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CONTENTS

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The Rise of the Oppressed: An Interrogation of the Contemporary Women in Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni's *Sister of My Heart* and *The Vine of Desire*

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Abstract The paper explores the representation of contemporary women in comparison to traditional women in literary works. Women in the past have generally been depicted in literary works as weak and oppressed. However, contemporary women are portrayed differently, as strong, educated, and independent. This paper examines how these changes occur through the lives of Anju and Sudha in Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni's *Sister of My Heart* (1999). It investigates the effects of childhood on Anju and Sudha's lives, focusing on the influence of traditional fairy tales with masculine heroes and their impact on women's roles. The paper also addresses the influence of world literature, particularly Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* (1929), which inspires Anju to challenge traditional societal constraints. While the voices of traditional women are often silenced, the voices of the contemporary women in these novels, Sudha and Anju, are central as they serve as narrators. Additionally, the paper highlights the belief in some Indian families that a woman must abort a female child as a way to address the societal preference for male offspring. Sudha's refusal to comply with this practice represents her declaration of independence and defiance against oppression. Finally, this paper argues that contemporary Indian women, through education and exposure to different societies, become more aware of the oppression faced by traditional women, enabling them to challenge and rise above it, marking an era of empowerment for the oppressed.

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1. Introduction

Women in the past have generally been represented in literary works as weak and oppressed. However, modern women are depicted in vastly different ways: strong, educated, independent, and as equals to men, helping them carry the burdens of life. It is essential to examine the ways in which women have resisted oppression. To narrow the focus, this paper explores the representation of contemporary Indian women in two novels by Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni—*Sister of My Heart* (1999) and its sequel Divakaruni (2003). Divakaruni's novels address various issues concerning women: as daughters, sisters, wives, widows, divorced individuals, housewives, workers, and most importantly, as rebellious human beings. A major theme is the comparison between oppressed women in the past and modern women, focusing on the latter generation.

Divakaruni, an Indian–American author, has lived in both India and the United States, which gives her a unique perspective on how Indian men perceive Indian women as inferior. This view often reduces women to a status below that of humans, depriving them of their rights and their voices, and rendering them lifeless in the eyes of society, especially when they become widows. Divakaruni contrasts this traditional oppression with the empowerment of contemporary women, particularly through the voices of Anju and Sudha, who serve as the narrators in *Sister of My Heart* and a significant part of *The Vine of Desire*. Furthermore, the fairy tales mothers tell their daughters have evolved from traditional myths of masculine heroes rescuing women to stories where women are strong and independent. This paper will also explore the influence of Virginia Woolf, an author beloved by Anju, particularly her work *A Room of One's Own* (1929), which inspires Anju to embrace a revolutionary spirit that challenges the oppressive societal norms of traditional India. Finally, the paper will address the common belief in some Indian families that a woman must have an abortion if her first child is a girl, highlighting Sudha's refusal to comply as a powerful declaration of resistance against oppression.

2. The effect of childhood

It is well-established that childhood experiences significantly shape a person's future. In *Sister of My Heart* (1999), the early lives of the two protagonists, Anju and Sudha, suggest that their futures may be marred by oppression, as symbolized by the tradition of *Bidhata Purush*—a figure who determines a child's destiny after birth. According to tradition, *Bidhata Purush* ensures that if the sweet meat near a newborn remains untouched, the child is cursed. Aunt Pishi explains that the untouched sweet meat indicates that Anju and Sudha are destined to suffer because they are girls: "Thus implying that women were doomed to suffer" (Chandra, 217). However, as the

story progresses, the narrative suggests that childhood experiences, particularly the influence of supportive mothers, can lead to success and empowerment.

Anju's mother places immense faith in her daughter's potential. She believes that Anju will "make something beautiful and brilliant out of [her] life and be a fitting daughter of the illustrious Chatterjees" (*Sister of My Heart*, p. 18). This belief shapes Anju's upbringing, as her mother encourages her to pursue education, making it clear that women can work and be productive. Anju's mother runs a bookstore, which is the family's primary source of income, and she has worked tirelessly to support her family. Despite personal sacrifices, such as declining necessary surgery for fear of leaving her children without care, she demonstrates how women can be independent and responsible. Anju is surrounded by books from a young age and is encouraged to develop her own independence. For instance, on her 13 birthday, Anju and Sudha receive money from their mother to buy whatever they like. Despite Aunt N's objections, her mother insists that they are no longer children, but women, and it is time for them to be trusted. This gesture gives Anju and Sudha a sense of maturity and independence.

Anju's choice to purchase books with her birthday money reflects her growing ambition. She selects works by authors such as Kate Chopin and Sylvia Plath—authors who depict women as brave, strong, and independent. Anju expresses her desire to travel the world and experience different cultures, which foreshadows her future journey abroad. She also exhibits rebellious traits, as seen when she convinces Sudha to skip class to watch a movie, demonstrating her courage and independence. Furthermore, her dreams of studying literature in college reveal her ambition and drive to become more educated and independent. Anju's mother, recognizing the importance of education, arranges a marriage with Sunil, who promises to support Anju's pursuit of higher education. This shift in values, where education is prioritized over traditional marital expectations, marks a significant change from the past.

As for Sudha, her childhood demonstrates high self-esteem. She rejects Anju's gift, saying, "I don't want your gifts. Or your pity. My mother and I might not have a lot, but at least we have self-respect" (*Sister of My Heart*, p. 55). Sudha's sense of self-worth is evident, signaling her inner strength and resistance to the oppressive societal norms that attempt to define her.

3. The old and the new—a clash of ideals

The tension between old and new societal beliefs is a recurring theme in Divakaruni's *Sister of My Heart* (1999). One stark representation of the old ways is seen in the societal pressure that women must marry, a belief that heavily influences the lives of Anju and Sudha. For instance, a neighbor advises Anju to cultivate relationships with girls from important families, particularly those with eligible older brothers. This advice highlights how society's primary concern is to secure a good marriage for women, treating them as if their worth and future are tied solely to finding a husband. However, the modern women in the story challenge this belief.

Sudha's decision to live independently and work in a new city, and Anju's life in America after Sunil leaves her, both reflect the modern woman's ability to survive

and thrive without a husband. Though the journey may be difficult, their choices demonstrate that a woman's happiness and success are not contingent upon marriage.

This critique of old traditions is further exemplified when Anju and Sudha's escapade to the cinema causes an exaggerated societal uproar. The extreme reaction of Aunt N, who is appalled by their actions, reflects how deeply ingrained and rigid these old ideas are. Aunt N's rant about the disgrace caused by their trip to the cinema—"all Calcutta is talking about their escapade"—presents a hyperbolic view of the consequences of what is essentially a harmless outing. Anju, in particular, recognizes the absurdity of this view, noting that Aunt N's reaction makes it sound as if they had committed an unforgivable sin.

Furthermore, Sudha's early arranged marriage and the drastic steps her mother takes to prevent her from continuing her education emphasize the oppressive nature of traditional beliefs. Sudha is forbidden to pursue her education because her mother fears it will lead to "wayward ideas," and instead she is set on a course that will prepare her only for domesticity, as represented by the cooking lessons she must take. This action starkly contrasts with Anju's experience, where her mother supports her educational ambitions and even ensures that Anju's future husband, Sunil, agrees to her continued schooling. This shift from subjugation to empowerment is a key theme in Divakaruni's narrative.

The traditional patriarchal customs also show their control over the marriage arrangements. When Sudha's potential groom's family visits to assess her, the tradition requires the bride-to-be to answer uncomfortable questions while the groom is exempt from similar scrutiny. This reinforces the gender disparity in the old traditions, positioning the woman as the one under examination while the man is left unchallenged. Anju, however, vehemently opposes this and refuses to accept such practices. She criticizes the tradition of women being paraded before potential suitors, illustrating her defiance against outdated societal norms. Sudha, though outwardly accepting, secretly subverts the system, revealing her reluctance to marry Ramesh and her hidden agenda to please her mother.

In another instance, Sunil's father represents the traditional male-dominated ideology, asserting control and belittling his wife through his rigid, patriarchal views. His behavior, particularly his treatment of his wife with disrespect and disdain, starkly contrasts with Anju's more progressive view of gender equality. Anju's disgust at Sunil's father's behavior and her resolve not to allow such disrespect in her own future marriage shows the clash between the old and new in the treatment of women.

These examples from Divakaruni's works underscore the modern woman's resistance to the outdated and oppressive norms of the past. Anju and Sudha, in their individual journeys, represent the rising rebellion against traditional societal constraints. While the old generation, represented by Aunt N, Sudha's mother, and figures like Sunil's father, hold onto outdated customs and stereotypes, the younger women assert their right to independence, education, and self-expression. Through Anju's and Sudha's struggles, Divakaruni offers a critique of the old, oppressive patriarchal traditions while celebrating the modern woman's ability to rise above them and carve her own path.

In *Sister of My Heart* and *The Vine of Desire*, Divakaruni explores the themes of societal oppression, particularly the gender inequalities that women face in

traditional societies. A key aspect of this oppression is the pressure placed on women to conform to societal expectations, such as marriage, motherhood, and maintaining the family's reputation. This pressure is evident in the way Anju's mother reacts to Sudha's abortion and her situation. She advises Sudha to "grit her teeth and put up with it" and have another child because "a woman can have many children, after all, but a husband is forever" (*Sister of My Heart*, p. 262). This statement reveals the deeply ingrained belief that a woman's value is tied to her relationship with her husband and the family's reputation, rather than her own well-being or desires.

However, Pishi, a member of their household, offers a stark contrast to this view. Pishi, who has suffered for years as an eighteen-year-old widow, sees Sudha's situation differently. Pishi, who has endured years of hunger, deprivation, and social condemnation since her husband's death, understands the gravity of the societal pressures that women face. She refuses to let Sudha live in a way that will further oppress her and encourages her to escape her circumstances. Pishi's experience as a widow highlights how society values women less than men, particularly after their husbands die. While men can remarry after a year, women who are widowed or divorced face a life of social exclusion and judgment. Pishi's defiance represents the desire to break free from these oppressive norms, encouraging Sudha to leave society's expectations behind and start anew, even if it means taking a dangerous and uncertain path.

This theme of female oppression is reinforced through Sunil's discussion with Anju, where he expresses concern about Sudha's future, worrying that no man would want to marry her because she is a divorced woman and a social pariah. His comment reflects the harsh reality that in their society, a woman's worth is often diminished based on her marital status. This double standard is further emphasized when Anju suggests that Sudha could "sue" her husband's family for the injustice done to her, only for it to be revealed that a "runaway wife has no rights" (*The Vine of Desire*, p. 115). The idea that a woman's actions can be disregarded or punished simply because she is seen as disobedient underscores the harsh gender inequality present in society.

Divakaruni also critiques how women are treated compared to men in matters of marriage and widowhood. The fact that widowed men are not stigmatized, and can remarry with little to no consequence, starkly contrasts with the situation for women. Men do not face the same scrutiny or loss of social respect, and their lives continue unaffected by their marital status. On the other hand, women like Pishi are expected to live in isolation and endure hardship due to their lack of a husband, demonstrating how society punishes women for circumstances beyond their control.

In *Sister of My Heart*, Pishi's bold decision to challenge the norms is an important turning point in the narrative. Despite her own suffering, she refuses to let Sudha experience the same fate, showing that the fight against oppression can take on many forms, whether through small acts of defiance or the courage to leave behind a life that limits one's opportunities.

4. The other's *other*

In Divakaruni's (2003), there is a reference to a new, golden era for women when Sudha describes the Golden Bridge. Sudha's description of the "Golden Bridge"

symbolizes hope for a better future where women can break free from the restrictions imposed upon them. She describes it as "the Golden bridge [that] seems closed enough for us to pluck its harp string-slender wires. Impossible clarity, after so much clouding" (*The Vine of Desire*, p. 20). This metaphor represents the possibility of clarity and freedom after years of oppression and confusion. The "harp string" symbolizes the thin but attainable thread of liberation for women, a golden era where their rights are no longer clouded by societal norms that restrict their lives.

This image of the Golden Bridge offers hope for women to overcome the "clouding" of traditional gender roles and social expectations, allowing them to claim their own lives and futures. In Divakaruni's portrayal, this new era for women is not only about breaking free from oppressive traditions but also about redefining what it means to live a fulfilling life beyond the confines of marriage and societal approval.

Sudha's mother, too, represents a shift in female empowerment when she pushes back against her husband's failures and challenges the patriarchal structures that have held her family back. In a moment of unexpected energy, she confronts her husband, criticizing him for his lack of action and calling him out for his dependence on others, especially his cousin-brother. Her defiance, exemplified in her refusal to accept the oppressive role society has prescribed for her, marks a moment of self-assertion. She rejects the notion that a woman should quietly endure hardship and instead demands respect and dignity for herself and her family.

In both *Sister of My Heart* and *The Vine of Desire*, Divakaruni illustrates the harsh realities women face in a patriarchal society, where their value is often reduced to their marital status or their ability to bear children. However, through characters like Pishi, Sudha, and even Sudha's mother, the author also shows the power of resistance, self-empowerment, and the possibility of breaking free from these societal constraints, symbolized by the "Golden Bridge" that offers hope for a new beginning. This journey toward liberation, though fraught with difficulty, represents the possibility of a better future where women are no longer defined by their relationships with men, but by their own strength and choices.

In *Sister of My Heart* and *The Vine of Desire*, Divakaruni presents a rich exploration of the complex roles that women navigate within traditional Indian society, and how these roles are being challenged by evolving ideas of gender equality. Through characters such as Sudha, Anju, and their mothers, the narrative reveals the tension between traditional expectations and the emerging desire for women's independence and empowerment. Sudha's mother, though strong in her criticisms of her husband's passivity, highlights the traditional views that women are expected to conform to domestic roles, support their husbands, and uphold family honor. This speech, while indicating her frustration with her husband's weakness, also sheds light on the larger issue of gender roles within Indian society, where men are seen as the primary providers and decision-makers, and women are restricted to secondary roles.

However, this traditional viewpoint is not shared by all. Sudha's mother, despite her frustrations, also embodies the traditional view that women's value is tied to their ability to bear sons. Her comment about Sudha demanding to be treated like a son encapsulates the societal preference for male children. The phrase "may you be the mother of a hundred sons," traditionally said to a woman who is not yet a mother,

reinforces this deep-rooted belief that sons are more desirable than daughters. The clear disappointment that Sudha's family expresses over her being a girl, rather than a boy, further underscores this gender bias, a bias that Anju explicitly identifies when she wonders whether her happiness would matter more if she were a son.

Anju, in particular, embodies a break from these outdated traditions. Her rejection of the role society expects her to play, both as a daughter and a wife, positions her as a symbol of the modern, rebellious woman. In her relationship with Sunil, she fights for her independence, asserting her right to be treated as an equal partner. Her declaration that she is "old enough" to travel alone, despite her family's objections, marks her desire to assert autonomy. This independence is further evident when she refuses to allow Sunil to carry her books, underscoring her rejection of traditional gender roles within the marriage.

Anju's resistance to male dominance is also seen on her wedding day, where she subverts the traditional gesture of respect for her husband, instead expressing a desire to "tickle" his feet rather than show deference in a traditional, submissive manner. Her challenge to societal expectations is evident when she questions her husband's views on women's roles and rights. She criticizes his silence regarding the oppressive treatment Sudha endures from her mother-in-law and his acceptance of the view that women are merely "baby machines." Through Anju's words and actions, Divakaruni highlights the importance of self-respect, independence, and the right to challenge patriarchal norms.

Anju's revolutionary nature is also reflected in her support for other oppressed women, including the "imprisoned" girls Sunil mentions to their daughter, Dayita. His description of Anju's passion for social justice shows her deep empathy for the suffering of others, even those whose struggles are not directly her own. This demonstrates that her rebellion against oppression extends beyond her personal situation to a broader concern for women's rights and dignity.

Meanwhile, Sudha, though passive in comparison to Anju, also experiences the burden of gender expectations. From an early age, she is taught that her worth is tied to marriage and motherhood, a lesson reinforced by her family's reaction to her gender. Sudha's initial passive acceptance of her role reflects the conditioning that many women undergo in patriarchal societies, where their personal desires are often subordinated to the demands of family and tradition.

Divakaruni's narrative contrasts the roles of Sudha and Anju, with Sudha embodying the more traditional, passive role, while Anju's rebellion represents a more modern, independent approach to womanhood. This contrast is important in understanding the social pressures women face and the different ways they can respond to those pressures. Sudha's initial passivity gives way to a more empowered stance, as she refuses to accept that a woman's value is defined by her relationship with a man or her ability to bear sons.

Additionally, the novel also explores how women can rise above the constraints of tradition. Characters like Sudha's mother-in-law, who clings to traditional ideas of female roles, and Ramesh's mother, who manages the family business with strength and independence, show that women are capable of much more than society often allows. These women are not simply passive subjects; they are actively shaping their

own lives, even if they must do so within the limitations of their circumstances. Sudha's mother-in-law, for instance, is resolute in her belief that Sudha must conform to her role as a mother to a son, but she also exhibits an underlying recognition that women, too, have agency in shaping family dynamics.

Through these characters and their actions, Divakaruni critiques the traditional roles assigned to women in Indian society and showcases the evolving nature of womanhood in a changing world. Whether through defiance, struggle, or quiet resistance, the women in *Sister of My Heart* and *The Vine of Desire* challenge the societal norms that seek to define them and demonstrate that women can be both strong and independent, rejecting the idea that they are subordinate to men or bound to traditional roles.

Anju's development is particularly noteworthy, as she initially experiences a tumultuous relationship with her husband, Sunil, but ultimately asserts her independence. Her rejection of his financial and emotional support after their separation signals her determination to stand on her own. She deliberately distances herself from both Sunil and Sudha, refusing to be defined by them or their expectations. She emphasizes the importance of self-reliance and moving forward with her life, even if it means embracing solitude and hard work.

Similarly, Sudha's journey toward independence is marked by pivotal moments of resistance to the traditional roles and expectations placed upon her, especially regarding her marriage and motherhood. Her decision to leave her husband and society's judgment about her child illustrates her refusal to accept the old ways. Her flight from an oppressive environment is a powerful assertion of personal freedom. Sudha's dream of being a "purple kite" symbolizes her longing for independence, and her eventual decision to raise her daughter in a way that encourages self-reliance and freedom from oppressive traditions further underscores her transformation.

Both women wrestle with their roles in society and the heavy expectations placed on them, particularly around gender and family. Anju's fierce defense of her rights contrasts with Sudha's more passive early life, yet both women ultimately embrace the idea of living for themselves, defying the rigid social and familial constraints.

The absence of men in the lives of the female characters in *Sister of My Heart* and *The Vine of Desire* plays a crucial role in highlighting the theme of female independence and the capacity for women to thrive without the traditional support of men. In both novels, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni illustrates that women, though often subjected to societal pressures and expectations, can define their own futures.

