grandpa?'

to which, S answers:

---

[237] This means that the alternative is felt to be explicit by the speaker only, but will remain to be implicit for the communicative situation unless the speaker openly asks about it or comments on it.

(S) ما شي، عم دوق النبيد دواق

ma	*ši,*	*ʕam-dūʔ*	*əl-nbīd*	*dwēʔ*
NEG	thing	PROG-IPFV.1S.try	DET-wine	try.INF

'Nothing, I am [just] trying the wine'

In the preceding instance, it is an assumption in H's mind (*Grandpa didn't like the wine*) caused by an event perceived only by S (Grandpa grimaced) that generates a question ("What is wrong, grandpa?"), which, in turn, also generates the assumption of an emergent alternative in S's mind (S assumes that H thinks that something is wrong with the wine), which leads to the use of a CI in the answer.

S's final answer ("I was just trying the wine"), finally denies all kind of alternative assumptions, but leaves us (and H) with a question: Did H perceive S's grimace correctly or did he imagine it? In the first case, S would be just pretending to like the wine to avoid an implicit attack on H's face. In the second case, S would have just been truly surprised by the question and would be choosing to erase any possible negative assumptions from his grandson's mind.

Therefore, [LA.45] and Figure 8 illustrate that regardless of how emergent an alternative might be, the less shared this alternative is, the more implicit it will be, and the more open the focus environment as a result.
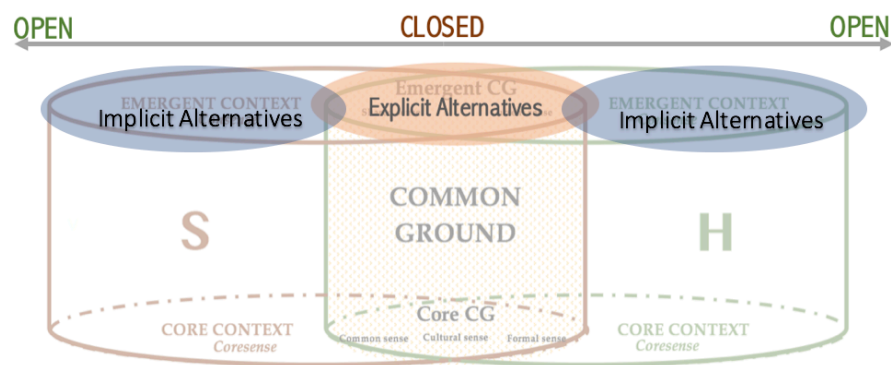
Figure 8: Representation of Implicit Alternatives in the MMC (I)

(2) Implicit alternatives may also be shared but not emergent; i.e., they may belong to the core CG, as specific information is assumed to be known and equally acknowledged by S and H.

In the following example, S assumes that the coresense of the word مفرق *mafraʔ* (intersection), along with the potential alternatives that it implies (the existence of directional alternatives), is part of the core CG:

[LA.46] CONTEXT: H (a young female) is looking for the Ministry of Education and she asks an adult man (S) (in his 60's) in the street. S then answers:

(S) كمّلي دغري وتاني مفرق بدّك تطلعي طلوع

kaml-e	*dəɣre*	*w-tēne*	*mafraʔ*
IMP.continue.2FS	straight	and-second.M.SG	intersection
badd-ik	*təṭlaʕ-e*	*ṭlūʕ*	
want-2FS	IPFV.go.up-2FS	go.up.INF	

'Continue on straight, and at the second intersection, you have to go up'

For this reason, even if S is unable to physically see the intersection and the different ways it offers (i.e. even if the specific alternatives are not present in the emergent CG) just by actually uttering the word مفرق *mafraʔ* (intersection) and bringing it into the discourse, S assumes that H understands the presence of the series of implicit alternatives that are contained in this word's coresense.

The CI in this case is, thus, directing the attention to the uttered alternative تطلعي طلوع *təṭlaʕe ṭlūʕ* ('go up') in contrast to the other potential implicit alternatives (go down, go left, go right) which are contained, according to S's assumptions, in the core CG.[238]

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[238] Probably because of the frequency in which these situations might happen, and given the intrinsic alternatives that are naturally contained in the consenses of actions indicating movement and directions (go up – go down) (go forward – go backwards), I believe that the use of the CI with certain verbs of movement such as طلع *t-l-ʕ* 'go up' and نزل *n-z-l* 'go down', have gone through a process of lexicalization through which, the corresponding 'infinitives'

The use of a CI in this case contributes to the S's strong personal involvement in helping H reach her destination, for the presence of the CI —in contrast to the neutrality that would be conveyed in its absence—rules out any other potential option that might appear before H once she reaches the intersection.

Therefore, as [LA.46] and Figure 9 shows, regardless of how shared an alternative might be, the more 'core' this alternative is, the more implicit it will become, opening the focus environment as a result.
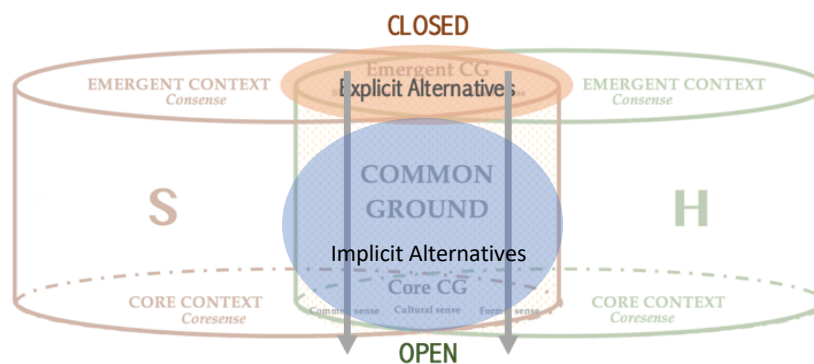
Figure 9: Representation of Implicit Alternatives in the MMC (II)

(3) In some cases, alternatives may show different degrees of emergence and/or sharedness; i.e., they belong to the CG, but they are neither completely emergent nor core; or they belong to the emergent contexts, but they are neither completely individual nor shared. This indicates that there is some sort of middle ground where speakers can either suggest or withhold alternatives in order to maintain control over H's access to the SoA. S can 'suggest' an alternative when (s)he grants it a more emergent quality without actually sharing it directly to make it explicit. Similarly, S can 'withhold' an alternative by not giving it an emergent quality. In practice, this is normally done by bringing to the emergent CG certain information that hints at the existence of a specific alternative, pushing H to conjure up this alternative in his/her head:

(*maṣādir)* have acquired semantic additions to their original meaning. For this reason, now many of these infinitives are partly used purely as adverbs.

[LA.47] CONTEXT: A group of three girlfriends are talking about different stories of girls that got married 'too soon' for their standards. S drops the example of Y (a friend of S and an acquaintance of the rest of interlocutors):

<div dir="rtl">

(S)   رفيقتي ي. مثلًا. ضلّو ستّ أشهُر مع بعض ودغري عرس وبيت وحبّ وغرام... وهلّق شو؟ هربت هريبة منّه لجوزها ي. هربت هريبة!

</div>

rfiʔ-t-e	Y.	masalan…	ḍall-o	sitt	ʔəšhor
friend-F-my	Y.	for.instance…	PFV.stay-3P	six	months
maʕ	baʕḍ	w-dəġre	ʕares	w-bet	w-ḥobb
with	each.other	and-straight	wedding	and-house	w-love
w-ġarām	[pause]	w-hallaʔ	šu?	[pause]	
and-love		and-now	what		
harab-ət	harībe	menn-o	la-ʒawz-a,	Y.	
PFV.flee-3FS	flee.INF	from-him	OBJ-husband-her	Y.	

'My friend Y, for instance… they stayed together for 6 months, and straight away they had the wedding, the house, everything was love and fairy tales. And now what? She literally escape from her husband! To escape, I tell you!'

In [LA.47], the real alternative to 'she escaped' would be 'she stayed with him (after the wedding)'. Although this alternative is not made explicit in the emergent context, by providing certain information (i.e. 'they stayed together for 6 months, and straight away they had the wedding, the house, everything was love and fairy tales'), S is hinting at this alternative indirectly, rendering it 'expected' in the mind of her interlocutors. However, although S did, in fact, grant the implicit alterative with a degree of emergence and sharedness, in reality, S did not explicitly share this alternative with her interlocutors.

Suggesting alternatives implies, therefore, a double movement—from the core to the emergent and from the individual to the shared. However, this movement is stopped by S halfway, before reaching explicitness, at times to keep H in suspense and to provoke surprise later, and at times to

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shed light on a parallel or a contrastive idea for clarification purposes.[239] In all cases, the S control of the emergent and shared properties of the SoA seems clear here. Figure 10 depicts the aforementioned movement from implicitness and towards explicitness that an alternative experiences when S suggests it or withholds it.
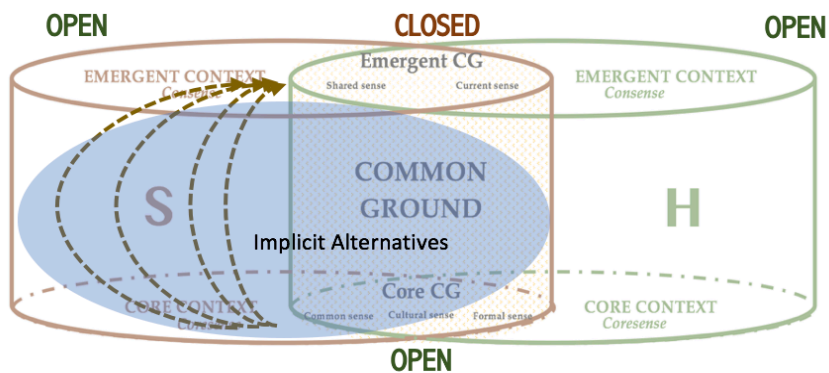
Figure 10: Illustrative diagram of the informational process of 'suggesting' implicit alternatives

(4) Implicit alternatives may be neither shared, nor emergent, belonging to one of the interlocutors' core contexts. This is the most open FE, for it does not provide us with clear hints of the nature (or even of the existence) of a SoA. However, what is really happening here is that alternatives are stored in the core and private context of the speaker, which makes them effectively 'impossible' to be accessed and/or analyzed by an interlocutor or an observer. The use of a CI in these cases is, nonetheless, indicating to H that there is a SoA to the focused option that S finds relevant. [240] However, the communicative reasons that motivated S to use a CI marking the focus on that event cannot be easily found in the FE and remain, therefore, unclear.

The following instance illustrates a CI occurring in a considerably open focus environment:

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[239] This specific nature of implicitness is common in instances of contrastive and parallel focus (sections 4.3.1.3 and 4.3.1.4.) See also section 5.3.2. (Redirecting Attention).

[240] This specific nature of implicitness is common in instances of polarity focus and verum focus (sections 4.3.1.7 and 4.3.2.3). See also section 5.3.3 (Creating Attention).

[LA.48]   CONTEXT: S and H, who have been dating for around 2 years, just left a restaurant after a heavy dinner and are heading home.

أف! بس أوصل عالبيت رح طبّ طَبّ (S)

uf,	*bas*	*ʔūṣal*	*ʕ-al-bēt*
INT	as.soon.as	IPFV.arrive.1S	to-DET-house

raḥ	*ṭəbb*		*ṭabb*
FUT	IPFV.drop.dead.1S		drop.dead.INF

'I am exhausted; I will crash as soon as I get home'

In such an open environment the possibilities of alternative assumptions stored in the interlocutor's individual core contexts are infinite (e.g. maybe S thought that H would want to do something after dinner but he did not feel like it; maybe he remembered all the times that H advised him not to stay up and wanted to subtly reassure her, etc.).The openness of the focus environment[241] in this instance is such that not even H (who knows S very well) can be objectively sure of the motivations behind S's use of the CI only with the information available in the FE. What is clear, however, is that S is creating attention and trying to engage H to listen and take into account that specific event.

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[241] This takes us back to the theoretical question of how open can a focus environment possibly be. Given the nature of communication, I believe (4) represents the maximum degree of openness a focus environment may have. Both the mere existence of the actors as 'subjective' human beings and the subjectivity they stored themselves in the coresense of words throughout their use will guarantee the constant presence of a set of alternatives. Therefore, total absence of alternatives is impossible in the same way that total absence of context is impossible.

Therefore, as [LA.48] shows, the less 'shared' and 'emergent' alternatives are, the more implicit they become, and the more open the focus environment is as a result. Figure 12 portrays a representation of my notion of implicitness in the MMC.
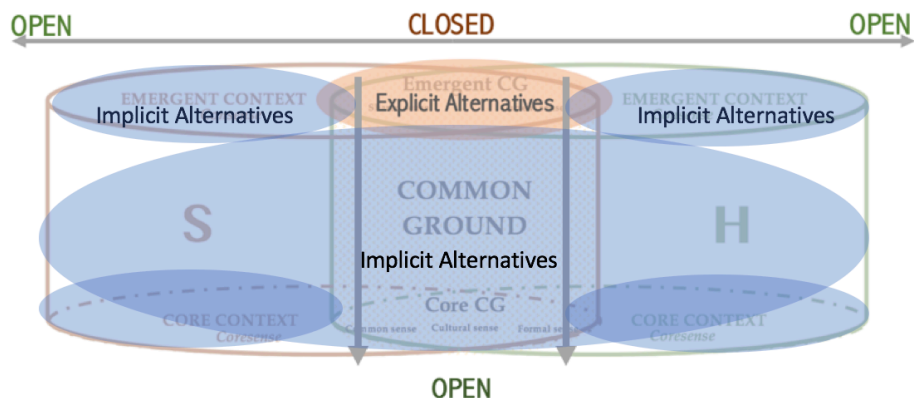
Figure 11: Representation of Implicit Alternatives in the MMC (III)

In sum, FE represents a pivotal notion in my analysis of the CI in LA given that it affects the degree of communicative pressure (informational and affective) that S might feel in certain communicative environments. This communicative pressure, in turn, creates in S a feeling of communicative urgency to manage and/or take control of the communicative situation—a feeling that is common to all instances of CI in my corpus.

This sense of communicative urgency both triggers and manifests the speaker's agency. I understand speaker's agency to be the quality of the communicative agents, especially that of the speaker, and to be intimately related to the notion of intention. In a nutshell, S exercises his/her agency when (s)he employs her/his individual choice to actually move in the space offered by the FE. The different directions and ways in which (s)he will move in the different spaces—that is, the result of the intersection and interaction between the FE and the speaker's agency—will determine the different communicative nuances (s)he wants to express, and the tools (s)he makes use of to do so.

Consequently, if we wish to understand the nature of the communicative nuances that S expresses when using a CI in LA, along with the concept of FE, we need to consider the dimensions of the speaker's agency.

5.2.2. The Speaker's Agency

Despite the strong evidence presented here that the communicative environment plays a role in the use of the CI, it is also true that neither a set of specific conditions of the communicative environment nor a specific input can predict or guarantee the use of CIs in a specific utterance. Moreover, if we add to this that most CI instances of my corpus could exist perfectly without the presence of the CI,[242] it is safe to conclude that the use of the CI is generally 'optional,'[243] and therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that its use ultimately goes back to the speaker's agency.

The relevance of the speaker's agency is directly related to the subjective and partly egocentric nature of communication. According to the speaker's subjectivity, (s)he will decide (1) *what* is most important for him/her, communicatively speaking, and (2) *how* (s)he will approach this communicative priority; i.e., the speaker will have both a communicative priority and a communicative stance. These two dimensions of the speaker's agency relate to the *what* and *how* of intentions previously discussed in Chapter 3: presentation and reception levels (section 3.2.2.1.2).

In each of their utterances, speakers will position themselves at different points of the speaker's agency continua that are depicted in Figure 12: speaker's communicative priority and speaker's communicative stance in using the CI. While the continuum of the speaker's communicative priority ranges from the referential to the affective, the continuum of the speaker's communicative stance ranges from informative to the affective.

REFERENTIAL   AFFECTIVE

Speaker's Communicative Priority

INFORMATIVE   PERFORMATIVE

Speaker's Communicative Stance

Figure 12: Speaker's Agency Continua in Using CI

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[242] Except those cases mentioned in section 4.3.2.1 ('Verbal Semantic Focus') where the focus is strongly perceived to be placed in the verbal semantic focus.

[243] In the sense that it is not conditioned by any formal constraint.

In this sense, unlike FE—which was mainly the result of external circumstances— the elements of the speaker's agency are the products of choice[244], for within the circumstances of a specific communicative environment, every speaker actively situates himself/herself on a concrete point of the spectrum. Just like not all human beings would react equally to different environments, not all speakers react equally to different communicative circumstances. However, we will always be able to trace the result of the speakers' reactions back to their individual agency, which is inevitably fueled by their subjective perception of and reaction to their interlocutors and the elements of the communicative environment. Consequently, as we will see, speaker's agency will be closely related both to social and affective salience.

5.2.2.1. Speaker's Communicative Priority: Referential-Affective

The speaker's communicative priority can be defined as the intended communicative goal in updating the CG.[245] This continuum describes the nature of this update depending on the degree of personal involvement of S towards the utterance along a continuum ranging from *referential* to *affective.*

Personal involvement in the speaker's communicative priority is based on the nature of the communicative relation between the speaker and the utterance. [246] The higher the personal involvement towards the CI utterance, the more affective S's priority becomes; at the other end of the scale, the lower the personal involvement towards the CI proposition, the more referential the priority. It is important to note that (1) Figure 13 represents the part of the speaker's communicative priority in using the CI only, and that this will be put in a larger context in section

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[244] 'Choice' here should not be understood necessarily as a conscious decision, but as the opposite of 'circumstance' or 'arbitrariness'. Although most of our participants are not aware of being regular users of the CI until proven otherwise, I argue that Ss are at least subconsciously aware of their communicative priority and the stance they adopt, which leads into their choice of linguistic forms that are appropriate both for the CE and for their own agency.

[245] See 'presentation level' in section 3.2.2.1.2.

[246] The communicative relationship of S towards H will be the subject of section 5.2.2.2.

5.2.3 and 6.2.3; and that (2) I have no examples of the use of the CI I my corpus that are entirely referential; all of them have at least a small degree of affect, as we will see below.

REFERENTIAL *personal involvement felt by the speaker* AFFECTIVE

Speaker's Communicative Priority

Figure 13: Speaker's Communicative Priority Continuum in Using CI

S has a referential priority when the purpose of the update of the CG intended by his/her utterance involves a specific change in H's state of knowledge. Often times, this purpose is generated when S assumes that there is an informational gap.[247] In these cases, S concentrates on the thing that is being "spoken of" (Jakobson, 1960: 355) and in the reality of its truth-value in the actual world. As a result, her/his utterance is more denotative and goal-directed, and it will be considered successful if the information contained in the message is satisfactorily transmitted to H (Brown, 1982: 77).

As far as the speaker's communicative priority is concerned, my data contains CI instances spread all along this continuum.[248] However, the range of this continuum for the CI in LA does not necessarily correspond to its general range across the language. In fact, the CI instance with the most 'referential' communicative priority could be considered to be, relatively speaking, highly affective, if placed on a general communicative priority continuum covering all linguistic behavior in LA.

The following example shows a CI instance where S's priority appears to have a high degree of referentiality:

[LA.49]   CONTEXT: S, an 80-year-old professor of Arabic language and literature at AUB, and H, his student, are having an intense discussion on Syriac and its historical importance in the Middle East:

(H) بس ما كانت لغة ميتة؟

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[247] See section 3.2.1.4. (Assumptions).

bas	*ma*	*kēn-ət*	*ləġa*	*meyt-e?*
but	NEG	was-3.F.S	language	dead-F.S

'But wasn't it [Syriac] a dead language?

لا، السريانية كانت عم تتعلّم تعليم بالحسكة (S)

laʔ,	*əs-siryāniyye*	*kenət*	*ʕam*	*tətʕallam*	*taʕlīm*
NEG	Syriac	was-3.F.S	PROG	be.taught.IPFV.3FS	teach.INF

be-l-ḥasake

in-DET-Hasake

'No, Syriac was [actually] being taught in *Hasake*'

In this example, S's update of the CG, 'Syriac was actually taught in Hasake,' aims at changing H's state of knowledge, given that, according to S's perception, H's utterance manifests the existence of an informational gap (i.e., H seems to think that Syriac was not used at that time).

As we can see, S's priority here is to present the statement focusing on its denotative nature. This, of course, does not mean that affective factors—such as, in this case, the reaffirmation of his informational authority— have no role in the communicative instance, but rather that S's priority of this instance's seems to be referential. This example is one of the most 'referential' of my corpus.

In many other instances, however, S's communicative priority is hardly referential. As the examples below will illustrate, the CI communicative instances which lack this 'referentiality' show a blatant affective nature.

Speakers have an affective communicative priority when the main purpose of the update of the CG expressed by their utterance is to change in H's emotional state. This normally coincides with utterances that involve establishing, maintaining or managing the speakers' social relations with

their hearers (Brown, 1982: 77).[249] Often times, this purpose is generated when the speaker assumes that there is an affective gap.[250]

In these cases, speakers give priority to their emotive and social needs over the denotative meaning of the statement. This emotional bond tying S with his/her utterance increases his/her level of personal involvement towards the proposition.[251] As a result, when the affective priority is high, speakers become less concerned with the informative truth of the proposition, i.e. the truth-value of the statement in the 'real' world, and more concerned with its affective truth.

The figurative use of the verb 'eat' in the following example [LA.50] demonstrates how speakers, when prioritizing the expression of affect, take the liberty to exploit the metaphoric potential of the lexicon as a mean to express affect:

[LA.50] CONTEXT: While waiting in line for the toilets in a restaurant during a wedding in Mount Lebanon, a woman (S) starts making funny faces to a baby girl waiting ahead with her mother to make her laugh. Then, addressing the mother (H), she says:

(S)اسم الله شو حلوة! بتتّاكل أكل!

əsm-allah[252]	*šū*	*ḥelw-e!*	*b-təttēkal*	*ʔakəl*
name-God	what	beautiful.F	HAB-3FS.PASS.IPFV.eat	eat.INF

'Dear God, she is so pretty! I could [literally] eat her!'

The communicative priority of the woman complimenting the baby was not to fill any informative gap to warn her mother that she could, in fact, ingest the child, but rather to express the feelings that this baby provoked in her. Here, the CI contributes to the affective salience of the statement, for out of all the different ways in which she could have expressed her opinion about

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[249] While Brown's "listener-oriented" speech styles have as a main intention "the establishment and maintenance of *good* social relations with the listener" (Brown, 1982: 77; emphasis mine), the utterance of a speaker with a highly affective communicative priority is to manage social (and therefore affective) relations between him/her and the hearer, regardless of the quality or nature of those relations.

[250] See section 3.2.1.4. (Assumptions).

[251] I say even more, because, as we will see, a relatively high level of personal involvement is already, as we saw, almost a prerequisite for the use of a CI in LA as a focus marker (see section 4.4).

[252] See footnote 217 in section 4.4.1 for an explanation of *əsm-allah*.

the baby, she chose one that clearly shows a high personal involvement towards the utterance. At the same time, by giving a compliment to the baby, S is also creating a pleasant, familiar face that reinforces her social relation with the mother of the baby.

5.2.2.2. <u>Speaker's Communicative Stance: Informative-Performative</u>

The speaker's communicative stance can be defined as the personal attitude that S adopts to present a specific utterance before an audience of one or more interlocutors. The notion of communicative stance involves how S intends for H to receive the utterance, which has to do with the estimation of H's attentional state.[253] Thus, S's communicative stance refers to the communicative style that S assumes is required or desired for his/her utterance depending on the degree of audience engagement sought by the speaker in a specific communicative environment. In this light, I propose the speaker's communicative stance as a continuum ranging from *informative* to *performative.*

The audience engagement sought by S can be defined as the quality[254] of attention that the speaker demands from his/her audience through a specific utterance. The higher the degree of audience engagement sought by S, the more performative the stance; the lower the audience engagement sought by S, the more informative the communicative stance of the speaker using CI. Figure 14 illustrates this continuum for the use of the CI (which will be placed in a broader context in section 5.2.3 and 6.2.3 below). My corpus does not contain any examples of the CI that are entirely informative, for there is always a degree of performativity (and affect) in the use of CIs.

INFORMATIVE   *audience engagement*   PERFORMATIVE
                 sought by the speaker

Speaker's Communicative Stance

Figure 14: Speaker's Communicative Stance Continuum in Using CI

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[253] See 'reception level' in section 3.2.2.1.2.

[254] It is important to point out that it is not the quantity of the attention required by the speaker that changes along this continuum, but rather its **quality.** Performative stances can be considered especially effective communicatively speaking due to the fact that they correlate with a high affective communicative priority, and as I mentioned in section 4.4.2, the affective dimension of salience is a much more powerful factor for 'attention capture' than other aspects of salience (Biggs et al., 2012).

Speakers have an 'informative' communicative stance when, according to their estimation, their utterance targets the informational and semantic aspects of H's attention. This means that S's communicative attitude mainly requires H's satisfactory understanding of the information conveyed in the utterance. At the other end of the continuum, labelled performative in Figure 14, S's communicative attitude is focused on entertaining H and on targeting H's affective attention.

My data reports CI instances that spread all along this communicative stance continuum.[255] The following example shows a CI instance where the S's stance may be considered to be relatively informative:

[LA.51]   CONTEXT: S is directing the rehearsals of a theater play. After three actresses (H) finish rehearsing a scene in which two of them enter the stage and take the third actress with them off of the stage, S starts giving them her remarks:

(S)   ما تلعبو معها، you are not joking here ،بدكن تخطفوها خطف

ma	*təlʕabo*	*məʕ-a.*	you	are	not	joking	here,
NEG	IPFV.play.2PL	with-her	you	are	not	joking	here,

bad-kon	*təxətʃū-a*	*xaṭəf*
want-you.PL	IPFV.kidnap.2PL-her	kidnap.INF

'Don't play with her, you are not joking here. You have to [really] kidnap her [instead]'

S's communicative stance here is mostly informative, since within this communicative instance, she is interested in correcting the mistakes of the rehearsal in order to move on with the play; hence, she is clearly targeting the actresses' semantic and informational attention. When this happens, as a means of facilitating the Hs' correct understanding of the verbal form at the semantic level, out of all the possible meanings of the verbal lexeme, the CI focuses on the coresense of the CH—i.e., the 'most typical' and 'commonly agreed on' meaning of the CH.

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[255] As noted above for S's communicative priority, the 'extremes' of this continuum for the CI in LA do not necessarily correspond to the general extremes in this variety. In fact, the CI instance with the most 'informative' communicative stance could be considered to be, relatively, highly performative, if placed on a general continuum covering all of a LA speaker's linguistic behavior. See section 5.2.3.

Although S in [LA.51] presents one of the most informative communicative stances of my corpus, it is undeniable that she is also being a bit dramatic since she is undoubtedly personally involved in the whole process.

In other instances of my corpus, on the other hand, speakers display significantly lower degrees of informative stance. As the following example will illustrate, CI instances that lack this 'informative' stance tend to show a remarkable performative nature.

Performance is understood here as a mode of spoken verbal communication that, in Bauman's words: "consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence [...] this competence rests on the knowledge and ability to speak in socially appropriate ways" (Bauman, 1984: 11). Performance refers to a specific mode of language use that entails the formal manipulation of linguistic features, and that "calls forth special attention to and heightened awareness of the act of expression and the performer with special intensity" (Bauman, 1984: 11; emphasis mine).

Following Bauman's definition, I consider that S has a 'performative' communicative stance when his/her utterance targets H's affective and social attention with the goal of conveying emotion, and/or in order to stimulate a shocking or entertaining effect in the audience. From the perspective of the audience "the act of expression on the part of the performer is thus marked as subject to the evaluation for the way it is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's display of competence" (Bauman, 1984: 11; emphasis mine). A speaker's communicative stance grows more performative the more it seeks the engagement and entertainment of the audience through different communicative tools and also the more affective the speaker's communicative priority is.

In the following example, which illustrates a highly performative communicative stance, S puts up quite a performance before her mother, effectively catching her affective attention:

[LA.52]   CONTEXT: H is hurriedly brushing her daughter's (S) hair after giving her a bath:

(S)   أي مامي! نتّقتيلي شعري تنتيف!

ay!	*maaami!*	*nattaftī-l-e*	*šaʕr-e*	*təntīf!*
INT	mommy!	plucked.PFV.2FS-to-me	hair-my	plucked.INF

'Ah! Mommy! You literally plucked my hair!'

In this example, S—only 9 years old—displays exaggerated behavior (quite typical of children) in order to shock her mother and instantaneously capture her attention. The speaker here chose a dramatic performance to fit both her informational and affective needs, which in this case, involved the expression of a feeling of pain.

Sometimes, however, like in the following example, speakers may display a highly performative stance for other reasons, such as entertaining their audience or making them laugh:

[LA.53] CONTEXT: A is waiting to be prepared for surgery in the hospital with her boyfriend (H) and a friend (M). Patients are not allowed to have more than one visitor, but A's close friend, S, sneaks in while M is helping A put on the hospital robe (opened from behind) by tying tightly all the laces. When he gets in and he sees that A actually looks worried and serious, he looks at H (A's boyfriend), who was observing the scene, and says:

(S)   أنا قلت بفوت بركي بلحّق شوف شوية طيز... وشو؟ م. بتكون صفّحتها تصفيح

ʔana	*ʔəlt*	*b-fūt*	*barke*	*b-laḥḥə?*
I	PFV.say.1S	FUT-IPFV.enter.1S	maybe	FUT-IPFV.manage.1S

šūf	*šwayət*	*tīz...*	[pause]	*w-šū?*	[pause]
IPFV.see.1S	a.bit	ass		and-what?	

M	*bə-t-kūn*	*ṣaffaḥ-ət-a*	*təsfīḥ*
M [name]	HAB-IPFV.3FS-be	PFV.armor.plate.3FS-her	armor.plate.INF

'I thought, I'll sneak in and maybe I'll manage to get a glimpse of ass… And what do I find?! M has already armor-plated her!'

In this case, the performance of the speaker seems to be clearly orientated towards comedy rather than towards drama. Of course, the expression of humor often requires the combination of many other communicative elements—in this case, the speaker is highlighting a figurative consense of the CH, at the same time that he plays with in-group jokes about M's perfectionism, all this while implying an ironic candor about his wishes to A's boyfriend, who would probably be (logically speaking) not the most appropriate interlocutor.

At the social level, the preceding examples show how the CI is employed in examples where the speaker adopts a performative stance to manage his/her own face and/or that of the interlocutor's. While in [LA.52] H's daughter is attacking her mother's face, in [LA.53] S is creating a face for himself that is entertaining to his audience and adding a light and comical tone to a stressful situation.

The many different means of face management notwithstanding, it seems clear that speakers tend to adopt performative stances in communicative situations that they consider socially salient,[256] hence the relation between performative stances, social salience and the use of the CI.

5.2.3. Conclusions: The communicative range of the CI

This section has elaborated on the nature and quality of those elements stemming from the communicative environment and the communicative agents that can be systematically identified in the communicative situations of CI instances, and which are, therefore, assumed to play a role in the actual decision of LA native speakers to use the CI. These elements have been presented in the form of communicative continua.