The idea that women do not need men to survive is made evident through characters like Anju and Sudha. After Sunil's betrayal, Anju rejects both his financial support and emotional attachment, symbolizing her newfound independence. She removes herself from the joint bank account and refuses to be friends with him, proving that she can move forward without him. Similarly, Sudha, oppressed by her in-laws and societal expectations, eventually chooses to leave her husband, Ashok, and raise her daughter in a more independent, self-defined manner.

Through these choices, Divakaruni demonstrates that women are capable of living fulfilling lives without men, challenging the traditional notion that a woman's value and success are linked to her relationships with men. This independence is

further explored through the narrative style of the novels, which centers on the women's perspectives, allowing them to narrate their own stories, free from societal limitations. The dual voice narrative in *The Vine of Desire* and *Sister of My Heart* is a reflection of this freedom, as it gives the women a voice that defies traditional storytelling conventions and highlights their agency.

The difference between the characters of Sunil and his father also emphasizes the evolving perspectives on gender roles. While Sunil treats Anju with more respect than his father treats his wife, his own infidelity and mistreatment of Anju reveal that even more progressive attitudes towards women do not always ensure respect or equality. Sunil's actions, like his cheating and failure to be accountable to Anju, underscore the idea that men, too, have their flaws and that women's lives and happiness should not depend on them.

In contrast, Sudha, despite the oppressive environment in which she lives, gradually rejects the traditional values that have kept her subdued. She finds freedom in her independence, a shift signified by her dream of being a purple kite soaring high. The kite represents Sudha's dignity and her desire to rise above the limitations imposed on her by society. Sudha's ultimate decision to leave her husband and raise her daughter on her own terms is a rejection of the patriarchal system that restricts women.

5. The myth of the hero

In Divakaruni's *Sister of My Heart* and *The Vine of Desire*, there is a comparison between the fairy tales in the past and in the present. The fairy tales that mothers tell to their daughters and girls tell to each other are different from the old fairy tales that depend on the myth of a masculine hero who saves the woman. Divakaruni uses the metaphor of fairy tales to critique traditional narratives about women. In the past, fairy tales often depicted women as passive, waiting to be saved by a masculine hero. Sudha, influenced by these stories in her childhood, initially accepts these narratives, but Anju, rejecting the old fairy tale archetype, dreams of a woman who rises above societal constraints. This shift in narrative—from the passive princess to the active, independent woman—is an important aspect of Divakaruni's works.

By telling her daughter, Dayita, different stories—stories that empower women rather than depict them as passive or dependent—Sudha is helping to break the cycle of oppression. This is a powerful statement by Divakaruni on the importance of redefining happiness and success for women, illustrating that they do not need to rely on men, societal expectations, or traditional roles to find fulfillment.

Sudha's reinterpretation of Indian myths—such as the trial by fire of Sita and the captivity of a princess awaiting a prince's rescue—demonstrates Divakaruni's attempt to critique the conventional patriarchal structures embedded in these stories. By giving her female characters agency, Sudha questions the patriarchal "happy endings" and offers alternative narratives that empower women, such as suggesting that a woman can seek refuge with another woman rather than waiting for a man to rescue her. This rewrites traditional gender roles and presents a more modern, feminist vision of womanhood that is not bound by the past but evolves with the

changing times. Sudha's act of naming herself "the Queen of Swords" signifies her strength and independence, further challenging the myth of the ideal woman in traditional Indian society.

6. The rise of the devoiced

Divakaruni addresses the concept of the "devoiced" woman through characters like Anju's mother, who, in her marriage and in her life, has been conditioned to suppress her emotions and desires. This "devoicing" reflects the silencing of women in many patriarchal cultures, as illustrated in Gayatri Spivak's essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* In Spivak's critique, the subaltern (the marginalized, often silenced) is unable to voice her needs, desires, or even a dissenting opinion. In Divakaruni's novel, Anju's mother's sacrifices, such as giving up her personal pleasures and opinions in the name of tradition, parallel Spivak's portrayal of women in colonial India who are expected to follow societal rules without question. In *The Vine of Desire*, Anju observes how her mother, much like the women in Spivak's analysis, has been taught not to speak or express feelings, reflecting the internalized oppression many women face.

The works also explore the transformation of these women as they break away from the traditional roles imposed upon them. Sudha's rejection of societal norms—such as her refusal to return to her husband and her determination to live independently with her daughter—marks her rebellion against the oppressive tradition. This aligns with feminist theorists like Virginia Woolf, whose writings, especially *A Room of One's Own*, serve as a catalyst for Anju's and Sudha's journeys toward independence. Woolf's assertion that a woman needs financial independence and a space of her own resonates with both Anju and Sudha as they seek freedom from men and society's expectations. Anju, inspired by Woolf, not only learns to express her emotions but also becomes empowered through work, recognizing the value of earning her own money and being able to depend on herself.

Divakaruni's narrative strategy, involving dual or multiple voices, serves to give agency to these characters, allowing them to challenge and ultimately reshape their destinies. Through Anju and Sudha's stories, Divakaruni illustrates how women can rewrite their own narratives, reject oppressive traditions, and create new feminist models that reflect their autonomy and strength. These novels are a powerful reminder that modern women, both in India and in the diaspora, are reclaiming their voices and challenging the structures that have historically silenced them.

The concept of "devoicing" women is central to the analysis, especially in the context of arranged marriages and traditional gender norms. Anju's defiance against being "devoiced" during the "bride-viewing" process is a pivotal moment in her character's development. Her rejection of the traditional dynamic—where the woman is viewed but has no voice in the selection—represents a significant challenge to the patriarchal system. By insisting that the "bride-viewing" should be mutual, she demands equality in choosing a partner, thus asserting her right to speak and to choose for herself. This act of rebellion highlights her rejection of the silencing practices that limit women's freedom in traditional societies.

The importance of narrative voice is also a significant theme in both novels. Divakaruni's use of dual narration, with Anju and Sudha alternating as the voices of *Sister of My Heart*, allows the reader to access the inner struggles and desires of the characters. Through their letters and internal reflections, we witness the complexities of their emotional lives, including the fear, independence, sadness, and strength that they do not express openly. The "deleted letters" serve as a powerful metaphor for the thoughts and feelings that women often suppress due to societal expectations. These letters are not only a tool for character development but also illustrate the tension between what is publicly acknowledged and what remains hidden beneath the surface. Anju's feelings of inadequacy and her desire to appear strong for her mother, as well as her fears surrounding Sudha's beauty, offer a poignant insight into the pressures women face in both their personal lives and within societal structures.

Sudha's rejection of the traditional expectation that she should rely on men for emotional or financial support is another critical aspect of her character. Her refusal to return to Ashok, despite his attempts to "take care" of her, demonstrates her desire for autonomy. Sudha's declaration that she is an "adult" who does not need paternalistic protection is a moment of empowerment. By choosing independence over traditional roles and by rejecting Ashok's control, Sudha is also rejecting the expectations of her as a woman who must always be in need of male support. Her self-reliance is also reflected in her economic independence, as she seeks to live free of the "vine of desire"—a metaphor for the unattainable or misguided desires that women are often taught to pursue.

7. A window on Virginia Woolf

The reference to Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* is particularly significant in the context of both novels, as Woolf's work has had a lasting influence on Anju's evolving feminist consciousness. The "smell of distance" that Anju associates with Woolf's book symbolizes her growing awareness of the wider, more progressive world of feminist thought. Woolf's insistence on the necessity of both physical and intellectual independence for women resonates with Anju, who feels empowered by Woolf's call for women to stand up for their rights. Woolf's impact on Anju is evident in her realization that she needs to assert her independence—intellectually, emotionally, and socially—to escape the limitations imposed by traditional gender roles.

Divakaruni's portrayal of Sudha and Anju's journeys towards self-discovery and independence underscores the tension between tradition and modernity, as well as the struggle for women to find their own voices in a world that often seeks to silence them. Through these characters, Divakaruni invites the reader to question not only the narratives imposed on women by culture and society but also the broader, often unspoken, expectations that shape women's lives. The novels are a powerful meditation on the need for women to reclaim their agency, express their true selves, and redefine the meaning of freedom in both personal and societal terms.

The influence of Virginia Woolf's feminist ideas on Anju's character in *Sister of My Heart* is clearly demonstrated. Anju's growing independence, both financially

and intellectually, echoes Woolf's central arguments in *A Room of One's Own*. Woolf's statement that "a woman must have money and a room of her own" becomes a touchstone for Anju's own quest for autonomy. By working in America and earning her own money, Anju experiences the "feeling of power" that comes from financial independence, a significant shift from the more traditional roles that women in her culture are often expected to play.

Woolf's critique of how society has historically suppressed women's intellectual potential also resonates with Anju. Woolf's claim that "nothing could be expected of women intellectually" reflects the societal belief that women were incapable of great thought, and she encourages women to defy this oppression. Anju, inspired by Woolf's ideas, becomes a character who rebels against such limiting views. She recognizes her own intellectual worth and the importance of cultivating her voice, both through her work and her writing.

Anju's ambition to improve her writing skills through joining a "writer's group" shows her determination to make her creative talent known. Woolf's reference to an imagined Shakespeare's sister—talented but prevented from realizing her potential due to societal constraints—can be seen as a metaphor for Anju's own journey. She recognizes that, like the fictional Shakespeare's sister, she has the potential to be a great writer, and her decision to pursue this path shows how she rejects the limitations placed on women in her society.

Furthermore, the influence of Aphra Behn, who made a living through writing, is an important point of connection between Woolf's work and Anju's development. Woolf's admiration for Behn, who managed to support herself through her writing despite the limitations placed on women, reinforces Anju's belief that she too can support herself through her own intellectual work. This empowerment is a key aspect of Anju's character and her journey toward independence. In choosing to write and assert her own voice, Anju takes a step toward freeing herself from societal constraints, embodying the revolutionary spirit that Woolf advocates for.

Sudha's journey can indeed be seen as a reflection of Virginia Woolf's feminist ideals, particularly the concept of a "room of one's own," which is central to Woolf's work *A Room of One's Own*. Sudha's quest for financial independence and her desire to escape the control of men mirrors Woolf's call for women to have the space—both literal and figurative—to live freely and pursue their own interests. Woolf argued that women needed both financial independence and personal space to thrive creatively and intellectually, and Sudha's actions in *The Vine of Desire* exemplify this pursuit.

Sudha's decision to leave her husband, save her daughter, and refuse the control of both Ashok and Lalit, showcases her rebellion against traditional societal roles that confine women. Her refusal to return to her country when Ashok, her first love, demands it, signals her desire to break free from the emotional and cultural ties that have bound her in the past. In rejecting these men, Sudha is asserting her autonomy, not just as an individual, but as a woman who refuses to be defined by her relationships with men. This mirrors Woolf's message that women should not rely on men for financial or emotional support but instead should carve out their own spaces, both physically and metaphorically.

8. Conclusion

The author emphasizes the rise of oppressed women, specifically modern Indian women, as exemplified by the characters of Anju and Sudha. Divakaruni effectively explores the powerful role of childhood experiences and literature in shaping their identities and perspectives. By introducing Anju's interest in English literature, especially the works of Virginia Woolf, and her frequent visits to her mother's bookstore, Divakaruni demonstrates how exposure to new ideas can foster critical thinking and personal growth. For Anju, Woolf's revolutionary ideas become a catalyst for rebellion against the societal constraints placed on women in traditional Indian culture.

Divakaruni also reflects on the significant impact of fairy tales and traditional stories on children's development. She critiques how these tales often portray the masculine hero as the central figure of power and influence, affecting the way young girls perceive themselves. Through Anju and Sudha's realization of the negative impact of these narratives, Divakaruni reimagines these stories to represent strong, independent women, showing how such changes can lead to the empowerment of future generations, including Dayita. The author underscores the importance of shifting the focus in literature and storytelling from oppressive themes to those that promote women's strength, independence, and creativity.

In highlighting the contrast between traditional and modern women, Divakaruni portrays the oppressions faced by women through characters like Sunil's mother and Pishi, who endure suffering within patriarchal structures. Pishi's life as a widow and Sunil's mother's hardships exemplify the sacrifices and restrictions placed on women in traditional settings. However, these women ultimately rebel against societal norms with the support of characters like Pishi, seeking a better life for themselves and their daughters. Divakaruni suggests that women have the strength to break free from these restrictive traditions and create a better future.

Divakaruni further challenges the traditional view of women's dependence on men by showcasing modern women who possess the capability to independently support themselves and their families. Whether they are widows, divorced, or unmarried, these women are depicted as capable of sustaining a good life for themselves and their children without relying on men. Through this representation, Divakaruni questions the validity of rigid, outdated traditions and calls for a shift in societal thinking.

The author's dual narrative voices in both *Sister of My Heart* and *The Vine of Desire* reinforce the idea that women's voices should not be silenced. By presenting multiple perspectives, Divakaruni makes it clear that modern women have the right and the power to speak up, express themselves, and challenge oppressive norms. As women gain access to education, exposure to other cultures, and the ability to travel, they come to understand their own oppression and find the strength to rise above it.

Finally, Sudha's refusal to undergo abortion and her decision to protect her daughter's life symbolizes the larger feminist message of the novels: women should assert their autonomy and resist societal pressures. Divakaruni's work heralds the empowerment of modern women and affirms that they are no longer willing to remain silent or oppressed. The modern women in these novels embody the spirit of

resistance, independence, and self-determination, marking a transformative era in the fight for women's rights and freedom from societal constraints. Through their stories, Divakaruni declares the rise of the oppressed and the dawn of a new age for women.

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Relative Clause Attachment Preference in Najdi Arabic Monolinguals and Najdi Arabic Learners of English

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Abstract There is cross-linguistic variation in how speakers process ambiguous relative clauses (RCs) (e.g., the girl saw the maid "NP1" of the princess "NP2" who was eating chocolate). English speakers, for example, prefer to interpret the RC (e.g., *who was eating chocolate*) as modifying the second noun phrase (*the princess*; low attachment), whereas Spanish and Modern Standard Arabic speakers prefer to interpret the RC in equivalent sentences as modifying the first noun phrase (*the maid*; high attachment). The present study examined the RC attachment preference in monolingual speakers and second-language (L2) learners in two offline interpretation experiments. Experiment 1 tested the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic monolinguals, revealing a preference for the first noun phrase (i.e., high attachment) in their interpretation of Najdi Arabic ambiguous RCs. These results are consistent with the claim that the principle of Predicate Proximity is more likely to override the universal principle of Recency in languages that permit greater distances between the verb and its complements. Experiment 2 tested the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic learners of English. Unlike English speakers, Najdi Arabic learners of English preferred the first noun phrase (i.e., high attachment) when interpreting ambiguous English RCs, indicating a transfer of RC attachment preference from their L1 to their L2. These results challenge the Shallow Structure Hypothesis, which argues against L1 transfer of structure-based processing principles (e.g., Predicate Proximity) and posits that L2 learners are restricted to shallow processing that relies more on semantic cues than on syntactic cues.

Keywords Najdi Arabic • Relative clause attachment • Second language acquisition • Shallow structure hypothesis

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1. Introduction

Research on sentence processing reveals cross-linguistic variation in how native speakers process ambiguous relative clauses (RCs). In (1)[1], for example, the sentence is globally ambiguous in that the RC (i.e., *who was eating chocolate*) can refer to either the first noun phrase (*the maid*; high attachment), or the second noun phrase (*the princess*; low attachment). Native speakers of certain languages, such as English, prefer to attach the RC in sentences like (1) to the second noun phrase (NP2), that is, *the princess* (e.g., Carreiras & Clifton, 1999; Dussias, 2003). However, native speakers of other languages, such as Spanish and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), prefer to attach the RC in equivalent sentences to the first noun phrase (NP1), that is, *the maid* (e.g., Bidaoui et al., 2016; Dussias & Sagarra, 2007).

(1) The girl saw the maid (NP1) of the princess (NP2) who was eating chocolate.

To explain cross-linguistic variation in RC attachment preference, Gibson et al. (1996) proposed two principles: the principle of Recency and the principle of Predicate Proximity. According to the principle of Recency, the ambiguous RC in (1) should attach to the most recently processed noun phrase: the second NP, that is, *the princess*. This principle explains the observed preference for the second NP (i.e., low attachment) in languages like English. According to the principle of the Predicate Proximity, however, the ambiguous RC in (1) should attach to the noun phrase that is closer to the head of the predicate (i.e., the main verb *saw*): the first NP, that is, *the maid*. This principle explains the preference for the first NP (i.e., high attachment) observed in languages such as Spanish and MSA.

Although RC attachment preference has been tested in many languages including MSA, it has not been studied to the best of my knowledge in Najdi Arabic dialect[2]. The first goal of the present study is to extend this research to Najdi Arabic. Thus, the first research question of this study is whether the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic is the second NP (i.e., low attachment), as predicted by the principle of Recency, or the first NP (i.e., high attachment), as predicted by the principle of Predicate Proximity.

Research on RC attachment preference in native speakers extends to second-language (L2) learners. Previous studies on L2 learners focused on whether L2 learners process ambiguous RCs in the same way as native speakers do. The Shallow Structure Hypothesis (SSH; Clahsen & Felser, 2006, 2018) argues that L2 learners process their target language differently from native speakers, relying more on lexical, semantic, or pragmatic cues than on syntactic cues. According to the SSH, L2 learners are not expected to show a clear (high or low) RC attachment preference in their L2 because they are unable to use syntactic or structure-based processing principles (e.g., Recency or Predicate Proximity), even when the RC attachment preference is the same in their L1 and L2.

However, previous studies on RC attachment preference in L2 learners yielded inconsistent results, with some reporting successful acquisition of RC attachment

[1] The example in (1) is from from Felser et al. (2003), p. 46.

[2] Najdi Arabic is a variety of Arabic spoken in the Najd region of Saudi Arabia.

preference in L2 (e.g., Bidaoui et al., 2016; Dussias, 2003), some reporting L1 transfer of RC attachment preference (e.g., Uludağ, 2020; Witzel et al., 2012), and others reporting no clear attachment preference in L2 as predicted by the SSH (e.g., Felser et al., 2003; Papadopoulou & Clahsen, 2003). The second goal of this study is to further examine RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic learners of English. Thus, the second research question of this study is whether these learners acquire the RC attachment preference in English, transfer it from their L1 to their L2, or show no clear RC attachment preference as posited by the SSH.

2. Literature review

The following section reviews studies that have examined the RC attachment preference in native speakers and gives an overview of the principles of Recency and Predicate Proximity that have been proposed to account for the cross-linguistic variation in RC attachment preference. Section 2.1 reviews the studies on RC attachment preference in L2 learners. Section 3 discusses the details of the present study.

2.1 Relative clause attachment preference in L1

Many studies have examined the processing of ambiguous RCs in different languages, revealing cross-linguistic variation in RC attachment preference. For example, native English speakers tend to prefer to attach ambiguous RCs in sentences like (2) to the second NP (i.e., low attachment). Similar preferences have been observed in Brazilian (e.g., Finger & Zimmer, 2000), Japanese (e.g., Jun & Koike, 2008), Swedish, Norwegian, and Romanian (e.g., Ehrlich et al., 1999). In contrast, a preference for the first NP (i.e., high attachment) has been seen in MSA (e.g., Bidaoui et al., 2016), Spanish (e.g., Dussias & Sagarra, 2007), French (e.g., Zagar et al., 1997), German (e.g., Hemforth et al., 1998), and Dutch (e.g., Brysbaert & Mitchell, 1996).

(2) The girl saw the maid (NP1) of the princess (NP2) who was eating chocolate.

To explain this cross-linguistic variation, Gibson et al. (1996) proposed two structure-based principles, Recency and Predicate Proximity. The principle of Recency suggests attaching "structures for incoming lexical items to structures built more recently" (p. 26). According to this principle, the ambiguous RC in (2) should attach to the most recently processed noun phrase, which is the second NP, i.e., *the princess*. The principle of Recency is claimed to be universal because it is based on working memory. The principle of Recency explains the preference for the second NP observed in languages like English (e.g., Carreiras & Clifton, 1999; Dussias, 2003).

To account for the preference for the first NP (high attachment) observed in languages like Spanish (e.g., Cuetos & Mitchell, 1988; Dussias & Sagarra, 2007) and MSA (e.g., Bidaoui et al., 2016), Gibson et al. (1996) proposed the principle of Predicate Proximity, which suggests attaching the RC "as close as possible to the head of a predicate phrase" (p. 41). This principle predicts an RC attachment

preference for the first NP, which is closer than the second NP to the head of the predicate (i.e., the main verb). According to this principle, the ambiguous RC in (2) should attach to the first NP, i.e., *the maid*, because it is closer than the second NP to the main verb, i.e., *saw*.

However, Gibson et al. (1996) claimed that the strength of the principle of Predicate Proximity varies from one language to another, depending on the average distance allowed between a verb and its complements. That is, the greater the average distance between the verb and its complements in a language, the more strongly the verb will be activated to allow long-distance attachments. English, for example, is a language with a strict word order in which the verb is close to its complements, suggesting that Predicate Proximity is weak in English. Therefore, the default universal principle of Recency, which predicts a preference for the second NP, is more likely in English, as many studies show (e.g., Dussias, 2003; Fernández, 1999). In contrast, Spanish and MSA have a more flexible word order, and the verb can be far from its complements. This suggests that Predicate Proximity, which predicts a preference for the first NP (i.e., high attachment), is likely strong enough to override the universal principle of ecency in Spanish and MSA, which many studies show (e.g., Bidaoui et al., 2016; Cuetos & Mitchell, 1988; Dussias & Sagarra, 2007).

Bidaoui et al. (2016) tested Predicate Proximity by examining the RC attachment preference in MSA, using an offline task (a preference task) and an online task (self-paced reading task). MSA features flexible word order, and the verb can be far from its complements (e.g., Fehri, 2013), suggesting a strong principle of Predicate Proximity. Based on this trait, Bidaoui et al. (2016) predicted that Predicate Proximity would outrank Recency in MSA. That is, speakers of MSA in the study were predicted to attach the ambiguous RC to the first NP (i.e., high attachment), for example, *Sadiiqa* "friend" in MSA sentences as in (3)[3].

(3) raʔay-tu Sadiiqa (NP1) ar-rajuli (NP2) alla-ði
saw-1SG friend.MASC the-man C-3SG.MASC

ya-skunu fii al-bayti
IMP-live.3SG.MASC in the-house
'I saw the friend of the man who lives in the house.'

As predicted, the results of the offline and online tasks showed that speakers of MSA preferred the first NP (i.e., high attachment)[4]. Bidaoui et al. (2016) argued that these results support the principle of Predicate Proximity.

Although the RC attachment preference has been examined in many languages including MSA, the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic dialect has not been examined yet. Thus, the first goal of this study is to extend this line of research to Najdi Arabic by testing the principles of Recency and Predicate Proximity proposed by Gibson et al. (1996).

[3] The example in (3) is from Bidaoui et al. (2016), p. 82.

[4] Although the results of the self-paced reading task in Bidaoui et al. (2016) showed a preference for high attachment, this preference was not statistically significant.

2.2 Relative clause attachment preference in L2

Research on RC attachment preference in native speakers has been extended to L2 learners. Most studies on RC attachment in L2 learners have focused on whether L2 learners process ambiguous RCs as native speakers do. Previous study results were mixed: some studies showed successful acquisition of RC attachment preference in L2 (e.g., Bidaoui et al., 2016; Dussias, 2003), some showed an L1 transfer of RC attachment preference (e.g., Fernández, 1999; Uludağ, 2020; Witzel et al., 2012), and some showed no clear attachment preference in L2 (e.g., Dinctopal-Deniz, 2010; Felser et al., 2003; Papadopoulou & Clahsen, 2003; Rah, 2009).

Dussias (2003), for example, tested how Spanish learners of English and English learners of Spanish process ambiguous RCs in English sentences and their Spanish equivalents, as shown in (4)[5]. In online processing (i.e., self-paced reading task), neither group of learners showed a clear RC attachment preference. In offline processing (i.e., interpretation task), however, both groups of learners preferred low attachment (e.g., "the psychologist") in their L2s. Specifically, Spanish learners of English preferred low attachment in their L2, although their L1 favors high attachment, which indicates that they acquired the RC attachment preference in their L2. However, English learners of Spanish preferred low attachment in their L2, although their L2 favors high attachment, transferring the low attachment preference from their L1 to their L2. To explain why the two groups of learners exhibited different patterns of results, Dussias argued that learners of the two groups may have resorted to low attachment, which is easier in terms of working memory.

(4). Peter loved the daughter (NP1) of the psychologist (NP2) who studied in California.

Unlike Dussias (2003), Papadopoulou and Clahsen (2003) did not find a clear preference for high or low attachment in L2 learners. Specifically, they tested three groups of L2 learners of Greek whose L1s were German, Russian, or Spanish; like Greek, all of these languages favor high attachment. Although the attachment preference is the same in their L1 and L2, the learners did not show a clear preference for high or low attachment in the offline or online task, providing evidence against the transfer of L1 processing strategies.

Like Papadopoulou and Clahsen (2003), Felser et al. (2003) did not find a clear attachment preference in L2 learners. Specifically, Felser et al. (2003) tested two groups of L2 learners of English whose L1s were Greek or German, which, unlike English, favor high attachment. The two groups of learners did not show a clear preference for high or low attachment in the offline or online task, indicating that L2 learners failed to process ambiguous RCs the way native speakers do.

To account for the results that show no clear RC attachment preference in L2 learners, Clahsen and Felser argued that these results support the predictions of the SSH (Clahsen & Felser, 2006, 2018). According to the SSH, adult L2 learners use processing mechanisms that differ from those used by native speakers. Unlike native speakers, L2 learners rely more on lexical, semantic, or pragmatic cues than on syntactic cues when they process their target language. Under the SSH, the

[5] The example in (4) is from Dussias (2003), p. 541.

unclear RC attachment preference observed in L2 learners is caused by the failure to use syntactic or structure-based processing principles (e.g., Recency or Predicate proximity). With respect to the role of L1 transfer, the SSH argues against a strong L1 effect on L2 sentence processing.

Bidaoui et al. (2016) tested the SSH by examining how English learners of MSA process ambiguous RCs in MSA. Unlike English, which favors low attachment, MSA favors high attachment. The results of the interpretation and self-paced reading tasks showed that English learners of MSA preferred high attachment in their L2. Bidaoui et al. (2016) argued that these results suggest L2 learners acquired the attachment preference of the L2 and were able to use structure-based processing principles, contrary to the prediction of the SSH.

Uludağ (2020) provided another piece of evidence against the SSH. Using an online eye-tracking task, Uludağ tested Turkish learners of English to examine the effect of L1 transfer on the processing of ambiguous RCs in the L2. Contrary to the prediction of the SSH, the Turkish learners transferred the Turkish high-attachment preference to English. Like Uludağ, Witzel et al. (2012) saw an effect of L1 transfer on L2 processing of ambiguous RCs. They tested Chinese learners of English using an online eye-tracking task and found the learners transferred the Chinese high-attachment preference to their L2, which favors low attachment.

The studies reviewed above had mixed results. Felser et al. (2003) and Papadopoulou and Clahsen (2003) showed no clear attachment preference in L2, supporting the SSH. However, Bidaoui et al. (2016) and Dussias (2003) showed successful acquisition of RC attachment preference in L2, contrary to the prediction of the SSH. Other studies, like Uludağ (2020) and Witzel et al. (2012), showed an L1 transfer of RC attachment preference, which also goes against the SSH that argues for no role of L1 transfer in L2 sentence processing. The L2 acquisition of RC attachment preference is still a disputed issue, and the current study further examines this issue by testing learners of English, whose L1 is Najdi Arabic.

3. The present study

The present study examined the RC attachment preference in native speakers (Experiment 1) and L2 learners (Experiment 2). The goal of Experiment 1 was to examine the RC attachment preference in native speakers of Najdi Arabic, a dialect that, to the best of my knowledge, has not been previously studied from this perspective. The goal of Experiment 2 was to examine the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic learners of English to test the SSH (Clahsen & Felser, 2006, 2018). The following section gives an overview of the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic.

3.1 Relative clause attachment preference in Najdi Arabic

RCs in Najdi Arabic, as in English, follow the relativized head noun as shown in (5)[6]. Unlike English, however, Najdi Arabic does not have relative pronouns (e.g., *who*,

[6] The examples in (5), (7), (8) and (9) are from the author as a native speaker of Najdi Arabic.

which) and has only a relative complementizer *alli* "that" to introduce RCs (e.g., Aldwayan, 2009).

(5). ar-rjaal [alli ʃara as-siyyaarah]
the-man C bought.3SG.MASC the-car
'the man who bought the car'

In MSA, there is agreement in gender and number between the relative complementizer and the relativized head noun. In (6)[7], for example, the complementizer *alla-ðiina* agrees in gender and number with the relativized head noun *al-awlaad-u* "the boys." In Najdi Arabic, however, the relative complementizer *alli* has one fixed form and does not agree in gender and number with the relativized head noun, as in (7) (e.g., Aldwayan, 2009).

(6). al-awlaad-u alla-ðiina Darab-uu al-fatayaat
the-boys-NOM C-3PL.MASC hit-3PL.MASC the-girls
'The boys who hit the girls'

(7). al-ʕyaal alli Durab-aw al-banaat
the-boys-NOM C hit-3PL.MASC the-girls
'The boys who hit the girls'

As in many languages, RCs in Najdi Arabic can be ambiguous. The Najdi Arabic sentence in (8) is ambiguous in terms of which NP the RC modifies. In (8), both the first NP, *muSawwar-t* "photographer," and the second NP, *al-muɣaniyy-ah* "the singer," in the complex NP agree in gender, number, and person with the auxiliary verb *kaan-at* "was" and main verb *ta-ʃrab* "drink" in the embedded relative clause. This structure creates ambiguity because the RC *alli kaan-at ta-ʃrab ʕsiir* "who was drinking juice" could refer to the first NP, *muSawwar-t* "photographer," or the second NP, *al-mughaniyy-ah* "the singer."[8]

(8). al-bint ʃaaf-at muSawwar-t (NP1) al-muɣaniyy-ah (NP2)
the-girl saw-3SG.FEM photographer-FEM the-singer-FEM

alli kaan-at ta-ʃrab ʕsiir
C AUX-3SG.FEM IMP.3SG.FEM-drink. juice
'The girl saw the photographer of the singer who was drinking juice.'

Najdi Arabic features flexible word order in which the verb can be distant from its complements (e.g., Aldwayan, 2009; Lewis, 2013). Moreover, adjuncts can intervene between the verb and its complements, also allowing the verb to be far from its complements. In (9), for example, the subject *al-walad* "the boy" and the adjunct prepositional phrase *fi al-faSil* "in class" intervene between the verb *ħal* "did" and its complement *wajib-ih* "his homework."

[7] The example in (6) is from Aldwayan (2009), p. 19.

[8] This explanation is based on the author's judgment as a native speaker of Najdi Arabic and discussion with other native speakers.

(9). ħal al-walad fi al-faSil wajib-ih
did.3SG.MASC the-boy in the-class homework-his
'The boy did his homework in class.'

3.2 Experiment 1

Experiment 1 tested the RC attachment preference in native speakers of Najdi Arabic. Gibson et al. (1996) claimed that, in languages with a more flexible word order, Predicate Proximity likely overrides Recency. Najdi Arabic, as shown above, features flexible word order (e.g., Aldwayan, 2009; Lewis, 2013). If Gibson et al.'s (1996) claim is correct, Predicate Proximity was expected to supersede Recency in Najdi Arabic. That is, the first NP was predicted to be favored over the second NP. The present study aimed to test this prediction to identify the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic. Thus, the first research question of this study was whether the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic was to the second NP, as predicted by Recency or to the first NP, as predicted by Predicate Proximity.

3.2.1 Participants

Eighty-seven monolingual native speakers of Najdi Arabic (49 males, mean age = 23.5) participated in the experiment. They grew up in Najd, the central region of Saudi Arabia. They completed a language background questionnaire to confirm their dialect was Najdi Arabic. They were undergraduate students at Imam Mohammad Ibn Saud Islamic University (IMSIU), Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and received course credit for participation.

3.2.2 Materials and task

There were 24 experimental sentences and 48 filler sentences. The experimental sentences were taken from Felser et al. (2003) and translated into Najdi Arabic[9]. The experimental sentences were of the form NP-V-[NP1-P-NP2]-RC. They were structurally ambiguous, with an RC that could refer to the first or second NP in the complex NP. In (10), for example, the two NPs in the complex NP agree in gender, number, and person with the auxiliary and main verbs in the embedded relative clause. This structure creates ambiguity because the RC, *alli kaan-at ta-kil ʃukalatah* "who was eating chocolate," can refer to the first NP, *xaddam-at* "maid" or the second NP, *al-amir-ah* "the princess."

(10) al-bint ʃaafa-t xaddam-at (NP1) al-amir-ah (NP2)
the-girl saw-3SG.FEM maid-FEM the-princess-FEM

[9] The experimental sentences were taken from Felser et al. (2003) and translated into Najdi Arabic to lexically and structurally control for sentences in this experiment and experiment 2 that used the original English sentences of Felser et al. (2003). Thus, any observed difference between the results of this experiment and experiment 2 should not be attributed to a difference in sentences rather than to a difference in RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic and English.

alli	kaan-at	ta-kil	ʃukalatah
C	AUX-3SG.FEM	IMPERF.3SG.FEM-eat	chocolate

'The girl saw the maid of the princess who was eating chocolate.'
min kan yakil ʃukalatah?
'Who was eating chocolate?'

a). al-amirah 'The princess'
b). al-xaddamat 'The maid'

The experiment used an interpretation task. The sentences of the task were presented to participants in a laboratory using SurveyMonkey, an online survey platform. Participants saw one sentence at a time, with a question and two response options displayed under the test sentence as shown in Figure 1. The participants chose their responses according to their preferred interpretation. The first and second NPs were equally presented as the first and second options to avoid the possibility of participants consistently choosing the first or second option.

The task also included 24 unambiguous filler sentences[10]. These sentences had RCs that can refer to only one of the two NPs in the complex NP. In (11), for example, the RC can refer only to the first NP, which agrees in gender, number, and person with the auxiliary and main verbs in the embedded relative clause.

(11)

al-laʕab	ʃaaf	musaʕid-iin (NP1)	al-muddrib (NP2)
the-player	saw.3SG.MASC	assistant-3PL.MASC	the-coach. SG.MASC

alli	kan-nuu	ya-ʃrab-uun	ʃahi
who	AUX-3PL.MASC	IMPERF-drink-3PL.MASC	tea

'The player saw the assistants of the coach who were drinking tea.'
min kan yaʃrab ʃahi?
'Who was drinking tea?'

a. al-musaʕid-iin 'The assistants'
b. al- muddrib 'The coach'

Figure 1. *Stimulus example for Najdi Arabic sentences in experiment 1*

[10] The unambiguous fillers were from Felser et al. (2003) and translated into Najdi Arabic.

In addition to the 24 unambiguous fillers, there were 24 ambiguous fillers that included four types of sentences[11]. The first type consisted of Najdi Arabic equivalents of sentences like *Their mother eats fresh bread and eggs*, as in (12). The adjective *fresh* can be interpreted to modify both *bread* and *eggs* or to modify only *bread*.

(12) ʔumm-him ta-kil bayD wa xubiz Taazij
mother-their IMPERF.3SG.FEM-eat eggs and bread fresh
'Their mother eats fresh bread and eggs.'

Wish ta-kil ʔumm-him?
'What does their mother eat?'

a. bayD Taazij wa xubiz Taazij 'Fresh bread and fresh eggs'
b. xubiz Taazij wa bayD 'Eggs and fresh bread'

The other three types of ambiguous fillers consisted of Najdi Arabic equivalents of English sentences like (13), (14), and (15). In (13), the sentence could mean that *Fahad visited Fahad's father and Ali visited Ali's father* or that *Fahad visited Fahad's father and Ali visited Fahad's father*. In (14), the pronoun *he* can refer to *the boy* or *his friend*. In (15), the pronoun *he* can refer to *my brother* or *someone else*. All experimental and filler sentences are in the Appendix.

(13) Fahad visited his father and so did Ali.
(14) The boy played with his friend after he did his homework.
(15) My brother visited the zoo when he was in London.

Four versions of the stimuli were created and the experimental and filler sentences were randomized in each version. Each version began with six practice trials to familiarize participants with the task.

3.2.3 Procedure

The monolingual speakers of Najdi Arabic were tested in a laboratory at IMSIU. Before they started the interpretation task, they signed a consent form and completed a language background questionnaire.

3.2.4 Results

This section presents the results of RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic. Before statistical analysis, responses of participants in the interpretation task were assigned a score of 0 if they chose the second NP as the referent of the RC and a score of 1 if they chose the first NP as the referent. Thus, a mean preference score from 0.0 to 0.5 indicates a preference for the second NP, and from 0.5 to 1.0 indicates a preference for the first NP. According to this score, the native Najdi Arabic speakers showed a preference for the first NP (i.e., high attachment) with a mean score of 0.68. Table 1 shows percentages of RC attachment preferences in Najdi Arabic sentences.

[11] The ambiguous fillers were created by the author.

Table 1. *Percentages of relative clause attachment preferences in Najdi Arabic sentences*

	NP1 (high attachment)	*SD*	NP2 (low attachment)	*SD*
Najdi Arabic speakers	68.1%	0.23	31.9%	0.23

To determine whether native Najdi Arabic speakers' mean score (0.68) was significantly different from 0.5 (which means no preference), a one-sample *t* test with 0.5 as the test value was conducted. The analysis indicated that native Najdi Arabic speakers' mean score (0.68) was significantly different from 0.5 [$t(86)=7.318$, $p < 0.000$]. This suggests that native Najdi Arabic speakers had a clear preference for the first NP (i.e., high attachment) in Najdi Arabic RCs.