Given that the CI in LA functions as a focus marker, this study has identified the focus environment continuum (closed-open) as the main element within the communicative environment that is relevant for the analysis of the CI. Identifying and understanding the nature of this continuum allows us to reach a deeper understanding of the factors that contribute to building the communicative pressure that triggers the use of the CI.[257]

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[256] See 'social salience' in section 3.2.3.1.2.2.

[257] Logically, the identification and study of continua within the communicative environment might be subject to the different communicative contexts hosting the specific linguistic form under analysis. In this case, for instance, the usefulness and necessity of the communicative continuum of **focus environment** springs from the quality of 'focus marker' of the CI in LA. This implies that, although this continuum is of the utmost importance for an analysis of CIs, it may be completely and utterly pointless for the study of a phonetic feature in LA.

As for the communicative agents, this study has singled out two main elements within speaker's agency that are relevant and essential to understand the communicative use of the CI: the speaker's communicative priority (referential – affective) and the speaker's communicative stance (informative – performative).

REFERENTIAL   AFFECTIVE

Speaker's Communicative Priority

INFORMATIVE   PERFORMATIVE

Speaker's Communicative Stance

CLOSED   OPEN

Focus Environment

Figure 15: Communicative Continua within the grammatical model for CIs in LA

I can now propose that there is a correlation between the three aforementioned continua: as Figure 15 shows, the reader should picture these continua as parallel to each other. Every communicative instance in which the CI is used would be marked as a perpendicular line intersecting them, marking the place where the speaker positions himself (speaker's agency), this positioning being influenced (consciously or unconsciously) by the environmental circumstances (focus environment). As the next section explains, depending on the positioning of the speaker in these continua, the CI will have different functional nuances.

However, before I proceed to the explanation and analysis of the CI's functions and functional range, I find it imperative to reiterate that the analysis presented in this section and illustrated in Figure 15 represents only part of a speaker's broader linguistic repertoire. In other words, the communicative model presented here for the CI in LA represents only a 'zoomed in' section and not the bigger picture.

Figure 16 represents a tentative illustration of this bigger picture, showing that the communicative range of the CI in LA lies in the affective-performative side of their respective continua—the focus environment continuum only would be relevant for those instances where the speaker makes use of a focus. The larger range of linguistic behavior envisioned in Figure 16 would, in this representation, encompass communicative grammatical functions of a wide variety of linguistic forms.
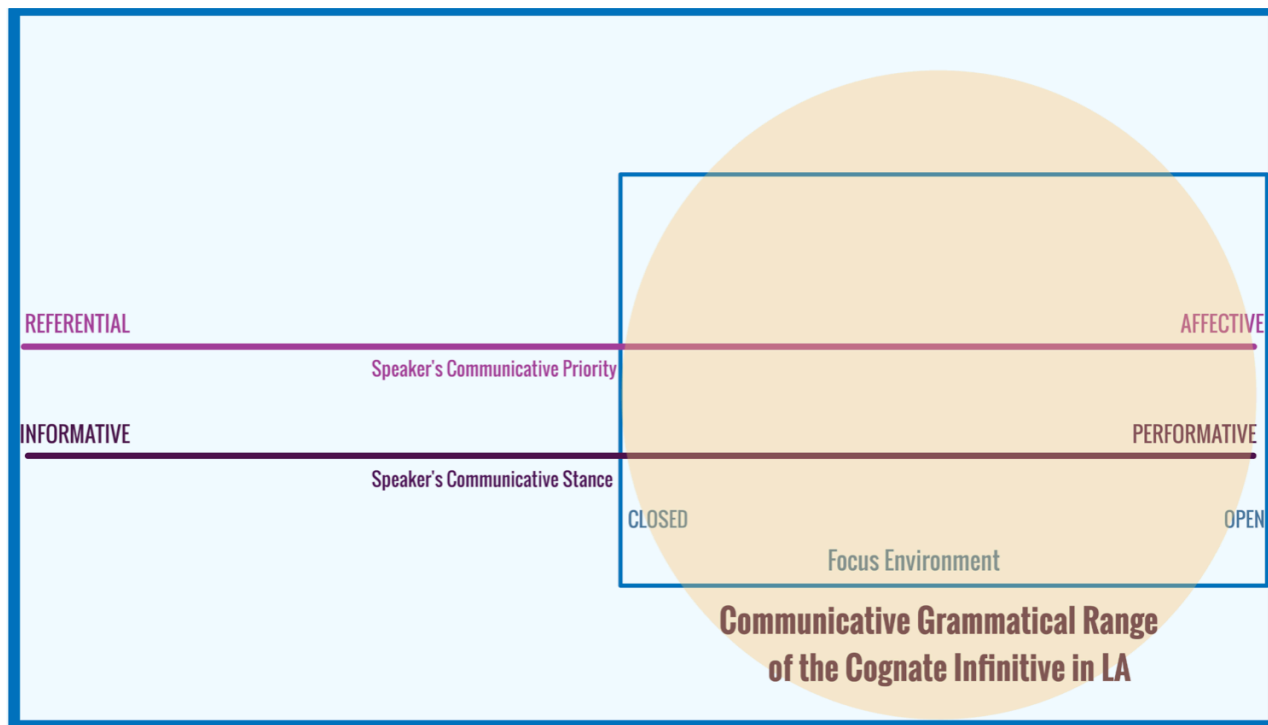
Figure 16: Communicative Grammatical Range of the CI in LA

This 'zoom out' is crucial if we wish to be able to place the CI in the wider context of the speaker's communicative and linguistic behavior, and the ideas presented here need further study. Knowing more about its place in this continuum will provide us with valuable information, such as the 'spectrum' of the speaker's communicative behavior that the CI occupies, and thus, the communicative gap it fills, the communicative needs it covers, and so forth, all of which helps us define the communicative range of use of the CI.

So far this study has established, among other things, that (1) the CI is a focus marker; (2) the CI correlates with an increase of the affective and the social salience of an utterance. Therefore, the range of use of the CI should cover, at least, the part of the continua covered by the phenomenon of focus, whose location must logically correlate with the most affectively and socially salient part

of the 'construct'. As Figure 16 illustrates, this zooming-out effort can ultimately shed light on how the CI serves the speaker communicatively.

The next section, which represents a step forward towards this ideal grammatical model, will identify and describe the different functional nuances or subfunctions of the CI as 'functional areas' covering concrete areas of the communicative range of use of the CI.

5.3. The CI and its Communicative Purpose: The Functional Spectrum

The Cognate Infinitive's function as a focus marker in Lebanese Arabic means that it manages the interlocutor's attention, drawing it to specified constituents in contradistinction to alternative constituents (present or suggested in the communicative environment) by increasing their salience at different levels of language. More concretely, the CI in LA places the hearer's attention onto a specific alternative event that is expressed by the verbal form accompanied by the CI. According to my data, this attention may be placed in various ways and for different communicative purposes. However, for the purpose of this analysis, which treats the CI as a functional unit, its communicative function remains only one— attention management.

Within this umbrella we can find a wide functional range of CIs in LA, to which we now turn. In the following subsections, I will introduce and illustrate with corpus data three different modes of attention management performed by the CI: recovering attention, redirecting attention and creating attention. These 'modes' should not be understood as 'types' but rather as functional areas or zones, marking spaces that I have identified on the spectrum of attention management in order to orientate the reader (and at times, myself) through the vast functional range that the CI may perform in a variety of communicative contexts in LA. Figure 17 illustrates the aforementioned functional areas that the CI covers in LA.
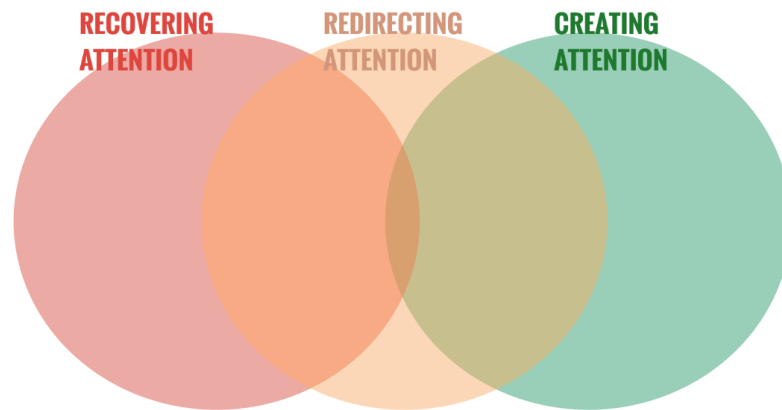
Figure 17: Attention management spectrum of the CI in LA

These three areas should, in fact, be understood as different zones of a spectrum, for, as we will see, they are all slightly distinct manifestations of the same phenomenon, attention management, which is expressed by a single linguistic construction.

Through this holistic approach, I also encourage the reader not to look for clear-cut criteria that might differentiate one group from another, for they all overlap to varying degrees, but rather to look for what connects them instead, which happens to be an easier and more constructive task.

5.3.1. *Recovering Attention*

'Recovering Attention' is one of the multiple types of attention management performed by the CI in LA. Sometimes LA speakers use a CI motivated by the conviction that the hearer is placing his/her attention somewhere else. In such instances, S tries to rectify what, for informational, affective and/or social reasons, (s)he perceives as a misguided placement of H's attention in order to recover it.

Let us look at the following example:

[LA.54] CONTEXT: S just joined a group of friends to have a drink after watching a theater play alone. Visibly excited, he informs his friends that the play he was watching was actually a one-man-show, where one actor played several characters within the same monologue. A bit surprised, a friend from the group (H) asks:

(H) كان عم بيغنّي شي؟

kēn	*ʕam*	*b-yġanne*	*šī?*
was	PROG	HAB-IPFV.3MS.sing	something

'Was he singing or something?'

(S) لا، لا، كان عم يحكي حكي

la	*la,*	*kēn*	*ʕam*	*yeḥke*	*ḥake*
no	no	was	PROG	IPFV.3MS.speak	speak.INF

'No, no, he was [just] speaking'

Here, S redirects the placement of H's attention, and in this case, the other interlocutors' attention as well, away from the alternative event ('singing') to the focused event ('speaking') by marking it with a CI, drawing H's attention onto it.[258]

FORMALLY, this recovery comes with a correction that often manifests linguistically in the form of a negation (as in [LA.54]) that may appear in the form of a simple negation, or a negative clause.[259] However, we must bear in mind that formal characteristics are often not reliable enough to identify functional nuances, for they might vary greatly depending on the communicative circumstances. In fact, a CI recovering attention does not have to be necessarily preceded by an explicit negation. For instance, the next example shows that negation can be substituted with

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[258] It might be because in [LA.54], S was, in fact, the center of attention at this arrival, that he insists on ruling out the explicit alternative through a focus in order to recover the original attention he was enjoying.

[259] Given that CIs recovering attention strengthen the sense of correction, these explicit negations often grant exhaustive nuances to the focus expressed by the CI —as they do in [LA.12], [LA.13], [LA.33], [LA.42], etc.—, marking the focused alternative as the only valid one.

suggestion, which can happen in cases where the relationship between the interlocutors requires a certain degree of politeness.

[LA.55] CONTEXT: S, a teacher of Arabic language, and H, her assistant, are preparing a game for their students. The game involves students working in groups and guessing several words within the group. H has grouped the words in five and prepared a paper for every student, but S seems to have a different idea on how to present the game to the students:

أوكي، منعطيهن الوراق متل ما هنّي (H)

okkē,	*m-naʕṭī-on*		*əl-wrāʔ*	*mətəl*	*ma*	*hənne*	*w…*
OK	HAB-IPFV.1PL.give-them		DET-papers	as	NOM	they	and

'Ok, so <u>we give them the papers like this</u>, and then…[interruption]'

مش أحسن إذا منقصّهن قصّ ؟ (S)

məš	*ʔaḥsan*	*ʔəza*	*mə-n-ʔoṣṣ-on*	*ʔaṣṣ?*
NEG	better	if	HAB-IPFV.1PL.cut-them	cut.INF

'Isn't it better if we cut them up?

Although S clearly wants to correct the alternative presented by H, her sense of politeness and her intention of being supportive and instructive with her assistant leads her to forego what could have been a blunt negation for a constructive suggestion.

INFORMATIONALLY, there needs to be <u>at least one explicit alternative present</u> in the communicative context in order for the speaker to feel the need to attempt to recover attention.
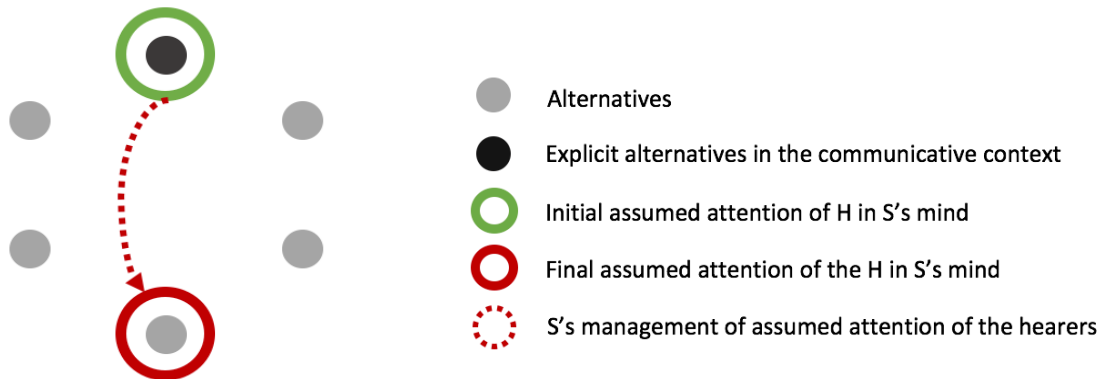

Figure 18: Management of alternatives in CI's Recovering Attention

In other words, in the instances where the attention is being recovered, S acts based on communicative facts, and the explicit alternative(s) represent the 'communicative evidence' that H's attention was placed on an event *other than* the event marked by the CI.[260] It is precisely thanks to the presence of an explicit alternative in the focus environment that S may assume that H is placing his/her attention on it, and therefore, that S may want to rectify such placement. For this reason, the examples where speakers use a CI to recover attention correlate with closed focus environments (which, as described above, are characterized by the presence of explicit alternatives), such as the ones in the two previous examples of this section, [LA.54] and [LA.55].

AFFECTIVELY, and although the mere use of the CI already indicates a relatively high degree of personal involvement from the speaker,[261] the CIs recovering attention in my corpus are used by speakers with a relatively 'referential' communicative priority compared to the rest of examples in the corpus, where the degree of personal involvement of the speakers is clearly higher. Within the spectrum provided by my corpus, speakers who make use of a CI to recover attention give priority to the statement itself and to its truth-value in the real world. Moreover, although speakers who use a CI are already seeking a considerable degree of engagement from their interlocutors, CIs recovering attention are used by speakers with a relatively higher informative stance and lower performative stance than the rest of my CI examples.

SEMANTICALLY, the specific characteristics of the communicative elements surrounding CI recovering attention (a closed focus environment, a referential speaker priority and an informative speaker stance) are also reflected in the speaker's lexical choice. In my corpus, 100% (24/24 instances) of the CHs accompanied by a CI recovering attention are used with a literal meaning — a percentage that lessens noticeably the more we advance in the communicative continuum toward the affective and performative areas. This means that CIs recovering attention tend to highlight the coresenses of their corresponding CHs, which in turn support the speaker's relatively referential communicative priorities and relatively informative communicative stances that characterize this functional nuance of the CI.

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[260] This evidence, as we previously saw, may be presented in utterances of the speaker, the hearer, or in actions taking place in the communicative context. See examples in section 4.3.1.1 (Corrective Focus).

Figure 19 maps all these formal, informative, affective and semantic elements of CIs recovering attention on the communicative continua.
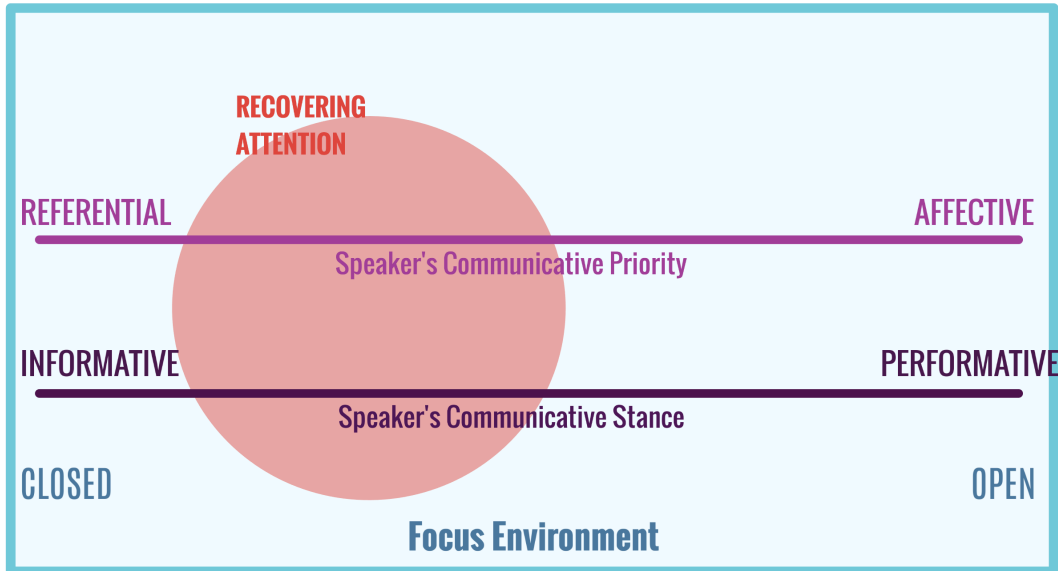
Figure 19: Functional communicative range of CI Recovering Attention

The following example shows a CI recovering attention, whose closed focus environment is contributing to the feeling of communicative urgency that motivates the speaker's referential priority and informative stance, along with a semantically literal ('typical') interpretation of the verbal lexeme focused by the CI.

[LA.56] CONTEXT: H and S are having lunch in the main square of Hammana village in the Matn area along with other actors, enjoying a break from the rehearsals of a play that will be performed in the same village. At some point, both S and H realize they forgot their script in the hotel and that they need to go back to get it before the rehearsals start.

طب يالله، رايحين بسيارتي؟ (H)

ṭəb	*yalla,*	*rayḥ-īn*	*bə-siyyārt-e?*
well	let's go	PTCP.ACT.go-PL	in-car-my

'Ok, so we go in my car?'

لا، ما بدا سيارة ولو؟ بتنمشى مشي (S)

la,	*ma*	*badd-a*	*siyyāra*	*walaw?*	*b-tə-n-maša*	*maše*

191

NEG   NEG   want-3FS   car   you.kidding   HAB-IPFV.3FS-PAS-walk   walk.INF

'No, we don't need a car! Are you kidding? It's easily walkable.'

This example also illustrates that S, using a CI to recover attention, gives importance to the referential dimension of her utterance and that part of her communicative objective is informative, despite a degree of dismissive attitude response. We will see in subsequent sections that the more we advance in the continuum toward the affective/performative range, the less this happens. For this reason, we can consider this type to be at one end of the CI attention management spectrum.

Speakers might require recovering attention for various socio-pragmatic reasons. In my data, this function of the CI correlates with situations where S is, mainly, clarifying or simply solving what (s)he perceives as a misunderstanding. Depending on the communicative attitude of the speaker and the development of her/his emergent intentions, this will translate into a variety of different pragmatic uses: clarifying, reprimanding, contradicting someone, giving permission, correcting someone's statement, justifying oneself or someone else, and so forth. Again, S in these situations can have a degree of affective attitude, but that is not their primary function.

At first glance, these pragmatic uses may be seemingly unconnected, except for the presence of the CI in all of them. SOCIALLY, however, if we analyze them through the concept of face, then it is clear that the use of CIs recovering attention correlates with social actions of preserving, attacking and reinforcing face. The object of these actions may be S, H or even other interlocutors.[262]

It bears repeating that, although some examples seem to exhibit clearly a specific type of face management, we should not expect clear divisions between face management actions, for they often intertwine and overlap with each other. The following example is very illustrative of that:

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[262] In the Appendix II, [LA.11] [LA. 23] [LA.33] [LA.42] are good examples of **CI recovering attention** that preserve S's face, while [LA.13] and [LA.80] are examples where S preserves H's face. In [LA.31] and [LA.49] also CIs recovering attention, Ss reinforce their own face while in [LA.44] Ss attacks H's face.

[LA.57]   CONTEXT: *Zanjabeel* is a two-floor coffee place where there is a 'reading corner' that consists of a tiny attic full of books with a small mattress on the floor, and that is only accessible through a wooden ladder. The second floor of the café and this small attic are at the same height but not connected. H₁ and H₂, who used to go frequently to this cafe, arrive one day at the café to find a sign at the end of the ladder reading: *'Do not climb the stairs'*. H₁, (who is sitting downstairs) who is confused about the sign and now has doubts about the utility of the attic, decides to ask the waiter in a friendly yet slightly ironic tone:

طب شو يعني؟ كيف بدنا نطلع لكان؟ (H)

təb	*šu*	*yaʕne?*	*kīf*	*bad-na*	*nəṭlaʕ*	*lakēn?*
well	what	IPFV.3MS.mean	how	want-1PL	IPFV.1PL.go.up	then

'What does it mean? How are we supposed to go up then?'

هلّق، ممنوع تطلعي السلّم بس فيكي تنطّي نطّ إذا بدّك (S)

hallaʔ	*mamnūʕ*	*təṭlaʕe*	*əl-səllom*
now	forbidden.M.SG	IPFV.2FS.climb	DET-ladder

bas	*fī-ke*	*tnəṭṭe*	*nəṭṭ*	*ʔəza*	*badd-ik*
but	can-2FS	IPFV.2FS.jump	jump.INF	if	want-2FS

'Well, you can't climb the stairs, but you can jump [from the second floor] if you want'

With the same friendly ironic tone, the waitress answers H₁ looking up and pointing at the veranda of the second floor, which is actually only a short (but very dangerous) jump away from the attic. By adding the CI to this utterance, the speaker reinforces the 'irony' of her suggestion (which, given the characteristics of the café, can only be taken as a joke) in order to show her hearers that she, in fact, also finds the prohibition absurd. In this way, she preserves her face in front of her interlocutors in a humorous way, and implicitly attacks her boss' face, without explicitly and publicly criticizing his decision.

To sum up, within the spectrum of CI function, recovering attention represents an area on the spectrum where S shows the most referential communicative priority and the most informative communicative stance. This correlates with 'closed' focus environments exhibiting at least one explicit alternative, and the CIs used in this range seem to be used for a variety of face management actions.

5.3.2. Redirecting Attention

In less restrictive, more open focus environments, the CI in LA may also allow S to play with H's attention by directing it first toward a certain alternative that contrasts with the alternative that S actually wants to focus on. After directing H's attention in one direction, S then redirects H's attention to a different alternative by marking it with focus using a CI. Having guided H towards an immediately preceding contrastive alternative, S can anticipate that the alternative (s)he is now about to introduce is now unlikely to be expected by H. This leads S to mark said alternative with a CI, which provides the whole communicative scene with a "swifter update of the common ground" (Zimmermann, 2008: 359)[263] that aims to grant communicative importance to a change of direction or state of the narrated event, the swiftness and suddenness creating surprise.

Let us have now a look at the following example:

[LA.58] CONTEXT: A professor of Arabic literature (S) is telling his student about a case of plagiarism that recently happened among his undergraduate students:

كانت هالبنت تبيّن شطّورة بعدين قدّمت *الباپير* وطلع مشركته تشريك (S)

kēnət	*ha-l-bənət*	*t-bayyən*	*šaṭṭūr-a*	[pause]	*baʕdēn*	*ʔaddam-ət*
was	this-DET-girl	IPFV.3FS-seem	smart-F		afterwards	submit-PFV.3FS

əl-paperEN	*w-ṭoləʕ*	*mšarrk-ət-o*	*təšrīk*
DET-paper	and-PFV.3MS.happen	PTCP.ACT.share-it.M.S	share.INF

'The girl seemed smart but then she submitted the paper and it turned out she had farmed it out!

FORMALLY, the change of direction in the event narrated by S and the suspense and surprise effect will often be enhanced with various linguistic resources, such as slight pauses in between the contrastive and focused alternatives; statements of uncertainty before the pause, such as ما بعرف شو صار "*ma bəʕrif šu ṣār*" (I don't know what happened) [LA.15]; or discursive elements expressing sudden change, as طلع "*ṭoləʕ*" (it turned out…) [LA.58] or فجأة "*faʒʔa*" (suddenly). In

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[263] This is taken from Zimmermann's (2008: 359) definition of *contrastive focus*, which was helpful in developing my notion of 'redirecting attention'.

fact, the common coexistence of these elements within the use of CI redirecting attention reinforces my conviction that this is, in fact, the most narrative point on the spectrum of the CI's usage.[264]

INFORMATIONALLY, for a speaker to be able to redirect the hearer's attention, an alternative has to be suggested in the same utterance, but not explicitly presented; if it were, the speaker would then be recovering attention and not redirecting it.

In [LA.58], for example, the presumed contrastive alternative to the focused alternative 'she farmed it out' would be 'she wrote a good paper herself,' however, the latter is never mentioned explicitly, but rather suggested through the statement 'she seemed smart'— therefore, a good paper was expected from her. The speaker knows that such a statement will be enough to make H expect a fine paper free of plagiarism from that student.

This misdirection-redirection is illustrated graphically in Figure 20, which shows how the initial assumed attention of H is directed towards an implicit alternative then redirected into the focused one.
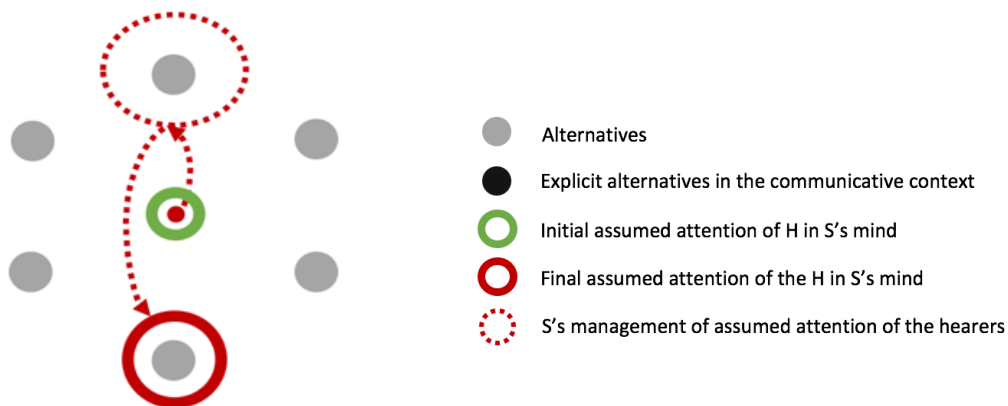
Figure 20: Alternative management in CI's Redirecting Attention

In other words, in instances where S is purposely redirecting H's attention, S relies on his/her own assumptions about H's expectations (i.e., on his assumed knowledge of the CG), rather than on communicative facts, in judging and measuring the impact that the new update of the CG will

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[264] Nevertheless, as we will see in [LA.61], these formal characteristics, will not be always present and therefore, cannot be considered a determining factor for the identification of certain CIs redirecting attention.

have on her/his interlocutor. Therefore, it could be said that the FE is not closed, but it is also not completely open either, given that an alternative is suggested by the speaker, although not explicitly presented.

The following is a similar example; here, S shares her feeling of surprise with other friends after seeing her friend's poor performance during her master's thesis defense.

[LA.59] CONTEXT: After attending her friend's thesis defense, S shares her incredulity about her friend's poor performance with H:

<div dir="rtl">

ما مبارح سمّعتني ياها! ما بعرف ليه اليوم خبّصت تخبيص! (...) يا الله! ما بصدّق. (S)

</div>

ma	mbēreḥ	sammaʕ-ət-ne		yē-ha	
DIS	yesterday	make.listen-PFV.3FS-me		ACC-it.F.SG	

ma	baʕrəf		lē	əl-yōm	xabbaṣ-ət	ṭəxbīṣ
NEG	HAB-IPFV.1S.know		why	DET-day	mess.up-PFV.3FS	messing.up.INF

ya	allah		[pause]		ma	b-ṣaddə ʔ!
VOC	God				NEG	HAB-IPFV.1S.believe

'Yesterday she rehearsed [fine] with me… but today she [really] messed up! I can't believe it!'

In the previous example, the relationship between S and her friend, along with S's clearly sad expression, suggest that S is truly concerned about the person she is speaking about, meaning that she is highly involved in the utterance she just produced. However, there is also an interest in the denotative meaning of the focused utterance, for she decides to suggest a denotatively contrastive alternative ('She could do the presentation ok yesterday') in order to then redirect the speaker's attention later towards the alternative focused by the CI.

This shows how, AFFECTIVELY, the communicative priority of the speaker is still referential, but clearly more affective than the preceding instances in which the CIs recovered attention. When S redirects attention in [LA. 59], she does so because she feels relatively 'freer' in a more open focus environment, in which the absence of explicit alternatives allows her to effectively (and affectively) play with her interlocutors' attention in order to provoke in them a feeling of surprise.

In fact, it is precisely the deliberate contrast[265] that helps keep the interlocutor engaged during the narration and create the final surprise.

The narrator's technique of creating suspense in order to cause a feeling of surprise is, in my opinion, a recreation of the feeling experienced by S herself in the past. Let us return to [LA.15], which is an excellent example of this technique:

[LA.15]   CONTEXT: S and H are catching up after the summer vacation. H inquires S about the status of her last relationship. After a silence, H asks: 'what happened, sweetie?,' to which S answers:

<div dir="rtl">

(S) كانت ماشية العلاقة بس بعدين ما بعرف شو صار... انقطعت قطع

</div>

kēnət	*mēšy-e*	*l-ʕilēʔa*	*bas*	*baʕdēn*	*ma*
was.3FS	walk.PTCP.ACT-FS	DET-relation	but	afterwards	NEG

b-ʕarəf	*šu*	*ṣār*	[pause]	*ʔənʔaṭaʕ-at*	*ʔaṭaʕ*
HAB-IPFV.I.know	what	happened.3MS		was.cut-3FS	cut.INF

'The relationship was going [well] but then, I don't know what happened … it [suddenly] broke off.'

We see here how S's purpose seems to be transmitting to H the sudden nature of the break up by making this possibility as unexpected as S felt it was (through the suggestion of a contrastive alternative), and the final event as surprising as it was for S back when she lived it (by marking the event with a CI).

From an affective standpoint, in these examples (and also [LA.58] and [LA.59]), the speakers show a great deal of communicative empathy to their interlocutors by helping them feel and understand exactly what they experienced, and consequently acknowledging their state of vulnerability before the focused event.

Such a display of empathy and vulnerability comes inevitably hand in hand with a more performative communicative stance. Changing tones, rhythm and pauses, along with a more intense body language and facial expression confirm the expected increment of the degree of

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[265] The examples of my corpus that I would place in the spectrum of 'redirecting attention' could be classified according to CG updating parameters as both contrastive focus and parallel focus (see sections 4.3.1.3 and 4.3.1.4).

performative communicative stance of the speaker in this kind of examples. The CI becomes, in these cases, an valuable resource available for the speaker to maintain the interlocutor(s) sufficiently engaged throughout a narration.