3.2.5. Discussion

This experiment tested the research question of whether the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic is the second NP (low attachment), as predicted by the principle of Recency or the first NP (high attachment) as predicted by the principle of Predicate Proximity. Gibson et al. (1996) claimed that the principle of Predicate Proximity is more likely to outrank the universal principle of Recency in languages that allow for greater distances between the verb and its complements. As for Najdi Arabic tested in this experiment, it is a language in which the verb can be distant from its complements as it has a flexible word order and allows adjuncts to intervene between the verb and its complements. If Gibson et al.'s (1996) claim is right, the principle of Predicate Proximity is expected to override the universal Principle of Recency in Najdi Arabic. That is, the first NP (high attachment) is predicted to be preferred over the second NP (low attachment). As predicted, the native speakers of Najdi Arabic in this experiment exhibited a clear preference for high attachment (NP1) in their interpretation of Najdi Arabic ambiguous RCs. These results support the claim of Gibson et al. (1996) that, in languages that allow for greater distances between the verb and its complements, the principle of Predicate Proximity is more likely to outrank the universal principle of Recency.

Interestingly, Najdi Arabic speakers in this experiment, MSA speakers in Bidaoui et al. (2016), and Spanish speakers in Dussias and Sagarra (2007) exhibited a preference for high attachment, while English speakers in Dussias (2003) and Fernández (1999) exhibited a preference for low attachment. These results are consistent with Gibson et al.'s (1996) claim that the principle of Predicate Proximity is strong in languages (e.g., Najdi Arabic, MSA, and Spanish) that allow greater distance between the verb and its complements and weak in languages (e.g., English) that do not allow greater distance between the verb and its complements. To conclude, then, and in answer to the question tested in this experiment of whether the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic is the second NP (low attachment), as predicted by the principle of Recency or the first NP (high attachment) as predicted by the principle of Predicate Proximity, the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic is the first NP (high attachment) as predicted by the principle of Predicate Proximity.

3.3 Experiment 2

Experiment 2 tested the RC attachment preference in L2 learners, namely Najdi Arabic learners of English. Previous research on the RC attachment preference in L2 learners has focused on the question of whether L2 learners can process ambiguous RCs the way native speakers do. The SSH (Clahsen & Felser, 2006, 2018) proposes to account for the way learners process ambiguous RCs in their L2. According to this hypothesis, L2 learners cannot process their L2 in the same way that native speakers do because they are not sensitive to abstract syntax in sentence processing. Specifically, this hypothesis claims that, when processing ambiguous RCs, L2 learners are restricted to shallow processing that is based on semantic rather than syntactic cues, even if their L1 and L2 have the same structure-based processing strategies. This hypothesis argues for L2 failure to acquire the RC attachment preference in the L2 because of L2 learners' inability to use structure-based processing strategies (e.g., Recency or Predicate Proximity) and for little or no effect of L1 on L2 processing of ambiguous RCs.

Under the SSH, Najdi Arabic learners of English in this experiment are predicted to show no clear RC attachment preference in their L2 English. They are not predicted to acquire a low attachment preference in English because they cannot use structure-based processing principles like the principle of Recency. They are also not predicted to transfer the high-attachment preference from their L1 to their L2 because they are restricted to shallow processing and cannot apply the structure-based principle of Predicate Proximity. Thus, the second research question of this study is whether Najdi Arabic learners of English acquire the RC attachment preference in their L2, transfer the RC attachment preference from their L1 to their L2, or show no clear RC attachment preference as claimed by the SSH.

3.3.1 Participants

Forty-nine advanced Najdi Arabic learners of English (47 males, mean age = 22.4) participated in the study. They were undergraduate students at IMSIU, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. They completed the Michigan Listening Comprehension Test to assess their English proficiency. The test consisted of 45 listening-comprehension questions that targeted various grammatical constructions. Their scores ranged from 33 to 45 out of 45 possible correct answers (M = 40.47, SD = 2.68), indicating that the learners had reached an advanced level of proficiency in English. They received extra course credit for participating in the study.

Thirty monolingual native speakers of English (20 females, mean age = 41) also participated in the study as a control group. They were tested at the University of Kansas, United States. Each participant was paid $10 for participating.

3.3.2 Materials and task

Like the stimuli of Experiment 1, the stimuli of Experiment 2 comprised 24 experimental sentences and 48 filler sentences. The experimental sentences were taken from Felser et al. (2003). Note that the experimental and filler sentences

in Experiment 1 were the Najdi Arabic equivalents of English sentences in this experiment. Thus, any observed difference between the results of Experiments 1 and 2 should not be attributed to a difference in sentences rather than to a difference in RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic and English. It was important that the experimental sentences in Experiments 1 and 2 be controlled lexically and structurally because differences in individual sentences have been found to cause variability in RC attachment preferences (Gilboy et al., 1995, as cited in Dussias, 2003).

The experimental sentences in this experiment were structurally ambiguous and of the form NP-V-[NP1-P-NP2]-RC. In (16), for example, the RC *who was eating chocolate* can refer to the first NP *the maid* or the second NP *the princess* in the complex NP.

(16) The girl saw the maid (NP1) of the princess (NP2) who was eating chocolate.
Who was eating chocolate?
a. The princess
b. The maid

As in Experiment 1, this experiment used a sentence-interpretation task in which sentences were presented to participants using SurveyMonkey, an online survey platform. Participants read one sentence at a time, followed by a question and two answer options displayed under the test sentence, as shown in Figure 2. The participants were asked to choose a response according to their preferred interpretation. The first and second NPs appeared equally as the first and second options.

The task also included 24 unambiguous filler sentences [12]. These sentences had RCs that can refer to only one of the two NPs in the complex NP. In (17), for example, the RC can refer only to the first NP *the assistants*, which agrees in number with the auxiliary verb in the embedded relative clause.

(17) The player saw the assistants (NP1) of the coach (NP2) who were drinking tea.
Who was drinking tea?
a. the assistants
b. the coach

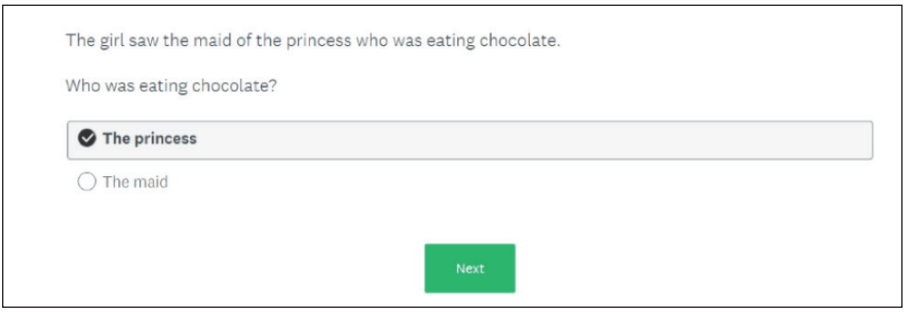

Figure 2. *Stimulus example for english sentences in experiment 2*

[12] The unambiguous fillers were from Felser et al. (2003).

In addition to the 24 unambiguous fillers, there were 24 ambiguous fillers that consisted of four types of sentences [13]. The first type included sentences like (18), in which the adjective *fresh* can be interpreted to modify both *bread* and *eggs* or only *bread*.

(18) Their mother eats fresh bread and eggs.
What does their mother eat?
a. Fresh bread and fresh eggs
b. Eggs and fresh bread

The second, third, and fourth types of ambiguous fillers included sentences like (19), (20), and (21), respectively. All experimental and filler sentences are in Appendix.

(19) John visited his father and so did Harold.
(20) The boy played with his friend after he did his homework.
(21) My brother visited the zoo when he was in London.

As in Experiment 1, I created four versions of the stimuli. The experimental and filler sentences were randomized in each version. Each version began with six practice trials to familiarize participants with the task.

3.3.3 Procedure

The monolingual speakers of English were assessed individually in the United States. They signed a consent form and completed a background questionnaire before starting the interpretation task. As for Najdi Arabic learners of English, they were tested in a laboratory at IMSIU, Saudi Arabia. Before they started the interpretation task, they signed a consent form and completed a language-background questionnaire. After completing the interpretation task, they took the Michigan Listening Comprehension Test to assess their English proficiency.

3.3.4 Results

This section presents the results of RC attachment preference in English by native English speakers and Najdi Arabic learners of English. As was in Experiment 1, the responses of participants were assigned a score of 0 if they chose the second NP as the referent of the RC and a score of 1 if they chose the first NP. Hence, a mean score from 0.0 to 0.5 indicates a preference for the second NP, and from 0.5 to 1.0 indicates a preference for the first NP. According to this score, the native English speakers showed a preference for the second NP (i.e., low attachment) with a mean score of 0.29. Table 2 shows percentages of RC attachment preferences in English sentences.

To determine whether native English speakers' mean score (0.29) was significantly different from 0.5 (which signifies no preference), a one-sample *t* test with 0.5 as the test value was conducted. The analysis indicated that native English speakers' mean score (0.29) was significantly different from 0.5 [$t(29)=-4.383$, $p < 0.000$].

[13] The ambiguous fillers were created by the author.

Table 2. *Percentages of relative clause attachment preferences in English sentences*

Subjects	NP1 (high attachment)	*SD*	NP2 (low attachment)	*SD*
Native English speakers	29.1%	0.26	70.9%	0.26
Najdi learners of English	59.3%	0.22	40.7%	0.22

This suggests that native English speakers clearly preferred the second NP (i.e., low attachment) in English RCs.

However, the Najdi Arabic learners of English patterned differently from native English speakers. In fact, they showed a preference for the first NP (i.e., high attachment) with a mean score of 0.59. To determine whether Najdi Arabic learners' mean score was significantly different from 0.5 (i.e., no preference), a one-sample *t* test with 0.5 as the test value was performed. The analysis indicated that Najdi Arabic learners' mean score was significantly different from 0.5 [$t(48)=2.955$, $p < 0.005$]. This suggests that Najdi Arabic learners clearly preferred the first NP (i.e., high attachment) in English RCs.

3.3.5 Discussion

This experiment tested whether Najdi Arabic learners of English acquired the RC attachment preference in their L2, transferred the RC attachment preference from their L1 to their L2, or showed no clear RC attachment preference as claimed by the SSH. To answer this question, I examined the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic learners of English and the control group's native speakers of English. In the interpretation task, native speakers of English clearly preferred low attachment (i.e., NP2) in their interpretation of ambiguous English RCs. These results align with those of previous research that tested the RC attachment preference in native speakers of English (e.g., Carreiras & Clifton, 1999; Dussias, 2003; Fernández, 1999).

Unlike native speakers of English, however, Najdi Arabic learners clearly preferred high attachment (i.e., NP1), transferring the RC attachment preference from their L1 to their L2. These results do not support SSH, which argues against L1 transfer of structure-based processing principles (e.g., Recency or Predicate Proximity). Under the SSH, Najdi Arabic learners had been predicted to show no clear preference for high or low attachment in their interpretation of ambiguous RCs in English. Specifically, Najdi Arabic learners were predicted not to acquire the low-attachment preference in English because it had been claimed that L2 learners were insensitive to syntactic details and therefore could not use structure-based processing principles (e.g., Recency). Consistent with this prediction, the results of Najdi Arabic learners in this experiment indicated they did not acquire the low-attachment preference in their L2. However, it was also predicted, under the SSH, that Najdi Arabic learners could not transfer the high-attachment preference from their L1 because they were restricted to shallow processing that heavily relies on semantic cues rather than syntactic ones. Contrary to this prediction, Najdi Arabic learners were able to transfer the high-attachment preference from their L1 to their L2. The clear high-attachment preference exhibited by Najdi Arabic learners in the interpretation task suggests they

were able to use the structure-based processing principle of Predicate Proximity and were not restricted to the shallow processing that is based on semantic cues as claimed by the SSH.

Unlike the results of Papadopoulou and Clahsen (2003) and Felser et al. (2003), where no distinct attachment preference emerged in L2 learners as predicted by the SSH, results from this experiment—as well as the results of Bidaoui et al. (2016), Dussias (2003), Uludağ (2020), and Witzel et al. (2012)—showed a clear attachment preference in L2 learners that is contrary to the prediction of the SSH. Specifically, Spanish learners of English in Dussias (2003) and English learners of MSA in Bidaoui et al. (2016) showed successful acquisition of RC attachment preference in the L2. These results do not support the SSH, which claims that L2 learners cannot apply structure-based processing principles. Moreover, Najdi Arabic learners of English in this experiment, English learners of Spanish in Dussias (2003), Turkish learners of English in Uludağ (2020), and Chinese learners of English in Witzel et al. (2012) transferred the RC attachment preference from their L1 to their L2. These results also do not support SSH, which argues that L2 learners cannot transfer structure-based processing principles from their L1 to their L2. To conclude, then, and in answer to the question tested in this experiment of whether Najdi Arabic learners of English acquired the RC attachment preference in their L2, transferred the RC attachment preference from their L1 to their L2, or showed no clear RC attachment preference as claimed by the SSH, Najdi Arabic learners of English transferred the RC attachment preference from their L1 to their L2, contrary to the prediction of the SSH.

4. Conclusion

This study tested the RC attachment preference in native speakers (Experiment 1) and L2 learners (Experiment 2). The goal of Experiment 1 was to test the RC attachment preference in native speakers of Najdi Arabic, an unexplored perspective. As predicted by the principle of Predicate Proximity, Najdi Arabic speakers showed a preference for high attachment (NP1) in interpreting ambiguous RCs. These results are consistent with Gibson et al.'s (1996) claim that Predicate Proximity prevails over Recency in languages that allow greater distances between a verb and its complements. The goal of Experiment 2 was to test the RC attachment preference in Najdi Arabic learners of English. Unlike English speakers, who preferred low attachment (NP2), Najdi Arabic learners of English preferred high attachment (NP1) when interpreting ambiguous English RCs, transferring the RC attachment preference from their L1 to their L2. These results contradict the SSH, which suggests little or no effect of L1 on L2 processing of ambiguous RCs. Despite transferring the RC attachment preference from their L1 to their L2, Najdi Arabic learners seemed able to use the structure-based processing principle of Predicate Proximity, challenging the SSH's claim that they were restricted to shallow processing based on semantic cues.

Inevitably, this study may have some limitations. One limitation might be the small sample size of Najdi Arabic monolinguals and Najdi Arabic learners of English. Further research using larger samples is needed to ensure the generalizability of results and statistical power for detecting potential effects. Testing additional languages and dialects is also needed to better understand the cross-linguistic variation in RC

attachment preference. Although this study controlled for English proficiency of L2 learners, it did not control for some potential confounding factors that could influence participants' RC attachment preferences, such as age, gender, language exposure, working memory, and intelligence. Moreover, this study used an offline task (i.e., untimed task) in which participants may adopt a certain strategy in responding to the task items. Future studies need to build upon the findings of this study by utilizing online tasks (e.g., self-paced reading and eye-tracking tasks). Online tasks are more sensitive than offline tasks in detecting language effects because they measure the unconscious processing of language and do not allow participants to adopt a response strategy.

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APPENDIX

Stimuli of Experiment 1 and Experiment 2

Note:

Expt 1: The experimental sentences and unambiguous fillers were from Felser et al. (2003) and translated into Najdi Arabic. The ambiguous fillers were created by the author.
Expt 2: The experimental sentences and unambiguous fillers were taken from Felser et al. (2003). The ambiguous fillers were created by the author.

	Experiment 2 English Stimuli	Experiment 1 Najdi Arabic Stimuli
	1.1.1	
	Ambiguous Experimental Sentences	**Ambiguous Experimental Sentences**
1	The girl knew the photographer of the singer who was drinking juice. Who was drinking juice? The singer / The photographer	البنت عرفت مصورة المغنية اللي كانت تشرب عصير. من كان يشرب عصير؟ المغنية \ المصورة
2	The thief hit the sister of the girl who was calling the police. Who was calling the police? The sister / The girl	.الحرامي ضرب أخت البنت اللي كانت تتصل بالشرطة من كان يتصل بالشرطة؟ الأخت \ البنت
3	The girl saw the maid of the princess who was eating chocolate. Who was eating chocolate? The princess / The maid	.البنت شافت خدامة الأميرة اللي كانت تاكل شوكلاتة من كان ياكل شوكلاتة؟ الأميرة \ الخدامة
4	The nurse met the doctor of the man who was preparing to go home. Who was preparing to go home? The doctor / The man	الممرضة قابلت دكتور الرجال اللي كان يستعد يروح البيت. من كان يستعد يروح البيت؟ الدكتور \ الرجال
5	The secretary saw the driver of the manager who was planning a vacation. Who was planning a vacation? The manager / The driver	.السكرتير شاف سواق المدير اللي كان يخطط لاجازة من كان يخطط لاجازة؟ المدير \ السواق
6	The girl photographed the daughter of the actress who was driving the car. Who was driving the car? The daughter / The actress	.البنت صورت بنت الممثلة اللي كانت تسوق السيارة من كان يسوق السيارة؟ البنت \ الممثلة
7	The director saw the hairdresser of the actress who was listening to music. Who was listening to music? The actress / The hairdresser	المخرج شاف كوافيرة الممثلة اللي كانت تسمع موسيقى. من كان يسمع موسيقى؟ الممثلة \ الكوافيرة
8	The police arrested the bodyguard of the prince who was talking on the phone. Who was talking on the phone? The bodyguard / The prince	.الشرطة مسكت حارس الأمير اللي كان يكلم بالجوال من كان يكلم بالجوال؟ الحارس \ الأمير

	Experiment 2 English Stimuli	Experiment 1 Najdi Arabic Stimuli
9	The principal called to the teacher of the student who was thinking about the school play. Who was thinking about the school play? The student / The teacher	المدير نادى مدرس الطالب اللي كان يفكر في مسرحية المدرسة. من كان يفكر في مسرحية المدرسة؟ الطالب \ المدرس
10	The customer spoke to the assistant of the pharmacist who was preparing the medicine. Who was preparing the medicine? The assistant / The pharmacist	الزبون تكلم مع مساعد الصيدلي اللي كان يجهز العلاج. من كان يجهز العلاج؟ المساعد \ الصيدلي
11	The boy saw the friend of the man who lived in the house. Who lived in the house? The man / The friend	الولد شاف صديق الرجال اللي كان ساكن في البيت. من كان ساكن في البيت؟ الرجال \ الصديق
12	The man phoned the daughter of the doctor who lived in California. Who lived in California? The daughter / The doctor	الرجال كلم بنت الدكتورة اللي عاشت في كاليفورنيا. من عاش في كاليفورنيا؟ البنت \ الدكتورة
13	The coach spoke to the fan of the player who was drinking water. Who was drinking water? The player / The fan	المدرب تكلم مع مشجع اللاعب اللي كان يشرب موية. من كان يشرب موية؟ اللاعب \ المشجع
14	The judge saw the secretary of the lawyer who was talking on the phone. Who was talking on the phone? The secretary / The lawyer	القاضي شاف سكرتير المحامي اللي كان يكلم بالجوال. من كان يكلم بالجوال؟ السكرتير \ المحامي
15	The customer talked with the supervisor of the cashier who was wearing blue shoes. Who was wearing blue shoes? The cashier / The supervisor	الزبون تكلم مع مشرف الكاشير اللي كان لابس حذيان زرقا. من كان لابس حذيان زرقا؟ الكاشير \ المشرف
16	The man smiled at the advisor of the student who was eating lunch. Who was eating lunch? The advisor / The student	الرجال ابتسم لمشرف الطالب اللي كان يتغدى. من كان يتغدى؟ المشرف \ الطالب
17	The boy saw the father of the teacher who was drinking coffee. Who was drinking coffee? The teacher / The father	الولد شاف أبو المدرس اللي كان يشرب قهوة. من كان يشرب قهوة؟ المدرس \ الأبو
18	The girl liked the friend of the actress who was wearing a green dress. Who was wearing a green dress? The friend / The actress	البنت حبت صديقة الممثلة اللي كانت لابسة فستان أخضر. من كان لابس فستان أخضر؟ الصديقة \ الممثلة