A speaker using the CI to redirect attention, hence, seems to have, in that specific communicative instance, a greater degree of awareness and control over the alternatives of the focused events than the same speaker using any other CI in a different kind of communicative environment. Consequently, it feels as if S using these CIs has also a greater degree of dominance over the communicative situation.

A good example of these kind of speakers is the one starring the following example: a famous Lebanese singer and composer who entertains the presenter and the audience while exalting his many talents with an (almost forcefully) sweet tone and intermittent laughs:

[LA.60] CONTEXT: Radio presenter M.M. is interviewing S.A., a Lebanese singer and composer, during her morning show 'Aḥla ṣobḥiyye' M.M (H) repeatedly praises his talent for composing songs and then asks him if he finds composing to be difficult. In order to answer, S.A. (S) engages in the following monologue:

(S) متل ما ... هيك بيجو (يضحك) ... قلّك بدّي شو ... واللحن الكلام بس لحالها، موهبة الكلمات كتابة

تركيب مركّبين ...هيك بيجو هنّ بس ... بعضهن عن تفصليهن فيكي بتفكّري (يضحك) هنّ

kitēbet	*əl-kalimēt*	*mawhibe*	*la-ḥāl-a,*		*bas*	*əl-kalēm*
writing	DET-lyrics	talent	for-own-her		but	DET-lyrics
w-əl-laḥən	[pause]	*šū*	*bədd-e*	*Pəl-l-ik*	[pauses and laugh]	
and-DET-melody		what	want-I	IPFV.1S.say-to-you.F.SG		
b-yəjo		*hēk*	*mətəl*	*ma*	*hənne*	[laughs]
HAB-IPFV.3P.come		like.this	like	NOM	they	
bə-tfakkre	*fi-ki*	*təfəslī-on*			*ʕan*	*baʕdon*
HAB-IPFV.2FS.think	can-you.F.SG	IPFV.2FS.separate-them			from	each.other
[pause]	*bas*	*hənne*	*b-yəʒo*		*hēk*	
	but	they	HAB-IPFV.3P.come		like.this	

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[pause]	*mrəkkb-īn*	*tərkīb*
	PTCP.PASS.assemble-PL	assemble.INF

'Writing lyrics is already a talent on its own, but writing lyrics and melody [at the same time]… What can I say… They just come […] as they are […] you think you can separate them […] but they come in a pre-assembled package'.

In this example we can see how S plays with the available alternatives and with the interlocutor's expectations in order to shed light on the contrast in which the focus actually resides. The CI functions here as only another tool that, perfectly orchestrated with other linguistic and communicative resources, effectively helps S attain his communicative purpose of keeping H engaged.

Along the spectrum of CI use, redirecting attention commonly happens in 'moderate' focus environments, neither clearly open nor closed. As for the speaker's agency, CIs redirecting attention represent the point at which S shows the most intermediate communicative priority—between the referential and affective extremes—and the most intermediate communicative stance— between the informative and performative extremes. Figure 21 maps all these formal, informative, affective and semantic elements of CIs redirecting attention on the communicative continua.

Figure 21:Functional Communicative Range of CI Redirecting Attention

I believe that the communicative comfort that speakers seems to be feeling when using this type of CI is a direct consequence of its 'moderate' nature. The communicative situation reaches a certain balance where S is neither pressured by the explicitness of the alternatives of a closed context, nor moved by (equally coercing) strong affective priorities. It is the balance of the communicative environments and S's agency that gives S the opportunity to 'take pleasure' in their own intervention. For this reason, perhaps, these examples always appear within relatively longer interventions, where speakers are narrating a series of events.

As for its SOCIAL function, speakers who use CIs redirecting attention may be carrying out a variety of face management actions, oftentimes simultaneously. The next is a good example of this type:

[LA.61]   CONTEXT: C (H₁), who owns a family house in the mountains, decided to help an underprivileged family in that house in order to hire them as housekeepers. Some months later, disappointed in the laziness of the family and suspicious that they might be in fact stealing from her, C is considering the possibility of telling them they should leave, and she decides to discuss the issue during a Sunday family lunch. After hearing the news, her sister, R asks her about the future of that family, and wonders whether or not the father of the family will be able to find a job to 'provide' for them if she 'fires' him. After a short silence where C looks visibly affected and pensive, S (C and R's mother)— who was, from the beginning, reluctant to the idea of her daughter hiring this family—says:

الله يساعدهن يا بنتي... إنتي والله عملتي كفاية خلص... بعدين هوّ ما كان عم بيفتّش ع شغل... لقاها لقوة (S)
لـ"اك"

[looking at C]

allah	*ysaʕad-on*	*ya*	*bənt-e*	[pause]
god	IPFV.help.3P-them	VOC	girl-my	

ʔənte	*w-allah*	*ʕamelte*	*kfēye*	[pause]	*xalaṣ*
you.F.SG	and-god	PFV.help.2FS-them	enough		done

[looks at her other daughter, R]

baʕdēn	*huwwe*	*ma*	*kēn*	*ʕam*	*b-yfattəš*
afterwards	he	NEG	was.3MS	PROG	HAB-IPFV.3MS.look.for

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ʕa-šəġəl...	[pause]	*ləʔē-ha*	*laʔwe*	*la-C* [name]
for-work		PFV.3MS.find-her	find.INF	OBJ-C

'May God help them, my dear […] Really, you did more than enough […] Also, you know, he was not looking for a job, C just fell into his lap!'

In this example, S redirects the interlocutor(s)' attention in order to remind everyone of the change of direction this event took. In this way, the mother, who was probably afraid that her daughter would feel guilty and change her mind about letting the family go, makes sure to (1) preserve her daughter's face by (2) putting an end to the potential guilt-trip that the sister's comment might have set in motion, and at the same time (3) push for her personally desired outcome to happen.

As far as face management is concerned, in [LA.61] for instance, the mother (S) manages to simultaneously attack the face of the father of the guest family in order to preserve her daughter's face, while, to some extent, she creates a face for herself as her daughter's support.

To sum up, CIs redirecting attention occupy the most intermediate space in the spectrum. They correlate with 'medium' focus environments, where a contrastive alternative is suggested, but not presented explicitly. Their speakers exhibit intermediate communicative priorities and intermediate communicative stances, and they seem to be used for a variety of face management actions.

5.3.3. Creating Attention

'Creating attention' is one of the ways in which the CI in LA can manage attention. Sometimes, LA speakers use CIs motivated by the need to generate attention in their interlocutors. Speakers use these CIs in order to contribute to the creation of attention they thought was lacking, or when they assumed that the existing attention was not enough according to their own needs.

Let us consider the following example:

[LA.62] CONTEXT: S, a man riding a motorcycle, has been stopped at a checkpoint set up by the Lebanese police. He paces around looking nervous—probably because he is missing some of the permits or papers he should have—and right after handing the policeman the papers the latter asked for, S sees another motorbike racing by and screams in a frustrated tone:

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ليك هيداك ليك! عم بيطير طيران! (S)

lēk	*haydēk*	*lēk!*	*ʕam-b-yṭīr*	*ṭayarān!*
INT	that.one	INT	PROG-HAB-IPFV.3MS.fly	fly.INF

'Hey, look at that one! He is flying like a bat out of hell!'

In this example, for instance, S is aiming to generate attention in H with regards to an event happening in the communicative situation that H seems not to see, or not to grant too much importance to. Pragmatically, however, it is quite clear that S does not really care about the other motorbike passing, for his real intention is to show the policeman the injustice happening, and at the same time he expresses his anger and tries to deter the policeman from giving him the fine that he inevitably ended up taking.

FORMALLY, the intense focus on the truth-value of the utterance placed by CIs creating attention will naturally manifest itself in other discursive and linguistic elements that often (but not always) coexist with CIs creating attention. This explains the common co-occurrence of these CIs with oath markers such as والله *wallah* or وحياة الله *wa-ḥyēt allah*.[266]

Similarly, and as we see in [LA.62] above, speakers who use CIs to create attention in their interlocutors, will often combine them with interjections such as لك *lək,* ليك *lēk,* ليكي *ləyke,* ليكو *leyko* ("hey!", "you know …"), imperative verbs, vocatives, specific intonations, body language, marked structures, etc.[267] In the following example, for instance, S uses a vocative, an imperative, and several courtesy formulae and affective markers all together in the same utterance.

[LA.63] CONTEXT: S just finished a final exam with her students and she is getting ready to go back to her office when she asks her assistant H for help.

يا آ، فيكي *بليز* تاخدي هول الوراق عنّي؟ الله يخلّيكي، ليكي أنا كيف حاملة حمل (S)

yā	*ā.*	*fi-ke*	*plīz*	*tēxde*	*hōl*	*əl-wrāʔ*

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[266] See examples [LA.25], [LA.27]; [LA.63]; [LA.83]. Nevertheless, and given that, as I explain in sections 4.3.2.34.3.3 all CIs partially place a focus on the truth-value of the proposition, these oath markers may also appear along CIs recovering attention (see [LA.11] and [LA.86]).

[267] Apart from the examples of the present section, [LA.6]; [LA.10]; [LA.25]; [LA.26]; [LA.72]; [LA.127], among others, are good examples of these formal components.

VOC	A.	can-you.F.SG	please	IPFV.2FS.take	these	DET-papers
allah		*yxallī-ke*		*ḥabīb-t-e*		
God		IPFV.3MS.let-you.F.SG		beloved-F-my		
ʔana		*w-allah*		*ḥēml-e*		*haməl*
I		and-God		PTCP.ACT.carry-F.SG		carry-INF

'A, would you take these papers? Please, dear, I swear, I have run out of hands'

INFORMATIONALLY, CIs creating attention occur in open focus environments, where the alternatives to the focused event show the highest grade of implicitness. In fact, the alternatives are assumed by S to be neither shared nor emergent, but rather deeply stored in S's individual core context. When using a CI creating attention, S decides to focus the chosen constituent in order to remind the reader of the existence of alternatives, as if H had not perhaps considered that there was any basis for focus. Both the focus placement and the (re)creation of the SoA are illustrated graphically in Figure 22:
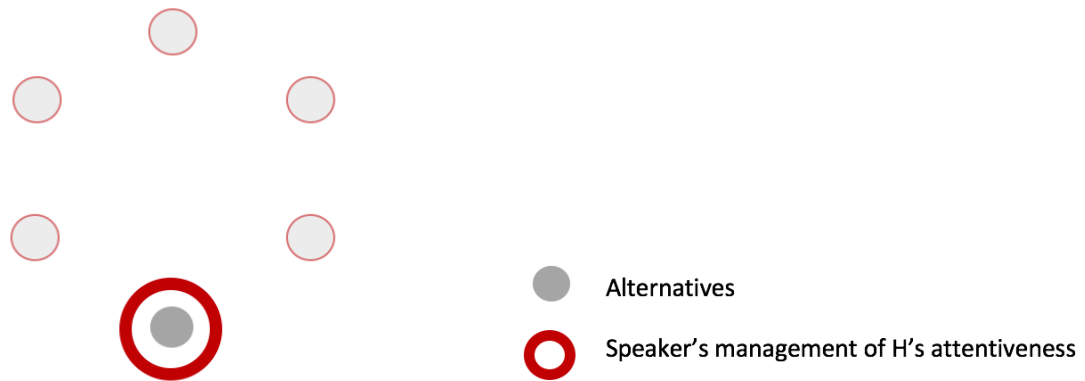

Figure 22: Alternative Management in CI's Creating Attention

CI creating attention instances are characterized by a scarce emergent CG which does not necessary reveal the existence of a relevant SoA to the focused proposition. This is why, by using a CI, S insists on the 'selection' of the focused constituent for (re)introduction in the CG among a

SoA that was too implicit and probably not obvious for H.[268] Through the use of the CI, this SoA is (re)created by S, who thus indicates to H its relevance for the proposition.

The following example illustrates:

[LA.64] CONTEXT: A woman (S) is walking along the Corniche in Beirut with her husband (H) when she notices the stunning sunset happening behind her:

(S) رسم مرسوم، مش معقول! *هالسنست* حلو شو ليك ليك

lēk	*lēk*	*šū*	*ḥəlo*	*ha-l-sunset!*	*məš*	*maʕʔūl,*
look	look	what	nice	this-DET-sunset	NEG	possible

marsūm	*rasəm!*
PTCP.PASS.paint.M.S	paint.INF

'Look, look! What a beautiful sunset! It's amazing, it's a work of art!'

Here, the focused alternative suggests that the sunset is a painting. This alternative is suggested in contrast to an implicit SoA that is brought into being for H through the expression of this CI focus. Several examples from my data indicate that this stress on the focused event is especially effective in reinforcing the verum operator,[269] i.e., the truth-value of the focused event, even though it is patently unlikely (if not impossible) for the event focused by S to actually occur in the 'real' world.[270]

Ironically, it seems to be the unlikeliness of the event that prompts speakers sometimes to focus it, even in the most open focus environments, where there is no informational pressure whatsoever either from explicit or assumed alternatives. In [LA.64], paradoxically, the woman insists on the sunset looking like a painting, and supports her lexical choice as her personal selection among an

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[268] This kind of pragmatic focus has been traditionally classified as 'polarity focus'. See section 4.3.1.7.

[269] See section 4.3.2.3 (Verum Focus).

[270] In a similar way, the adverb *literally* in American English (AE), whose initial coresense until the late 18th century was 'exactly as it is' or 'in a literal way', started being used to intensify figurative or metaphorical statements all through the 19th century and continues today. When an AE speaker says: "Girl, you a literally on fire!," he is definitely not watching anyone burn in front of him. However, that does not deter the speaker from insisting in the literality, this is, in the truth of the statement that he is uttering, just like the impossibility of an event does not keep a LA speaker to insist on its truth-value by placing a CI creating attention after a verbal form with a figurative meaning.

open SoA, probably in part because she knows that the sunset cannot, in fact, be in any way an actual painting.

In other words, S wants H to believe the affective truth of his/her words because (s)he knows that the knowledge contained in both their emergent and core CG would prevent H from believing the literal (informational) truth.[271] The following example also illustrates this:

[LA.65] CONTEXT: S is play-fighting with his girlfriend (H) and tickling her. H then fights back and jumps out of the couch suddenly. When S sees her jump away he says:

تعي لهون تكسّرك تعي! رح كسّرك تكسير! (S)

taʕ-e	*la-hōn*	*ta-kassr-ik*	
IMP.come-2FS	to-here	in.order.to-IPFV.1S.break-you.2FS	
taʕ-e	*raḥ*	*kassr-ik*	*təksīr*
IMP.come-2FS	FUT	IPFV.1S.break-you. 2FS	break.INF

'Come here so that I can break you! I am going to break you into pieces!'

Here too, S can insist on the 'truth' of his threat because it is pragmatically obvious, from the communicative environment and the love that he feels for H, that he will not carry out the focused action. This tacit agreement on the unlikeliness of the event as well as the irony behind its focusing, reflects also a linguistic feature that correlates frequently with CIs creating attention: a high percentage of figurative meanings of the verbal forms.

[LA.66] CONTEXT: H₁ arrives at his workplace and finds that one of his colleagues is missing so he asks about her whereabouts. S and H₂ answer him in turns.

ما إجت ر. اليوم؟ (H₁)

ma	*ʔəʒət*	*R*	*əl-yom?*
NEG	PFV.3FS.come	R	DET-today

'R didn't come today?'

لا، ياحي بدبي. مسافرة للخميس (H₂)

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271 [LA.26] [LA.62], [LA.64], [LA.91], [LA.111], etc. represent examples of this in the corpus.

la	yaḥ-i	bə-dubai	msēfr-a	la-l-xamīs
NEG	PRSN-F.S[272]	in-Dubai	PTCP.ACT.travel-F	to-DET-thursday

'No, she is in Dubai. She is coming back on Thursday'

أيوه. شغل ولّا هوليديز؟ (H₁)

aywa	[pause]	šəghəl	walla	holidays_EN?
alright		work	or	holidays

'Is she traveling for work or for pleasure?'

هلّق بعتتلي صورة هي وعالبحر... اطلّعي... مسلوقة سلق! (S)

halla?	ba<ʕ>atət-l-e	ṣūra	hiyye	w-ʕal	baḥər
now	PFV.3FS.send-to-me	picture	she	and-on	sea

[pause]	ṭəllaʕ-e	[looking for the picture on her phone]
[pause]	IMP.look-2FS	

maslū?-a	salə?!
PTCP.PASS.boil-F	boil.INF

'She just sent me a picture of herself on the beach… Look (*while she pulls up the picture on her phone*) she looks like a lobster'

The idea of 'boiling' is commonly associated with 'over-tanning' or 'burning' among LA speakers, just like the idea of 'flying' [LA.62] is linked to the idea of 'moving fast' or 'speeding.' It is precisely from this common cultural association of figurative meanings to certain referents that idiomatization happens. In fact, the intrinsic correlation between the use of CIs creating attention and idioms is especially evident in those few strongly idiomatized CI instances like [LA.67] that, according to my native informants, would simply not be used or understood without the CI.

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[272] Presentative.

[LA.67] CONTEXT: H is showing a good friend (S) a picture of her with her niece from her recent vacation when S exclaims:

مش معقول شو بتشبهك... بزقتيها بزق! (S)

məš	*maʕʔūl*	*šu*	*b-təšbah-ik...*	[pause]
NEG	possible	what	HAB-IPFV.3FS.look.like-you.2FS	[pause]

bəzəʔti-(h)a	*bazəʔ!*
PFV.spit.2FS-her	spit.INF

'It's incredible how much she looks like you…like two drops of water!

However, sometimes speakers may let their most creative side run free, and produce new metaphors, whose meaning can be understood despite it not having been previously agreed upon among speakers thanks to illustrative elements in the communicative context. In this case, the CI makes the 'new' figurative meaning salient. The following example, taken from the Lebanese movie "Ghadi," illustrates how the choice of a CI creating attention with a specific figurative meaning, used in the right communicative context, may be used as a rhetorical and literary tool.

[LA.68] CONTEXT: During one of the scenes, the narrator is talking about Abou Elias, 'the butcher' of the village. The camera shows Abou Elias grinding meat and waiting for his clients to be distracted in order to add to it ground pieces of 'fat,' making the bag heavier, and therefore more expensive. At this moment, the voice-over narrates how Abou Elias contends on a daily basis with his wife's expensive taste and compulsive spending.

مرته بتفرم المصروف فرم (S)

mart-o	*b-təfrom*	*əl-maṣrūf*	*farəm*
Wife-his	HAB-IPFV.3FS.grind.	DET.expenses	grind.INF

'His wife burns through money'

The verb فرم *faram* ('to grind, to shred'), whose coresense[273] is commonly related to *meat,* is intentionally granted a 'new' figurative consense, that may be understood only within the specific communicative context ('to spend without control or to waste'). The 'newness' of the consense in

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[273] For a definition of 'consense' see section 3.2.1.1.2 of this study.

relation to the commonly agreed coresense of the verb is one of the elements that make the utterance creative, original and even ironically humorous.

SEMANTICALLY, in an open focus environment which is relatively free from referential and informational pressure, speakers tend to use CIs to generate attention in H, something figurative meanings are especially effective at, for they appeal to H's imagination and imaginary, at the same time that they allow S to indulge in his/her own creativity and originality. In my corpus, 73.21% of the CHs accompanied by a CI recovering attention (41/56 instances) are used with a figurative meaning, in contrast to the total absence of figurative meanings in CIs recovering attention. This means that CIs creating attention tend to highlight the figurative consenses of their corresponding CHs, hence serving S's highly affective communicative priorities and the performative communicative stances that characterize this functional nuance of the CI.[274]

As we saw above, a brand new figurative consense will normally need the assistance of the context. Given that speakers using CIs to create attention tend to display highly performative communicative stances, it is not surprising that S's performance itself might be one of the elements from the communicative context necessary for H to understand the nuances of the 'new' (often figurative) consense of the CH as intended by S.[275] In fact, CIs seem to be a means for the speaker to create new (creative) consenses (see section 6.3.4. [last paragraph]).

In the following example, the verbal and physical performance of S is indispensable for H to understand all the nuances of the figurative consense of the verb:

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[274] However, my data reveals also that CIs creating attention do not necessarily correlate to figurative uses; 15 out of 56 corpus CIs creating attention carry literal meanings. Although figurativeness is a very effective tool for creating attention (this is why it correlates highly with this kind of CI) it is definitely not a prerequisite. Moreover, it is important to remember that the creativity and originality associated to the use of figurative meanings are related to the individual characteristics of the speaker, and therefore, not regularly distributed. See section 6.3.4.

[275] On the relation between figurativeness and performance, Bauman says: "No single feature or device figures more consistently or prominently in accounts of the characteristics of verbal art than figurative language. The semantic density of figurative language, its foregroundedness, make it especially appropriate as a device for performance where expressive intensity and special communicative skill are central" (Bauman, 1984: 17-18).

[LA.69] CONTEXT: S wants to tell her sister (H) about her last encounter with their neighbor, Tante Souad, an old woman peculiarly expressive and whiny, whose extremities seem to shake strongly due to age. S starts her story like this:

قام إجت حكتني... وإنتي بتعرفيها لطانت سُعاد... بترقص رقص (S)

ʔam	ʔəʒ-ət	ḥəkət-ne
DIS	PFV.come-3FS	PFV.talk-3FS-me

[S pauses & stands up]

w-ʔənte	b-tʕarfī-a	la-ṭante	suʕād
and-you.F.SG	HAB-IPFV.3FS.know-her	to-tante	souad

[S pauses and adopts Tante Souad's body language and posture]

b-tərʔoṣ	raʔəṣ
HAB-IPFV.dance-3FS	dance.INF

[while she imitates the woman's agitated movements while she speaks]

'So, she came to talk to me… and you know Tante Souad… she [literally] dances [when she speaks]'.

Similar to idiomization at the semantic level, some communicative elements that are especially common when high levels of performative stances occur, such as body language or gestures, may become somewhat 'fossilized' and associated with a specific verb phrase:

[LA.70] CONTEXT: S and her workmates are sharing stories about their mothers and highlighting on the typical sentences they tend to repeat often.

إمّي كانت تقول: "بس إرجع بدّي شوف هالإزاز عم بيوجّ وجّ (S)

ʔəmm-e	kēnət	tʔūl:	"bas	ʔərʒaʕ	badd-e
mother-my	PFV.be.3FS	IPFV.say.3FS	as.soon.as	IPFV.return.1S	want-1S

šūf	ha-l-əʔzēz	ʕam-b-ywəʒʒ	waʒʒ"
IPFV.1S.see	this-DET-glass	PROG-HAB-IPFV.3M.gleam	gleam.INF

'My mom used to say: "As soon as I come back, I want to see this glass gleam and sparkle!"

Interestingly, all the Lebanese informants who were familiar with the use of this verb agreed that it is almost inseparable from the accompanying hand gesture illustrated in Figure 23 below. The very same S in [LA.70] used this hand gesture extending his palm and turning slightly his wrist back and forth two times. What is even more surprising is that, when trying to elicit the CI construction from Lebanese natives, many informants spontaneously produced this CI (*ywəʒʒ waʒʒ*) along with the aforementioned gesture.
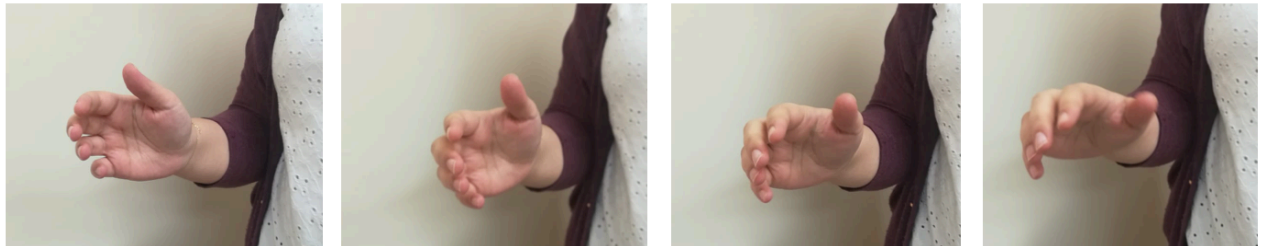
Figure 23: Hand gesture associated with [LA.70]

Now that we understand a bit better the complexity behind CIs creating attention, and its relation to figurativeness, verum, and performance, there are still some quite relevant questions that an informational analysis of this linguistic form simply cannot answer. Why does the speaker put on a performance? Why this display of creativity, originality and humor? Why this insistence on being believed? And at the core, why use focus marking?

Once again, the answer to these questions revolves around affect. Speakers care about the utterance because they are highly involved affectively with one or more elements of the communicative environment in which the utterance occurs, especially the topic or the interlocutors. Speakers who use CIs creating attention have a highly affective communicative priority, i.e., they will be personally involved in the communication and moved by emotional motives, such as expressing and provoking emotions. The following example is illustrative of this:

[LA.71] CONTEXT: A group of friends (P, A, H, H₂, S) goes rock climbing in South Lebanon. P is opening a new climbing route when she slips and falls a couple of meters before A manages to secure her. While falling, though, P's leg gets tangled in the rope and she flips, ending up with her head down. Later, when P is already down and safe, H, who did not see the fall, asks the group with surprise how the fall happened. S and H₂, still shocked, answer him:

<div dir="rtl">أنا شفتها كيف وقعت! علّقت إجرها بالحبل وقلبت! (H₂)</div>

ʔana	šəft-a	kīf	waʔaʕ-ət!	ʕəlʔ-ət	ʔəʒr-a
I	PFV.1S.see-her	how	PFV.fall-3FS	PFV.snag-3FS	foot-her

bə-l-ḥable	w-ʔalab-ət
in-DET-rope	and-PFV.flip-3FS

'I saw how she fell! Her foot got stuck in the rope and she flipped'

[after seeing H's surprised face]

<div dir="rtl">إيه مان، أنا شفتها! قلبت قلب! (S)</div>

ē	mān_EN	ʔana	šəft-a!	ʔalab-ət	ʔaləb
yes	man	I	PFV.1S.see-her	PFV.flip-3FS	flip.INF

'Yeah, man, I saw her! She [really] flipped!'[276]

Very agitated, and still visibly shaken, judging from his exaggerated body language and from the tone of his voice, S expresses and transmits his shock and incredulity by repeating H₂'s previous statement and adding a CI, insisting on its truth-value.

The preceding is a good example of how the speakers can create attention with CIs when they are highly involved (1) with the other communicative agents involved in the utterance: S and P are friends; he would have probably not transmitted such a high degree of alarm to his friend H had the person falling been a stranger; also (2) with the topic of the utterance itself, for it speaks about an event that is relevant for the speaker: if P had finished a bag of nuts instead of having such a scary fall, probably S would have not relived the story with the same degree of personal involvement.

In the next example, as well, the use of the CI correlates with a communicative context that suggests a high social and affective environment from S:

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[276] Both [LA.71] and [LA.63] are good examples of CIs creating attention where the verb is understood its more common and literal consense (not figurative) which coincides with its consense.

[LA.72] CONTEXT: S invited his friends to spend a weekend in his village. One night he takes them out for dinner to a popular pizza place he had been praising before in front of his friends. When the pizzas arrive and they eat the first slices, S finds the dough quite dry, and disappointed, calls the waiter saying:

يا معلّم! شو بها عجين البيزا اليوم؟ عم بيفرفط فرفطة! (S)

yā	*mʕallim!*	*šū*	*bə-ha*	*ʕaʒīn*	*əl-bīdza*	*əl-yōm?*
VOC	teacher	what	in-it.F.SG	dough	DET-pizza	DET-pizza

ʕam-b-yfarfəṭ		*farfaṭa*
PROG-HAB-IPFV.3MS.crumble		crumble.INF

'Bossboss! What's with the dough today? It's all crumbly and flaky'

Once we look at the communicative context it is easy to verify that one of the reasons S uses a CI to create attention, and in doing so demands a high degree of attention from his interlocutor, lies in his intention to maintain his social status as a host in front of his friends, i.e., in his intention to manage his own face (and that of the owner) within this communicative instance.[277] Figure 24 maps all these formal, informative, affective and semantic elements of CIs creating attention on the communicative continua.
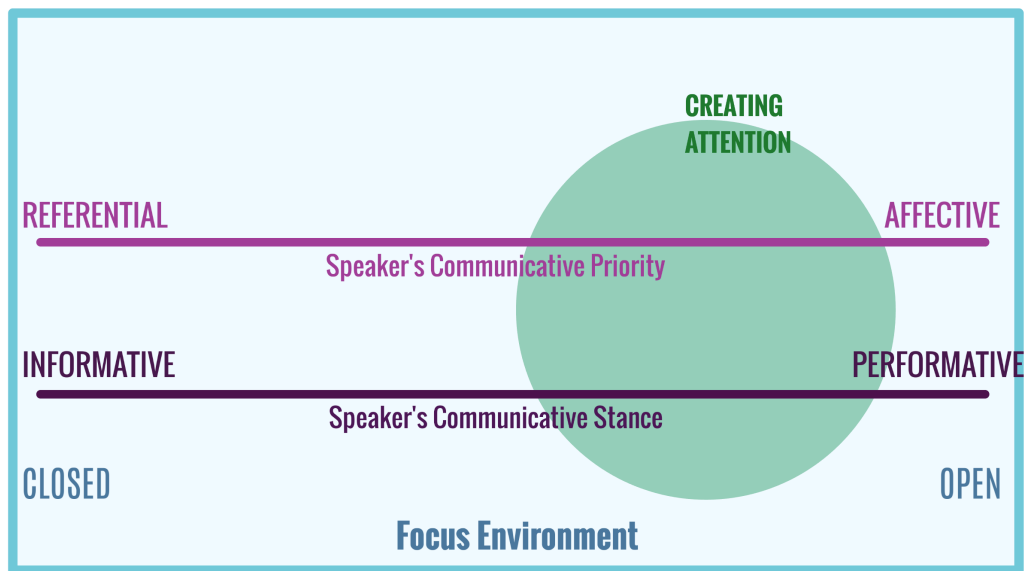

Figure 24: Functional Communicative Range of CI Creating Attention

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[277] See section 4.4.3.4. (CIs and Face Management).