	Experiment 2 English Stimuli	Experiment 1 Najdi Arabic Stimuli
19	The judge spoke to the lawyer of the criminal who had a cold. Who had a cold? The criminal / The lawyer	القاضي تكلم مع محامي المجرم اللي كان مزكوم. من كان مزكوم؟ المجرم \ المحامي
20	The boy saw the coach of the player who was sitting down. Who was sitting on the chair? The coach / The player	الولد شاف مدرب اللاعب اللي كان جالس. من كان جالس؟ المدرب \ اللاعب
21	The nurse saw the doctor of the prince who was wearing sunglasses. Who was wearing sunglasses? The prince / The doctor	الممرضة شافت دكتور الأمير اللي كان لابس نظارات شمسية. من كان لابس نظارات شمسية؟ الأمير \ الدكتور
22	The student liked the secretary of the professor who was reading a letter. Who was reading a letter? The secretary / The professor	الطالب حب سكرتير البروفيسور اللي كان يقرا خطاب. من كان يقرا خطاب؟ السكرتير \ البروفيسور
23	The judge ignored the son of the criminal who was wearing a jacket. Who was wearing a jacket? The son / The criminal	القاضي تجاهل ولد المجرم اللي كان لابس جاكيت. من كان لابس جاكيت؟ الولد \ المجرم
24	The reporter phoned the boss of the secretary who was working late. Who was working late? The secretary / The boss	المراسل تكلم مع سكرتير المدير اللي كان يشتغل إلى وقت متأخر. من كان يشتغل حتى وقت متأخر؟ المدير \ السكرتير
	1.1.2	
1.1.3	**Unabiguous filler sentences**	**Unabiguous filler sentences**
1	The photographer ignored the ministers of the president who were greeting the crowd. Who was greeting the crowd? The ministers / The president	المصور تجاهل وزراء الرئيس اللي كانوا يحييون الجمهور. من كان يحيي الجمهور؟ الوزراء \ الرئيس
2	The cameraman saw the director of the actors who was dressed in black. Who was dressed in black? The actors / The director	المصور شاف مخرج الممثلين اللي كان لابس أسود. من كان لابس أسود؟ الممثلين \ المخرج
3	The journalist interviewed the assistants of the inspector who were looking very serious. Who was looking very serious? The assistants / The inspector	الصحفي قابل مساعدين المحقق اللي كانوا جادين مره. من كان جاد مره؟ المساعدين \ المحقق
4	The economist liked the journalists of the editor who were thinking about the stock report. Who was thinking about the stock report? The editor / The journalists	الخبير الاقتصادي قابل صحفيين المحرر اللي كانوا في سوق الأسهم. يفكرون من كان يفكر في سوق الأسهم؟ المحرر \ الصحفيين

	Experiment 2 English Stimuli	Experiment 1 Najdi Arabic Stimuli
5	The student photographed the fans of the actor who were happy. Who was happy? The fans / The actor	الطالب صور محبين الممثل اللي كانوا مبسوطين. من كان مبسوط؟ المحبين \ الممثل
6	The woman blamed the friends of the hairdresser who were smiling. Who was smiling? The hairdresser / The friends	البنت لامت صديقات الكوافيرة اللي كانوا يضحكون. من كان يضحك؟ الكوافيرة \ الصديقات
7	The policeman arrested the supervisor of the bodyguards who was wearing a jacket. Who was wearing a jacket? The supervisor / The bodyguards	الشرطي مسك مشرف الحراس اللي كان لابس جاكيت. من كان لابس جاكيت؟ المشرف \ الحراس
8	The girl knew the photographer of the singers who was reading the book. Who was reading the book? The singers / The photographer	البنت عرفت مصورة المغنيات اللي كانت تقرا الكتاب. من كان يقرا الكتاب؟ المغنيات \ المصورة
9	The man saw the assistants of the dentist who were in the room. Who was in the room? The assistants / The dentist	الرجال شاف مساعدين دكتور الأسنان اللي كانوا في الغرفة. من كان في الغرفة؟ المساعدين \ دكتور الأسنان
10	The boy saw the coach of the players who was working hard. Who was working hard? The players / The chief	الولد شاف مدرب اللاعبين اللي كان يشتغل بحماس. من كان يشتغل بحماس؟ اللاعبين \ المدرب
11	The secretary phoned the consultants of the economist who were reading the reports. Who was reading the reports? The consultants / The economist	السكرتير اتصل بمستشارين المحلل الاقتصادي اللي يقرون التقارير. كانوا من كان يقرا التقارير؟ المستشارين \ المحلل الاقتصادي
12	The firefighter saw the photographers of the journalist who were sitting down. Who was sitting down? The journalist / The photographers	رجل المطافي شاف مصورين الصحفي اللي كانوا قاعدين. من كان قاعد؟ الصحفي \ المصورين
13	The girl looked at the supervisor of the workers who was always busy. Who was always busy? The supervisor / The workers	البنت شافت مشرف العمال اللي كان دايم مشغول. من كان دايم مشغول؟ المشرف \ العمال
14	The man called the leader of the tourists who was wearing glasses. Who was wearing glasses? The tourists / The leader	الرجال نادى قائد السياح اللي كان لابس نظارات. من كان لابس نظارات؟ السياح \ القائد

	Experiment 2 English Stimuli	Experiment 1 Najdi Arabic Stimuli
15	The journalist called the secretary of the ministers who was sitting in the office. Who was sitting in the office? The secretary / The ministers	الصحفي نادى سكرتير الوزراء اللي كان جالس في المكتب. من كان جالس في المكتب؟ السكرتير \ الوزراء
16	The interviewer looked at the bodyguards of the prince who were standing up. Who was standing up? The prince / The bodyguards	.الصحفي شاف حراس الأمير اللي كانوا واقفين من كان واقف؟ الأمير \ الحراس
17	The doctor smiled at the nurses of the patient who were feeling tired. Who was feeling tired? The nurses / The patient	.الدكتور ابتسم للممرضات المريض اللي كان يشعر بألم من كان يشعر بألم؟ الممرضات \ المريض
18	The player saw the assistants of the coach who were drinking tea. Who was drinking tea? The coach / The assistants	اللاعب شاف مساعدين المدرب اللي كانوا يشربون شاهي. من كان يشرب شاهي؟ المدرب \ المساعدين
19	The girl helped the assistant of the researchers who was sick. Who was sick? The assistant / The researchers	.البنت عاونت مساعد الباحثين اللي كان مريض من كان مريض؟ المساعد \ الباحثين
20	The girl photographed the fans of the actress who was happy. Who was looking happy? The actress / The fans	.البنت صورت معجبات الممثلة اللي كانت مبسوطة من كان مبسوط؟ الممثلة \ المعجبات
21	The doctor examined the teacher of the students who was feeling tired. Who was feeling tired? The nurse / The students	.الدكتور فحص مدرس الطلاب اللي كان تعبان من كان تعبان؟ الطلاب \ المدرس
22	The nurse recognized the mother of the girls who were sick. Who was sick? The girls / The mother	.الممرضة عرفت أم البنات اللي كانوا مريضات من كان مريض؟ البنات \ الأم
23	The driver saw the assistants of the doctor who were working late. Who was working late? The assistants / The doctor	السواق شاف مساعدين الدكتور اللي كانوا يشتغلون إلى الليل. من كان يشتغل إلى الليل؟ المساعدين \ الدكتور
24	The man met the father of the students who was angry. Who was angry? The students / The teacher	.المدرس قابل أبو الطلاب اللي كان معصب من كان معصب؟ الطلاب \ الأبو

	Experiment 2 English Stimuli	Experiment 1 Najdi Arabic Stimuli
	1.1.4	
1.1.5	**Ambiguous filler sentences**	**Ambiguous filler sentences**
1	The girl was very sad after losing her expensive toys and books. What did the girl lose? The expensive toys and expensive books / The books and the expensive toys	.البنت زعلت بعد ما ضيعت الكتب والألعاب الغالية وش ضيعت البنت؟ الكتب الغالية والألعاب الغالية \ الألعاب الغالية والكتب
2	The young boys and girls were playing in the park yesterday. Who was playing in the park? Girls and young boys / young boys and young girls	.البنات والعيال الصغار كانوا يلعبون في الحديقة أمس من كان يلعب في الحديقة؟ العيال الصغار والبنات \ البنات الصغار والعيال الصغار
3	Their mother eats fresh bread and eggs. What does their mother eat? Fresh bread and fresh eggs / Eggs and fresh bread	.أمهم تاكل بيض وخبز طازج وش تاكل أمهم؟ بيض طازج وخبز طازج \ خبز طازج وبيض
4	The student reads English poems and novels. What does the student read? Novels and English poems / English poems and English novels	.الطالب يقرا روايات وقصص انجليزية وش يقرا الطالب؟ قصص انجليزية ورويات \ روايات انجليزية وقصص انجليزية
5	Older men and women often shop in this store. Who shops in this store? Older men and older women / Women and older men	.العجز والشيبان الكبار دايماً يتسوقون في هذا المحل من دايماً يتسوق في هذا المحل؟ العجز النشيطين والشيبان النشيطين \ الشيبان النشيطين والعجز
6	Their neighbor prefers cheap cars and bicycles. What does their neighbor prefer? bicycles and cheap cars / cheap cars and bicycles	.جارهم يحب السياكل والسيارات الرخيصة وش يحب جارهم؟ السيارات الرخيصة والسياكل \ السياكل الرخيصة والسيارات الرخيصة
7	Mary loves her mother and so does Susan. Who does Susan love? Mary's mother / Susan's mother	.نورة تحب أمها وسارة بعد من تحب سارة؟ أم نورة \ أمها
8	John visited his father and so did Harold. Who did Harold visit? Harold's father / John's father	.فهد زار أبوه وعلي بعد من زار علي؟ أبوه \ أبو فهد
9	Bill helped his son and so did David. Who did David help? Bill's son / David's son	.حسن ساعد ولده وحمد بعد من ساعد حمد؟ ولد حسن \ ولده
10	Rebecca loves her cat and so does Linda. Who does Linda love? Linda's cat / Rebecca's cat	.فاطمة تحب بستها وعائشة بعد من تحب عائشة؟ بستها \ بسة فاطمة

	Experiment 2 English Stimuli	Experiment 1 Najdi Arabic Stimuli
11	Nina called her dog and so did Lisa. Who did Lisa call? Nina's dog / Lisa's dog	.ليلى نادت كلبها وعبير بعد من نادت عبير؟ كلب ليلى \ كلبها
12	Dennis cleaned his house and so did Mark. What did Mark clean? Mark's house / Dennis's house	.لطيفة نظفت بيتها وتهاني بعد وش نظفت تهاني؟ بيتها \ بيت لطيفة
13	My sister visited my mother before she watched the movie. Who watched the movie? The sister / The mother	.أختي زارت أمي قبل ما تشوف الفيلم من شاف الفيلم؟ الأخت \ الأم
14	My brother called his friend after he watched the match. Who watched the match? The friend / The brother	.أخوي نادى صديقه بعد ما شاف المباراة من شاف المباراة؟ الأخ \ الصديق
15	The doctor examined the patient after he finished his call. Who finished his call? The doctor / The patient	.الدكتور فحص المريض بعد ما خلص مكالمته من كان يكلم بالتلفون؟ الدكتور \ المريض
16	The boy played with his friend after he did his homework. Who did his homework? The friend / The boy	.الولد لعب مع صديقه بعد ما حل واجبه من حل واجبه؟ الولد \ الصديق
17	Jane called her sister while she was at home. Who was at home? Jane / Her sister	.نورة كلمت أختها يوم كانت في المدرسة من كان في المدرسة؟ نورة \ أختها
18	Marco phoned his father after he returned from vacation. Who returned from vacation? His father / Marco	.محمد كلم ابوه بعد ما رجع من السفر من رجع من السفر؟ محمد \ الأبو
19	The girl forgot to close the window before she left the house. Who left the house? The girl / Someone else	.البنت نست تسكر الدريشة قبل تطلع من البيت من طلع من البيت؟ البنت \ شخص آخر
20	The girl saw herself in the mirror before she went to the party. Who went to the party? The girl / Someone else	.البنت شافت نفسها في المراية قبل تروح للحفلة من راحت للحفلة؟ البنت \ شخص آخر
21	My brother visited the zoo when he was in London. Who was in London? My brother / Someone else	.أخوي زار حديقة الحيوان يوم كان في لندن من كان في لندن؟ أخوي \ شخص آخر

	Experiment 2 English Stimuli	Experiment 1 Najdi Arabic Stimuli
22	The boy watered the garden before he went to school. Who went to school? The boy / Someone else	.الولد سقى الحديقة قبل يروح المدرسة من راح المدرسة؟ الولد \ شخص آخر
23	The boy said that he played football in the park yesterday. Who played football? The boy / Someone else	.الولد قال إنه لعب كورة في الحديقة أمس من لعب كورة؟ الولد \ شخص آخر
24	The man got angry because he scratched the car. Who scratched the car? The man / Someone else	.الرجال عصب لأنه مشخ السيارة من مشخ السيارة؟ الرجال \ شخص آخر

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Exploring Stylistic Problems in Translating the Style of the Quranic Emphasis on the Meaning of *At-Tawkid Al-Manawi* to English

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Abstract The Quranic Arabic style focus on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* has played an important part in instilling the meaning in the minds of readers and recipients. This study was carried out to expose new angles on the stylistic problems met in their English translations of the Holy Qurʾān, particularly in terms of portraying the Quranic Arabic focus on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* in English and their fidelity and authenticity to the source text (ST). Furthermore, a qualitative descriptive design was utilized in this study. The findings revealed that the above-mentioned translators' renderings were often faithful to, but not always emphatic to the original text. Moreover, the investigation discovered various stylistic issues that were closely related to the consistency of the three translators' renderings.

Keywords Implicit emphasis • At-Tawkid Al-Manawi • Stylistic problems in translation • Quranic Arabic • Quranic meaning

1. Introduction

The Holy Qur'ān is a book that both calls all to Islam and guides all of humankind. Allah the Almighty revealed it for all humanity through His Messenger Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the 7th century CE (Ahmed, 2023; Sultan, 2007). The

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guidance in this Holy Book is for all time and all people. It was Allah Almighty's wisdom to address all people in line with their knowledge and in ways that would excite their feelings and appeal to them through righteousness and guidance (Topbaş, 2003; Malik, 1997). Indeed, the Holy Quran has awed both native and non-native speakers of the Arabic language with the power of its style and the charm and vividness of its expressions (Labanieh, 2019; Albirini, 2018). Hence, the methods of various discourse in the Holy Qurʾān among which is the style of the Quranic emphasis.

The style of Quranic emphasis known in Arabic as *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي has played a prominent role in carrying the meaning to the readers and the recipients as well; hence, they both identify this style as the greatest of forms in the Holy Qurʾān. The importance of understanding Quranic methods increases if the meanings of the Holy Qurʾān are rendered into other languages. For example, the English language is one of those languages whose speakers have the honor of knowing the meanings of these wonderful words that were revealed through His Messenger Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the elegant Arabic language and conveyed to them through translation (Khalaf & Yusoff, 2012; Peachy, 2013). In this context, a few questions, therefore, arise. First, did the translation adequately communicate the Quranic meaning and include it in the target language receptor in accordance with the Holy Qurʾān? How did the translators of the Holy Qurʾān handle the noble style of Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي in rendering its meanings into English (Alhaj, 2015; Afrouz, & Mollanazar, 2016)? If the translator adhered to the method of emphasis in translating the meanings of the Quranic Arabic language, what was the extent of his/her allegiance to it in accordance with the words of emphasis in the translated language(English)? This angle is the focus of our current study. Markedly, this study seeks to explore the stylistic problems confronted by translators in faithfully conveying the meanings of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English, with a particular emphasis on the extent of fidelity in translating its stylistic features. This study mostly concerns itself with the Quranic translations into English by Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilali and Muhammad Muhsin Khan (1996), Muhammad A. S. Abdel Haleem (2004), and Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall (2001/1930).

In fact, until today and to the best of the information of the author of this study, there has been no research performed in English to examine the stylistic problems encountered in translating the Quranic emphasis in *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English concerning, in particular, the fidelity and the adequacy of the translation. Therefore, this article contributes to Quranic translation research by rectifying this research gap and closing it with a study.

A. Problem of the study

It is presumed that the translators of the Holy Qur'an encounter many stylistic obstacles and difficulties in rendering the style of the Quranic Arabic emphasis on the meaning of At-Tawkid Al-Manawi to English. These stylistic problems are entrenched in the process of rendering the Quranic emphasis to the extent that at certain phases translators presume that it is untranslatable, i.e., it is unapproachable

to translate the Quranic emphasis in any other language because we pay no attention to the full varying understandings of the religious book. Stylistic problems have made the translation of the Quranic emphasis unreachable.

It is also deemed that it is on the grounds of the shortfalls in the rendered text to gain the overall significance and implication of the meaning of At-Tawkid Al-Manawi to achieve the useful and efficient effect that the original text possesses. These stylistic problems may occur due to different reasons, such as the death of equivalence at word levels or the absence of the equivalent of some lexemes. The Arabic language is richer not only in lexicon but also in syntax and semantics, such as Quranic Arabic emphasis. Thus, there is a practical and real need to explore stylistic problems faced in translating the style of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of At-Tawkid Al-Manawi to English.

A. Objectives of the study

The Holy Qurʾān hosts a vast array of words and expressions, each of which has been precisely and painstakingly selected to faithfully carry an accurate meaning (Alturki, 2021; Sardar, 2017). By way of illustration, the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of words and expressions in *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي holds the implication of confirmation, trust, and corroboration. The first objective of this study is to find out the extent to which the aimed renderings of the Holy Qurʾān adequately and faithfully convey the meaning and style of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English. The second objective of the study is to probe the stylistic problems that impede the rendering of Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English.

B. Questions of the study

In accordance with the two objectives of the present study, the leading study questions steering this investigation are:

QS1: To what extent do the targeted renderings of the Holy Qur'ān adequately and faithfully convey the style of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English?

QS2: What are the stylistic problems that impede the rendering of Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English?