As we proposed in Chapter 4, all CIs fulfill the social function of managing the speaker's face. However, given that CIs creating attention seem to be located at the extreme right of the communicative continuum— correlating with the most open focus environment as well as with the highest levels of affectivity and performance—the speaker's motivations (or rather, pressures) to carry out this face management when using a CI creating attention have a more affective nature than in other kinds of CIs, where informational pressure often plays a greater role.[278]

Nevertheless, although the nature of the speaker's motivations may vary slightly, speakers who use CIs creating attention, just like speakers using other types of CI, may carry out various face management actions, often simultaneously. The next example illustrates this point:

[LA.73] CONTEXT: H took an Uber and she recommended to the driver (S) to take a specific road. S disagrees, for he thinks that there is a shorter, better route. H, not very convinced, accepts the driver's judgement and closes the conversation with a dry 'as you wish.' However, the driver (S) checks with Google maps anyway and, a few minutes later says:

(S) ...حتى *الماب* عطاني المشوار يلي قلتلّك ياه... أنا صارلي من الواحد وتسعين عم بشتغل بالأشرفية...
الخرايط هيدي نحن باصمينهن بصم

ḥatta	*l-māp*	*ʕatē-ne*		*l-məšwār*	*əlli*	*ʔəltə-ll-ik*
even	DET-map	PFV.3MS.give-me		DET-route	REL	PFV.1S.tell-to-you.F.S
yē-h	[pause]	*ʔana*	*ṣār-l-e*	*mən*	*əl-waḥəd*	*w-təsʕīn*
ACC-it		I	it.has.been-to-me	from	DET-one	and-ninety
ʕam-bə-štəġəl		*bə-l-ašrafiyye.*	[pause]		*əl-xarāyəṭ*	*hayd-e*
PROG-HAB-IPFV.1S.work		in-DET-ashrafiyyeh	[pause]		DET-maps	this-F.S
nəḥna		*bāṣmīn-on*			*baṣəm*	
we		PTCP.ACT.stamp.PL-them			stamp-INF	

'Even the [Google] map gave me the route I said […] I have been working in Ashrafiyyeh since 1991. […] These maps… we know them by heart!'

---

[278] In [LA.72], for example, the communicative pressure felt by S is clearly socio-cultural rather than informational.

In [LA.73], S, who is apparently offended and possibly even feels threatened by his client's doubts about his knowledge of the roads, generates attention in H in order to insist on the truth of his expertise and his skills, and reinforce his own arguments that stress his long career as a taxi driver. In this way, S (1) preserves his own face as a reaction to H's skepticism, which he perceives as an attack, while (2) creating a face for himself as a professional, experienced and competent driver.

5.3.3.1.   Cognate Infinitive Curse

A significant number of examples of CI creating attention in my corpus are used by speakers attacking their interlocutor's faces in an established, almost idiomatic way, to the point that some of these examples are hardly imaginable without the CI. I will refer to these examples as 'cognate infinitive curses.'[279] I ask the reader to distinguish them from *cognate curses,* which have already been thoroughly described by Stewart (1997; 2014) in Egyptian and Moroccan Arabic, and by Henkin (2009) in Negev Arabic.

The cognate infinitive curses in my corpus consist of a CI creating attention that is systematically used as a curse, and recognized as such by LA speakers. Here I provide several examples:[280]

[LA.74]

(S) الله يبعتلك وجع يخلع نيعك خلع!

allah	*ybaʕət-l-ak*	*waʒəʕ*	*y-əxlaʕ*	*nīʕ-ak*	*xaləʕ*
God	IPFV.3MS.send-to-you.M.SG	pain	IPFV.3MS.pull	jaw-your.M.SG	pull.INF

'May God send you a pain that will dislocate your jaws'

---

[279] Stewart (1997: 328) defines cognate curses as "root-echo responses to a number of common verbs and expressions" and Henkin (2009: 175) says that "the cognate curse contains an optative verb with negative semantic content, echoing linguistic material from the immediately preceding discourse". An example of cognate curse in Egyptian Arabic as provided by Stewart (1997: 331) would be: "Thus the root consonants *h-r-m* in the initiator phrase *ḥarām 'alek,* 'shame on you!, how could you?!', are echoed in the response *ḥurmit ʕalek ʕištak,* 'may you be deprived of your life!'".

[LA.75]

الله يبعتلك بلي تسترك سترا ! (S)

allah	*yəbʕat -l-ak*	*bəle*	*təstr-ak*	*satər*
God	IPFV.3MS.send-to-you.M.SG	disease	IPFV.3FS.cover-you.M.SG	cover.INF

'May God send you a disease that will cover you from head to toes'

[LA.76]

الله يبعتلك حمّى تنقرك نقرا ! (S)

allah	*yəbʕat-l-ak*	*ḥəmma*
God	IPFV.3MS.send-to-you.M.SG	fever

tənʔər-ak	*naʔər*
IPFV.3FS.hollow-you.M.SG	hollowing.INF

'May God send you a fever that will hollow you out!'

As these examples demonstrate, this specific structure of curse in LA is so well established that often speakers do not feel the need to specify the main clause. The speaker normally implores God to send something to the curse's recipient, but it is the curse that God sends that described in greater detail, as [LA.77] shows:

[LA.77]

ولك وجع يهريك هري! (S)

w-lək	*waʒəʕ*	*yəhrī-k*	*hare*
and-INT	pain	IPFV.3MS.rot-you.M.S	rot.INF

'[May God send/may you get] a pain that will waste you away!'

As the reader might have noticed, these examples are given without their communicative contexts, because there are multiple occurrences of the same CIs in many communicative contexts —which, once again, reflects the high degree of idiomatization of these expressions.

Displaying their imagination and creativity in cursing, speakers also form CIs of verbs that otherwise are rarely used. In the following example, S uses the verb جدّر 'ʒaddar' as 'to give someone smallpox:'

[LA.78] CONTEXT: Maitre Adel (H), a character from the show "Ma fi metlo" is a waiter who takes his clients orders way too literally, and confuses words sometimes, always bringing the wrong order. When Abbas (S), his client, who is sitting with his girlfriend, orders a 'mjaddra' (a dish made of lentils, rice and onion), Maitre Adel brings him a girl with smallpox because the word 'mjaddra' in LA could morphologically also designate a female that has been infected with this disease. When S sees that H has brought him a girl with smallpox instead of his food, S bursts out in anger and exclaims:

(S) يبعتلك داء الجدري لألك إنت! يجدّروك تجدير!

ybʕat-l-ak		*dēʔ*	*əʒ-ʒədre*	*la-ʔel-ak*	*ʔəntē…*
IPFV.3MS.send-to-you.M.S		disease	DET-smallpox	to-to-you.M.S	you.M.S

yʒaddrū-k	*təʒdīr*
IPFV.smallpox.3P-you.M.S	smallpox.INF

'May God send YOU the smallpox! May you get completely *smallpoxed*!'

Another creative use that I have observed in my corpus is the use of CI to reinforce improvised root-echo curses. In the following example, taken from the movie *'Caramel'* S responds with a CI cognate curse that shares the same root of the family name 'Sater'—the last word that H has (presumably) mentioned.

[LA.79] CONTEXT: Three friends are in a car on their way to an illegal clinic where S will have a hymen reconstruction. S, who is Muslim, asks her friends about the fake name they gave when they got the appointment. H, who is Christian, and was in charge of calling the clinic, tells her that the appointment is in the name of Souad Abdel Sater (an imaginary but very strongly Muslim-sounding name). When S hears it, visibly angry, she say

(S) سعاد عبد الساتر؟ بلي تسترك ستر!

Suʕād	*ʕabd-əs-sētir?*	*bəle*	*təstr-ik*	*satər*
Souad	Abdel Satir	disease	IPFV.3FS.cover-you.F.S	cover.INF

'Souad Abdel Satir? May disease cover you from head to toes'

As we have seen in [LA.75], this is a common curse in LA, making the pun readily 'available' for S. However, in order to understand all the motivations of the speaker's reaction of using this CI, it is necessary to go back to the actual coresense of the root 's-t-r' in LA, which means 'covering, protecting,' and to its consenses, all of which relate to religion, piety and holiness. For H to correctly interpret this specific CI would also require awareness of all common, cultural, and formal knowledge stored in the CG between her and S.

Needless to say, Cognate Infinitive Curses remain CIs that create attention, which, as we saw in the previous section, represent, within the spectrum of CIs use, the point in the functional spectrum where the speaker shows the most affective communicative priority and the most performative communicative stance. Cognate Infinitive curses also correlate with highly 'open' focus environments and, as far as face management is concerned, they seem to be used mainly to attack the interlocutor's face.

5.4. The Functional spectrum and its nuances

In the preceding sections, I have illustrated three areas along the functional spectrum of CIs in LA: recovering attention, redirecting attention and creating attention. However, as I mentioned previously, working on a spectrum implies that there will be CI instances that could be positioned in a variety of intermediate stages between these three main areas. The present section acquaints the reader briefly with these 'transitional' or 'intersecting' regions, where the formal, informational and affective features of the main areas blend together. Logically speaking, the 'intermediate' examples we will illustrate will be theoretically positioned between the kinds of CIs which are adjacent in the functional spectrum, this is, (1) between recovering and redirecting attention and (2) between redirecting and creating attention. Figure 25 illustrates the two aforementioned intersecting functional areas within the CI functional spectrum.
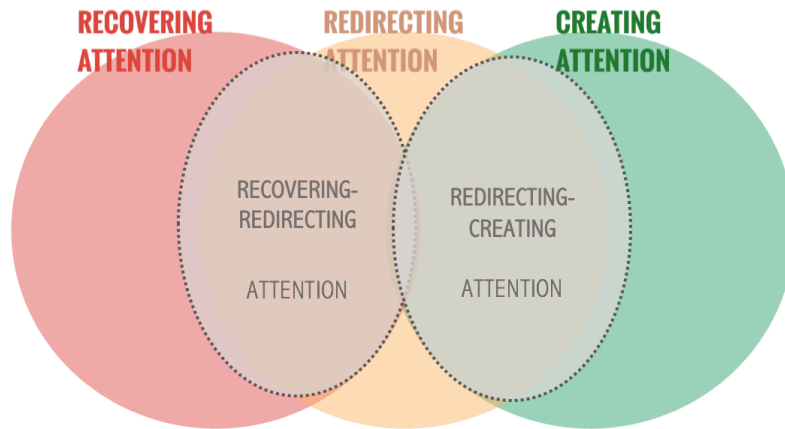
Figure 25: Intersecting functional areas

5.4.1. Recovering-redirecting attention

This section will briefly illustrate the area comprised in the imaginary 'intermediary' functional area of recovering-redirecting. We can expect the next instance to incorporate features from both recovering and redirecting attention groups.

[LA.80] CONTEXT: H, S and A are driving back to Beirut in H's car. At some point, a Palestinian song from H's library catches A's attention, since there are some parts of the lyrics that are not clear to her. A expresses her wish to understand the song, and asks H to play it again, to which H happily agrees. Once the singer starts singing, A looks at H, waiting for him to explain the lyrics to her. However, H, who is driving and humming the song, did not seem to fully understand A's intention. When S, who was sitting in the back seat, perceives the misunderstanding, he intervenes:

(S) يا خيّي، هيّ مش إنه بدّها تسمعها... بدها تفهمها فهم

yā	*xayy-e*	*hiyye*	*məš*	*ʔənno*	*badd-a*	*təsmaʕ-a*
VOC	brother-my	she	NEG	COM	want-3FS	IPFV.3FS.hear-it.F.SG

[pause]	*badd-a*	*təfham-a*	*fahəm*
	want-3FS	IPFV.3FS.understand-it.F.SG	understand.INF

'Dude, she doesn't want to listen to it [again], she actually wants to understand it!'

INFORMATIONALLY speaking, we have seen that recovering attention examples require the presence of an explicit alternative. In the preceding example, which I believe belongs to the recovering-redirecting area of the spectrum, the alternative to the focused expression with the CI ('she wants to listen to it again just for the sake of listening') is not completely explicit before S utters it, for it does not belong to the emergent common ground of the three interlocutors. In other words, S and A perceived this alternative as 'explicit' while H did not. In fact, S perceived the alternative only because of H's body language and expression, meaning that, to a certain extent, this alternative exists only within the realm of his assumptions. For this reason, S himself feels the need to make the alternative in his utterance explicit ('she doesn't want to listen to it again') in order to update H's CG to bring it in line with the other interlocutors, and, right after that, redirect H's attention toward the 'correct' alternative that he was missing before.

Logically, the more the function of a CI moves towards the right on the informational continua (toward open FE), the more the degree of explicitness of the alternative diminishes.[281]

AFFECTIVELY, the speaker has (although almost unperceptively) also moved right in the communicative continua of priority and stance. Maybe it is because of this that (s)he manages to make use of the CI in order to 'contest or 'correct' the supposed assumptions of his/her interlocutor — being this interlocutor, and his/her assumptions, relevant for the speaker.

Let us have a look now at another recovering-redirecting example:

[LA.81] CONTEXT: A man who works as a manager in a bank (S), is showing the office to a new employee (H). When they get closed to the door, they both see through the glass a homeless man with a dog, who is looking and waving at them. The man seems to make the new employee uncomfortable, for she looks down and does not wave back at him. When the manager (S) perceives the employee's fear, he intervenes:

(S) بس... البنوكة ليراقب تبعه والكلب هو تمشاية بيتمشى ...تخافي ما هون شفتيه نهار شي إذا

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[281] This area of the spectrum correlates with implicit alternatives of those described in section 5.2.1 (1): emergent, but not shared.

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ʔəza	ši	nhār	šəftī-h		hōn	ma	txāfe		[pause]
if	some	day	PFV.3MS.see-him		here	NEG	IPFV.2FS.fear		

b-yətmaššā		təmšēye	huwwe		w-əl-kaləb
HAB-IPFV.3MS.stroll		stroll.INF	he		and-DET-dog

tabaʕ-o		la	yrēʔəb		əl-bnūke		[pause]		bas
GEN- him		to	IPFV.3MS.guard		DET-banks				only

'If you see him some other day, don't be afraid… He just patrols with his dog to guard the banks [of the area], nothing else'

The preceding example is a step closer in the spectrum towards redirecting attention. The degree of the alternative's explicitness ('The beggar is dangerous and fearsome') is less, that is, the FE is more closed. S assumes that H believed this alternative, and intervened, but without explicitly stating the alternative in his utterance; rather, he talks around it.

It is undeniable that [LA.81] is, actually, very similar to other redirecting examples. Nevertheless, one of the factors that indicates that this example is a bit towards the left of the spectrum is that it is a 'live' event in which S perceives H's attention is being misdirected and needs an intervention. In typical redirecting instances, in contrast, the main motivations do not come from the interlocutors' perception of the event as much as from S's emotional and informational need to seek and maintain H's attention and also, sometimes, H's empathy.

A good indicator of examples in this part of the functional spectrum is the preemptive use of CI. In many of these examples, S assumes, without direct conditioning from the context, that there is a potential ambiguity or possibility that H will lean towards what (s)he considers 'a wrong alternative.' If S assumes the alternative is taking or will take H's attentiveness, S will intervene to avoid a potential misunderstanding of his communicative intention.[282]

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[282] Other examples of this functional area of the spectrum with similar characteristics are [LA.14], [LA.20], [LA.21], [LA.35], [LA.45], [LA.57].

This subsection briefly illustrates the characteristics of the instances belonging to the area comprising the second 'intermediate' group (redirecting-creating), which has features from both redirecting and creating attention groups. Let us look at one of the examples of our corpus:

[LA.82] CONTEXT: A gets in a shared taxi with another man and the taxi driver. When she gets in, the man (H) and the driver (S) are already talking about the political relation between Lebanon and Syria. H tries to remind S of Lebanon and Syria's shared history, but S, who looks unconvinced, says:

سوريا ولبنان بلد واحد قال... إنت جرّب طلاع لهنيك... بينجروك نجر (S)

sūriyya	*w-lebnēn*	*balad*	*wāḥad*	*ʔal*	[pause]
Syria	and-Lebanon	country	one	PFV.3MS.say	

ʔənta	*ʒarrəb*	*ṭlāʕ*	*la-hnīk*	[pause]
you.M.SG	IMP.2MS.try	IMP.2MS.go.up	to-there	

b-yənəʒrū-k	*naʒər*
HAB-IPFV.3PL.carve-you.M.SG	carve.INF

'Syria and Lebanon are one country, eh? Well, you try to go there, then… they will whittle you down to nothing!'

In the preceding example, one of the alternatives to the focused event could be 'they will receive you with open arms' or 'they will treat you nicely.' Objectively speaking, these, or other similar alternatives, are being suggested by the speaker—and purposefully conjured up in H's mind— by S's preceding statement, "Syria and Lebanon are one country."

INFORMATIONALLY speaking, the focus environments of CI redirecting-creating attention instances are definitely open. However, there appear to be more informational reasons for the speaker to focus the CI verbal form in these cases. Unlike the FE of CIs creating attention which usually appears to have no SoA, in this part of the spectrum there is still a suggested alternative that the speaker implicitly uses in order to contrast with it the focused one —as is the case in CIs redirecting attention.

Therefore, at first glance, these instances might seem not too different from CIs redirecting attention when it comes to informational nuances—and, in reality, we cannot expect them to be so, for they are very close in the spectrum. Nonetheless, if we examine other examples closely, we can perceive some of the AFFECTIVE features that are characteristic of CIs creating attention, and that are naturally also present in the immediately adjacent part of the spectrum:

[LA.83] CONTEXT: A group of women are in the waiting area of Houna (a space that hosts different types of physical activities), waiting for their oriental dance course, which is supposed to begin at 7 pm, right after the yoga class. When the yoga students finish their class and go out to the waiting area at around 7:10 pm, one of the women outside, visibly annoyed, says:

إنتو اليوغا ستيودنتس مش معقولة... دايما بتتأخّرو، بس اليوم ... حلبتوها حلب والله (S)

ʔənto	*l-yoga*	studentsEN	*məš*	*maʕʔūl-e*	[pause]	*dēyman*
you.PL	DET-yoga	students	NEG	possible-F		always

b-tətʔaxxaro	*bas*	*əl-yōm*	[pause]
HAB-IPFV.2P.be.late	but	DET-day	

ḥalabtū-a	*ḥaləb*	*w-allah*
PFV.2PL.milk-it.F.S	milk.INF	and-God

'Yoga students here are too much… you are always late but today… you took it way too far'

In this example, we can identify clearly (1) the figurative nature of the meaning of the verbal form *ḥalabtūa* (literally 'you milked it,' but meaning here 'you abused it'); (2) the highly affective nature of the speaker's communicative priority, which is to express that she is upset and bothered by the delay; and (3) a very tangible performative stance, that of course came accompanied by the corresponding body language and tone fluctuations.

5.4.3. Modeling grammatical function

The previous sections (5.3 and 5.4) have elaborated on the description of the grammatical function of the CI in LA by attempting to describe the functional spectrum that this feature may perform along the communicative continua described in section 5.2.

As a focus marker, the CI in LA functions to draw H's attention to a specific constituent in the utterance. The function of attention management is seen as a spectrum, and the CI in LA as one of the communicative tools that may perform the entirety of this functional spectrum. Taking into account the communicative range of the CI and its continua, I have hence distinguished three main salient areas in the spectrum: recovering attention, redirecting attention and creating attention.
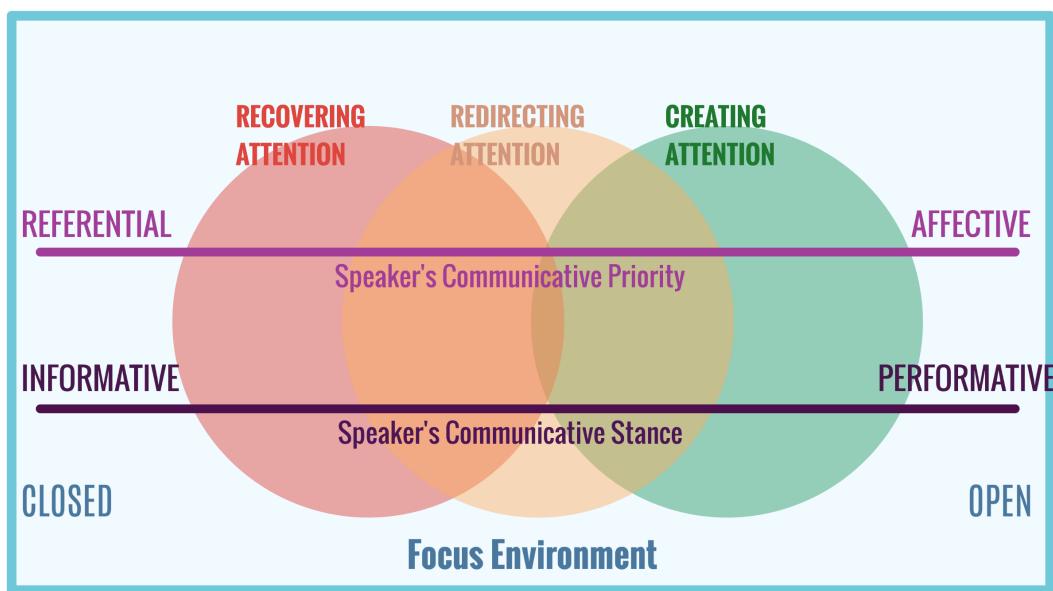
Figure 26: Full Functional Spectrum of CIs in LA

Figure 26 maps the full functional spectrum of CIs in LA on the communicative continua that have been established to be relevant for CIs use, thus offering a model upon which we may describe the grammatical communicative function of CIs in LA.

5.5. Conclusions

Based on the principle that grammatical function is built on communicative use, this chapter has endeavored to provide the reader with a grammatical model for the CI in LA that relies on its current spontaneous communicative use by LA native speakers.

Like a railroad car moving on parallel railways, grammatical function moves on parallel communicative continua. Just as the train cannot advance only on one rail without also doing so on the other, a specific instance of CI will show parallel values across communicative continua. In the same way, there is a strong correlation between the CI function in LA and the communicative circumstances within which it is uttered. This implies a correlation between different means of

attention management and (1) the nature of the focus environment, as well as (2) the quality of the speaker's communicative priority and stance.

In sum, with every CI utterance, the speaker finds him/herself positioned at a different point of the communicative continua, and consequently the CI uttered by him/her, will be performing a different nuance within its functional spectrum. Figure 27 illustrates five different potential S's positionings along the full functional communicative spectrum of the CI that would prompt the use of different kinds of CIs in LA. These positionings would approximately correspond to the five functional areas identified in previous sections (from left to right): recovering attention; recovering-redirecting attention; redirecting attention; redirecting-creating attention; creating attention.
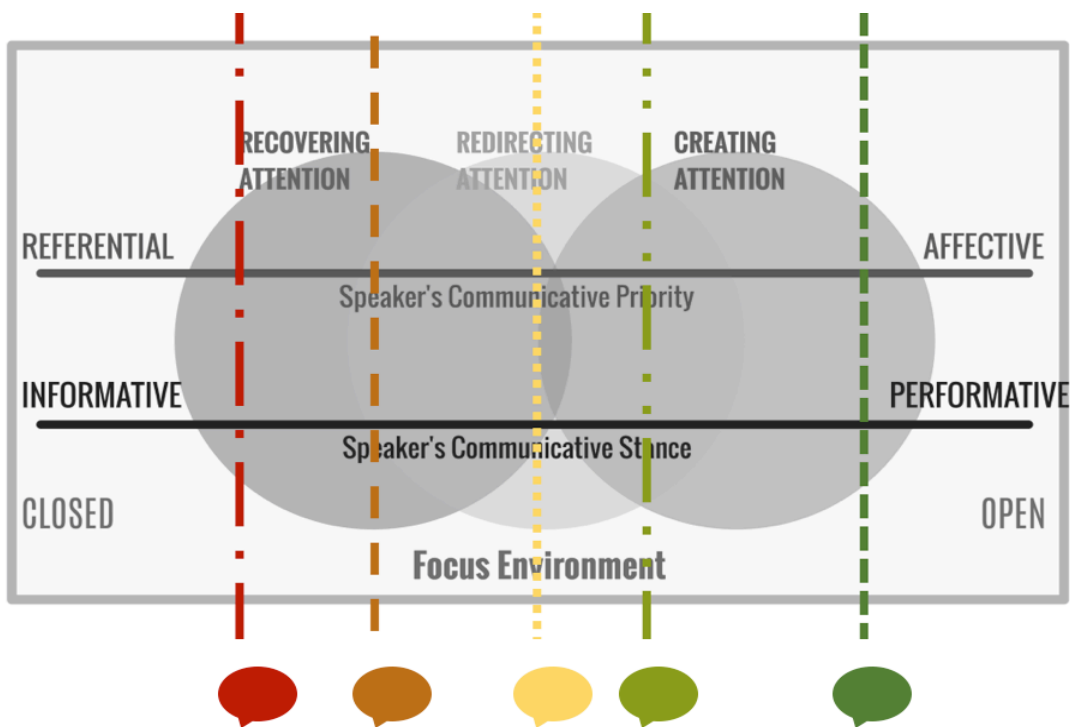
Figure 27: Different positionings of speakers along the functional communicative spectrum of the CI in LA

According to the results of my analysis, in addition to its informational and affective implications, this functional-communicative positioning seems also to have explanatory power over the semantic nature of the CI, therefore partially accounting for the speaker's lexical choice.

Although CIs are used with verbs that run the full semantic range, my results indicate that CIs in the more referential-informative part of the model (CIs recovering attention) usually highlight the CH's literal meanings, while CIs in the affective-performative side of the model (CIs creating attention) often focus figurative meanings of the CH. Figure 28 illustrates the correlation between each of the CI's communicative grammatical functional nuances and the literality and figurativeness of the CH's meaning intended by S in the CI utterance.

	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	5-CREATING ATTENTION
■ LITERAL	100.00%	100.00%	50.00%	41.67%	26.79%
■ FIGURATIVE	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	58.33%	73.21%
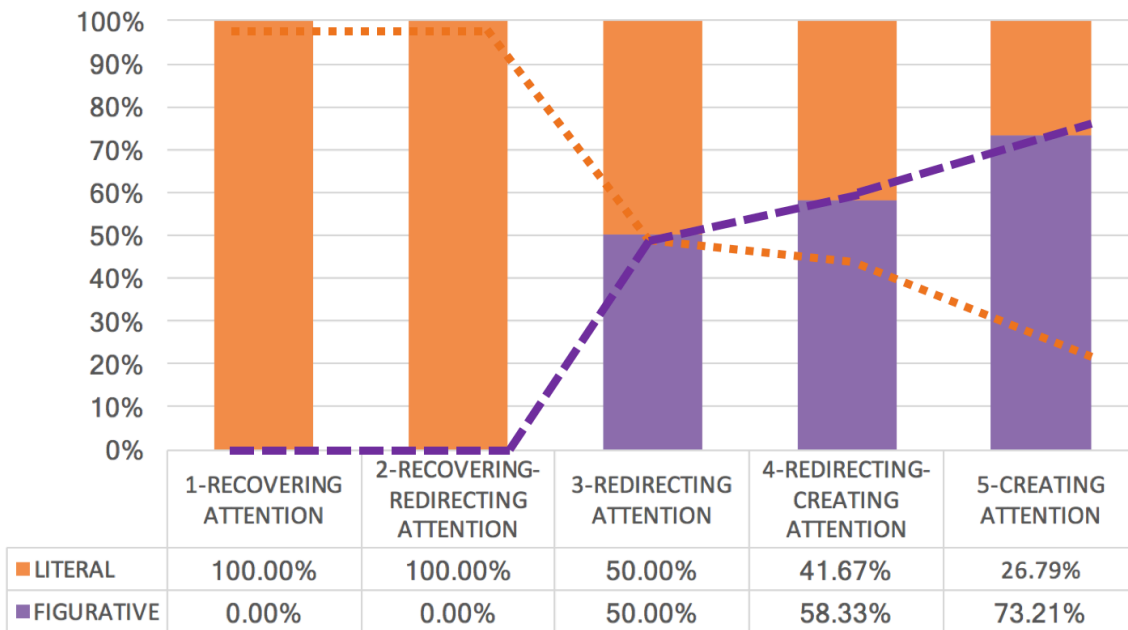
Figure 28: Correlation between the CIS communicative grammatical function and use of literal and figurative CHs

The use of more literal and common meanings correlates with utterances whose speakers show a referential communicative priority and an informative communicative stance, for they intend to (1) update accurately the knowledge state of H, and (2) target H's informational and semantic attention. For this reason, these kind of CIs focus on the CH's coresense. In contrast, the use of more figurative and creative meanings thrives with utterances whose speakers show an affective communicative priority and a performative communicative stance, for they intend to (1) have an effect (update) on the emotional state of the hearer, and (2) target their affective and social attention. For this reason, these kind of CIs focus on a CH's consense that is normally more 'unusual' and 'innovative.'

As for the 'face management' actions, which, as we established, correlate with the use of CI, the data suggests that different means of face management (preserve, reinforce, attack or create

face) do not seem to directly correlate to any of the functional nuances identified within the CI functional spectrum (recovering attention, redirecting attention and creating attention). On the contrary, face management actions tend to overlap and happen simultaneously. Figure 29 portrays the possible overlapping of face management actions associated with the use of CIs in LA.
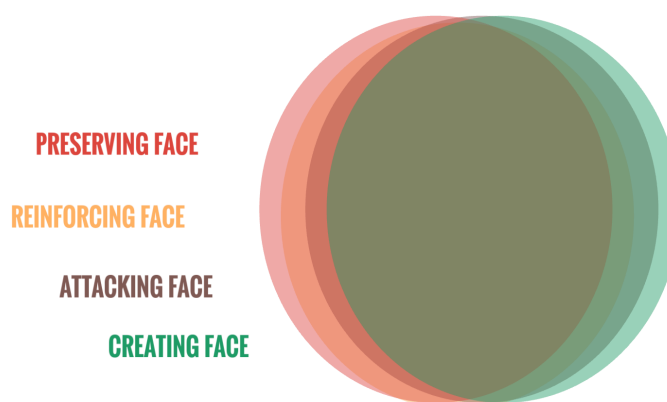
Figure 29: Illustration of the overlapping of face management actions associated with the use of CIs in LA

Finally, it is necessary to reiterate that the functional-communicative 'positioning' of the speaker is certainly not limited to the use of the CI and to its communicative range, but rather it is intrinsic to the role of the speaker and to the speech act itself. A speaker, being a social individual with a subjective vision of the world, must position himself/herself somewhere along the general communicative continuum whenever (s)he uses language. Different points on the continuum will prompt different communicative strategies, and will grant access to different communicative tools.

This chapter has aimed to present a communicative grammatical model for the functional description of CIs in LA based on the idea that an accurate and complete grammatical description does not need to be a rigid categorization according to clear-cut criteria. Quite the contrary, I believe that the field of descriptive linguistics can greatly benefit from more integrative, holistic and flexible descriptions, that, like the one presented in this chapter, align with the complex nature of communication and its various linguistic manifestations.

I believe the findings presented in this section could also pave the way for further studies to test the universality of the functional spectrum and its most salient points, in order to explore the extent to which these three salient points of attention management might be shared among language cultures: whether other languages or varieties group similar functions together with one basic linguistic tool, or whether this particular constellation of linguistic forms is specific to a certain language or linguistic family.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Introduction

The present study has provided a detailed description of the communicative functions of the Cognate Infinitive in Lebanese Arabic through the creation of a grammatical model that allows us to understand in depth the semantic, informational, affective and social dimensions of this linguistic feature.

This concluding chapter presents the main findings of this study regarding the formal features, the communicative grammatical function, and the communicative grammatical range of the CI in LA. Moreover, this chapter also sheds light on the ways in which this study has contributed to current theoretical issues in general and Arabic Linguistics, as well as on the broader theoretical implications of these contributions. The chapter closes with a discussion of topics for further research and the author's desiderata.