2. Literature review

This section of the study focuses on the literature research on the topic of investigation, which includes the concept emphasis, the notion of stylistics, the concept of translation procedures, and preceding research that provides researchers and readers with a wealth of information on the focus and theme of the study, allowing them to fully comprehend the theme under consideration.

A. The Concept of Emphasis on the Meaning of At-Tawkid Al-Manawi / التوكيد المعنوي *in the Holy Qurʾān*

It should be noted that the idea of emphasis is to confirm meaning and instill it in the soul of the potential listener (Fredriksson, 1999; Rogers & Farson, 1957), avoiding

its hindrance and decreasing any negative impact of the recklessness that may come about through a reoccurring word or its meaning (Rothman & Coyle, 2020; Yahya, 2003). Grammarians of the Arabic language must confirm word for word, sentence for sentence, letter for letter, or they may confirm the word itself, its synonym, or the content of the sentence. Moreover, the content of the word may be confirmed by other methods as well (Badawi, et al., 2013; Cowan, 1958; Ryding, 2005).

Also worth pointing out here is that placing emphasis implies emphatic words as required. The discourse may not need emphasis, or it may need one or more emphases contingent upon the demands of the context (Werth, 2016; Schourup, 1999). The Holy Qur'ān has taken into consideration the extreme accuracy required whenever emphasis is referred to (Saeed, 2008; Saeed, 2014; Zayd, 2004). Moreover, the Holy Qur'ān is highly accurate in selecting words and expressions and embedding them in an adequate position that is consistent with a scrupulous aesthetic and elegant style. Indeed, the emphasis appearing in the Holy Qur'ān is an incorporated unit that has an inclusive and integral perspective, and its framework has been taken into consideration. It emphasizes one context while considering another context whether near or far (Al-Samarrai, 1986; McGuire, 2008).

The Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التـوكـيـد الـمـعـنـوي is the recurrence of meanings to provide emphasis and eliminate metaphors. These include seven original words, but subsidiary words may be added to them as well (Hassan, 1973; Naciscione, 2010; Flowerdew & Forest, 2009). The emphasis on meaning is made by employing specific words like "self", "both", and "all". These words are usually post-fixed with the definite noun where they might regulate the genitive of that noun, in which case a pronominal suffix is attached to them (Al Ghalayniyy, 1985; Mohammed, 2014; Wright, 1971). For example, there is كُلُّهُمْ / *kuluhum* ("all of them") as in Chapter 15: The Rocky Tract (Sūrat Al-ḥij'r), Verse 30, which states: "So, the angels prostrated themselves, all of them together" (فَسَجَدَ الْمَلَائِكَةُ كُلُّهُمْ أَجْمَعُونَ: الحجر). Another example is كُلُّهُ/*kulluhu* ("all of it" or "entire") as found in Chapter 8: The Spoils of War (Sūrat Al-Anfāl), Verse 39, which states: "And fight them until there is no strife and the religion is entirely for God" (الدِّينُ كُلُّهُ لِلَّهِ وَقَاتِلُوهُمْ حَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةٌ وَيَكُونَ). It should be noted here that the word "religion" is emphasized by the word "all" in this Surat because the fighting in Surat Al-Anfal is against "all disbelievers or infidels", so the word "all" was emphasized to popularize the fight.

The second category of emphasis is the verbal emphasis, i.e., the repetition or reinforcement of the same word. Moreover, verbal emphasis can be used through the employment of swearing, substituting, conjunction words, description, particles of the genitives, and particles of emphasis in the Quranic discourse (Rabbani, 2003; Faḍlullāh & Dānish, 2006). Verbal emphasis is also the repetition of the first word in its essence or its synonym whether it is a noun or a verb, a particle, or a sentence (Al-Qurtubi, 2010, p. 81). At the same time, it can also be a verbal noun used to inculcate the meaning in the mind of the hearer, reinforcing, dispelling, or allaying any doubts that are infused and linger in his mind along with any distrust that may encircle him. An example of noun assertion is shown in Chapter 56: The Event (Sūrat Al-Wāqiʿah), Verse 10 states: "And the foremost in the race, the foremost

in the race'' (وَالسّابِقُونَ السّابِقُون) Here, the noun السّابِقُون / *al-sābiqūna* (''the foremost'') is repeated twice to emphasize the conveyance of the glad tidings to the believers who act virtuously and to whom Allah promised will be first to enter Paradise in the Hereafter. Verbal emphasis can also be achieved by emphasizing the verb with heavy emphatic nouns as in Chapter 14: Abraham (Sūrat Ib'rāhīm): ''We surely will endure the hurt ye do us'' (وَلَنَصْبِرَنَّ عَلَىٰ مَا آذَيْتُمُونَا). There is also letter emphasis as seen in Verse 49 of Chapter 30: The Romans (Sūrat Al-Rūm): ''Although they were, before it was sent down upon them—before that, in despair'' (لَمُبْلِسِينَ وَإِن كَانُوا مِن قَبْلُ أَن يُنَزَّلَ عَلَيْهِم مِّن قَبْلِهِ). Finally, there is emphasis on the nominal sentence as in Verse 5 of Chapter 94: The Opening Forth (Sūrat Al-Sharḥ): ''So verily, with the hardship, there is relief'' (فَإِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا :الشرح5).

B. The concept of stylistics: In a Nutshell

Stylistics can be essentially defined as a language-based method for the study of literary texts specifically and for other forms of text in general. It has modernized modernistic literary studies and criticism (Woldemariam, 2015; Ghazala, 2015). Stylistics was based on the German terms *stilistisch* and *stilistik* in 1860. Nevertheless, it was not until 1882 that the word ''stylistics'' was first included in the English lexicon (Dámová, 2007; Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010). Stylistics deals with the study of personal style and its intrinsic expression; that is, stylistics is focused on ''the study of style in language'' (Verdonk, 2014, p. 3). Crystal and Davy (1985) define stylistics as ''a branch of linguistics that studies the features of situationally distinctive uses'' (p. 292). Some statisticians argued that, in its conceptual frameworks, stylistics endeavors to create frameworks that can clarify the specific options produced by people and groups in society in their rules governing languages, such as in absorbing the intellectual demeanor and rational outlook concerning collectivization (Nørgaard, et al., 2010).

In line with the approach of analysis, the term literary stylistics is employed for the analysis of literary texts whereas linguistic stylistics is utilized for the analysis of non-literary texts (Candria, 2019; Abdulmughni, 2019; Ghazalah, 1987). In addition to concentrating on the text type, the difference is also present within that method of analysis (Titscher & Jenner, 2000; Kuckartz, 2013). Whereas the term linguistic stylistics is utilized uniquely to present a scientific analysis, working with such tools as morphological, philological and semantic constituents of the language. Moreover, the objectives of linguistic stylistics, nonetheless, are also moved in the direction of taking part in linguistic theory or the language analysis model used (Gibbons, 2018; Bloomfield, 1976; Berenike, et al., 2015). To conclude, most of the approaches are focused on an integration of these objectives.

C. Translation procedures

One of the forenames given to these linguistic translation procedure operators was ''translation procedure''—a term conceived by Vinay and Darbelnet in 1958 (Bardaji, 2009). Concurrently noteworthy, as the primary supporters of comparative stylistics applied to translation, Vinay and Darbelnet define the rendering term ''translation procedure'' as all those procedures that come into operation when shifting between two tongues (Shuttleworth, 2014; Mutale, 2019). Moreover, their

translation procedures function particularly on three levels: word, grammatical, and meaning, and in their research, they attempt to develop a transnational translation or international translation which is predicated on an entire framework of equivalences attained from collating two tongues.

Translation procedures are linguistic resolutions employed in tackling a rendering problem which may take various types of contingents upon the focus of rendering techniques: rendering of the meaning; linguistic shifting of connotational and communicative classifications; and linguistic rendering of either academic or critical rendering (Qassem, 2021; Hurtado & Alves, 2009).

There is a difference between translation methods and translation procedures as the former pertains to entire texts and the latter is meant for phrases and small elements of language (Newmark, 1988; Titscher & Jenner 2000). Translation procedures also include reassessing and comparing the translation to the existing version of the translation and asking the target language receptor to verify the fidelity and adequacy of the translation. Newmark (1988) categorizes translation procedures into "paraphrase", couplets, "transference", "cultural equivalence", "modulation", and so on (Saher, et al., 2023; Seran, et al., 2022). Olk (2013) groups translation procedures into "transference", "explication", "omission" and "cultural substitution", and so forth (Limbu, 2022; Olk, 2013; Qassem, 2021).

In rendering the Holy Qurʾān, in general, and Quranic Arabic words in particular, the translator should select a translation procedure that precludes truancy of inaccurate explicit meaning, the act of over-translating and "the act of conveying less than the source text" (Dahlman, 2022, p.44) Blum-Kulka (1986) argued that "explication is a comprehensive strategy associated with the process of conveying meaning" (p. 298). Olk (2013) asserted that the explication strategy is one of the most powerful strategies in rendering cultural signs. Mailhac (1996) alleged that context-driven translation leads the translator to catch the sense of the language in a text. The translator should consider the context when looking up the sense of Source Language terms in dictionaries and conveying that sense to the Target Language receptor. Identifying the context qualifies the translator to determine the scope that involves "cultural substitution", paraphrasing, explication, and couplets.

D. Previous studies

It is critical to draw attention to the fact that, to the best of the researchers' knowledge, there has never been a thorough investigation into the stylistic issues encountered when translating the style of Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English. Hence, there are limits to their studies as these researchers have, for example, concentrated on patterns of Arabic emphasis; Quranic emphatic Arabic particles (in English); Quranic emphasis on the attached pronoun by the separate pronoun (in Arabic); the importance of emphasizing the difference between *inma* / إنَما and *inna* / إنّ' in the Holy Qurʾān (in Arabic); emphasis on Arabic given inherent patterns (in Arabic); and methods of emphasis in the Holy Qurʾān (in the Persian Language). For example, Mohammed (2014) found that English chooses to under-emphasize. Also, the study revealed that the rendering of emphatic *ayahs* may not be as powerful and emphasized as the first version of the Quranic

text. The findings of the study also suggested that the renderings are commonly not as expressive as the original wording. Rabbani (2003) examined the methods of emphasis in the Holy Qurʾān. The study showed that emphasis is employed in the Holy Qur'ān and is considered one of the substantial types of evidence of the Quranic eloquence, as it offers numerous benefits.

Youssef (2019) studied a facet of the cause of contemporary interpreters specifying the employment of emphatic style in the Qura'nic language. The study focused on emphatic style through the utilization of Quranic phraseology, such as emphasis by the determinants, emphasis by particles, and emphasis by embedding sentences. Ali (2023) explored the potential separation of the Arabic particle *inma* / إنَما and *inna* / إنّ in the Holy Qurʾān. The former is a grammatical device from the presumed structure by Arab grammarians who have not involved themselves in perusing the syntactic structure in which *inma* / إنَما takes place, nor did they pay heed to the linguistic context that comprises its meaning other than its role of emphasis. These extralinguistic and morphological facets have been confirmed by this study, based on the situations where *inma* / إنَما is employed in the Holy Qurʾān. As a result, the study stresses the pressing need to investigate the meanings of *inma* / إنَما in the Quranic Arabic text.

Al Alwani (2022) studied the multiplicity of emphasis in the shortest surahs from Surat Al-Duha to Surat Al-Nas and attempted to discover the secrets of these lexical structures and patterns in the Holy Qurʾān and underscore the lexical aspects that are attributed to them, as well as coherence and adherence between the emphasis and their importance. Shcherir and Al-Kalabi (2022) explored the phenomenon of emphasizing the nominal sentence in the Al-Ma'een surahs and the furtherance of the significance of this phenomenon in the Holy Qurʾān. The study showed obliged tracking of the structure in which syntactic evidence is found in Surah Al-Ma'een (the Centenary) and its implications. Fadel (2017) found that all words of emphasis for verbal emphasis, or emphasis in meaning which are regarded as an emphasis in Quranic expression, are parsed according to their position in the sentence. In this study, the researcher did not find a difference in opinions between grammarians and interpreters who agreed upon the meanings of the emphases. Al-Aroud (2023) found that emphasis on the Holy Qurʾān leads to the fostering of creed and religion within mankind. This role is attained by the Holy Qurʾān through the use of emphasis, employing brief sentences, repetition, and grammatical devices. Furthermore, it was found in this study that emphasis has been extensively used in the Holy Qurʾān to strengthen the code of faith and trust in people and to denounce the infidels who aspire to repudiate the insights about Paradise and Hell.

Having presented problems encountered in translating the implication of the Quranic emphasis into English and the probes regarding it, one can find out that an in-depth study is appropriate to shine a new light on the stylistic problems faced by the translators in their renderings of the Holy Qurʾān in general and the implication of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي in particular, that is, in terms of their fidelity and accuracy to the ST, and how these can be approached from respective conceptual and reasonable angles concerning the stylistic notion and implication of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid*

al-manawi / التوكيد المعنوي. None of the preceding problems explored such a phenomenon and how to cope with it. Alternatively, they embarked on the methods of emphasis in the Holy Qurʾān; the rendering of emphatic *ayahs*; the phenomenon of emphasizing the nominal sentence in Al-Ma'een surahs; a facet of the cause that the contemporary interpreters specified about the employing of the emphatic style in the Quranic language; and emphasis of verbal emphasis or emphasis in meaning, just to mention a few. Because of that, the present study endeavors to address the gaps by investigating the stylistic problems encountered in translating the implication of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English.

3. Methodology

A. Research paradigm

In the present study, the researchers pursue the qualitative research approach because it can bring forth robust and accurate conclusions and conclusive findings. This method embraces understanding language in texts, detailed explorations, and wide-ranging searches of the translation to identify the stylistic problems encountered in translating the implication of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English. A qualitative approach is also apt and suitable since this investigation aspires to obtain an extensive and precise comprehension of the phenomenon under investigation.

In sum, qualitative research is strong, well-read, and appropriately documented. Moreover, qualitative research is also systematized and includes a subtle process of determining the problem and gathering, critiquing, describing, assessing, and analyzing the data. Hence, it was adopted by the researchers for the present study.

B. The study data

The data of the ongoing investigation paper embodied five Quranic Arabic emphases on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي. The data for this research were appropriated from three English translations of the Holy Qurʾān by Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilali and Muhammad Muhsin Khan (1996), and Muhammad A. S. Abdel-Haleem (2004), and Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall (2001/1930).

C. Data analysis

Analyses of the data of the current study were led by Diniz (2003) who assumes that a translator's inadequacy is found in maintaining the original wording and is unfaithful to the original text. Nida and Taber's (1982) notion of fidelity and accuracy which underscores the importance of being extremely faithful to the original text also played a role in the data analysis. Moreover, the original text was contrasted with the rendered text, and the translator's inadequacy to convey specific aspects of the original version's meaning was determined and explicated.

4. Results and discussion

Research evidence on which this investigation was predicated encompasses verses obtained from three translated versions of the Holy Qurʾān that embody the Quranic Arabic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* /التوكيد المعنوي. Every

instance is first presented in the Quranic Arabic original followed by the English translation to provide the reader or language receptor with a detailed rendition of each Quranic Arabic emphasis in meaning *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي with the intention of using comparison to identify the extent to which the three translators transfer the text adequately and with high fidelity.

A. Example one

Source Surah: Chapter 15: The Rocky Tract (Sūrat Al-ḥij'r), Verse 30.

Source text: (30 : الحجر) (فَسَجَدَ الْمَلَائِكَةُ كُلُّهُمْ أَجْمَعُونَ)

Target Text:

1. Abdel-Haleem (2004): "and the angels all did so" (p. 113).
2. Khan and Al-Hilali (1996): "So, the angels prostrated themselves, all of them together" (p. 341).
3. Pickthall (1930): "So the angels fell prostrate, all of them together" (p.192).

a.) The analysis

1. The general meaning of the Ayah

Allah the Almighty states how He mentioned Adam to His angels before He created him, how He honored him by commanding the angels to prostrate to him, and how Iblîs (Satan)—His enemy from amongst the angels—refused to prostrate himself before Adam him out of envy, disbelief, obstinacy, haughtiness, and false boastfulness (Ibn Kathir 2009, Vol.2, p. 1158).

2. Stylistic problems encountered in the translation of the quranic emphasis in meaning of kulluhum / كُلُّهُمْ in Chapter 15: the rocky tract (Sūrat Al-ḥij'r), Verse 30.

In this *ayah*, Abdel-Haleem, Khan and Al-Hilali, and Pickthall determined to employ the distributive determiner and the emphatic article "all" to speak about an entire group mentioned in the verse to convey the emphatic meaning of the Quranic Arabic *kulluhum* / كُلُّهُمْ in English. As a result of doing this, the three translators have been able to transfer the emphatic meaning of the Quranic Arabic *kulluhum* / كُلُّهُمْ appropriately into the target text. Moreover, the Quranic Arabic, *ajmaʿūna* / أَجْمَعُون is successfully rendered into the English word "together" with the highest attention given in the relevant context by Khan and Al-Hilali and Pickthall, unlike Abdel-Haleem who dropped it in his rendering which impacts grammatical context and context of the utterance of the translated *ayah*.

B. Example two

Source Surah :Chapter 15: The Rocky Tract (Sūrat Al-ḥij'r), Verse 43.

ST: (43:الحجر) (وَإِنَّ جَهَنَّمَ لَمَوْعِدُهُمْ أَجْمَعِينَ)

Target Text:

1. Abdel-Haleem (2004): "Hell is the promised place for all these " (p. 163)
2. Khan and Al-Hilali (1996): "And, surely, Hell is the promised place for them all (p. 341).
3. Pickthall (1930): "And lo! for all such, hell will be the promised place" (p. 192).

a.) The analysis

1. The general meaning of the Ayah

In this verse, Allah the Almighty states that Hell is the dwelling place of all of those who followed Iblis (Satan). Indeed, Allah said the same about those who reject the Holy Qurʾān (Ibn Kathir 2009, Vol. 2, p. 1158).

2. Stylistic problems encountered in translating of the quranic emphasis in meaning of inna / وَإِنَّ and ajmaʿīn / أَجْمَعِينَ in Chapter 15: The Rocky Tract (Sūrat Al-ḥij'r), Verse 43.

This *ayah* contains two types of emphases. Firstly, the verbal emphasis expressed is the emphatic meaning of *inna* / وَإِنَّ which was rendered by Khan and Al-Hilali and Pickthall into "surely", and "Lo", respectively, unlike Abdel-Haleem who dropped it in his rendering. Khan and Al-Hilali and Pickthall employed emphasis in their renderings, using "Surely" and "Lo", respectively. The latter is used for emphasis and for drawing attention. The second is used to emphasize the Quranic Arabic **أَجْمَعِينَ** which is accurately rendered by the three translators as "all" respectively. As Sibawayh (1983) opined: "This is emphasis after emphasis" (p. 34). Most importantly, however, this raises the inculcation and steadfastness of meaning in the mind of the listener. Moreover, Khan and Al-Hilali and Pickthall's renderings are viewed more appropriately than those of Abdel-Haleem's.