6.2. A Summary of Findings: A Grammar of Cognate Infinitive in LA

6.2.1. Formal Features of the CI in LA

1. A CI construction consists of a cognate head (CH), a finite verbal form that functions as the lexical head of a predicate, and a cognate infinitive verb form (CI) that serves as a complement to the CH and stands indefinite and unqualified.

2. CIs in LA always appear in post-CH position, however, not necessarily immediately after the verb; direct objects and clitics can intervene between them.

3. CIs can be formed from all existing verbal patterns in LA. However, my data suggests that CI from CHs with patterns I (فعل *faʕal*) and II (فعّل *faʕʕal)* are used significantly more than

the other patterns.[283] Graph 30 and Table 5 report the distribution of the verb forms in my corpus, showing a large majority of occurrences of pattern I (فعل *faʕal*), fewer of pattern II (فعّل *faʕʕal*), and a very low percentage of other patterns. This also seems to be the case in Rural Palestinian Arabic (Shachmon & Marmorstein, 2018: 39).[284]

4. CIs in LA generally share their pattern with their CHs when the latter follow a pattern I (فعل *faʕal*), II (فعّل *faʕʕal*), III (فاعل *fāʕal*), and X (استفعل *istafʕal*). In the cases of those patterns that carry passive, reflexive, or reciprocal values, such as V (تفعّل *tfaʕʕal*), VI (تفاعل *tfāʕal*), VII (انفعل *nfaʕal*) or VIII (افتعل *ftaʕal*), CHs take CIs of their corresponding active pattern. Only five exceptions to this rule were found in the corpus, and all of them were phonetically or semantically motivated.[285]

Table 5: Pattern occurrence within the CI in LA corpus

CH Verbal Patterns	N. of instances	% of total
1 - (فعل *faʕal*)	92	69.17%
2 - (فعّل *faʕʕal*)	20	15.04%
3 - (فاعل *fāʕal*)	2	1.50%
5 - (تفعّل *tfaʕʕal*)	3	2.26%
6 - (تفاعل *tfāʕal*)	1	0.75%
7 - (انفعل *nfaʕal*)	4	3.01%
8 - (افتعل *ftaʕal*)	1	0.75%
Q1 - (فعلل *faʕlal*)	6	4.51%
Q2 - (تفعلل *tfaʕlal*)	3	2.26%
X - (استفعل *istafʕal*)	1	0.75%
Total	133	100.00%
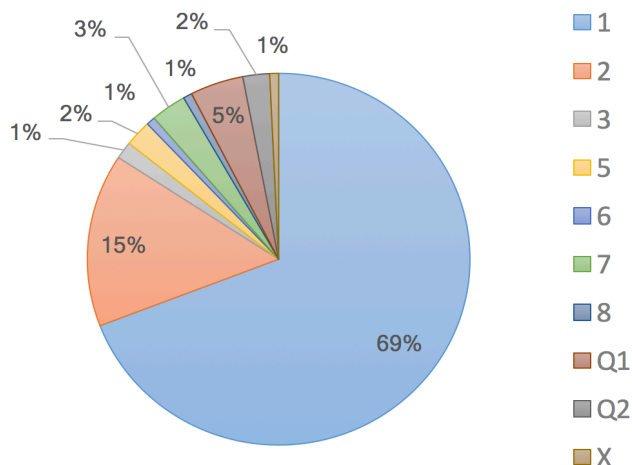
Figure 30: Percentages of Pattern Occurrence within the CI in LA corpus

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[283] Although my data is insufficient to make a general and corroborated affirmation on this topic, I consider these results a manifestation of significant morphological trend within the CI use that should be taken into consideration—especially given that verbal morphology never represented an important factor for the data collection of this study.

[284] "The great majority of our examples exhibit the *faʕl* pattern" (Shachmon & Marmorstein, 2018: 39).

[285] See section 1.2.1.2 (Pattern correspondence between CH and CI).

5. As expected, CIs associated with CHs that follow a pattern I (فعل *faʕal*) show a great variety of *maṣdar* patterns. My corpus includes seven different forms of pattern I *maṣadir:* فعل *(faʕəl);* فِعالة *(fiʕāla);* فُعُول *(fuʕūl);* فَعيلة *(faʕīla);* فعيل *(faʕīl);* فَعال *(fiʕāl)* and فَعلة *(faʕla).*

6. CIs are morphologically, syntactically, semantically and functionally different from Cognate Objects. According to the literature, this differentiation is present throughout the Semitic language family.

6.2.2. *Grammatical Function of the CI in LA*

The present study sought to shed light on the grammatical function of the CI in LA, starting from the fundamental idea that grammar is a cognitive organization of speakers' communicative and social experiences. This was, in fact, a stepping-stone of this investigation and the axis around which its main research question was composed:

(1)   What is the grammatical function of the Cognate Infinitive in Lebanese Arabic?

      a.   What is the communicative function of CIs in LA?

      b.   What is the social function of CIs in LA?

The present section assembles the answers provided to these research questions and thus summarizes the results of this investigation.

6.2.2.1.   The Communicative Function of CIs in LA

In identifying how the CI functions communicatively, this study highlights two findings:

A. THE CI IN LA FUNCTIONS AS A FOCUS MARKER

1.   The CI selects and highlights a specific alternative among a SoA that is explicitly or implicitly part of the communicative environment in order to mark that it is being (re)introduced in the CG, thus optimizing the updating of the CG.

2.   The CI marks different levels of language (lexical, propositional, and discursive) by placing the focus on different constituents that revolve around the CH: verbal lexeme, verbal predicate, and/or the truth-value of the verbal event. My data demonstrates that the CI can place a focus on these levels and constituents simultaneously, although in different degrees, according to the hearer's impressions.

3. The CI draws attention to different constituents of an utterance at different levels of language by increasing their salience. Not every utterance will be marked in all these ways, but it can be.

   i. *At the semantic level*, the use of the CI draws the hearer's attention to the meaning (literal or figurative) that the speaker considers to be the salient meaning of that specific communicative utterance.

   ii. *At the informational level*, the use of the CI draws the hearer's attention to the message contained in the predicate, and gives it prominence as a relevant piece of information for the update of CG, making it informationally salient.

   iii. *At the affective level,* the CI increases the level of emotional involvement of the speaker towards one or more of the elements involved in the CI utterance, making the utterance affectively salient.

   iv. *At the social level,* the use of the CI indicates that the speaker intends to intervene in order to play a role in the negotiation of either her/his own face or of his/her interlocutors, indicating that (s)he considers this communicative instance to be socially salient.

B. THE CI IN LA REGULATES ATTENTION MANAGEMENT

1. The CI in LA has the communicative function of managing the hearer's attention in various ways. This study focused on three subfunctions within the functional spectrum of attention management:

   i. Recovering Attention: Speakers use CIs to recover attention from what they assume is an improper placement for the hearer's attention, whether for informational, affective or social reasons. CIs recovering attention occur within communicative environments that present a closed focus environment (i.e., alternatives are explicit) and when the speaker's communicative priority is relatively referential and the speaker's communicative stance is relatively informative. The CH's salient meaning that is highlighted in this area of the functional spectrum is literal, belonging to the CH's coresense.

ii.   Redirecting Attention: Speakers use CIs to redirect attention when, after directing the hearer's attention towards a previously suggested contrastive alternative, they redirect the hearer's attention into the focused alternative, which they assume to be unlikely to be expected by the hearer(s). CIs redirecting attention occur within communicative environments that present an intermediate focus environment (i.e. alternatives are suggested but may not be explicit) and when the speaker's communicative priority is between referential and affective and the speaker's communicative stance is between informative and performative. The CH's salient meanings that are highlighted in this area of the functional spectrum may be either literal or figurative.

iii.   Creating Attention: Speakers use CIs that create attention in order to generate attention in their hearers when they assume that the level of attention does not suffice to allow them to fulfill their communicative intentions. CIs creating attention occur within communicative environments with an open focus environment (i.e., alternatives are implicit) and when the speaker's communicative priority is highly affective and the speaker's communicative stance is highly performative. The CH's salient consenses that are highlighted in this area of the functional spectrum are mainly figurative.

Figure 31 presents the Communicative Grammatical Model for Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic. This model is based on the communicative continua that are relevant for the use of the CI in LA, upon which, the full functional spectrum of attention management performed by CIs in LA is described. Through the main axes of use and function, this grammatical model for the analysis and description of Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic accounts for this feature's semantic, informational, affective and social functions.
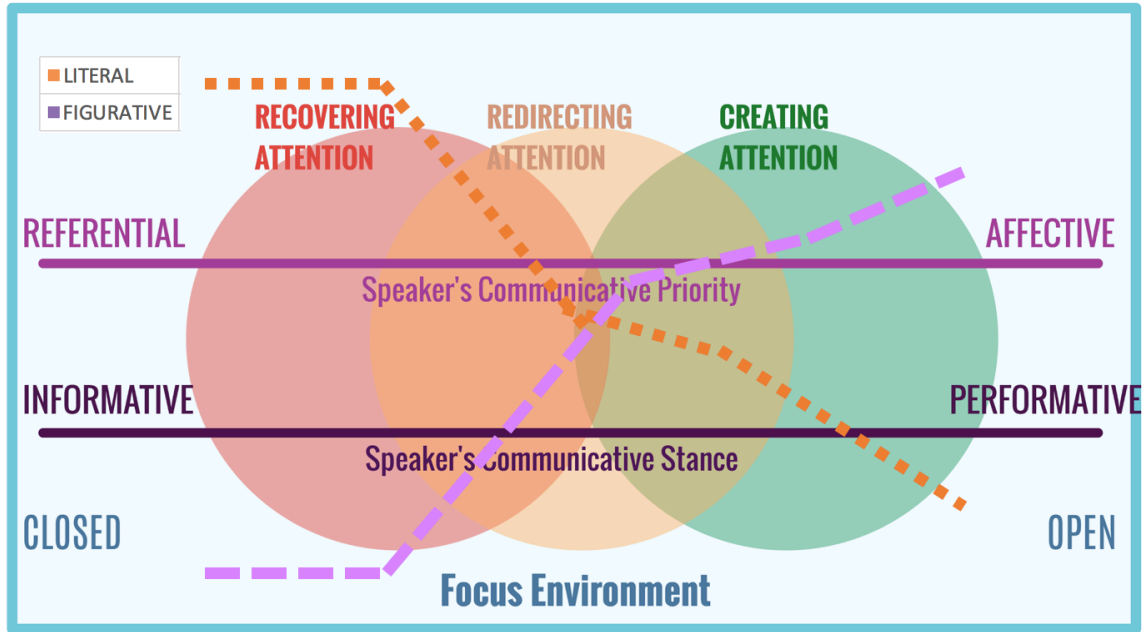
Figure 31: Communicative Grammatical Model for CIs in LA

6.2.2.2.   The Social Function of the CI in LA

THE CI IN LA REGULATES FACE MANAGEMENT

1. The use of the CI correlates with communicative instances in which speakers play an active role in the management and/or negotiation of their own faces or of their interlocutors' faces; in other words, it correlates with socially salient communicative exchanges. My CI data reveals a variety of face management actions:

    i.   Face Preservation/Restoration

    ii. Face Attack

    iii. Face Reinforcement

    iv. Face Creation

2. Although face management correlates with the use of CI in LA in general, my data does not report any clear correlation between the aforementioned face management actions and the CI's communicative subfunctions (recovering attention, redirecting attention and creating attention). This suggests that, while face management is undoubtedly linked to attention management, the overlapping and co-occurrence of different face management actions in a single CI instance indicates that face management actions are not linked with specific strategies of attention management.

3. CIs not only correlate with the managing of individual faces, but also with that of collective faces, i.e., those based on collective shared values. For this reason, the use of the CI in LA is often associated by native speakers with the management of their collective face as 'Lebanese.'

6.2.3. *The Communicative Grammatical Range of the CI in LA*

Figure 32 illustrates the communicative grammatical range of the CI in LA. It shows that the communicative continua of the CI constitute only part of the continua of the language as whole, and that this part lies on the right side of the communicative continua of the S's agency. The data analysis in this study concludes that LA native speakers tend to make use of CIs when they are positioned towards the affective-performative side of the socio-communicative continuum. This indicates that the CI is a tool available for speakers positioned within that area, but not to speakers positioned in the more referential–informative side of the continuum.

On the one hand, the relatively high affective communicative priorities and high performative communicative stances of speakers using CIs strongly suggest that utterances containing them are highly affectively marked, in contrast to parallel utterances lacking the CI. Given the intrinsically affective nature of the concept of face, the high affective levels of CI utterances are congruent with the unsurprising ubiquitous presence of CIs in socially marked communicative situations, where the face of the speaker and/or of the interlocutor(s) is being managed in a way that is affectively relevant for the speaker.

Within every speaker's linguistic repertoire, socially and affectively marked communicative situations will require specific linguistic resources that allow the speaker to increase the social and affective salience of the utterance, hence transmitting the speaker's multidimensional message more accurately in accordance with his/her specific communicative and social needs at the moment of the utterance.

UNMARKED | MARKED

RECOVERING ATTENTION   REDIRECTING ATTENTION   CREATING ATTENTION

REFERENTIAL   AFFECTIVE

Speaker's Communicative Priority

INFORMATIVE   PERFORMATIVE

Speaker's Communicative Stance

CLOSED   OPEN

Focus Environment

**Communicative Grammatical Range
of the Cognate Infinitive in LA**
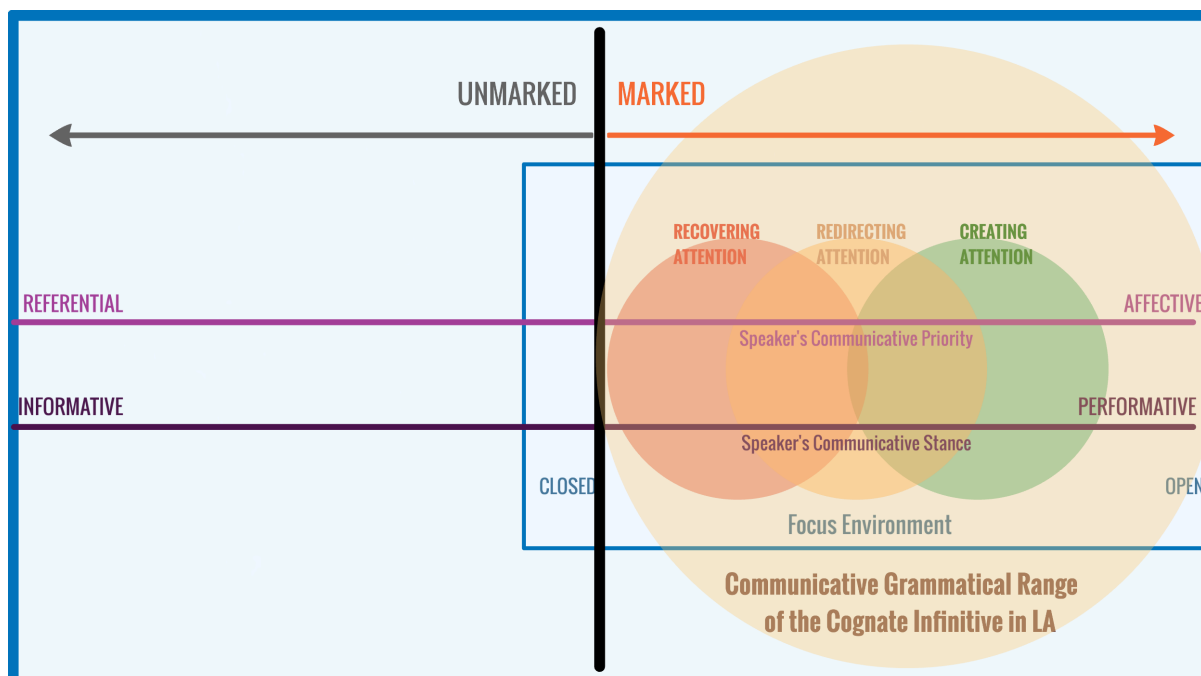
Figure 32: Communicative Grammatical Range of CIs in LA within the speaker's linguistic repertoire

The vertical black bar in Figure 32 represents an imaginary boundary between what a speaker may consider socio-communicatively marked from what (s)he may consider socio-communicatively unmarked at the moment of an imaginary utterance. The position of that bar is not fixed in one place, but can shift with changing circumstances. The exact position will determine the set of linguistic tools the speaker will perceive as available for him within that specific socio-communicative range, therefore defining the speaker's communicative style in a concrete utterance.

Therefore, regarding the communicative grammatical range of CIs within an LA speaker's linguistic repertoire, I argue that:

1. The CI in LA represents a socially and affectively marked linguistic option for those utterances that a speaker considers socio-communicatively salient and that formally involve a verb and its predicate. This function could have important implications regarding linguistic variation that will be addressed in section 6.3.4.
2. The communicative grammatical study of CI in LA not only suggests the existence of a clear correlation between affect, performance, and face management, but also that these three concepts are closely related to the notion of focus. This correlation could have

important implications for the study of information structure that will be summarized in section 6.3.3 (Rethinking Focus).

6.2.4. *Distribution of the CI in LA corpus*

A contrastive analysis of the grammatical function of the CI instances in the corpus with their source suggests that the distribution of CI subfunctions (recovering, redirecting, and creating attention) across the three different types of data (active participant observation, passive participant observation, and media and arts) is quite irregular.

As and Figure 33 illustrates and Table 6 summarizes, the data collected through the method of active participant observation contains a relatively proportionate number of instances for all grammatical functions, while the data collected from media and arts contains a high number of cases of CIs creating attention (i.e., on the affective-performative side of the model), and a low number of instances of recovering and redirecting attention (i.e., on the informative-performative side of the model).

Figure 33: Distribution of CI functions by collection source
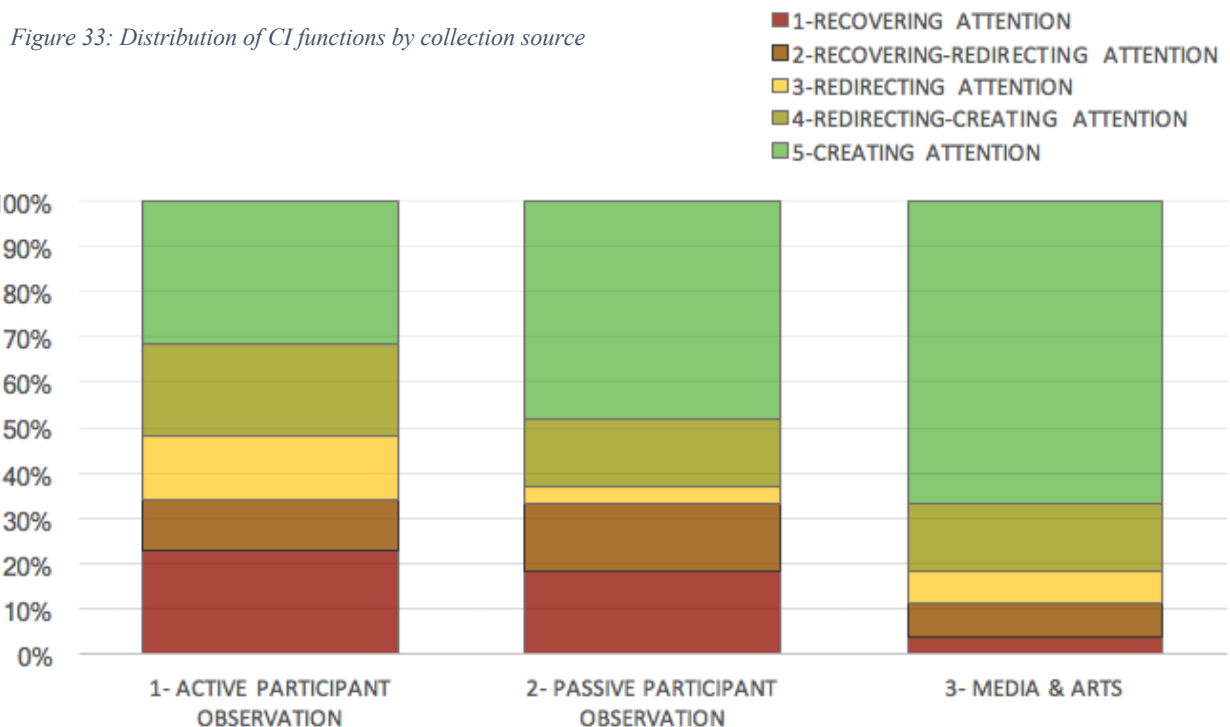
	1- ACTIVE PART. OBSERVATION	2- PASSIVE PART. OBSERVATION	3- MEDIA AND ARTS
	% within source	% within source	% within source
1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	22.78%	18.52%	3.70%
2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	11.39%	14.81%	7.41%
3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	13.92%	3.70%	7.41%
4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	20.25%	14.81%	14.81%
5-CREATING ATTENTION	31.65%	48.15%	66.67%

Table 6: Distribution of CI fuctions by collection source

The irregular distribution of CI functions across the data sources suggests the following:

1. The method(s) applied in the collection of the CI data may affect greatly the results concerning the functional spectrum of CIs. More importantly, the full functional range of the CI in LA is best captured through a method of active participant observation.

2. The comparison of active participant and passive observer suggest that the less active the researcher is as an interlocutor in the communicative instance (and therefore the more (s)he plays the role of a mere observer), the more likely it is that (s)he will miss the most informative and referential uses of the CI, which require the highest degree of emergent interaction.

3. The clear predominance of CIs creating attention in the data collected through media and arts suggests that contemporary Lebanese scriptwriters and composers, who seem well aware of the affective and performative nature of this feature, use CIs to create attention in the audience and performatively shape their characters' specific individual and collective faces as native speakers of LA, sometimes to situate them socially.

These conclusions confirm our initial impressions from the analysis of the literature review: given the conversational character of the CI and the variety of communicative and social contexts in which this feature occurs in LA, only corpora containing well-contextualized instances collected in a variety of social contexts would be able to provide an accurate representation of the full functional spectrum of CIs.[286] Moreover, the results of this study allow us to make an educated guess about what parts of the functional range are more likely to be missed by studies that work with socially and communicatively incomplete data.

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[286] See section 2.4.1. (Methodological Challenges).

Previous studies on the CI in spoken varieties of Arabic have made use of single genre-corpora (often restricted to narration) which thwart the natural occurrence of interaction. As Chapter 5 illustrates, explicit alternatives commonly originate in the speaker's interaction with other interlocutors and their corresponding sets of assumptions, shaping the closed focus environment that characterizes the use of CIs recovering attention. Thus, I believe that previous studies failed to notice the most referential-informative side of the model, that is, recovering attention.[287]

I therefore suggest that we linguists start choosing our data collection methods after first taking into account the potential restrictions those methods may indirectly impose on the communicative styles of the participants. For instance, if I were to evaluate whether eliciting CIs through narrative interviews is an appropriate method, I should first consider whether this choice might somehow confine or limit the communicative needs of the interviewees, as this might therefore compromise the quality of my data. For example, a basic yet essential premise particularly relevant to the present study is that if full and undivided attention is granted to an interviewee, (s)he will never feel the need to recover it.

6.3. Theoretical Contributions of this Study

6.3.1. CIs across Semitics

As Chapter 1 illustrates, previous approaches to the study of the CI in Arabic and other Semitic varieties have taken standard varieties and their grammatical conventions as a starting point. Consequently, CIs had yet to be thoroughly studied through evidence gathered from its usage as a productive communicative tool in a spoken variety of Arabic.

Being one of the few attempts in a Semitic variety to apply an inductive method where scientifically elicited data remains the main source, along with available linguistic theory, of the

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[287] Shachmon & Marmorstein (2018), for instance, seem to have missed the existence of CIs recovering attention in their analysis of CIs in Rural Palestinian Arabic. The evidence: the model they propose for a systematic translation of the CI in RPA only offers the addition of a range of adverbs of manner (probably because it is built exclusively on the semantic characteristics of the verbal lexeme), although, as Chapter 4 and 5 of this study show, CI recovering attention would require the use of focus sensitive particles (e.g. *just, only*) and other prosodic and/or discursive strategies that would effectively communicate the pragmatic and informational nuances of a corrective and/or exhaustive focus.

resulting grammatical description, this study provides the field of Semitic studies with a new theoretical tool to analyze and understand CIs in a functional-communicative light.

Because of its communicative framework, the model presented in Chapter 5 can be used cross-linguistically, therefore serving as an alternative to previous frameworks whose focus on the morpho-syntactic characteristics of CIs often tended to isolate Arabic from the Semitic continuum. Such a cross-linguistic tool could also be of use for the field of Historical Linguistics, since it may help shed light on the 'evolution' or the formal and functional variation of cognate infinitives in Semitic through time and space.

6.3.2. A Multidimensional Model of Communication

The goal of understanding the CI in all its complexity led me to try to fathom the pragmatics of human communication. With this purpose, I integrated a range of communicative notions to construct what I call the Multidimensional Model of Communication as the theoretical framework of this study.

As I argued in Chapter 3, in addition to its role in framing the present study theoretically, the MMC intends to shed light on the complexity of the communicative experiences that are lived, processed and stored by interlocutors and on their relationship to the real-life production of language. At the same time, the MMC aspires to provide readers and fellow researchers with a set of both conceptual and terminological tools to analyze and understand the myriad of communicative factors involved in the linguistic choices of speakers.

I hope this model can contribute to the field of linguistics and to that of communication in general, and that it may be tested and improved by being adopted as a theoretical foundation for communicative analyses of other linguistic devices from a multiplicity of world languages.

6.3.3. Rethinking Focus

In an attempt to understand the function of CIs in LA, Chapter 4 of this study addressed the diversity of opinions regarding the definition, essential qualities, and possible classifications of 'focus.' This study argues that, when it is analyzed within its full natural communicative environment, the CI reveals the intrinsic complexity and multidimensionality of focus, challenging many previous theoretical approaches.

The difficulty presented by the lack of agreement on a clear definition of focus, and the numerous classifications presented in the literature, convinced me to attempt to observe and describe it as a whole. For this reason, this study has aimed to contribute to a unified definition of focus that integrates both its informational and affective dimensions and that is built upon its most fundamental communicative property: managing the hearer's attention.

On this basis, I have defined focus as a multidimensional communicative tool in charge of managing the hearer's attention by increasing the salience of different constituents at different levels of language in order to optimize the updates of the CG.

I further argue that only a comprehensive and communicatively inclusive definition of focus such as this one can account for the findings that the data analysis in this study revealed. I summarize these findings in the following topics:

A SINGLE FOCUS MARKER MAY MARK A VARIETY OF PRAGMATIC FOCI

CIs in my LA corpus function as focus markers of a variety of pragmatic foci, including corrective, exhaustive, contrastive, parallel, selective and polarity focus. On some occasions, they can even mark multiple focuses, i.e., two or more different pragmatic foci at the same time. [288]

FOCUS MARKERS MAY HAVE MULTIPLE SIMULTANEOUS SCOPES

The CI in LA may focus different levels of language simultaneously by placing a focus on different constituents that involve the CH, such as verbal lexeme, verbal predicate, and/or truth-value of the event designated by the CH.

The two aforementioned findings contribute to the existent literature by refuting Bond and Anderson's claim that there is no evidence that a CI structure (which they refer to as CHDC) is currently used for both polarity focus and verb/predicate focus within the same variety (Bond & Anderson, 2014: 239).[289] As a Chapter 4 illustrates, not only can CIs in LA act at once as markers

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[288] See section 4.3.3.

[289] "The fact that CHDCs are found to mark verb focus/predicate focus or polarity focus in different languages is therefore unsurprising, although reliable evidence for cases where CHDCs are used for both polarity focus and verb/predicate focus synchronically within the same language are currently unavailable" (Bond & Anderson, 2014: 239).

of polarity focus and verb or predicate focus within the same variety, they may even do so within the same utterance.

FOCUS MARKERS ARE ALSO AFFECTIVE AND SOCIAL MARKERS

Once set within a speaker's broader linguistic repertoire, the use of focus markers to manage attention correlates with the speaker's affective communicative priorities, speaker's performative communicative stances and a variety of face management actions. This indicates that, in addition to its informational function, focus functions as an affective and social tool. The high degrees of emotional involvement and performativity associated with focus account for many of the communicative details concomitant to the use of CIs, including but not limited to: close relationships between Ss and Hs, widespread use of interjections, common use of vocatives (included reverse role vocatives), abundant use of body language and sound effects accompanying CI utterances, and marked prosody.

Seeing these affective, performative and social aspects as intrinsic to the nature of focus is essential in order to broaden our understanding of focus from a mere syntactic tool of Information Structure to a more inclusive vision that recognizes the close link between focus and the speaker's emotional and social involvement.

In the field of Arabic Linguistics, this would represent a first theoretical step that would encourage researchers to bring under the same umbrella of 'affective markers' many other pragmatically relevant linguistic features of Arabic which remain currently understudied.

RETHINKING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOCUS AND TOPIC

Understanding focus as a tool for attention management would allow us to circumvent the existing theoretical dichotomy between topic and focus. In fact, as Chapter 1 argues, the CI along the Semitic continuum is an excellent example of how the same tool regulating attention management may be analyzed as a 'topic' or that of a 'focus' within the same language family across time and space.

6.3.4. Linguistic Variation and Communicative Styles

Linguistic variation is often correlated with a range of social variants of speakers such as age, gender, geographical origin and socioeconomic class. It has been also documented that variation in linguistic use can be related to the speaker's social network (Milroy & Margrain, 1980) and to the speaker's (communicative) 'occasion of use' (Milroy & Milroy, 1999). Drawing on this last notion, the present study contributed to linguistic style theory in providing evidence that linguistic variation correlates as well with the speaker's communicative styles, which are shaped according to the informational, affective and social factors relative to a specific communicative situation.

The variation of use of CIs in LA links directly to the specific communicative style of the speaker within a specific communicative instance. In this study, I understand the speaker's communicative style to be the result of his/her self-positioning within the socio-communicative continua of communicative priority and stance, in response to the diverse elements from the communicative environment. Thinking of the speaker's communicative style as a relevant factor in linguistic variation may illuminate several questions:

- First, it may account for the correlation of a relatively frequent use of CIs in LA and speakers exhibiting particular personality traits. We have already established that the red bar illustrated in Figure 34 (delineating where speakers draw the line between what for them is socio-communicatively marked and unmarked) is not fixed. In fact, its position can be constantly shifted by the speaker depending on the

Figure 34: Illustration of an imaginary LA speaker's communicative style marking the limit of the communicative range of use of the CI in LA

communicative circumstances. At the same time, individual personality characteristics of speakers may also draw this communicative bar to a specific point in the communicative continua. My years of participant-observation have confirmed to me that shy speakers who do not easily share their personal opinions and views use CIs with less frequency than those talkative and sociable speakers with skill in performing or storytelling who are comfortable basking in an audience's attention.
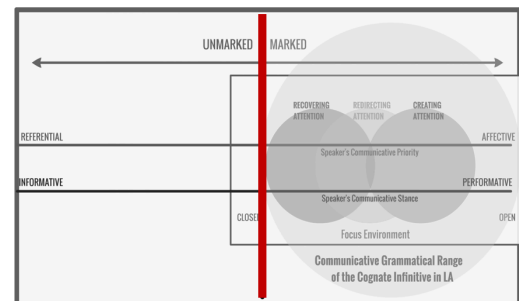
241

- Secondly, this perspective may help us understand the variation in the use of the CI in other spoken varieties of Arabic. Similar to the way in which a speaker has an individual sense of what tools to use in socio-communicatively marked and unmarked situations, this sense can be also shared by a community of speakers. Given that affect is socially constructed, it is not surprising that the use of highly affectively marked features such as the CI may vary between different socio-cultural systems. For instance, linguistically sophisticated Egyptian informants reported that the use of the CI in recovering attention in LA seems to her 'redundant'

Figure 35: Illustration of an imaginary EA speaker's communicative style marking the possible limit of the communicative range of use of the CI in EA.

and 'unnecessary,' but they identified strongly with a more figurative and ironic use of the CI creating attention. This would suggest that the model applicable for the description of the CI in Egyptian Arabic (EA) could look somewhat like Figure 35, where the communicative range of use of the CI is more restricted, and therefore, the communicative function of the CI in EA may have a shorter range—if, of course, we could ascertain that speakers of EA do make use of CIs within those communicative ranges.

- Thirdly, these observations point towards the fact that affect and performance may in fact play a particularly relevant role in linguistic variation and therefore, the evolution of languages as well.

6.4. Theoretical Implications of this Study

Through the collection and analysis of socially and communicatively contextualized data, this study has explored the formal, informational, affective and social factors that correlate with the use of CIs in LA in order to create a grammatical model upon which the function of the CI in LA may be described.

Although the findings of this work might be limited to the boundaries of one specific linguistic feature (cognate infinitives) in one linguistic variety (Lebanese Arabic), I believe that the careful study of specific linguistic features can contribute greatly to the ways in which we conceive of

grammar, helping us change and redefine our previous understanding of it—especially when these features are as complex and multileveled as CIs in LA have proven to be.

Cognate Infinitives turned out to be an excellent microcosm of social and communicative complexity. The case study of this specific feature has uncovered many of the patterns governing this grammatical microcosm. These same laws and patterns may be of great use if applied to the study of language more generally.

In the study of language, just like in that of the CIs in LA, sufficient relevance must be granted to speakers as communicative subjective agents that are highly affected by their emergent context, and constantly generating assumptions regarding the current sense of the communicative acts and their hearers' attentional status. The importance of these assumptions lies in their shaping of the speakers intentions, upon which, and depending on the nature of their communicative priorities and stance, speakers position themselves communicatively. As a result of this positioning, the speaker uses the communicative strategies and tools within his/her communicative range, adopting therefore a specific communicative style.

This process can be assumed to be common to all speakers of all linguistic varieties. If we, as linguists, attempt to provide accurate grammatical descriptions of the universal communicative strategies and the particular communicative tools in different linguistic systems, we must then start by observing their use within the speaker's communicative experience in a specific linguistic system. A linguistic analysis that understands grammar as a manifestation of the collective social and communicative experiences of a specific community of speakers will necessarily have to consider the relevance that affective and social factors, along with informational factors, play in the speakers' linguistic choices.

Such considerations oblige us to expand our data collection methods, pushing them beyond the limits of sociolinguistic interviews and pointing towards new techniques (inspired by anthropological studies) that allow us to observe and even participate in this communicative experiences.

Only in this way will the researcher be able to guarantee that the data collected is communicatively and socially broad enough to serve as basis for a comprehensive and realistic grammatical description.

6.5. Further research

The present study could be further developed into a variety of directions both within LA and cross-linguistically.

In order to broaden our morphosemantic understanding about CIs within Lebanese, further research could explore the different patterns of infinitives (*maṣādir*) used in CI constructions and their effect on the semantic nuances granted by this feature. Along these lines, it will be interesting to explore the reasons behind the high occurrence of patterns I and II CHs in our corpus: how the use of the CI relates to the actual length of the verbal form and to the temporal 'space' in the conversation taken up by the speaker. Moreover, for a deeper study of the discursive nature of this feature, attention could be paid to the correlation between CIs and other discursively relevant elements such as vocatives, interjections, and discourse markers.

Sociolinguistically, once the functional and communicative range of the CIs in LA have been identified and described, it would be interesting to try to uncover patterns of use among different speakers, especially those patterns concerning the sex of Ss and Hs involved in CI utterances, for this could tell us about social and gendered power relations within the interlocutors' communities.

From the point of view of language acquisition, and given that the youngest speaker in our corpus is an 8-year-old girl, it would be interesting to explore how early these kind of communicative tools are acquired, and how dependent they are on the degree of 'maturity' of the speaker's face.

Cross-linguistically, comparative studies could be carried out between LA and other spoken Arabic varieties. Future studies could use the grammatical model for CIs presented here as a tool to identify variation in the communicative use of CIs. Typologically, the results of this study could be compared to those of studies exploring other similar focus markers in different languages to see to what extent the definition of focus provided by this study is applicable to other linguistic varieties. Specifically, I find particularly intriguing the apparent relationship among focus, affect and reduplication at different levels of language.

Communicatively, in order to complete the picture provided by the MMC, and recalling once more that this study centers on S's use of CIs and not H's reception of them, it would be vital to

look deeper into how hearers perceive CIs in order to corroborate the actual informational and affective effectiveness of these tools.

6.6. Desiderata

Especially in the Arab world, it remains difficult to arouse interest in the dialects as a serious field of study. Although in the nineteenth century European scholars showed great interest in the varieties of spoken Arabic, unfortunately this was not always met with approval in the Arab countries (Versteegh, 2014). The reasons are complex, but the result has been that the sociolinguistically less prestigious varieties have been deprived of "the dignity of systematical historical investigation" (Owens, 2006: 715).

A broad systematization of the spoken varieties of Arabic must start with an exhaustive analysis of their features. I hope that this study has contributed, even if minimally, to the more ambitious project of developing a comprehensive grammatical study of the spoken varieties of Arabic.

A more extensive and inclusive knowledge of Arabic would not only be beneficial for the field of Arabic linguistics but also for general linguistic theory. On the one hand, the Arabic language, in all its richness and diversity, encompasses various grammatical systems. This makes it a source of valuable information for general linguists. In Comrie's words, the study of Arabic "enables the investigator to study in detail the synchronic and diachronic implications of smaller and larger differences among genetically related systems" (Comrie, 1991: 25). On the other hand, the spoken varieties of Arabic represent pragmatically thriving linguistic systems, and therefore, vast repositories of socially and communicatively contextualized linguistic data where researchers may find the necessary resources to analyze a variety of complex communicative tools and thus, the communicative strategies they have evolved to realize.

Gathering, elaborating and analyzing cross-linguistically these kinds of inclusive descriptions of communicative tools and strategies would be an essential step towards the construction of a universal grammar; one that finds its basis in universal communicative needs of the humankind.

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Ratner, C. (2002). Subjectivity and objectivity in qualitative methodology. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung* / Forum: Qualitative Soc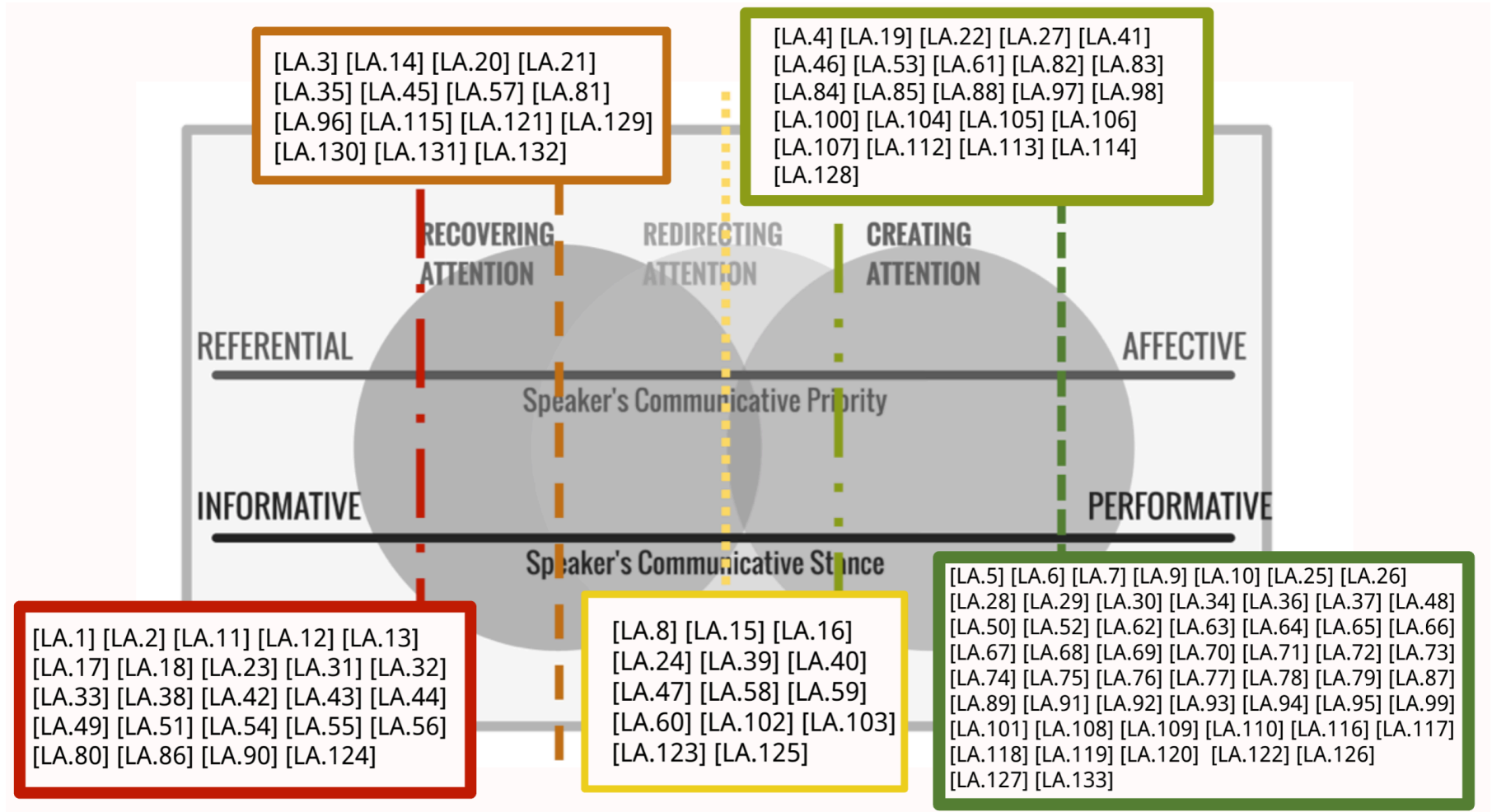ial Research [On-line Journal], 3(3), Art.16. Available at: http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-02/3-02ratner-e.htm

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[LA.3] [LA.14] [LA.20] [LA.21]
[LA.35] [LA.45] [LA.57] [LA.81]
[LA.96] [LA.115] [LA.121] [LA.129]
[LA.130] [LA.131] [LA.132]

[LA.4] [LA.19] [LA.22] [LA.27] [LA.41]
[LA.46] [LA.53] [LA.61] [LA.82] [LA.83]
[LA.84] [LA.85] [LA.88] [LA.97] [LA.98]
[LA.100] [LA.104] [LA.105] [LA.106]
[LA.107] [LA.112] [LA.113] [LA.114]
[LA.128]

RECOVERING ATTENTION

REDIRECTING ATTENTION

CREATING ATTENTION

REFERENTIAL

AFFECTIVE

Speaker's Communicative Priority

INFORMATIVE

PERFORMATIVE

Speaker's Communicative Stance

[LA.1] [LA.2] [LA.11] [LA.12] [LA.13]
[LA.17] [LA.18] [LA.23] [LA.31] [LA.32]
[LA.33] [LA.38] [LA.42] [LA.43] [LA.44]
[LA.49] [LA.51] [LA.54] [LA.55] [LA.56]
[LA.80] [LA.86] [LA.90] [LA.124]

[LA.8] [LA.15] [LA.16]
[LA.24] [LA.39] [LA.40]
[LA.47] [LA.58] [LA.59]
[LA.60] [LA.102] [LA.103]
[LA.123] [LA.125]

[LA.5] [LA.6] [LA.7] [LA.9] [LA.10] [LA.25] [LA.26]
[LA.28] [LA.29] [LA.30] [LA.34] [LA.36] [LA.37] [LA.48]
[LA.50] [LA.52] [LA.62] [LA.63] [LA.64] [LA.65] [LA.66]
[LA.67] [LA.68] [LA.69] [LA.70] [LA.71] [LA.72] [LA.73]
[LA.74] [LA.75] [LA.76] [LA.77] [LA.78] [LA.79] [LA.87]
[LA.89] [LA.91] [LA.92] [LA.93] [LA.94] [LA.95] [LA.99]
[LA.101] [LA.108] [LA.109] [LA.110] [LA.116] [LA.117]
[LA.118] [LA.119] [LA.120] [LA.122] [LA.126]
[LA.127] [LA.133]

[N]	EXAMPLE	TRANSLATION	CONTEXT	SOURCE	ATTENTION MANAGEMENT	S'S SEX	S' AGE	H'S SEX	H'S AGE	RELATION S-H	CH'S PATTERN	CI'S PATTERN	MEANING VERB
LA.1	*apparently* məš ʔənno zaḥaṭet...baramət barəm es-siyāra	Apparently it didn't skid… it actually spun!'	S and H are walking close to the seaside when H sees a mark on the road. S (who works closeby) tells H that she knows that a car accident a day before left that mark on the road. In fact, S tells H that she heard what happened from a colleague given that one of the drivers involved is S's coworker. H then asked: *w-šū šār? zaḥḥaṭat siyyārto?* ('And what happened, did his car skid?'), to which, S replied:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	26	F	27	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.2	el-almān b-yədərso l-islēm dirāse, məš mətl-əl-ʕarab	'Germans really study Islam [academically/thoroughly], not like Arabs'	H (a graduate student) is sharing her impressions with S (her university professor) on an article by a German author that revolves around the topic of Islamic philosophy. After H expresses that she liked the way the author treated the topic, S says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	79	F	26	TEACHER-STUDENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.3	ət-twērīx ma fik tefhamon, ət-twērīx badd-ak tədrəs-on darəs, ma fī ghēr ḥall	You cannot understand dates, you have to just study them [memorize them]. There is no other way'	The Hebrew Language professor (S) had included a brief history of Hebrew Language (around 10 pages of text) for the next midterm exam. One day before the exam, when the professor asks her students if there is any doubt or question, a student asks her to postpone the exam by saying: *miss, ktir ṣaʕbe, ʕan- ʒadd. Ana noṣṣ al-ʔašya tabaʕ al-grammar ma baɬfhamon. w-bel history part kamen fi ktir twērīx...* (Miss, it's really hard. I do not understand half of the 'grammar things' and in the historical part there are a lot of dates...). S then, clearly dismissing his suggestion with a half-smile on her face says:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	50S	M	21	TEACHER-STUDENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.4	ʔana mbēraḥ tbəhdalət bahdale bə-š-šəʁəl… ya wayle...	'Yesterday I got humiliated at work'	S, H and H2 are catching up while having coffee. H is telling S about her busy week at work and about a discussion she had with his superior. At some point while H is still talking, S starts laughing as if he was remembering something. Once H finishes, S, still with a smile on his face says: [in S's story, he had to choose a person from his subordinates to give an important presentation to a visiting team from the same company. The person he chose did a poor performance, putting him in evidence as team manager]	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	21	F	26	CLASSMATES	Q2	Q1	LITERAL
LA.5	yā ḥarām…šu tbəhdal tbəhdol ha-ṣ-ṣabe [laughs]	'Poor boy… he was completely humiliated'	S and H have attended together an open mike night. During this night, while some artists were improvising some beats on scene, a young man decided to go up the stage to improvise a rap song. S and H, who thought that the song was quite bad, had a good laugh in the bar. Once the night is over, S and H are coming back home in S's car. Breaking the silence, and as if he was reminiscing the scene in his head, H says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	32	F	28	FRIENDS	Q2	Q2	LITERAL
LA.6	yī šū bḥebbak. b-ənṭrak mnəṭra ʕal əxbār kəl leyle	'Oh my God, I love you so much! I [impatiently] wait to see you in the news every single night!'	S is leaving a restaurant in Beirut when, suddenly, she bumps into a rather attractive man who seems to be her favorite news presenter (H). Visibly excited, S introduces herself and then says:	3- TV SHOW	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	40S	M	50S	FAN-IDOL	1	3	FIGURATIVE
LA.7	faẓīʕa… b-təlʔaṭī-on təlʔīṭ	You are amazing… you just catch them all!'	H is doing her eyebrows at a beauty salon. H2 (the person who works at that beauty salon and is doing H's eyebrows) is concentrated and silent while S, another client who is waiting, suddenly says with a surprised tone:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	36	CLIENT-WORKER	1	2	LITERAL

	Original	Translation	Context	Method	Attention	Sex	Age	Sex	Age	Relationship			Type
LA.8	baddik tšūfe tlēmīze [pause] bykəbbo š-šanṭa ʕa-l-ʔarəḍ: *pa!* byəftaḥo əš-šəbbēk: *bam!* [pause] tlemīze ma bysakkro l-bēb, b-yəxlaʕū xalaʕ [laughs] *boom! ṭaḥ!*	'You should see my students. They throw their backpacks on the floor: *boom!* They open the windows: *bam!* [pause] They don't close the door, they slam it! *boom! bam!*	S and H both teach languages in different high schools. One day, while having a coffee, H mentions that her teen students are becoming very loud. After hearing this, S says in an energic and theatrical monologue:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	25	F	26	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.9	leyke leyke hayde! [pause] barašet-o baraš la-l-ʕaṣfūr	'Look! look! It [the cat] literally finished the bird!'	S and H have been chatting for a while on a bench inside AUB's campus, where there are many cats. At some point, while H is talking to S about an unrelated topic, S points at a passing cat that carries a dead bird in its mouth (the cat was passing within S's field of vision, but not within H's) while he says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	25	F	28	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.10	ntəbhe mami! hayde s-sikkīne bə-tʔoṣṣ ʔaṣṣ!	"Be careful, baby, that knife is [really] sharp!"	A mother and her daughter are preparing dinner together in the kitchen of their house. The mother (S) is secretly supervising every action that the daughter (H) carries out. In some previous utterances, S corrected some of H's actions by giving H pieces of advice to which H seemed to pay little attention. Moments before the utterance, H starts simultaneously a conversation with H2, occasionally looking at her while preparing the food. When H takes a big knife from the drawer in order to cut some cucumbers, S says loudly:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	40S	F	20	MOTHER-DAUGTHER	1	1	LITERAL
LA.11	laʔ w-allah mšinē-on maše	'No! I swear we did walked [them]!'	Two girls in their early 20's wearing athletic clothes. One of them (S) is proudly telling some male friends in university about their morning, which they spent walking by the seaside. One of these friends (H) puts into question the truth of their story in a playful tone:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	18	M	19	CLASSMATES	1	1	LITERAL
LA.12	laʔ, ḥoṭṭ-a ḥaṭṭ hunīk ʕamōl maʕrūf	'No, [just] drop it here, please'	A man (H) is carrying a couch on his back waiting for the woman who bought it (S) to tell him what he should do with it. The woman bumped into a neighbor and stayed talking to her while the man waited with the sofa still on his shoulders. Apparently tired, the man asked the woman: *b-fawwəṭlik yēha la-l-kanabēye, madām?* (Should I put the sofa inside, ma'am?), to which S replied:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	60S	M	30S	WORKER-CLIENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.13	la, badde zīḥ-a zēḥ [pause] bas hēk.	'No, I [just] want to move it. Just like this.	While they set up the table and move furniture to prepare the dining room for a family dinner, H walks towards her sister, S, when she sees her manipulating a big table, with the intention of helping her. Looking a bit confused, probably not sure of what S was trying to do, H asked S: *šū, bəddik taʕmle extension la-ṭ-ṭāwle?* '(Do you want to open the table?'), to which S replies:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	40S	SISTERS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.14	ʔana bas ʕam-ʔelkon ta tsēʕdū-ne msēʕade bas, maš kərmēl šī tēne. ma txabbro l-madām	'I am just telling you so that you help me, and for no other reason. Don't tell the madame (the owner of the building and his employer)'	S, a concierge in H's building, complains to H about the low salary he receives for his job and asks for H to give him some extra money (at this moment H was leaving the house with his girlfriend [H2]). After that, he starts telling H about his tragic family situation. At some point, H doubts whether S is asking this officially from all neighbors or whether it is a targeted request, and he poses this question to H2 in English so that the concierge will not understand. Feeling H's hesitation, S then says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	50S	M	26	WORKER-CLIENT	3	3	LITERAL
LA.15	kēn mēše l-ʕileʔa bas baʕdēn ma bʕaraf šū ṣār... ʔənʔáṭaʕət ʔaṭaʕ	'The relationship was going [well] but then, I don't know what happened... it [suddenly] broke off'	S and H are catching up after the summer vacation. H inquires about the status of S's relationship. After a silence, S asks H what happened, to which S answers, with a broken voice and visibly affected:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	29	F	26	FRIENDS	7	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.16	ente kīf b-tekle l-kebbe, məšwiyye? [pause] nəḥna ʕanna m-naʕməla məʔliyye ʔale	'How do you like *kebbe*, grilled? We [in our town] make it fried'	S is a rather talkative taxi driver who seems excited to have met a foreigner living in Lebanon (H). After telling H about the town he is originally from (Baalbak), S asks H enthusiastically about her preferences in Lebanese cuisine:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	60S	F	25	DRIVER-PASSENGER	1	1	LITERAL

LA.17	la, halla? raḥ ʔəḥki-a ḥake, w-baʕdēn b-mənšūf	'Now I will [just] say it (read it out loud) and then we will see'	S and H are rehearsing for an audition for a theater play. After choosing the text, S asks nervously H to watch him perform. After this, H asks S: *yalla, halla? raḥ təʔra aw raḥ tʒarrab tmassəl ʔenta w-ʕam-təʔra?* (Ok, are you going to read it now or are you going to try acting it out while you read?), to which, S, answers:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	22	F	28	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.18	ēh, ēh, nēzle nzūl	'Yes, yes. I am going down'	S and her friends are coming back from the northern mountains of Lebanon towards Beirut. When they pass the village of Tannourine, they find a temporary diversion on the road that takes them up again to another small village. S stops the car to ask a man (H) (sitting at the terrace of a small house by the road) how to get to Beirut from there. H, who looks like a rather talkative man without much to do at the moment, starts asking questions: *Kīf wṣolto la-hōn? ʕamlīn taḥwīle?* 'How did you get there? Did they do the diversion again?'). Before S has time to answer, he says: *šeyfe aṭ-ṭarīʔ əhnīk? kamle w-daġre b-tūṣale. [pause] rayḥa ʕa-jbēl ʔənte ēh?* ('Can you see the road over there? Continue straight and you will get there. You are going towards Byblos, right?'). Already feeling impatient and irritated by the long time the process is taking, S says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	27	M	70S	STRANGERS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.19	ēh, w-allāh, mbēreḥ əl-barġaš ʔakal-na ʔakəl.	Yes, I swear, mosquitoes ate us alive yesterday	After a night camping in the mountains, S meets H to spend the day at the beach. S is telling H how the night went while he scratches his leg, full of mosquito bites. When H looks down to S's leg, he exclaims 'Uff!', to which S answers:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	27	M	26	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.20	məš ʔənno xabaṭū-on kīf ma kēn eh? … xabaṭū-on xabīṭ, yaʕne.	They did not beat them any old way, they really beat them!	During what looks like a weekly Sunday lunch in a restaurant, an old man (S) is speaking to his son (H) about a recent piece of news regarding the violent repression of a peaceful demonstration in Beirut. After the first utterance, S pauses approximately two seconds, probably waiting for a reaction from H, who seems uninterested and is visibly distracted, looking at his phone.	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	60S	M	20S	FATHER-SON	1	1	LITERAL
LA.21	ʔana ma bʔēmen fia [pause] yaʕne, ma bʔēmen fia ʔimēn bas ṣeməʕ ʔoṣaṣ men ʕālam bʕarefon mnīḥ ʕan ʒad b-yxawfo	I don't believe in it […] I don't [blindly] believe in it, but I have heard really scary stories from people I know well	A group of friends (H) is speaking about the Druze community in Lebanon and their religion. A girl asks S, who was born a Druze but considers himself agnostic, if he believes in reincarnation, to which, he answers:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	21	F	30	FRIENDS	3	4	LITERAL
LA.22	ma šī… ġassalta təġsīl la-l-bənət. šaršaḥta	'Nothing… I [just] totally wiped the floor with her. I humiliated her'	S was informing H that, after months of tension, she finally had an argument with a colleague with whom she had previously had serious problems at work. After announcing this, S went silent and adopted a look of superiority. H inquired of S what happened in the argument, to which S answered:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	27	F	28	FRIENDS	2	2	FIGURATIVE
LA.23	ʔakīd ma fawwatt-a hēk, ḥaṭṭayta ḥaṭṭ w sakkarta.	'Of course I didn't wear it like that! I put it [normally] and then I closed it'	H is angry because S has still not bought a helmet despite her insistence on him doing so, forcing her to lend him her second helmet, which is too small for him, and he stretches it every time he wears it, which is every time they ride on the motorbike. Before going on a trip, H realizes that S has broken the clasp of the helmet and he is trying to fix it without H seeing him. H, visibly irritated, asks: شو عملت؟ فوّتها بالقوّة؟ *šū ʕaməlt? fawwatta bəl ʔuwwe?* ('What did you do? Did you put it in by force [without unbuckling the clasp first]?') to which S answers:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	26	F	28	COUPLE	1	1	LITERAL
LA.24	ʔanto ma bʕaraf ʔəza baddkon təʔoʕdo w-tēklo w-hēk bas ʔana bas ʔūṣal ʕa-bēl-e šekk šakk.	I don't know, maybe you guys want to sit and have lunch and stuff, but as soon as I get there I want to plunge [into the water]'	After one hour and a half of being stuck in a traffic jam, S, who is eager to arrive at the beach, interrupts the discussion of his friends, who are deciding on what they will order at the restaurant, by interjecting the following utterance:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	31	F	28	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL

LA.25	əl-mayy səxne w-allah! leyke! dʔare! ʕam-təġle ġale	The water is hot! I swear to God! Look! Touch! It's boiling!	In order to fix some electrical problems in H's house, S, a handyman, has disconnected many of the houses appliances, including the water heater. When H asks if she can turn the water heater on to take a shower, S gives her a reluctant look (probably because this would delay him in his task) and tells H that there is no need for that since the water is already hot. When H stays silent, obviously not convinced of his words, he decides to walk her to the bathroom where the water heater is and says, while extending his hand to touch the heater:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	50S	F	29	EMPLOYEE-EMPLOYER	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.26	lək šū bənt xaltak w-šū bənt ʕammak hayde? ē walla walla yalli b-yʒarrəb ytallaʕ fīk təṭlīʕa waḥde, la ʔedbaḥ-a dabaḥ.	'What cousin are you talking about? Yes, I swear. I swear to God that I will literally slaughter whoever tries to look at you even a single time'	S (woman) and H (man) are in a restaurant on a secret date. H, who is worried because his mother wants to arrange for him to marry his cousin, is telling S that if his mother finds out he is going out with S, she will get very angry at him. S responds in an aggressive yet seductive tone:	3- FILM	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	20S	M	20S	COUPLE	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.27	Ēh b-ybayyən ʕaləy-a, w-allah, b-təʔroš ʔarəš	'Yeah, it really shows. It is so crunchy!'	S arrived late to a friends' gathering in the mountains. He arrived around two hours after dinner and found some pizza leftovers on the table. Most of his friends were already in a goofy mood and slightly drunk when he asked permission to have some of the pizza by saying: *fīne ēkol šaʔfe?* ('Can I have a piece?'). Between laughs, one of S's friends (H) said: *ʔakīd, tfaḍḍal [pause] ṭāza!* ('Sure, go ahead. It's fresh!'), to which S replied:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	29	M	32	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.28	Lēk šū fəʒʕān! zalaṭa la-l-*burger* zalaṭ	'Look how greedy he is! He gobbled up the burger!'	A mother (H1) and her two children are sitting on a table in a restaurant. The boy (H) is around twelve years old and his sister (S) around eight. As soon as the food arrives the mother realizes that there is a dish missing, so she decides to go back to the cashier to ask about it. Before doing so, the mother addresses the boy—who already started eating his burger with appetite— in a low voice, apparently ashamed of her son's voracious way of eating: '*Nabīl, kōl ʕa mahlak, ʕamōl maʕrūf. Šway, šway, mama, plīz*' (Nabil, eat slowly, please. Slowly, sweetie, please). When the mother comes back after 4 or 5 minutes with the dish, Nabil had already finished his burger. The little girl (S) who had been silent the whole time, suddenly calls out to her mother and says:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	8	F	40S	DAUGTHER-MOTHER	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.29	šū ʔənta? əsm-allah ʕalēk ənḥaraʔət ḥarəʔ!	'Wow! Look at you! You are literally melting!' [= you lost a lot of weight]'	After the weekend, S has just arrived at the entrance of the building where he works when the security guard tells him:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	50S	M	27	COWORKERS	7	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.30	Ḥāssis ši bə-ḍahre hōn [points] kēmešne kamaš.	'I feel something in my back… it's like a really gripping pain'	A doctor comes to examine a patient in the hospital and the doctor tells him to describe the reason that brought him in:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	70S	F	30S	PATIENT-DOCTOR	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.31	Laʔ [pause] ntəbhe [pause] ʔəl-laġa-l-ʕarabiyye faraḍū-lon yēha faraḍ. Hōn əl-ʕālam kēno yaḥko səryēne.	'No, watch out. The Arabic language was imposed on them. Here people used to speak Syriac.'	S and H are having a conversation about Arabic language and the origins of the Lebanese variety. At some point, H, who is defends the existence of Arabic in the area before the appearance of Islam, says: *ʔaṣlan, ʔəl-ʕarabe kēn mawʒūd bə-labnēn ʔabal al-ġazw l-ʔaslēme* ('In fact, Arabic existed in Lebanon before the Islamic invasion'). To this argument, S replies:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	33	F	27	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.32	La, ma ṭalabət ʔəzn mən ḥada. stəʔʒart-o stəʔʒār.	'No, I didn't ask for anything. I [just] rented it.'	S and H are fellow PhD students in the same department. PhD students have the right to have access to a carrel per person (carrels are in a room with restricted access). Since S started her PhD earlier, H asked her for advice to reserve a carrel in the library : *kīf ʕaməlte ta-yxallū-ke tfūte? ṭalabte ʔəzn mən ḥadan?* ('What did you do so that they let you in? Did you ask for anyone's permission?'). To this, S replied:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	34	F	26	CLASSMATES	X	X	LITERAL
LA.33	la, la! kēn merə? mrū? kərmel hēk səməʕ.	'No, but yesterday he was [just] passing by and he heard.'	The students in a graduate course have been thinking about asking for their professor to extend the deadline of a paper, but still have not taken this step. A couple of days later, S and H are studying in the GA room when the professor walks in to ask with irony how the paper is going. S and H answer with a brief "great" and a smile, and as soon as the professor leaves, H asks S: doctor X. b-yʕaref? kīf? xabbartī-h? ('Doctor K. knows? How? Did you tell him?'). To this, S replied:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	31	F	27	CLASSMATES	1	1	LITERAL