C. Example three

Source Sura : Chapter 8: The Spoils of War (Sūrat Al-Anfāl), Verse 39

ST: (39: الأنفال) ﴿وَقَاتِلُوهُمْ حَتَّىٰ لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةٌ وَيَكُونَ الدِّينُ كُلُّهُ لِلَّهِ﴾

Target Text:

1. Abdel-Haleem (2004): "[Believers], fight them until there is no more persecution, and all worship" (p. 112).
2. Khan and Al-Hilali (1996): "And fight them until there is no more *fitnah* (disbelief and polytheism: i.e., worshipping others besides Allah) and the religion (worship) will all be for Allah alone" (p. 236).
3. Pickthall (1930): "And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is all for Allah" (p. 141).

a.) The analysis

1. The general meaning of the Ayah

"Religion is all for Allah", meaning there remains alongside your religion no more disbelief that "there is no god", rather that "there is no god worthy to be worshiped except Allah" should be candidly stated (Ibn Kathir 2009, Vol. 2, p. 733).

2. Stylistic problems encountered in translating of the quranic emphasis on the meaning of kulluhu / كُلُّهُ in Chapter 8: The Spoils of War (Sūrat Al-Anfāl), Verse 39

In this verse, the word *al-dīnu* / الدِّينُ "religion" is emphasized by the word "all" by Abdel-Haleem, Khan and Al-Hilali, and Pickthall, respectively. The Quranic emphasis *kulluhu* / كُلُّهُ is suitably rendered into "all" and succeeds in reflecting the Quranic emphasis in both content and form. Moreover, the fighting in the verse of Surat Al-Anfal is toward "all unbelievers", so it was emphasized by the word "all"

to generalize the fight. On the contrary, in Verse 193 of The Cow (Surah Al-Baqarah) that states: "And fight them until there is no more *fitnah*, and religion is for Allah", the fighting is exclusively toward the people of Mecca alone, so the emphasis is not considered here in this *ayah*. *Fitnah* means "disbelief" and "the worshiping of others with Allah". The verse also refers to the fact that Islām must be more widespread and reign over other religions (Ibn Kathir 2009, Vol. 2, p. 732). Furthermore, the adverb ''all'' is used for emphasis, effective communication, and understanding of the Quranic emphasis as the meaning of the word *kulluhu* / كُلُّهُ is employed properly by the three translators in both its lexical context and its verbal context.

D. Example four

Source Surah: Chapter 7: The Heights (Sūrat Al-Aʿrāf), Verse 46

ST (46 :الأعراف) (وَعَلَى الْأَعْرَافِ رِجَالٌ يَعْرِفُونَ كُلًّا بِسِيمَاهُمْ)

Target Text:

1. Abdel-Haleem (2004): "A barrier divides the two groups with men on its heights recognizing each group by their marks: they will call out to the people of the Garden, 'Peace be with you!' (p. 112).
2. Khan and Al-Hilali (1996): "And between them will be a barrier screen and on AlA'raf (a wall with elevated places) will be men (whose good and evil deeds would be equal in scale), who would recognize all (of the Paradise and Hell people)" (p. 206).
3. Pickthall (1930): "Between them is a veil. And on the Heights are men who know them all by their marks" (p. 125).

a.) The analysis

1. The general meaning of the Ayah

Having stated the fact that the people of Paradise will address the dwellers of Hell, Allâh states that there is a barrier between Paradise and Hell which prevents the people of Hell from reaching Paradise. About that barrier, Ibn Jarir said that it is the wall about which Allâh the Almighty says: "So a wall will be put up between them, with a gate therein. Inside it will be mercy, and outside it will be torment." It is Al-Arâf (a wall with elevated places) about which Allâh says: "and on Al-A'râf will be men". Even though commentators have differed about those who will be on Al-A'râf, their comments almost exclusively refer to one meaning: they are a people whose good and evil deeds would be equal in scale and that they will be those "who would recognize all (of the Paradise and Hell people), by their marks" as they will recognize the dwellers of Paradise by their white faces and the dwellers of Hell by their black faces.

2. Stylistic problems encountered in translating of the quranic emphasis in meaning of kulla / كُلًّا in Chapter 7: the heights (Sūrat Al-Aʿrāf), Verse 46

In this verse, Khan and Al-Hilali, and Pickthall succeeded in conveying the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of the word *kulla* / كُلًّا in their translations by making use of "all" as an emphatic particle which has been employed stylistically to make the Quranic emphasis more apt and adequate, unlike Abdel-Haleem who replaced the emphatic particle "all" inadequately with "each" which will undoubtedly frustrate

and confound the receptor of the Holy Qurʾān. Indeed, Abdel-Haleem's rendering of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of the word *kulla* / كُلًّا seems confusing regarding its linguistic context and grammatical context which makes it inconvenient for the target text receptor. Khan and Al-Hilali and Pickthall's renderings seem to be the best translations and are near to the natural form of the target language since they are more emphatic than Abdel-Haleem's. Moreover, the utilization of the relational word "and" at the beginning of the verse by Khan and Al-Hilali in "And between them will be a barrier screen…" is just translationese but the expansion given by Khan and Al-Hilali may rescue the receptor from obscurity.

E. Example five

Source Surah: Chapter 36: YS (Sūrat Yā Sīn), Verse 36

ST: (36: يس) الَّذِي خَلَقَ الْأَزْوَاجَ كُلَّهَا مِمَّا تُنبِتُ الْأَرْضُ وَمِنْ أَنفُسِهِمْ وَمِمَّا لَا يَعْلَمُونَ (سُبْحَانَ)

Target Text:

1. Abdel-Haleem (2004): "Glory be to Him who created all the pairs of things that the earth produces, as well as themselves and other things they do not know about" (p. 282).
2. Khan and Al-Hilali (1996): "Glory be to Him Who has created all the pairs of that which the earth produces, as well as of their own (human) kind (male and female), and of that which they know not" (p. 594).
3. Pickthall (1930): "Glory be to Him Who created all the sexual pairs, of that which the earth grew, and of themselves, and of that which they know not" (p. 313).

a.) The analysis

1. The general meaning of the Ayah

"Glory be to Him who has created all the pairs of that which the earth produces" references to the crops, fruits, and plants that the earth produces. Moreover, "as well as of their own (human) kind" means Allâh made them into both male and female. "And of that which they know not" means of the immensely different kinds of creatures in the world, we really know nothing about. Similarly, Allâh, Glorified is His Majesty, says: "And of everything We have created pairs, that you may remember" (Ibn Kathir 2009, Vol. 3, p. 1815).

*2. Stylistic problems encountered in translating of the quranic emphasis in meaning of the kullahā /*كُلَّهَا *in Chapter 36: YS (Sūrat Yā Sīn), Verse 36*

The renderings "as well as of their own ("human")", Khan and Al-Hilali give no emphasis, thus puzzling and complicating communication. On the contrary, "and of themselves" by Pickthall and "as themselves" by Abdel-Haleem convey better the implied sense of the meaning of the Quranic emphasis in the word *anfusahum* / أَنفُسَهُم, or "themselves". Due to their word-for-word renderings, which have not been valued by the receptors of the Quranic message in English, the emphasis of their renderings falls short of Pickthall and Abdel-Haleem's.

Abdel-Haleem, Khan and Al-Hilali, and Pickthall used the adverb "all" for emphasis, but they vary in forming the sentence in that Abdel-Haleem and Khan and

Al-Hilali's renderings are both "all the pairs", whereas Pickthall's rendering is "all the sexual pairs". Hence, Abdel-Haleem, Khan, and Al-Hilali's renderings seem to be more appropriate than Pickthall's since they match the meaning of the original text better and are more emphatic.

5. Conclusion

The current study deals with the stylistic problems encountered in translating the implication of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي words in the translated works of Abdel-Haleem, Khan and Al-Hilali, and Pickthall. This study was carried out to investigate the extent to which the targeted renderings of the Holy Qurʾān appropriately and reliably render the style of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي into English. Moreover, in co-text context, the three translators regarded the target language receptors' outlooks and grasped their obstacles; thus, the content is fairly like the emphasis of the target language through the rendering of the Quranic emphasis in the meaning of the word *kulluhu* / كُلُّهُ. Arabic methods of emphasis are regarded as comprehensive and more painstaking than the methods employed in English. Accordingly, the three translators' translations of the emphatic meaning of the Quranic Arabic *kulluhum* / كُلُّهُمْ are viewed as less emphatic than the original text version. Abdel-Haleem floundered when conveying the verbal emphasis expressed by the emphatic particle *inna* / إنَّ'' which he ignored entirely, thereby influencing the linguistic and discourse context of the rendered verse into English. Abdel-Haleem's rendering of the Quranic emphasis on the meaning of the word *kulan* / كُلًّا seems difficult and is complicated concerning its syntactic and discourse context, and thus improper for the translated text receptor. Moreover, familiarity with the stylistic problems encountered in translating the implication of the Quranic emphasis in the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي should be determined among the translators of the Holy Qurʾān in particular who, along with mastering two working languages, must also have respective mastery and dedicated expertise as well as cross-cultural knowledge and dual-language proficiency.

A. Study implication

Along with the above-mentioned results, this article proves the complicated and crucial factors of conveying stylistic features, and facets of linguistic items by rendering the implication of the Quranic emphasis in the meaning of *at-tawkid al-manawi* / التوكيد المعنوي words into English. The knowledge of emphasis is a pressing need to avoid any ambiguity and uncertainties a receptor may have on being given a certain expression.

B. Broader significance of the findings

This study can demonstrate significance because, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, there have been little to no academic works concerning the Quranic emphasis in the meaning of at-tawkid al-manawi / التوكيد المعنوي words in English.

This study can be advantageous to novice translators and students of translation. As this investigation uncovered unskilled beginner translators are not familiar with innovative solutions to the numerous difficulties they may meet. Thus, experienced instructors of translation need to convey to their students that languages have myriad

differences, so utilizing literal verbatim approaches is often a wrong choice resulting in substandard quality of translation.

c. Recommendations for further studies

Further studies are necessary to probe the cultural problems encountered in translating the Quranic verbal emphasis into English. This study also recommended carrying out more studies to explore the underlying lexical problems faced in rendering Arabic modal verbs in conveying the Quranic emphasis into English.

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Light Verb Constructions in MSA

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Abstract Light verb constructions (LVCs) are composed of two elements: a light verb and a coverb that represent a complex predicate. The coverb can be a noun, an adjective, a verb or a prepositional phrase. The focus of the present work of research is LVCs with nominal coverbs in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). The work provides a characterization of the construction and explores its lexical, syntactic, and semantic aspects. The findings of this work demonstrate that LVCs in MSA are compositional. Moreover, the elements of the composite are rigid and cannot be separated as the two elements represent a single semantic unit. LVs are distinct from the lexical analogs in terms of meaning and argument structure and this supports the argument structure view that the elements belong to two distinct entries. Furthermore, the study reveals two distinct classes of LVCs, which themselves incorporate unique morphosyntactic and semantic aspects: agentive and non-agentive LVCs. The study further highlights, besides agentivity, the elements of causation and boundedness that contribute to the construction. This research advances the understanding of LVCs in MSA, providing valuable insights for linguists.

Keywords Argument structure • Coverb • Light verb • Separability • Lexical semantics

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Transliteration and phonetic symbols: IPA System

أ	ʔ
ب	b
ت	t
ث	θ
ج	ʒ
ح	ħ
خ	x
د	d
ذ	ð
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	ʃ
ص	$s^{ʕ}$
ض	$d^{ʕ}$
ط	$t^{ʕ}$
ظ	$z^{ʕ}$
ع	ʕ
غ	ɣ
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	j
ا	a:
و	i:
ي	u:
○○َ	a
○○ِ	i
○○ُ	u

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

LVCs are constructed from two elements that form a complex predicate: a coverb and a light verb. Butt (2010) defines complex predicates as being composed of more than one element that predicates like a single unit and whose arguments map onto a monoclausal syntactic structure. Butt (1995, 2003, 2010) provides a number of typological aspects that are definitional of LVCs. Cross-linguistically, the same basic set of LVs are involved in LVCs and they are form-identical with a lexical verb in the language. Examples of these verbs include give, go, take, come, put, hit, fall, and sit. The verbs combine with a wide range of coverbs, which can be a noun, a verb, an adjective, an adverb, or a prepositional phrase, and the coverb is the element that contributes the verbal meaning of the complex predicate. The LV, on the other hand, has little semantic content compared to a lexical verb. Instead, the LV contributes more to the morphology and syntax of the predicate; it is inflected for tense, aspect, and mood. LVs generally add information about lexical-aspect: a telic, boundness, or causation component.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The topic of light verb constructions (LVCs hereafter) has been the focus of ample cross-linguistic research (e.g., Butt, (1995) on Urdu, Karimi-Doostan, (1997) on Persian, Sultan (2011) on Shabaki, Nazir (2014) on Potwari, Nagy et al. (2020) on LVCs across languages). Research in this area is often carried out to characterize the linguistic aspects of the construction, to provide an analysis of the construction from different perspectives, and to explore the status of the elements that form the construction. Another recurrent area of research relates to the type of syntactic relation that holds between the LV and the coverb and whether the two elements are separable or not. LVCs in MSA, however, remain an understudied phenomenon. Therefore, the aim of the present work is to provide a scrutinization of the construction and to explore its syntactic, semantic, and lexical aspects. In doing so, the research work contributes to bridging the gap in the linguistic literature on MSA as well as enriching the cross-linguistic literature on the topic of LVCs.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The present paper aims to provide a characterization of LVCs in MSA in light of the typological criteria of LVCs delimited in Butt (1995, 2003, 2010). It also addresses the recurrent question in studies on LVCs which relates to the syntactic behavior, more specifically the syntactic relation that holds between the elements of the composite, i.e., the LV and the coverb. Last, the paper aims to shed light on aspects related to the argument structure and lexical semantics of LVCs in MSA.

1.4 Questions of the study

The paper tries to answer the following research questions:

1. How the LV is similar to or distinct from the lexical verb analog in terms of morphosyntctic aspects, meaning, and argument structure?
2. In terms of the syntactic relation that holds between the elements in the construct, are or are not the elements separable?
3. What are the classes of LVCs with nominal coverbs in Arabic?
4. What are the semantic contributions of the elements of the composite?

1.5 Significance of the study

The study covers aspects of the syntax and semantics of a significant topic in the field of linguistic research namely that of LVCs which also relates to the more general theoretical phenomenon of complex predicates. In this respect, the paper not only enriches research work on Arabic linguistics and contributes to the understanding of this important aspect of MSA but also enriches research on linguistics in general and adds to the crosslinguistic literature on the syntax and semantics of LVCs and complex predicates.

1.6 Data, scope, and layout

In Arabic, a similar set to the LVs delimited by Butt (2003) can be found. Examples include *ʕamila* 'do', *ʔaʕtˤaː* 'give', *ʔaxaða* 'take', *ʔalqaː* 'throw', *waqafa* 'stand', *ʔasˤaːba* 'hurt', *jalasa* 'sit', *saqatˤa* 'fall', *wadˤaʕa* 'put', and so on. The LVs vary in the type of coverb with which they combine. For example, the LVs *jalasa* 'sit', *waqafa* 'stand' and *saqatˤa* 'fall' combine with an adjectival coverb, the LV *jaːʔa* 'come' and *daxala* 'emerge' combine with either a verbal or adjectival coverb, the LV *qaːma* 'stand' combines with a PP, and the LV *ʕamila* 'do' combines with a nominal coverb. However, the present work focuses mainly on LVs that combine with a nominal coverb, which include the LVs *ʕamila* 'do', *ʔaʕtˤaː* 'give', *ʔaxaða* 'take', and *ʔasˤaːba* 'hurt'. The coverb in Arabic LVCs is an event nominal that belongs under the morphological class of derived nouns known as the masdars in Arabic. The noun is post-verbal and is typically accusative-case marked. The data presented in this work are based on examples collected from Arabic Web 2018 (arTenTen18) corpus on MSA, with a few examples searched for over the Web. The sections of the paper are organized as follows: the lexical features of LVCs in MSA are presented in section 2, followed by the morphosyntactic aspects of the coverbs and syntactic behavior of the construction in section 3; section 4 presents issues related to the argument structure and lexical semantics of the construction, in other words, the contributions of the elements in the construction; and finally, a summary of the findings and suggestions for further studies on LVCs in MSA are given in the conclusion in section 5.

2. Lexical features of LVCs in MSA

The LVs under study — *ʕamila* 'do', *ʔaʕtˤaː* 'give', *ʔaxaða* 'take', and *ʔasˤaːba* 'hurt' — exhibit the set of features indicated in Butt's typological characterization of LVCs cross-linguistically (1995, 2003, 2010) which are given in 1.1. For example, these LVs combine with nominal coverbs to form LVCs. Also, these LVs are form-identical

with lexical verbs in the language. In the following set of examples, sentences that include the LVs under study as well as the lexical verb analogues of these LVs are given.

Light verbs

1) *ʕamila-t hind tatˁwi:ran li-l-mafru:ʕ*
   did-3FSG Hind developing for-the-project
   'Hind made a development for the project.'
2) *yu-ʕtˁi:=hi ihtima:man kabi:ran*
   3SG-give.3SG=3SG care big 'He gives him great care.'
3) *ʔaxaða-t ɣafwatan*
   take-3FSG.3FSG nap 'She took a nap'
4) *ʔasˁa:ba=ha l-ʕama:*
   hurt=3FSG the-blindness
   'She became blind.'

Lexical verbs

5) *ʔinna=hu yaʕmalu bi-jiddin*
   EMPH.PRT=3SG work with-effort
   'He is working hard.'
6) *yu-ʕtˁi: hind l-kita:b*
   3SG-give.3SG Hind the-book
   'He gave Hind the book.'
7) *ʔaxað=tu l-kita:b*
   take=1SG the-book 'I took the book.'
8) *ʔasˁa:ba-t=ha: ʔuxtu=ha: bi-l-luʕbati fi: raʔsi=ha:*
   hurt=3FSG sister=her by-the-toy in head=her
   'Her sister hurt her with the toy in her head.'

The LVs carry functional information, such as tense and agreement, in the same manner lexical verbs do. For example, the LV *ʕamilat 'do'* is in the past tense, as indicated by its morphological pattern, i.e., *CaCiCa.*[1] Additionally, the verb agrees in gender with the feminine subject *Hind* as indicated by the suffix *-t* 'FSG', and the LV *ʕamila 'do'* as well as *ʕamila 'do' as a* lexical verb has a nominative-case marked subject. Take the other instance of the LV *yu- ʕtˁi:* 'give' as given in (6). The verb is in the morphological pattern *yu-CCSC*, and it has the prefix *yu-* which indicates present tense as well as agreement with a singular masculine subject; it is an implicit subject in the respective instance. The same holds for the other two LVs, i.e., *ʔaxaða* 'take' and *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt', in taking functional roles such as tense and agreement just as their lexical analogues do.