ID	Original	Translation	Context	Observation	Attention	Sex	Age	Sex	Age	Relationship	Q1	Q2	Type
LA.34	laʔ, smaʕe šu ṣar. ana ʒəbət maʕe ʔarbʕa ʔanēne nbīd men fransa. ma šaḥanton šaḥən! bas Maḥmūd waṣal mʔaxxar, šu zanbe ʔana?	'No, listen to what happened. I had brought with me four bottles of wine from France. I [actually] shipped them! [hearers laugh] But Mahmud arrived late, how is it my fault?'	Some friends are gathered for a drink after work to welcome H1 one of the members of said group back from her recent trip. In a very relaxed atmosphere while everyone is laughing, H2 decides to pick on S [who is a rather theatrical man] and tell everyone about how S invited him to a wine tasting evening where there was, actually, no wine. Everyone looks at S and starts laughing, and asking him how could he do such a thing. S then, looks at H1 and says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	26	F	28	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.35	hayde ʔawwal sigāra bədaxxəna l-yōm. w ma ʕam-daxxəna, ʕam-naffex-a tənfix.	'This is the first cigarette I smoke today, and I am not smoking it, I am just blowing the smoke around'	S is having a beer with H after classes. Although S told H two days ago that he had quit smoking, he lights a cigarette while he drinks his beer. Given that S had previously tried to quit several times without success, H looks at him and asks ironically: *Enta ma waʔʔafat dəxxān?* ('Hadn't you quit smoking?') (S had previously tried to quit several times without success), to which, S answers:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	23	F	28	FRIENDS	2	2	LITERAL
LA.36	əl-ʔabyaḍ byəlʔaṭ əl-wasax laʔəṭ	'Indeed, white attracts dirt'	S is having a family dinner with H's family (S and H are a married couple) when H stains her white shirt. Apprently annoyed, she says out loud: *əl-ʔabyaḍ mṣībe* ('White [clothes] are a disaster [waiting to happen]'). Then, S says:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	50S	F	50S	COUPLE	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.37	ʔallah yəʔṣof ʕomrak ʔaṣəf!	'May God destroy your life!'	An old woman is waiting for the green light to cross the street, but when she does, a man on a motorbike, neglecting the traffic light, drives through the zebra cross dangerously close to her. As a result, the old woman gets scared and screams at him:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	60S	?	?	STRANGERS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.38	ʔana bəktəb-on kitēbe mətl əl-kalb	'I write them [manually] like a [dumb] dog'	H1 and H2 are creating and editing a table of contents in Microsoft Word in the presence of S. When H1 sees the surprise in S's face, H1 asks him how he normally does his tables of contents, to which he responds:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	21	F	21	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.39	Fī ʕālam byešwo əl-bətenʒēnēt bas ʔana bḥəbb ʔəʔlīon ʔale	'Some people grill the eggplants but I like frying them [instead]'	S is cooking a Lebanese traditional dish while H (her daughter's friend, who is also a foreigner) passes by the kitchen and, after complimenting the smell, asks S to give her the recipe. S, visibly proud and happy to be asked, accedes to H's wishes and explains to her every detail of the cooking process. At a certain point, when H asks her about the way to cook the eggplant, she answers (with a smile on her face and visibly proud):	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	28	MOTHER-DAUGTHER 'S FRIEND	1	1	LITERAL
LA.40	el-thesis badda snīn, bas ma taʕtale hamm el-proposal... bətmar??ī-a təmrī?	'The thesis takes years, but don't worry about the proposal... you will get it through just fine.'	S and H are talking about the thesis proposal examination they both have to pass as PhD students. S feels H is a bit anxious about it.	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	35	F	26	CLASSMATES	2	2	LITERAL
LA.41	ya habībi...ʔəza bšīl-ak halla? šwêrb-ak bel-xêṭ bəddak aṭṭaḥbəš əl-maḥāl əṭṭaḥboš	'Oh, my dear... if I were to remove your moustache with the thread now you would raze the shop to the ground!'	S, a female employee in a beauty salon, is doing H2's facial hair with a thread, as a consequence of which, H2 is groaning in pain, when H1, who is H2's waiting boyfriend, says to both of them: *ṭab ha-l ʔad b-ywaʒʒaʕ?* ('Does it really hurt that much?'). To this, S replies:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	35	M	26	WORKER-CLIENT	Q1	Q2	FIGURATIVE
LA.42	ma kabasta ya ḥayēte. ḥəṭṭəyta ḥəṭṭ	'I didn't press it, honey, I [just] put it'	H hurt his leg and S, his girlfriend, is cleaning the wound. Right after S places a big bandage on the wound, H, who is visibly in pain, screams and protests, saying:+D45+D:D	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	29	M	34	COUPLE	1	1	LITERAL
LA.43	ʔarrbe ʔarrbe ʔarrbe... xalaṣ! ma betṣēʕe, baddik tərʒaʕe rʒūʕ	'Come forward, come, come... stop! You don't fit. You have to go in reverse'	While H is parking her car, a man that was walking in the street (S) stops spontaneously to give her directions:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	50S	F	27	STRANGERS	1	1	LITERAL

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ID	Utterance	Translation	Context	Observation	Attention	S sex	S age	H sex	H age	Relationship			Type
LA.44	lək ʔəbbī-a ʔəbb, šū ʔosˤtˤik?	'No, pull it up! What is wrong with you?'	S is instructing H on how to fix a car, and H tries to carry out S's orders. S tells H to open a valve, and after she (H) tries to pull a piece downwards, S screams:	3- TV SHOW	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	40S	F	40S	WORKER-CLIENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.45	ma ši, ʕam-dūʔ əl-nbīd dwē?	'Nothing, I am [just] trying the wine'	During Sunday lunch at his grandparents' house, H sees what he feels could be a face of disgust in his grandfather's (S) face while drinking the wine that he (H) brought to the lunch. H, then asks him: šū fī ʒaddo? ('Is there anything wrong, Grandpa?'). To which, S replies:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	90	M	27	GRANFATHER-GRANDSON	1	1	LITERAL
LA.46	kamle dəġre w-tēne mafraʔ baddik tətˤlaʕe tˤlūʕ	'Continue on straight, and at the second intersection, you have to go up'	H (a young female) is looking for the Ministry of Education and she asks an adult man (S) (in his 60's) in the street:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	60S	F	26	STRANGERS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.47	rfiʔte sara masalan… ḍallo sitt ʔašhor maʕ baʕḍ w-dəġre ʕares w-bet, w-ḥobb w-ġarām. w-halla? šu? harabət harībe menno la jawza, sāra. harabət harībe!	My friend Sara, for instance… they stayed together for 6 months, and straight away they had the wedding, the house, everything was love and unicorns. And now what? She had to literally escape from her husband! To escape, I tell you!'	A group of three girlfriends are talking about different stories of girls that got married 'too soon' for their standards. S drops the example of Sara (a friend of S and an acquaintance of the rest of interlocutors):	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	26	F	27	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.48	ktir taʕbēn bas ʔūṣal ʕal bēt raḥ tˤəbb tˤabb	'I am exhausted; I will crash as soon as I get home'	S and H —who have been a couple for around 2 years— just left a restaurant after a heavy dinner and are heading home. Breaking the silence, S tells H:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	25	F	25	COUPLE	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.49	la, ʔəs-siryāniyye kenət ʕam-tətʕallam taʕlīm be-l-ḥasake	'No, Syriac was [actually] being taught in Hasake'	S (an 80-year-old professor of Arabic language and literature at university) and H, (his student) are having an intense discussion on Syriac and its historical importance in the Middle East. At some point, H asks: bas ma kēnat laġa meyte? ('But wasn't it [Syriac] a dead language'), to which S replies:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	80	F	25	TEACHER-STUDENT	5	2	LITERAL
LA.50	əsm-allah šū ḥelw-e! btəttēkal ʔakəl!	Oh my God, she is so pretty! I could [literally] eat her!'	While waiting in line for the toilets in a restaurant in Mount Lebanon during a wedding, a woman (S) starts making funny faces to a baby girl waiting ahead with her mother to make her laugh. Then, addressing the mother (H), she says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	24	F	30S	ACQUAINTANCES	6	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.51	ma təlʕabo məʕa. *You are not joking here*. baddkon təxətˤfūa xatˤəf	'Don't play with her, you are not joking here. You have to [really] kidnap her [instead]'	S is directing the rehearsals of a theater play. After three actresses (H) finish rehearsing a scene in which two of them enter the stage and take the third actress with them off of the stage, she starts giving them her remarks:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	30S	F	25	TEACHER-STUDENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.52	Ay māmi! nattaftī-le šaʕre təntīf!	'Ah! Mommy! You literally plucked my hair!'	H is hurriedly brushing her daughter's (S) hair after giving her a bath:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	9	F	35	DAUGTHER-MOTHER	2	2	FIGURATIVE

ID	Expression	Translation	Context	Observation	Attention					Relationship			Type
LA.53	Marianne bətkūn ṣaffaḥəta təsfīḥ	'I thought, I'll sneak in and maybe I'll manage to get a glimpse of ass… And what do I find?! M has already armor-plated her!'	A is waiting to be prepared for surgery in the hospital with her boyfriend (H) and a friend (M). Patients are not allowed to have more than one visitor, but A's close friend S sneaks in while M is helping A put on the hospital robe (opened from behind) by tying tightly all the laces. When he gets in and he sees that H2 actually looks worried and serious, he looks at H (A's boyfriend), who was observing the scene, and says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	35	M	27	FRIENDS	2	2	FIGURATIVE
LA.54	la , la, kēn ʕam-b-yeḥke ḥake	'No, no, he was [just] speaking'	S just joined a group of friends to have a drink after watching a theater play alone. Visibly excited, he informs his friends that the play he was watching was actually a one-man-show, where one actor played several characters within the same monologue. A bit surprised, a friend from the group (H) asks: kēn ʕam-b-yġanne šī? ('Was he singing or something?'), to which, S replies:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	24	F	26	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.55	məš ʔaḥsan ʔəza mənʔoṣṣon ʔaṣṣ?	'Isn't it better if we cut them up?'	S, a teacher of Arabic language, and H, her assistant, are preparing a game for their students. The game involves students working in groups and guessing several words within the group. H has grouped the words in five and prepared a paper for every student, but S seems to have a different idea on how to present the game to the students. When H manifests that she wants to move to the next step of the activity, by saying: okkē, mənʕaṭīon əlwrāʔ matal ma hanne w… ('Ok, so we give them the papers like this, and then…']), S interrupts H and says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	40S	F	29	TEACHER-ASSISTANT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.56	la, ma badda siyyāra walawʔ btənmaša maše	'No, we don't need a car! It is at a walkable distance'	H and S are having lunch in the main square of Hammana village in the Shouf along with other actors, enjoying a break from the rehearsals of a play that will be performed in the same village. At some point, both S and H realize they forgot their script in the hotel and that they need to go back to take it before the rehearsals start.Then H, suggests to S: ṭab yalla, rayḥīn ba-siyyārte? ('Ok, so we go in my car?'), to which S replies:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	F	50S	M	40S	COWORKERS	7	1	LITERAL
LA.57	hallaʔ mamnūʕ təṭlaʕe əl-səllom bas fīke tnəṭṭe nəṭṭ ʔəza baddik	'Well, you can't climb the stairs, but you can jump [from the second floor] if you want'	Zanjabeel is a two-floor coffee place where there is a 'reading corner' that consists of a tiny attic full of books with a small mattress on the floor, and that is only accessible through a wooden ladder. The second floor of the café and this small attic are at the same height but not connected. H1 and H2, who used to go frequently to this cafe, arrive one day at the café to find a sign at the end of the ladder reading: 'Do not climb the stairs'. H1, (who is sitting downstairs) who is confused about the sign and now has doubts the utility of the attic, decides to ask the waiter in a friendly yet slightly ironic tone: ṭab šu yaʕne? kīf baddna naṭlaʕ lakēn? ('So, what does this mean? How are we supposed to go up then?'). To which S replies:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	20S	F	26	WORKER-CLIENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.58	kēnət ha-l-bənət tbayyən šaṭṭūra baʕdēn ʔaddamət əl-paper w-ṭoləʕ mšarrkəto təšrīk	'The girl seemed smart but then she submitted the paper and it turned out she had farmed it out!'	A professor of Arabic literature (S) is telling his student about a case of plagiarism that recently happened between his undergraduate students.	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	40S	F	26	TEACHER-STUDENT	2	2	LITERAL
LA.59	ma mbēreḥ sammaʕətle yēha…. bas əl-yōm xabbaṣ-ət ṭəxbīṣ. ma b-ṣaddəʔ?!	'Yesterday she rehearsed [fine] with me… but today she [really] messed up! I can't believe it!'	After attending her friend's thesis defense, S shares her incredulity about her friend's poor performance with H:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	29	MOTHER-DAUGHTER 'S FRIEND	2	2	LITERAL

LA.60	Kitēbet əl-kalimēt mawhibe lə-ḥāla, bas əl-kalēm w-əl-laḥan [pause] šū bədde ʔəllik [pauses and laugh] b-yəϳo hēk [pause] mətəl ma hənne [laughs] bətfakkre fiki təfəṣlīon ʕan baʕɖon [pause] bas hənne byəϳo hēk [pause] mrəkkbīn tərkīb [laughs].	'Writing lyrics is already a talent on its own, but writing lyrics and melody [at the same time]... What can I say... They just come [...] as they are [...] you think you can separate them [...] but they come in a pre-assembled package'.	Radio presenter M.M. is interviewing S.A., a Lebanese singer and composer, during her morning show 'Aḥla ṣobḥiyye' M.M (H) repeatedly praises his talent for composing songs and then asks him if he finds composing to be difficult. In order to answer, S.A. (S) engages in the following monologue:	3- RADIO SHOW	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	40S	F	50S	ARTIST-PRESENTER	2	2	FIGURATIVE
LA.61	baʕdēn huwwe ma kēn ʕam-b-yfattəš ʕa-šəğəl... ləʔēha laʔwe la-C.	'May God help them, my dear [...] Really, you did more than enough [...] Also, you know, he was not looking for a job, C just fell into his lap!'	C (H1), who owns a family house in the mountains, decided to help an underprivileged family in that house in order to hire them as housekeepers. Some months later, disappointed in the laziness of the family and suspicious that they might be in fact stealing from her, C is considering the possibility of telling them they should leave, and she decides to discuss the issue during a Sunday family lunch. After hearing the news, her sister, R (H2) asks her about the future of that family, and wonders whether or not the father of the family will be able to find a job to 'provide' for them if she 'fires' him. After a short silence where C looks visibly affected and pensive, S (H1 and H2's mother)—who was, from the beginning, reluctant to the idea of her daughter hiring this family—says:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	80S	F	40S	MOTHER-DAUGTHER	1	1	LITERAL
LA.62	lək haydāk lək! ʕam-b-yṭīr ṭayarān	'Look at that one! He is flying like a bat out of hell!'	S, a man riding a motorcycle, has been stopped at a checkpoint set up by the Lebanese police. He paces around looking nervous—probably because he is missing some of the permits or papers he should have—and right after handing the policeman the papers the latter asked for, S sees another motorbike racing by and screams in a frustrated tone:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	40S	M	50S	DRIVER-POLICE OFFICER	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.63	yā āna fi-ke plīz tēxde hōl əl-wrāʔ allah yxallī-ke ḥabīb-t-e ʔana w-allah ḥēml-e ḥaməl	'Ana, would you take these papers? Please, dear, I have run out of hands'	S just finished a final exam with her students and she is preparing herself to come back to her office when she asks H (her assistant), for help.	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	28	TEACHER-STUDENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.64	Lək lək šū ḥalo ha-l-*sunset*! məš maʕʔūl! marsūm rasəm!	'Look, look! What a beautiful sunset! It's amazing, it's a work of art!'	A woman (S) is walking along the Corniche in Beirut with her husband (H) when she notices the stunning sunset happening behind her:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	55	M	59	COUPLE	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.65	taʕe la-hōn ta-kassrik taʕe... raḥ kassrik təksīr	'Come here so that I can break you! I am going to break you into pieces!'	S is playfully "fighting" with his girlfriend (H) and tickling her. H then picks on S back and jumps out of the couch suddenly. When S sees her "leaving" he says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	26	F	28	COUPLE	2	2	FIGURATIVE
LA.66	hallaʔ baʕatətle ṣūra hiyye w-ʔ-əl baḥr [pause] ṭəllaʕ-e *[looking for the picture on her phone]* [pause] maslūʔa salə?!	'She just sent me a picture of herself on the beach... Look (*while she looks for the picture on her phone*) she looks like a lobster'	H₁ arrives to his workplace and finds that one of her colleagues is missing so he asks about her whereabouts: *ma ʔəϳat R. əl-yom?* ('R. didn't come today?'). H₂ answers him in turns: *la ya-ḥi bə-dubai msēfra la-l-xamīs* ('No, she is in Dubai. She is coming back on Thursday'). After this H1 asks: *šağhal walla holidays?* ('Is she traveling for work or for pleasure?'). S answers H1's question saying:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	25	F	29	COWORKERS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.67	məš maʕʔūl šu b-təšbahik... bəzəʔti(h)a bazə?	It's incredible how much she looks like you...like two drops of water'	H is showing S a picture of her niece from her recent holidays when S exclaims:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	42	F	41	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE

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LA.68	mart-o b-təfrom əl-maṣrūf farəm	'His wife burns through money'	Film *Ghadi*: During one of the scenes, the narrator is talking about Abou Elias, 'the butcher' of the village. The camera shows Abou Elias grinding meat and waiting for his clients to be distracted in order to add to it ground pieces of 'fat,' making the bag heavier, and therefore more expensive. At this moment, the voice-over narrates how Abou Elias contends on a daily basis with his wife's expensive taste and compulsive spending.	3- FILM	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	40S	?	?	NARRATOR-AUDIENCE	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.69	ʔam ʔəʒət ḥakətne w-ʔənte btʕarfīa la-ṭante suʕād... b-tərʔoṣ raʔəṣ	'So, she came to talk to me... and you know Tante Souad... she [literally] dances [when she speaks]'	S wants to tell her sister (H) about her last encounter with her neighbor, Tante Souad—and old woman peculiarly expressive and whiny, whose extremities seem to shake strongly due to age. She starts her story like this:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	34	F	39	SISTERS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.70	ʔəmm-e kēnət tʔūl: "bas ʔəʒaʕ badde šūf ha-l-əʔzēz ʕam-bywəʒʒ waʒʒ"	My mum used to say: "As soon as I am back I want to see this glass gleam and sparkle'	S and her workmates are sharing stories of their mothers and highlighting on the typical sentences they tend to repeat often.	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	20S	MOTHER-DAUGTHER	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.71	Ē mān, ʔana šəft-a! ʔalab-ət ʔaləb	'Yes, man, I saw her! She [really] flipped!'	A group of friends (P, A, H, H₂, S) goes rock climbing to Joun (South Lebanon). P is opening a new climbing route when she slips and she falls a couple of meters, before A manages to secure her fall. While falling though, her leg gets tangled on the rope and she flips, ending up with her head down. After a couple of minutes of shock, when she is already down and safe, H, who did not saw the fall, asks the group with surprise how did the fall happen. S and H₂, still shocked, answer him: *ʔana šafta kīf waʔaʕat! ʕallaʔat ʔaʒra bə-l-ḥable w-ʔalabat* ('I saw how she fell! Her foot got stuck on the rope and she flipped'). After seeing H2's surprised face, S added:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	34	M	32	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.72	Yā mʕallim! Šū bə-ha ʕaʒīn əl-bīdza əl-yōm? ʕam-b-yfarfəṭ farfəṭa	Hey boss! What's with with the dough today? It's all crumbly and flaky'	S invited his friends to spend a weekend in his village. One night he takes them out for dinner to a popular pizza place he had been praising before in front of his friends. When the pizzas arrive and they eat the first slices, S finds the dough quite dry, and disappointed, calls the waiter saying:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	33	M	60S	CLIENT-WORKER	Q1	Q1	LITERAL
LA.73	ʔana ṣār-le mən əl-waḥad w-təsʕīn ʕam-bə-štəġəl bə-l-ašrafiyye [pause] əl-xarāyəṭ hayde naḥna bēṣmīn-on baṣam	'Even the [Google] map gave me the route I said. [...] I have been working in Ashrafiyyeh since 1991. [...] These maps... we know them by heart!'	H took an Uber and she recommended to the driver (S) to take a specific road. S disagrees, for he thinks that there is a shorter, better route. H, not very convinced, accepts the driver's judgement and closes the conversation with a dry 'as you wish.' However, the driver (S) checks with Google maps anyway and, a few minutes later says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	60S	F	29	WORKER-CLIENT	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.74	allah ybaʕət-l-ak waʒaʕ y-əxlaʕ nīʕ-ak ʔaleʕ	'May God send you a pain that will dislocate your jaws'	a variety of contexts [set curse]	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	40S	M	30S	(various)	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.75	allah ybaʕət-l-ak bəle təstr-ak satər	'May God send you a disease that will cover you from head to toes'	a variety of contexts [set curse]	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	14	M	17	(various)	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.76	allah ybaʕət-l-ak ḥamma tənʔər-ak naʔər	'May God send you a fever that will hollow you out!'	a variety of contexts [set curse]	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	50S	?	?	(various)	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.77	w-lek waʒʕa yəhrīk hare! ha!	'[May God send/may you get] a pain that will waste you away!'	Film *West Beirut*: An angry neighbor is cursing his neighbors because they have a rooster that sings very early in the morning https://youtu.be/dCkQ7qC0C6I?t=797	3- FILM	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	40S	M	50S	NEIGHBORS	1	1	LITERAL

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LA.78	y-bʕat-lak dē? əz-ʒadre la-ʔelak ʔəntē… b-yʒaddrū-k təʒdīr	'May God send YOU the smallpox! May you get completely smallpoxed!'	Maitre Adel (H), a character from the show 'Ma fi metlo' is a waiter who takes his clients orders way too literally, and confuses words sometimes, bringing always the wrong order. When Abbas (S), his client, who is sitting with his girlfriend orders a 'mjaddra' (a dish made of lentils, rice and onion), Maitre Adel brings him a girl with smallpox because the word 'mjaddra' in LA could theoretically also designate a female that has been infected with this disease. When S sees that H brought to him a girl with chickenpox instead of his food, S bursts in anger and exclaims:	3- TV SHOW	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	40S	M	20S	ACQUAINTAN CES	2	2	FIGURATIVE
LA.79	Suʕād ʕabd-əs-sētir? bēle təstr-ik satər!	'Souad Abdel Satir? May disease cover you from head to toes'	Film *Caramel:* Three friends are in a car on their way to an illegal clinic where S will have a hymen reconstruction. S asks her friends about the fake name they gave when they got the appointment. H, who was in charge of calling the clinic tells her that the appointment is on the name of Souad Abdel Sater (an imaginary but strongly muslim-like name). When S hears it, she says: https://youtu.be/rthGIEQmdak?t=3237	3- FILM	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	20S	F	20S	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.80	ya xayy-e hiyye məš ʔənno badd-a təsmaʕ-a, badd-a təfham-a fahəm	'Dude, she doesn't want to listen to it again, she actually wants to understand it!'	H1, S and H2 are driving back to Beirut in H1's car. At some point, a Palestinian song from H1's library catches H2's attention, since there are some parts of the lyrics that are not clear to her. H2 expresses her wish to understand the song, and asks H1 to play it again, to which H1 happily agrees. Once the singer starts singing, H2 looks at H1, waiting for him to explain the lyrics to her. However, H1, who is driving and humming the song, did not seem to fully understand H2's intention. When S, who was sitting in the back seat, perceives the misunderstanding, he intervenes:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	32	M	33	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.81	ʔəza ši nhār šəftī-(h) hōn ma txāfe, b-yətmaššā təmšēye huwwe w-əl-kaləb tabaʕ-o la-yrēʔəb əl-bnūke [pause] bas	'If you see him some other day, don't be afraid… He just patrols with his dog to guard the banks [of the area], nothing else'	A man who works as a manager in a bank (S), is showing the office to a new employee (H). When they get closed to the door, they both see through the glass a homeless man with a dog, who is looking and waving at them. The man seems to make the new employee uncomfortable, for she looks down and does not wave back at him. When the manager (S) perceives the employee's fear, he intervenes:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	30S	F	20S	COWORKERS	5	2	LITERAL
LA.82	Sūriyya w-lebnēn baləd wāḥəd ʔal. ʔənta ʒarrəb ṭlaʕ la-hnīk [pause] b-yənəʒrū-k naʒər	'Syria and Lebanon are one country, eh? Well, you try to go there, then… they will whittle you down to nothing!'	H2 gets in a shared taxi with another man and the taxi driver. When she gets in, the man (H1) and the driver (S) are already talking about the political relation between Lebanon and Syria. H1 tries to remind S of Lebanon and Syria's shared history, but S, who looks unconvinced, says:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	60S	M	30S	WORKER-CLIENT	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.83	ʔənto l-yoga *students* məš maʕʔūl-e [pause] dēyman b-tətʔaxxaro bas əl-yōm [pause] ḥalabtū-a ḥaləb w-allah	'Yoga students here are too much… you are always late but today… you took it way too far'	A group of women are in the waiting area of Houna (a space that hosts different types of physical activities), waiting for their oriental dance course, which is supposed to begin at 7 pm, right after the yoga class. When the yoga students finish their class and go out to the waiting area at around 7:10 pm, one of the women outside, visibly annoyed, says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	27	ACQUAINTAN CES	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.84	ma tfakkre ənno bə-ha-l-madrase b-yfūt mīn ma kēn əl-*admission process* ktīr ktīr ʔāṣe yaʕne b-yfallū-on təflēye la-l-tlēmīz	'Don't you think any student would get accepted in that school. The admission process is super tough… They are nitpicky with students'	S (a high school teacher in Beirut) is complaining to H about the spoiled attitude and bad behavior of her students. Then after a small pause, S adds (as anticipating to H's possible thoughts):	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	25	F	27	FRIENDS	2	2	FIGURATIVE
LA.85	eh, eh, bas baddkon təṭlaʕo ṭlūūūūʕ ši seʕa baʕd	Yes, but you still have to go uuuuuup for like an hour'	H is doing a hike with 4 friends and while they are in our way up to a cave in the mountain. They are all feeling quite tired and H starts to have the feeling that maybe they took the wrong path. A moment later, they cross paths with a hiker (S) that comes in the opposite direction. H then tells him: *marḥaba! mən hon mešyīn ṣaḥḥ ʕa-l-mġāra?* ('Hello! This is the right way to get to the cave, right'), to which S answers:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	60S	M	28	STRANGERS	1	1	LITERAL

ID	Original	Translation	Context	Method	Function	S1	Age1	S2	Age2	Relationship	Q	Q	Type
LA.86	la la, *man*, battrap battrape əz-zalame, wa-ḥyēt allah	No, man, I swear to God, the guy had a really bad trip'	S went to a fortune-teller and healer to know more about his future. At some point, when the fortune-teller was reading tarot to know more about S and his future, he started talking about a dark strong energy behind S, and finally, after some dramatic words and profecies, refused to continue the reading. A couple of days after, S is having a coffee with two friends (H1 and H2). After listening to the story, H1, who doesn't believe at all in any of these 'esoteric' things, H says: *bykūn ma kēn ʔelo ȝlēde yaštaġal… aw yimkin saʔalto suʔal ma ʕaraf* [interruption] ('He probably didn't feel like working… or maybe you asked a question he didn't know…[interruption]). Then S interrupts H1 to say:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	20S	M	20S	FRIENDS	Q1	Q1	LITERAL
LA.87	Neḥna-l-kašfiyye [ḥey hey] ʔūwwe waṭaniyye [hey hey] m-neṭḥaš ṭaḥeš, w-mnerme-l-waḥaš b-wāde-l-wēwiyye [hey hey]	We are the Boy Scouts! [hey hey] a national power [hey hey] we charge with no fear and we beat the beasts in the valley of wolves	*Traditional Boy Scouts Song*	3- SONG	5-CREATING ATTENTION	?	?	?	?	?	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.88	mȝallad taȝlid əl-baḥr əhnīk! ma baṭḍayyin ʔaktar mən xamse dʔayyi? ȝuwwa	The sea over there is freezing cold! You cannot last more than five minutes inside'	S just bumped into some friends on the beach in Lebanon. H, who knows that S spent his holidays in Portugal, asked him how was his trip there. S answers: *al-balad byʕaʔʔad, bas nzalt ʕal mayy tlēt marrāt* [S stays silent for some seconds, while watching the surprised faces of his friends], then exclaims:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	36	?	?	FRIENDS	2	2	FIGURATIVE
LA.89	lək hiyye msarənk-e tsərnok! W-haydīk-e xalṣa mālṣa!	Look at this one that looks like a stick! And that one,	Some women, who are neighbors of the same village have hired a group of attractive Ukranian actresses to distract the men of the village from the Christian vs Muslim violent incidents that are happening in surrounding areas. They pretend the bus where the actresses were touring broke down near the village, and kept the actresses in the village's only cafe. Once men crowded outside to see the actresses, Yvonne the major's wife, makes her appearance seemingly surprised about why men crowded to see such skinny girls.	3- FILM	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	60S	?	?	NEIGHBORS	Q1	Q2	FIGURATIVE
LA.90	ah, btʔəʔʔū-a ʕaʔ? ?	Ah, are you going to chug it?'	Four friends are sitting in a popular restaurant in Hammana (a village in the Shouf mountains) after having ordered some sandwiches and water. The waiter approaches the table carrying four bottles of water, each one with a plastic cup on top. When S (one of the friends who doesn't like consuming single-use plastic) sees him, he tells H: *bala kebbeyēt plastic* ('We don't need the plastic cups'). While taking them off the bottles, H asks:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	61	M	27	WAITER-CLIENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.91	Leyke! ʕam-b-yəġlo ġali hawde!	Look! They look like lobsters!	Some women, who are neighbors of the same village have hired a group of attractive Ukranian actresses to distract the men of the village from the Christian vs Muslim violent incidents that are happening in surrounding areas. One day they take them to an improvised pool to attract the man and they (the actresses) get a terrible sunburn. While the woman from the village (S) is taking care of the actresses, Amal (H), another woman, is trying to spy the men, who are having a secret meeting. In order to get H's attention about the worrysome state of the actresses, S says:	3- FILM	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	30S	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.92	Mīn baddo yṭṭallaʕ fīkon bə-hal-hayʔēt? mlabbʕīn təlbīʕ	Who would look at you now that you look like this?! your skin is completely blotched!	Some women, who are neighbors in the same village, have hired a group of attractive Ukrainian actresses to distract the men of the village from the violent Christian vs Muslim clashes that are happening in surrounding areas. One day, they take them to an makeshift pool to attract the men and the actresses get a terrible sunburn. While one woman from the village (S) is taking care of the actresses, A. (H), another woman, is trying to spy on the men, who are having a secret meeting. Reprimanding the actresses in a nervous tone, S says:	3- FILM	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	20S	EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE	2	2	LITERAL
LA.93	(yā ʕali) damm eš-šīʕe lēl w nhār b-yəġle ġali (yā ʕali)	Oh Ali! The blood of the Shiia, day and night, is boiling hot!	*Traditional Shiite song called 'Ya Ali' ('Oh Ali')* https://youtu.be/q91tpq9Xh8k?t=111	3- SONG	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	?	?	?	SINGER-AUDIENCE	1	1	FIGURATIVE

LA.94	ya allah…sandwiš əl-labne yəlli b-yḍall mʔarʔad tʔərʔod [laughs]	My God! That labne sandwich (whose bread) is always all hard [laughs]'	A group of friends are sharing random memories about their schooldays. One of the friends in the group says: ʔana ʔəmme kénət tˁamel-le sandwišēt labne kəl yom la-l-madrase ('My mum used to prepare for me labne sandwiches every day for school…'). When S hears this, he interrupts him by saying:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	33	M	32	FRIENDS	Q1	Q2	LITERAL
LA.95	ma tənse ṣbābīṭik, ḥayēte, eṣ-ṣoxr hōn b-yʔoṣṣ ʔaṣṣ	Don't forget your shoes, sweetheart, rocks here are sharps as knives!'	A mother (S) and her daughter are spending a day by the beach in the north of Lebanon, in a rather rocky beach. Once they are both ready to go to the rocky shore, S tells H:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	40S	F	10	MOTHER-DAUGTHER	1	1	LITERAL
LA.96	fi nhār ˁabbaʔət maˁo ḍabb ȝwēnḥo bəl ȝarūr w-ʔarrar ʔənno ma baʔa baddo yṭīr. w mən waʔta byəmše maše ˁa- ʔəjrē. La byəṭlaˁ taxi wa-la byərkab servīs.	One day he had enough, he put his wings inside the drawer and decided that it didn't want to fly anymore. Ever since, he walks on his two feet. Neither he takes a taxi nor he rides a service'	The off-voice of a narrator is talking over a fix shot of one of the characters of the movie https://youtu.be/uoKa_S66_3A?t=3445	3- FILM	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	?	?	?	NARRATOR-AUDIENCE	1	1	LITERAL
LA.97	taˁtališ hamm, wlēde mrebbayīn w-bayyon raṣəṣ-on raṣṣ	Don't you worry, my children have been raised properly, his dad was really tough on them!'	Two Lebanese mothers from the mountain are meeting for the engagement of their daughter and son. The future bride's mother (H), who does not seem to like some of the couple's friends (who are youngsters from Beirut), complaints about Beirutis' arrogance and lack of education to her daughter's future mother-in-law and says: hawde el byērte b-ykuno šeyfīn b-ḥālon mnexīron bə-s-saʔaf ma b-ya3ȝəbon l-ˁaȝab… ('These Beirutis… they believe they are so superior. They are so arrogant and stuck up…'). To which, S answers: https://youtu.be/uoKa_S66_3A?t=2802	3- FILM	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	50S	MOTHERS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.98	ma ʔəmm ḥasan hiyye li b-təʔbaḍ-le maˁāše dirēkt, mubāšaratan, mən maktab el-xaddām, yaˁne, ma b-yəbʔa maȝe šī. w-yalli b-aṭṭalləˁon barrāne bə-trakkəb-le ḥāȝaz hōne ˁal bēt w-b-təbreš-ne [pause] baraš.	Em Hasan is he one receiving my salary, directly, from the maids' office, so I am left with nothing… and if I manage to make some extra money, she sets up a security check here in the house and she cleans me out!"	S is complaining to H about the tyrannical system that his wife, Em Hasan, has imposed in the house and is confessing H that he does not have access to his money anymore:	3- FILM	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	50S	M	20S	UNCLE-NEPHEW	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.99	Eṣ-ṣabi mbarmağ barmağe.	The boy looks like a robot'	At a gym, S, a personal training is making fun with some friends of H. When S notices that H is quite stiff physically as well as socially awkward, he tells him to go run on the treadmill. H starts running but the stiffness in his legs doesn't let him bend his knees fast enough to keep up with the treadmill's speed and he ends up falling on the floor, where he stays, without moving. In this moment, S, talking to a group of friends says:	3- TV SHOW	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	40S	M	20S	ACQUAINTANCES	Q1	Q1	FIGURATIVE
LA.100	w-ʔente ȝābṭe ḥālik šway…[talking to herself] ma b-əˁrif kīf mbayyne, mləzzʔa təlzīʔ	And you go put some make up on! [talking to herself] I don't even know what you look like… so stuck up!'	A Lebanese traditional family is celebrating the engagement of one of the daughters. In this scene, the bride's mother (S) is talking to her small daughter, H1 (who seems to have a flirty attitude with her sister's future husband) in the presence of one of the older daughters, H2 (who is still not married and remains quite timid and showing and indifferent attitude towards the whole celebration). After reprimanding H1, S turns towards H2 and tells her with disdain:	3- THEATER PLAY	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	30S	MOTHER-DAUGTHER	2	2	FIGURATIVE
LA.101	hallaʔ bləmm ˁaləyke l-ȝirān ʔāh? [pause] la-ynəttfū-ke təntīf	I am going to call all the neighbors, so that they pluck you like a chicken!'	Film Caramel: A Lebanese woman (H) has been taking care all her life of her disabled older sister (S). This responsibility has restricted greatly her freedom. At a certain point, H meets a man and he asks her out. She accepts but in order to go she has to lock S down in her room so that she does not get out while H is at her dinner. Once she does, H realizes she is locked in and starts cursing S:	3- FILM	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	80S	F	60S	SISTERS	2	2	FIGURATIVE

ID	Utterance	Translation	Context	Observation	Attention	S sex	S age	H sex	H age	Relationship			Type
LA.102	ma ʔana kənt ʔəshar ʔabəl w-hēk…bas hal-bənət… laʔɫət-ne laʔəɫ ya zalame…[smiles]	Man, I used to go out and party, but this girl, man, she hit me real hard'	Two friends (S and H) are walking in the Sunday market and H tells S : *wallaʕneha mniḥ mbereḥ. štaʔnēlak ya zalame, ma ʕam-mənšūfak abadan* ('Yesterday we had so much fun. We missed you though, man, we barely see you anyore'). To which, S responds:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	20S	M	20S	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.103	Šū badde ʔellik… wlēda, badel ma yhayynūla ḥayēta… fatasūa fatīs	What can I say… her sons, instead of helping her out, they overwhelmed her'	A Lebanese family just finished their Sunday lunch, when the granfather announces them that his friend (S), who is also an old friend of the family, will pass by for coffee, and reminds them that S has recently lost his wife, who had been sick of Alzheimer for a long time. When S arrives, he starts reminiscing memories and drawing his own conclusions about the illness and death of his wife. After talking about the problematic life of his two sons (one of them was at prison), he made a long pause, and continued saying:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	90S	M	80S	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.104	akīd ʔabəl ma ballaš ʔəktob bədde ʔənfoḍ ha-l-*paper* nafəḍ	Of course, before I start writing I want to completely revise the paper.	S and H were taking a literature class together and both wrote papers about a topic that S would like to expand for her master's thesis. When S shares her intentions with H, H says: eh, amazing! hek kamena ma bətballaš mawdūʕ mən ʔawwal w-ʒdīd ('That is great! That way, also, you are not starting a topic from scratch'), to which S replies:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	29	F	27	CLASSMATES	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.105	*Sorry, guys.* baʕrəf ʔənni ḥkit b-sərʕa bas ha-l-xabariyye ṣarle waʔət mnīḥ ʕam- ʒərr-a ʒərr	I am sorry, guys. I know I spoke fast, but I have been dragging this story around with me for a long time'	S was sitting in AUB's smoking area when H1 and H2 ask permission to sit at the same table. Although they have never talked to each other, H1 and H2 have seen S around the campus. At some point, S starts a conversation with H1 and H2 asking them about what they do at AUB. Then, when asked the same question back, S launches into a monologue about his current studies that then turns to his life as a political activist and finishes with a speech about the hopeless political and social situation in Lebanon. Visibly overwhelmed by the speed and the amount of information in the speech, all H1 and H2 can do is nod. S then says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	28	F	26	ACQUAINTANCES	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.106	ʔədərte tsuʔī-a huwwe w ʕam-b-yəṣḥəb-a saḥəb?	Did you manage to drive the motorbike while he was towing It?"	S works in the parking lot where H usually parks her motorbike. H's motorbike broke down a couple of days earlier and H cannot move it from the parking lot, so an expert in mechanics comes with his own motorbike to 'tow' the broken motorbike to his garage, where he will fix it. In order to do this, he ties his motorbike to H's, and drives it while H sits on the motorbike behind, driving it without an engine (this is, just steering and braking). S, who is working in the parking lot, sees the whole process, and a couple of hours later, when H comes back on the newly repaired motorbike, he asks H:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	50S	F	26	ACQUAINTANCES	1	1	LITERAL
LA.107	šu be-h šaʕrak? leš ṭaləʕ ṭlūʕ hēke?	What happened to your hair? Why is it spiky like that?'	H makes his appearance in the GA room of AUB with a new hairstyle. While everyone tells him a polite: *naʕīman!* [A formula of courtesy that is said in Lebanese to someone that has recently showered , cut his/her hair, etc.], S-- who is good friends with H and adores making fun of him-- asks H with a smile on her face:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	F	23	M	32	CLASSMATES	1	1	LITERAL
LA.108	bənte mən yawmēn kassarət es-siyāra kəlla leʔanno šabbət šəbb be-s-siyāra lli ʔəddēma. Killo mən waraʔ l-wətsāp	My daughter totaled her car two days ago because she crashed into the car in front of her. All because of whatsapp'	A service (shared taxi) driver, S, suddenly honks at the car in front of him (which doesn't seem to move, although the traffic light has turned green), saying: yəlʕan ʕarḍo la-l-wətsāp! ṣar l-kəll mṣaṭṭal ʕa-ṭ-ṭarī? ('Damn whatsapp! Now everyone on the road is [driving] stoned'). To this comment, one of the passengers behind, who had been chatting with the driver for a while, says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	M	60S	DRIVER-PASSENGER	1	1	LITERAL
LA.109	smaʕe mənne, hōl əl-*groups* ʕam-byʔalldo l-məʒmuʕāt əl-bərbəriyya. ʕam-byənəʔlo naʔəl, yaʕne!	Listen to what I am saying, these groups are imitating the berber groups. They are literally copying them, I tell you!'	H is talking to S (her professor) about the linguistic diversity of Spain, and about how Euskera and Catalan are officially used in public teaching institutions. After a long discussion where S compares Spain's linguistic situation to that of Morocco and Algeria, S concludes before saying goodbye:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	60S	F	26	TEACHER-STUDENT	1	1	FIGURATIVE

LA.110	fīna nstarʒeʔ nʔūla ʔəddēmak? Ta-tsaʔʔəṭ-əlna yēha təsʔīṭ hōn?	Can we dare say it in front of you? Wouldn't you just drop one of those right here!	Maitre Adel (H), a character from the show, 'Ma fi metlo' is a waiter who takes his clients orders way too seriously, and confuses words sometimes, bringing always the wrong order. When Abbas (S), his client, who is sitting with his girlfriend orders a 'mabsam' (a waterpipe stem), Maitre Adel brings him a smile, because the work smile and 'mabsam' are related in Arabic. Then, Maitre Adel urges Abbas into asking him for the waterpipe stem with a different word [it is known that waterpipe stems in Lebanon are also called 'bazz', which means 'boob' in English] S gets furious at Maitre Adel's request, and says:	3- TV SHOW	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	40S	M	20S	CLIENT-WORKER	2	2	FIGURATIVE
LA.111	nšallāh byfərmū farəm	I hope they make mincemeat out of him	A family is watching a news story about a man who killed his wife then disappeared. The police were interrogating the wife's family because they suspected that they could be holding him captive somewhere. After hearing this, S, (the mother of the family watching the news) exclaimed:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	40S	F	27	COWORKERS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.112	Rawʕa… bterʒaʕ ʕal bēt taʕbēn w bətleʔe l-bēt nḍīf, mrattab tərtīb, b-yexod el-ʕaʔəl	Great! You come back home tired and you find the house all neat and tidy, amazing'	S hosts a couple of friends at the new house he moved into after his recent wedding. While chatting, one of his friends (H) asks him how his new life as a married man is going. S answers:	3- TV SHOW	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	40S	M	40S	FRIENDS	2	2	LITERAL
LA.113	ṭaləʕ ṭlūʕ?	Going up?'	H is going to the fourth floor in an elevator in university when the doors open in the third floor to show a man waiting. The man (S) hurriedly asks:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	60S	F	27	ACQUAINTANCES	1	1	LITERAL
LA.114	…daʔalla w-ʔalla ʔənno ktīr marīḍ w-ma raḥ yəʔder yrūḥ bas Andīra ma ṣáddaʔət. ʔəltella: "walaw? ma hallaʔ kənt ʕando w šəfto" məntēēēēk ʔalbo kēn, maš ʕam-byəʔdər ḥatta yəmše…[pause] ḥməlt-o ḥamlēn ʕal taxət'	...he called her and told her that he was very sick and that he would not be able to make it, but Andira didn't' believe him. I told her: Come on! I was with him just now and I saw him!" He was completely fucked, he could not even walk [pause] I had to literally carry him to bed'	S is telling a group of friends about what happened to him last night at his friend's (A) birthday party. At some point, H asks why didn't C (S's best friend) go with him. To which he answered that C. was sick yesterday night but that A. had thought it was an excuse not to go:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	33	F	28	FRIENDS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.115	hayda l-scene baddna nəštəğəl-a šağəl, ma fine ʔarrər hallaʔ hēk, Maria.	We have to work [properly] on this scene first, I can't decide just like that, Maria'	S is directing the rehearsals of a theater play. After finishing one of the first readings of an important scene, Maria (H), the main actress, asks S (the director) whether she should move towards the other actor while she says a specific sentence. Visibly overwhelmed and tired after a long day of rehearsals, S answers:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	30S	F	29	TEACHER-STUDENT	8	1	LITERAL
LA.116	taksiyēt b-təkroʒ karəʒ	Taxis flowing [down the road] ….'	Song 'Aranis' by Soapkills	3- SONG	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	30S	?	?	SINGER-AUDIENCE	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.117	w-el-banēt b-təğnoʒ ğanəʒ	And girls flirting…'	Song 'Aranis' by Soapkills	3- SONG	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	30S	?	?	SINGER-AUDIENCE	1	1	LITERAL

LA.118	bə-traʔʔəṣ ʕəyūnī raʔəṣ, w-bə-tmallī bə-ḥayātī ən-naʔṣ, bə-tṣīr taḥkī baṭ-ṭaʔəṣ, *w-kaʔanno šayʔan lam yakun*	She makes my eyes dance, she fills everything that is missing in my life, and then she talks about the weather, as if nothing happened'	*Song* عيوني بترقص by Nader Al-Atat https://youtu.be/yfd4a6VbTTQ?t=57	3- SONG	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	30S	?	?	SINGER-AUDIENCE	2	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.119	ṭaybīn ho-l-ləftēt! byəʔršo ʔarəṣ! mīn ʕamelon?	These pickles are delicious! So crunchy! Who made them?	First scene of Lebanese movie 'Maḥbas' (محبس) https://youtu.be/E4wkxKgVGOo?t=16	3- FILM	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	50S	CLIENT-WORKER	2	2	LITERAL
LA.120	eh, eh, məš maʕʔūl [pause] wəjja marsūm rasəm	Yes, yes. It's crazy [pause] Her face looks like a [perfect] painting'	H1 is having lunch with H2 and S at a popular restaurant/cafe in Beirut. A girl approaches the table to say hi to H1 and after a few words, she leaves. Once she does, H1 says: *hayde talmīzte be-l-jēmʕa. ktīr šaṭṭūra, w ʔana bleʔia super ḥelwe kamen... la?* ('This is one of my students in uni. She is very smart, and I also find her to be super beautiful, don't you think?'). To this, H1 answers:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	34	F	29	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.121	ʔulūlo ʔanno lamma yūṣal ʕala sēḥət əd-ḍayʕa ma yəṭlaʕ ṭlūʕ, yənzal nzūl	Tell him that once he arrives to the village's square, he shouldn't go up, but rather, go down instead'	S is hosting his son's friends at his country house in the North of Lebanon, quite far from Beirut. One of the friends is talking on the phone to more friends who are on their way, in order to indicate them how to get to the house. When the father (S) understands what the conversation is about, S says to his son and his friend:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	60S	M	27	FATHER-SON	1	1	LITERAL
LA.122	ləyke P, šakla baʕda maxḍūḍa xaḍḍ	Look at P, she seems to still be in shock'	P had a pretty bad fall while climbing. A couple of hours after the incident, the whole group of friends is having lunch in a restaurant, when S (one member of the group) tells H (another member of the group):	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	34	F	29	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.123	šū ḥelo! ma fi ḥadan! [pause] ha-š-šaṭṭ ʕadatan bykūn malbūd labəd	It's so nice! There is no one! This beach is normally packed to the rafters'	A group of friends arrive at a nice sandy beach in the North of Lebanon during Ramadan season. When S sees the beach is almost empty, he exclaims:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	33	F	29	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.124	La, ḥabībi… hayde btənlabas labəs, məš ənno btənšadd	No, honey, these kind of dresses… you just wear them [the way they are], you don't tighten them'	H is trying a beach dress and showing it to her boyfriend. H doesn't seem to like the dress because it's too loose, so she starts talking about the possibility of making it tighter at the tailor, while she tightens it with his hands to see how it would look. Here, S says:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	1-RECOVERING ATTENTION	M	27	F	29	COUPLE	7	1	LITERAL
LA.125	bə-ʒal əd-dīb ʕam-bəṭšatte, bə-l-ašrafiyye ʕam-bəṭšatte w-ʕanna bə-dbayye ʕam-bətnaʔʔəṭ tənʔīṭ [laughs] *venez chez nous*, y-allah!	In Jal Ed-dib it's raining. In Ashrafiyyeh it's raining. And in Dbayyeh, where we are, there is [only] a drizzle, so everyone is welcome here! Come!'	A radio presenter is starting her morning show talking about the rainy weather that spreads all over Lebanon:	3- RADIO SHOW	3-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	50S	?	?	PRESENTER-AUDIENCE	5	2	LITERAL
LA.126	…aṣlan, wʕīt mʔaxxra ktiiiiir w-ṣarle kəl-ən-nhār ʕam-bərkoḍ rakəḍ	…anyways, I woke up super late and I have been running around the whole day'	H asks from S on whatsapp to bring with her a kneepad to their shared rehearsals later in the evening. S answers H with a voice note excusing herself because she is not home and she wont be able to go back home to pick up the kneepad, given her busy day:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	34	F	27	ROOMMATES	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.127	eeeeeh! šū lakēn? əl-maʕmūl kəllo zəbde w-samne [pause] baddo yfitt fətt !	Of course! *Maʕmūl* [Lebanese sweet] has a lot of butter and fat [pause] It should literally crumble [in your mouth]!	In Souk El-Tayyeb (a food street market in Beirut) , two friends (one of them vegan [H]) are asking one of the vendors (S) about the exact ingredients of a Lebanese sweet called maʕmūl. When the vendor goes through the list of ingredients, H stops her at 'butter' (since she does not want to eat animal fat) and asks her: *zebde?* ('butter?'). To this, S replies:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	F	50S	F	29	WORKER-CLIENT	1	1	LITERAL

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LA.128	šū baddak təlʕabī(h) la-l-mudīr [pause] ma huwwe lli byəlʕab bəl-maṣari laʕəb	Do you think you can play with the manager? He is the one who plays with money!	H is sharing with S his frustration because he asked for a raise at his work and they led him on thinking that he would get it, while making him wait and then threatening him to deny it to him. S, as a conclusive remark, says:	2- PASSIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	4-REDIRECTING-CREATING ATTENTION	M	38	M	32	FRIENDS	1	1	FIGURATIVE
LA.129	ṭab, ẓabṭa aw məš ẓabṭa… fina nʒarrəb-a? [pause] təʒrīb!	Ok. Working or not, can we just try it? [pause] please?	S is rehearsing a song with H. S is singing and H is playing the guitar. When they start, S feels that she is making many mistakes in her singing, so she refuses to continue, stops and says: *la, la, məš zābṭa* ('No, no, this is not working') to which S replies:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	31	F	34	FRIENDS	2	2	LITERAL
LA.130	ʕanna tərke bas mən əl-makana ma mnēḥ [pause] mnəǧlīlak yēha ǧale	We do have Turkish [coffee] but the one from the machine is not good, so I will boil it for you [instead]'	H1 and H2 are having a coffee in a café in downtown Beirut. H1 asks the waitre and owne of the café (S), whom H1 knows well, if he has Turkish coffee, to which S replies:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	60S	M	27	WORKER-CLIENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.131	lēh, sakkarto? [*not giving time to answer*] ma naḥna ǧalaʔnē(h) ǧalə?	Why? Did you close the door? […] but we left it half-closed!	S and H2 are coming back to the seminar room in the Arabic department at a late hour when they bump into two other students (H1 and H3), who were studying somewhere else in the department. The door of the seminar room automatically locks from the outside when someone closes it, but S and H2 did not bring any key with them given that they just went down to grab a coffee and they were the only two students in the seminar room. However, H1 and H3 did not realize the seminar room was busy and closed the door thinking that they were the last two students in the department. As soon as H1 sees S and H2 in the corridor he says: *ya ṣabāya naḥna rayḥīn, ʕandkon məftēḥ?* ('Girls, we are leaving. Do you need the keys'?) to which, alarmed, S answers:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	M	23	F	29	COWORKERS	1	1	LITERAL
LA.132	hōl məš ʔənno *ceramique* w-hayda… fīk tēkol yalli baddak yēh ʕaləyon, leʔanno hōl snēn ṭabiʕiyyīn zaraʕton zaraʕ!	These [teeth] are not made of ceramic… you can eat whatever you want with them because they are natural teeth that I implanted!	A dentist (S) is checking with her patient (H) how is he feeling after implanting him two molars. H seems pretty satisfied, but S, still, to dissipate any kind of doubt tells him: https://youtu.be/zFYHYcy76a0?t=1035	3- TV SHOW	2-RECOVERING-REDIRECTING ATTENTION	F	40S	M	40S	DOCTOR-PATIENT	1	1	LITERAL
LA.133	yiiih! haydēk ən-nhār tsamsamət tsəmsom…'	The other day she [M] got in a really foul mood…'	S and H are catching up while having coffee. When H mentions to S that she finds her roommate [M] a bit quiet and serious with her lately, S interrupts H to say:	1- ACTIVE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	5-CREATING ATTENTION	M	35	F	29	FRIENDS	Q2	Q2	LITERAL

APPENDIX III: ACCEPTABILITY TEST

Participant's information

(*) not mandatory

Name or pseudonym:

(only if the participant allowed us previously
to register and use his/her name)

Age:

Sex:

Occupation:

Place of origin:

Place(s) of residence:

Religious group:

What would be the best way to reach
you (if needed)?(*)

1. The following are several excerpts of dialogues in Lebanese. Focusing on the expression highlighted in the texts, choose the statement that you identify the most with (only one). If you choose 2 or 3, please also answer briefly to the questions associated. Remember that there are not correct answers. If you have doubts, let your intuition guide you!

Dialogue 1	
- Ya3Tik el 3afiye - Allah ya3fike - Bt3aref wen fi shi saidaliye 2aribe hon? - Eh. <u>Tla3e Tlou3</u> shi 200 meter w ba3d tene mafra2 3al yamin betle2iya	I could say this. It sounds perfectly normal.
	I personally wouldn't say this, but any other Lebanese could say it and I would definitely understand. (only if you chose 2) Why do you think you would not say it? _____ What would you say instead? _____
	A Lebanese would not say this, but another Arabic speaker might. (only if you chose 3) In your opinion, which group of Arabic speakers would say it?_____
	I do not think that any Arabic native speaker would say this.
Dialogue 2	
[while having a phone conversation]	I could perfectly say this. It sounds perfectly normal.
- Hi! Leh sakkaret? Fi shi? - La2 abadan. Sorry bas eja el estez w edtarret edhar men el 2ouda. <u>Sha7atoune sha7at</u>.	I personally wouldn't say this, but any other Lebanese could say it and I would definitely understand. (only if you chose 2) Why do you think you would not say it? _____ What would you say instead? _____
	A Lebanese would not say this, but another Arabic speaker might. (only if you chose 3) In your opinion, which group of Arabic speakers would say it? _____
	I do not think that any Arabic native speaker would say this.

Dialogue 3	
[after spending a day at the sea] o Yalla, dobbo ghradkon, ma fina net2akhar. Ba3d shwey betballesh el 3aj2a. • Bsharafik, fina <u>nshekk shakke sari3a</u> w mnerja3 menfell?	I could perfectly say this. It sounds perfectly normal.
	I personally wouldn't say this, but any other Lebanese could say it and I would definitely understand. (only if you chose 2) Why do you think you would not say it? _____ What would you say instead? _____
	A Lebanese would not say this, but another Arabic speaker might. (only if you chose 3) In your opinion, which group of Arabic speakers would say it?_____
	I do not think that any Arabic native speaker would say this.
Dialogue 4	
o Shou ya 3amme? Weynak? Lesh t2akharet hal2add? • Uf! Shou badde bkhabbrak… Ana w jeye 3a tari2 <u>sheftellak shawfe…</u>	I could perfectly say this. It sounds perfectly normal.
	I personally wouldn't say this, but any other Lebanese could say it and I would definitely understand. (only if you chose 2) Why do you think you would not say it? _____ What would you say instead? _____
	A Lebanese would not say this, but another Arabic speaker might. (only if you chose 3) In your opinion, which group of Arabic speakers would say it? _____
	I do not think that any Arabic native speaker would say this.
Dialogue 5	
o Kifa Mariam? Ba3da za3lene? • Ma ma32oul. <u>7ake w ma 3amte7ke, akel w ma 3amtekol</u>. Ana w emma mesh 3arfin shou baddna n3amel.	I could perfectly say this. It sounds perfectly normal.
	I personally wouldn't say this, but any other Lebanese could say it and I would definitely understand. (only if you chose 2) Why do you think you would not say it? _____ What would you say instead? _____
	A Lebanese would not say this, but another Arabic speaker might. (only if you chose 3) In your opinion, which group of Arabic speakers would say it? _____

	I do not think that any Arabic native speaker would say this.
Dialogue 6	
o El yom w3it es-sobo7, <u>rakadet rakedte el 3adiye</u>, w ana w 3amberkod lta2et be rfi2te ba2a re7na akhadna 2ahwe.	I could perfectly say this. It sounds perfectly normal.
	I personally wouldn't say this, but any other Lebanese could say it and I would definitely understand. (only if you chose 2) Why do you think you would not say it? _____ What would you say instead? _____
	A Lebanese would not say this, but another Arabic speaker might. (only if you chose 3) In your opinion, which group of Arabic speakers would say it? _____
	I do not think that any Arabic native speaker would say this.
Dialogue 7	
• Khallast walla ba3d? - Ba3d • Yalla, <u>7sob 7seb sari3</u> w tla3 la 3ande	I could perfectly say this. It sounds perfectly normal.
	I personally wouldn't say this, but any other Lebanese could say it and I would definitely understand. (only if you chose 2) Why do you think you would not say it? _____ What would you say instead? _____
	A Lebanese would not say this, but another Arabic speaker might. (only if you chose 3) In your opinion, which group of Arabic speakers would say it? _____
	I do not think that any Arabic native speaker would say this.
Dialogue 8	
• Kifa Mona? • Mniha! Shefta mbere7 bel ghalat, ne7na w <u>nezlin nezletna</u>.	I could perfectly say this. It sounds perfectly normal.
	I personally wouldn't say this, but any other Lebanese could say it and I would definitely understand. (only if you chose 2) Why do you think you would not say it? _____ What would you say instead? _____
	A Lebanese would not say this, but another Arabic speaker might. (only if you chose 3) In your opinion, which group of Arabic speakers would say it? _____
	I do not think that any Arabic native speaker would say this.

2. Paraphrase <u>the highlighted part</u> of the sentences that you will find below without modifying its semantic connotations. By paraphrasing, we mean to express the same idea with another wording or structure in Lebanese trying to preserve the meaning of the original sentence as much as you can. Sometimes the context will be provided between brackets I will context for the sentence. Do not paraphrase that part, it's only there for you to get the whole idea and understand better the meaning of the sentence. Keep in mind that there is no right or wrong answer. Just be natural and feel free to write down whatever your instinct tells you.

Example:	Paraphrasis:
"(Khede el wra2, allah ykhallike). <u>Ana 7emle 7amel</u>".	"Ana 7emle ktir" / "Ana 7emle ktir ghrad" / "Ana 7emle w m7ammle".

7ases shi be dahre <u>kameshne kamesh</u>	
(Akid abel ma ballesh ektob) badde <u>enfod hal *paper* nafed</u>	
<u>Bahdalta bahdale…</u> nassayta isma!	
<u>2addamta te2dim he2il</u>, wallah	
<u>Akel w akalna, ra2s w ra2asna</u>…ma fi shi ma 3amelneh!	
Tala3et siyyara be wejje faj2a! Ya 3amme, <u>zamatet zamta…</u>	
Kil wa7ad hon baddo <u>ye7sob 7seb kil khotwe</u>	
Shou sarlik? Leh <u>khabbaste hat-takhbis</u>?	
Samia el yom <u>tal3a tala3eta</u>. (Jewbet 3a kil el as2ile bes saf)	
El yom ma <u>darabet darbe</u>	

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3. Read carefully the following sentences and then rank from 1 to 3 the sentences on the right depending on your preference of use (1 being the sentence you would most probably use).

3azzaboune _____ ed-dene be Beirut.	1. ta3zib 2. 3azeb 3. (other) _____
W ente leh msattle ha(l) _____?	1. tastil 2. satlane 3. (other) _____
Ibne mjarrasne _____ bel madrase…	1. tojris 2. jorsa 3. (other) _____
Ba3den emme lattashit ahamma _____ bel 3alam	1. taltish 2. latshe 3. (other) _____
Ya allah! Badde kassrik _____	1. teksir 2. kaser 3. (other) _____
Fine etlob mennak _____?	1. talab sghir 2. talabiye sghire 3. (other) _____
Akalna _____ … ma ma32oul!	1. akel 2. akle 3. (other) _____

4. Read carefully the different pairs of sentences below. Do you find any difference between them? If so, how are they different?

1a. Ra7 yshatto 3aleyk el *projects* shete 1b. Ra7 yshatto 3aleyk el *projects* tashteye	
2a. El masheykha byederso el quran dirase 2b. El mashaykha byederso el quran dares	
3a. Shou ennik 2awiyye! Btel2ation [el sha3rat] tal2it! 3b. Shou ennik 2awiyye! Btlel2ation [el sha3rat] la2et!	
4a. Lek! Ha-s-siyyara 3amtebrom barem. 4b. Lek! Ha-s-siyyara 3amtebrom barme.	