One distinctive feature which is worth pointing out here relates to agreement patterns of the LV *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt'. This feature is found in the majority of the instances of *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt' LVCs. According to the typical and expected agreement pattern in Arabic in general and as is the case with the other LVs and the lexical analogues (including the lexical analogue of the LV *ʔasˁa:ba* 'to hurt' per se), it is the subject that the verb agrees with. However, in the case of the majority of the instances of *ʔasˁa:ba*

[1] See, e.g., Wright (1967); Ryding (2005) for patterns of the verbs in Arabic.

'hurt' LVCs, the LV instead agrees with the coverb but not with the subject.[2] Compare, for instance, the examples given in (4) and (8). In both examples, the subject is feminine: the explicit pronoun *ha:* '3FSG' in (4) and the noun *ʔuxtu=ha:* 'her sister' in (8). The rule is that with feminine singular subjects, the verb carries the agreement marker *-t*. As can be seen, this feminine marker *-t* is present in the lexical verb but not in the LV. Rather, in the case of the LVC, the LV agrees with the masculine coverb *ʔal-ʕama:* 'the blindness'.[3]When a feminine coverb is used, e.g., *ʔal-ħumma:* 'the fever', the LV agrees with the coverb and it carries the feminine agreement marker *-t* as can be seen in (9); note that the subject is a masculine pronoun viz. *hu* 'he'.[4]

9) *ʔasˁa:ba-t=hu l-ħumma:*
hurt-3FSG=3SG the-fever
'He got fever.'

In contrast to the similarity between LVs and the lexical analogues in terms of indicating functional information, the two types of verbs differ in terms of meaning. The LVs have lighter meanings compared to the strong, full meaning of the lexical analogues; the verbal meaning in LVCs is principally expressed by the coverb in the construction. Compare, for example, the meaning of the LV *ʕamila* 'do' with its lexical analogue as in the sentences given in (1). As defined in *maʕa:ni: l-ja:miʕ* Dictionary, the verb *ʕamila* 'do' denotes a meaning of 'practicing an activity and exerting an effort to reach a beneficial result'. This meaning is clearly denoted by the lexical verb in (5). However, in the LVC *ʕamilat tatˁwi:ran* 'lit. do developing' meaning 'to develop' as given in (1), it can be seen that *ʕamila '*do' has little semantic content, and the predicational meaning is mostly contributed by the coverb *tatˁwi:r* 'development'. Take the other instance of the verb *yu-ʕtˁi:* 'give'. The meaning of the lexical verb in (6) involves the physical transfer of an object, as in *maʕa:ni: l-ja:miʕ* Dictionary, but in the LVC *yu-ʕtˁi: ihtima:man* 'lit. give care' meaning 'to care' as in (2), the LV is lighter in meaning and most of the verbal meaning is expressed by the nominal coverb *ihtima:m* 'care'. The same applies to the other verbs, i.e*., ʔaxaða* 'take' and *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt'. As lexical verbs, *ʔaxaða* 'take' and *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt' mean, respectively, 'to lay hold of something with one's hand' and 'to cause injury' as can be seen in the examples in (7) and (8). However, in the LVCs in (3) and (4), the meanings are 'to nap' and 'to become blind' which are obviously expressed by the respective nominal coverbs, viz. *ɣafwatan* 'a nap' and *ʔal-ʕama:* 'the-blindness'.

Despite this, LVs cannot be said to be completely semantically empty. Take the example of the LVC *ʕamila tatˁwi:ran* 'lit. do development'. It can be seen that the instance involves an element of meaning that is comparable to the strong meaning denoted by the lexical verb *ʕamila* 'do'. In other words, the meaning 'to develop' implies the practice of an activity and an exertion of an effort to reach a beneficial

[2] These represent one of two distinct classes of LVCs in Arabic that also exhibit variations relating to case-marking and lexical semantics, as will be shown in section 4.

[3] Where the subject is masculine singular, there is no explicit agreement marker in Arabic.

[4] The other few instances of *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt' LVCs namely *ʔasˁa:ba ðanban* 'lit. hurt a sin' meaning 'to commit a sin' and *ʔasˁa:ba fati:matan* 'lit. hurt a swear' meaning 'to swear'. These belong under another class (see section 4).

result.[5] Take also the other instance of the LVC *ʔaʕtˤa: ihtima:man* 'give care', which involves the predicational meaning of 'transfer', though not physical transfer, of care from the subject participant to the object participant. This view of LVs not being completely semantically empty is proposed in Butt (2010) and is indicated in works such as Sultan (2011) for Shabaki, Cetnarowska (2013) for Persian, and Nazir (2014) for Potwari. It contrasts the view that LVs have no meaning and only contribute a functional role, as claimed in works such as Cattell (1984), Grimshaw & Mester (1988) Allerton (2002), or Samardžić, (2008). A balanced position is put forward by Sultan (2011:38),'LVs contribute more to the morphological and syntactic meaning', while the coverb 'contributes more to the overall semantic meaning' and not that the LVs are completely semantically empty. Note that the use of the term 'light' in referring to the LVC also points out to another semantic aspect as found in the literature, namely that of having 'light' argument structure (see, e.g., Hale & Keyser (2013); Sultan (2011); Nazir (2014). This will be expanded upon in Section 4.[6]

From the above presentation on the elements of meaning that are contributed by the LV and the coverb in the construction, it can be seen that instances of LVCs with nominal coverbs in Arabic are compositional. The composite is compositionally formed because the meaning of the instances of the LVCs is identifiable from the meaning of the parts. It is also worth pointing out that in Arabic, LVCs often have a corresponding construction that presents a similar meaning to the meaning represented by the LVC. The construction involves a lexical verb that is morphologically related to the coverb in the LVC. For example, the LVCs given in (1-4), have the corresponding constructions in (10-13) below.

10) *tawwarat Hind l-maʃru:ʕ*
develop-3FSG Hind the-project
'Hind developed the project.'

11) *ihtamma bi=hi*
care.3SG PRE=him
'He cared about him.'

12) *ɣafa:*
nap.3SG
'He napped.'

13) *ʕamiya*
become.blind.3SG
'He became blind.'

To summarize the lexical features of LVCs as presented here, it could be said that the LVs co-occurring with nominal coverbs in Arabic exhibit the features put forward by

[5] See dictionary meanings of the verbs as given above.

[6] Although LVs are described as semantically light in terms of meaning and argument structure, there are a number of semantic aspects that the LV in particular or the construction in general contribute which relate to agentivity, boundedness, causation as pointed out in Butt (2010) regarding the cross-linguistic typological features of LVCs; such semantic contributions will be highlighted in the present paper for Arabic in section 4.

Butt (1995, 2003, 2010). The LVs under study are form-identical with lexical verbs in the language, and, similar to those lexical analogues, the LVs carry functional information like tense and agreement. Additionally, it is the nominal coverb that mostly carries the predicational meaning, but despite this, the LVs are not completely void of meaning. Moreover, LVCs in Arabic are compositional: the meaning of the whole is identifiable from the meaning of the parts. Having presented the lexical features of LVCs and how they are similar to or distinct from the lexical analogues, I now move on to provide a scrutinization of the morphosyntactic aspects of the coverbs and the syntactic behavior of LVCs in Arabic.

3. Morpho-syntactic aspects and syntactic behavior

According to Butt (2010), the syntax of LVCs differ from one language to another. Therefore, this present work examines the morphosyntactic aspects of the coverbs and the syntactic behavior of LVCs. In doing so, I attempt to answer the recurrent question in cross-linguistic research work on LVCs on the syntactic relation between the LV and the coverb and whether it is a flexible relation or not (i.e., whether the elements composing the composite are separable or not). I do so by applying a number of syntactic operations as found in the literature. I show that the syntactic relation between the LV and the coverb in Arabic is rigid and I attribute this, based on Faghiri & Samvelian (2021), to the semantic bond and the wordhood of the complex predicate. I also indicate that this syntactic relation between the elements of the composite and the status of the coverb is different from the case of a construction that includes a main verb and an ordinary object. In the subsequent sections, I first highlight the morphosyntactic aspects of the nominal coverbs in LVCs under study, followed by a display of the syntactic behavior of the instances of LVCs in Arabic.

3.1 Morphosyntactic Aspects of the Coverb

As pointed out earlier, the coverbs in the LVCs under study are nouns; therefore, in line with Nazir (2014), I characterize them in terms of the morphosyntactic aspects of ordinary nouns. The investigation shows that the nouns representing the coverbs in LVCs have the tendency to occur in certain typical patterns, and the coverbs involve a number of morphosyntactic constraints that do not hold for ordinary nouns; hence, the coverbs do not show aspects of ordinary nouns. These aspects include, among others, pluralization, occurring with a quantifier, being determined by a demonstrative pronoun, and the possibility to occur as a bare noun. Take the instance of the ordinary noun *ku:b* ‘a cup’. The noun can be pluralized and be used with a quantifier, e.g., *ʕidata ʔakwa:b* ‘several cups’. The noun can also be used with a demonstrative pronoun as in *ha:ðа l-ku:b* ‘this cup’, and can occur as a bare noun, e.g., *ku:b* ‘a cup’.

The coverbs in the various instances of LVCs have the tendency to occur in typical patterns and are mostly constrained in this respect. For example, the coverbs occurring in *ʕamila* ‘do’ LVCs and those occurring in *ʔaʕtʕa:* ‘give’ LVCs are found as singular bare nouns such as can be seen in (14) and (15).

14) *ʕamila* 'do'
a. tatˁwi:ran 'development' meaning 'to develop'
b. faħṣan 'test' meaning 'to test'
c. ixtiba:ran 'examination' meaning 'to examine'
15) *ʔaʕtˁa:* 'give'
a. ihtima:man 'care' meaning 'to care'
b. dafʕatan 'a push' meaning 'to motivate'
c. muhlatan 'an extension' meaning 'to extend'

There is still the instance of the coverb *dira:sah* 'a study' which occurs with the LV *ʕamila* 'do'; besides occurring as a singular bare noun, it is also commonly found as a plural noun. There are also a few instances of coverbs in *ʔaʕtˁa:* 'give' LVCs that do not occur as singular bare nouns. These include the coverb *wuʕu:d* 'promises' which is as a plural noun, the coverb *ʔal-ħub* 'the love' which occurs with the definite article *ʔal* 'the' and the coverb *ʔat-taʕli:ma:t* 'the instructions', which is plural and has the definite article *ʔal* 'the'. These instances represent a few exceptions and the typical pattern for the coverbs in *ʕamila* 'do' and *ʔaʕtˁa:* 'give' LVCs is that of a bare singular noun. As for the coverbs in *ʔaṣa:ba* 'hurt' LVCs and *ʔaxaða* 'take' LVCs, the majority, except for a few instances, do not occur as a bare noun but occur with the definite article *ʔal* 'the'. Examples of coverbs occurring with *ʔaṣa:ba* 'hurt' and *ʔaxaða* 'take' LVs are given in (16) and (17), respectively. There are, nevertheless, exceptions to this: the coverbs *ɣafwa* 'nap' which co-occurs with the LV *ʔaxaða* 'take' and the coverbs *ðanban* 'sin' and *ʃati:matan* 'a swear word' associating the LV *ʔaṣa:ba* 'hurt' occur as singular bare nouns.

16) *ʔaṣa:ba* 'hurt'
a. ʔal-ʕama: 'the-blindness' meaning 'to become blind'
b. ʔal-ħumma: 'the fever' meaning 'to get fever'
c. ʔal-kibaru 'the-aging' meaning 'to become old'
17) *ʔaxaða* 'take'
a. ʔal-ʕibrata 'the lesson' meaning 'to take a lesson'
b. ʔal-ʔiðn 'the permission' meaning 'to get permission'
c. ʔal-ʔiħtiya:tˁ 'the-precaution' meaning 'to take precaution'

Besides the constraint on the morphosyntactic pattern in which the nominal coverb occurs, there are also constraints related to the other features of ordinary nouns, namely those occurring with a quantifier and determination by the demonstrative pronoun *haða* 'that'. The coverbs in the various instances of the LVCs under study cannot occur with a quantifier nor can the coverbs be determined by a demonstrative pronoun. In the sentences in (18), the coverbs are quantified and are used with a determiner; nevertheless, the acceptability of the sentences is questionable.
18)
a. %ʕamil=na: ʕiddata tatˁwi:ra:tin/ haða t-tatˁi:ra li-l-maʃru:ʕ
do=1PL several developments this the-development to-the-project
'We have made several developments/ this development to the project

b. %ʔaʕtˁat ibnata=ha: ʕiddata nasˁa:ʔiħ/ haðihi n-nasˁi:ħata
give.3FSG daughter=her several advice.PL/ this the-advice 'She gave her daughter several pieces of advice/ this advice.'
c. %ʔaxaðat ʕiddata ɣafawa:tin/ haðihi l-ɣafwata
take.3FSG several nap.PL/ this the-nap
'She took several naps/a nap.'
d. %ʔasˁa:ba ʕiddata ʃata:ʔim/ haðihi ʃ-ʃati:mata
hurt several swear.word/ this the-swear.word
'He uttered several swear words/ this swear word.'

It is worth pointing out that this same constraint does not hold where the same derived nouns, which represent the coverb nominals in LVCs, are found in another type of construction, e.g., a construction with a main verb. Consider the following examples.

19)
a. xatˁtˁatˁ=na: li-ʕiddati tatˁwi:ra:tin/ li-haða t-tatˁwi:ra li-l-maʃru:ʕ
plan=1PL for-several developments/ for-this the-development to-the-project
'We have planned for several developments/ for this development to the project.'
b. ʕindi: laki: ʕiddata nasˁa:ʔiħ/ lan ʔansa: haðihi n-nasˁi:ħata
have for.you several advice. PL/ not forget this the-advice
'I have several pieces of advice for you/ I will not forget this advice.'
c. yaħta:ju ʕiddata ɣafawa:tin/ haðihi l-ɣafwata
need.3SG several nap.PL this the-nap
'He is in need of several naps/a nap.'
d. ðakar=u:=hu bi-ʕiddati ʃata:ʔim/bi-haðihi ʃ-ʃati:mata
mention=1PL=3SG by-several swear.word.PL/ this the-swear.word
'They mentioned him by several swear words/ by this swear word.'

The derived noun *tatˁwi:r*, for instance, is a coverb co-occuring with the LV *ʕamila* 'do' in (18a) and is part of a PP complement of the main verb *xatˁtˁatˁa* 'plan' in (19a), is quantified and determined. Likewise, the other nouns, i.e., *ɣafwa* 'a nap', *nasˁi:ħa* 'an advice', and *ʃati:ma* 'a swear' occur with the main verbs *yaħta:j* 'need', *ʔansa:* 'forget' and *ðakara* 'mention'. The nouns occur with the demonstrative pronouns *haða/haðihi* and the quantifier *ʕiddata*. Therefore, unlike nominal coverbs in LVCs, these derived nouns can have aspects of ordinary nouns. Interestingly, there is also the case when the nouns representing the coverbs in the LVCs under study can be found in a different type of LVC, namely LVCs with PP coverbs. These nouns do not exhibit the same morphosyntactic constraints on the occurrence with a quantifier or a determiner. Take the instance of the nouns representing the coverbs in *ʕamila* 'do' LVCs as given in (14); these nouns can co-occur with the LV *qa:ma* 'stand' which takes a PP coverb. In the examples in (20), the nouns *tatˁwi:r* 'development', *dira:sa* 'a study', and *ixtiba:r* 'a test' are compatible with a quantifier and a demonstrative pronoun.

20)
a. qa:ma bi-ʕiddati tatˁwi:ra:tin/ bi-ha:ða t-tatˁwi:r li-l-maʃru:ʕ
stand.3SG by-several developments this the-development to-the-

project 'He made several developments/ this development to the project

b. *qa:ma bi-ʕiddati dira:sa:tin/ bi-ha:ðihi d-dira:sati* stand.3SG by-several studies/ by-this the-study 'He did several studies/ this study.'

c. *qa:ma bi-ʕiddati ixtiba:ra:tin/ bi-ha:ða l-ixtiba:r* stand.3SG by-several examinations/ by-this the-examination 'He did several examinations/ this examination.'

Therefore, to summarise, nominal coverbs in LVCs in Arabic exhibit morphosyntactic constraints. The coverbs occur in specific patterns, occurring as either singular bare Ns in the case of the majority of the instances occurring with the LVs *ʕamila* and *ʔaʕtˤa:,* or as singular nouns with the definite article *ʔal* 'the' as in the case of the instances in *ʔasˤa:ba* 'hurt' and *ʔaxaða* 'take' LVCs. Moreover, the coverbs cannot occur with a demonstrative pronoun nor can the coverbs occur with a quantifier. Involving these morphosyntactic constraints, nominal coverbs in LVCs in Arabic are in this respect distinct from ordinary nouns.

3.2 Syntactic (In-)flexibility

This investigation on the syntactic behavior of LVCs focuses on answering the question regarding what the syntactic relation that holds between the LV and the coverb is and whether it is flexible or not; in other words, whether the elements in the composite are separable or not. To highlight this behavior, a number of syntactic operations are applied in line with works such as Karimi-Doostan (2011), Nazir (2014), and Sultan (2011). The operations include fronting, adverb insertion, object movement, and question formation. The investigation shows that the syntactic relation that holds between the LV and the coverb in the LVCs with nominal coverbs in Arabic is not flexible but rigid. Separation of the elements is not plausible without affecting the acceptability/grammaticality of the construction or without the LV losing its meaning to the meaning of the lexical analog. In the following paragraphs, the behavior of the instances of LVCs with respect to the different syntactic operations is indicated.

First, there is the syntactic operation of fronting. This is the process whereby a postverbal element is displaced to a left peripheral position with a gap in the sentence (Aoun et al 2010). In the varying instances of LVCs, the coverbs do not allow fronting. This can be represented by the unacceptability of the examples in (21) which include the four different LVs.

21)

a. **tatˤwi:ran ʕamil=na: li-l-ma ʃru:ʕ*
development did=1PL for-the-project
'A development, we worked for the project.'

b. **ɣafwatan qasˤi:ratan ʔaxaðat sa:ra*
nap short take Sarah
'A short nap, Sarah took.'

c. **ihtima:man ʕazˤi:man ʔaʕtˤa: ʔaxa:=hu*
care great 3SG-give.3SG brother=his
'Great care, he gives his brother.'

d. ** ʔal-ʕama: ʔasˤa:ba=ha:*
the-blindness hurt=3FSG
'The blindness, she got.'

In these examples where the LV and the coverb are separated and the coverb is fronted, the LVC meaning is lost and the LV instead has the meaning of the lexical analog; hence, the unacceptability of the sentences. In (21a), for instance, the LVC no longer means 'to develop'. Rather, the part of the sentence except for the fronted phrase implies a meaning of 'we have worked for our project' whereas when the coverb is in the ordinary position, the meaning is 'we have developed our project'. Likewise, in (21b) and (21c), it is not the meaning of the LVC but the meaning of the lexical verbs that is implied, i.e., that of 'physical transfer' with the verb *ʔaʕtˤa:* 'give' and that of 'laying hold of with one's hand' in the case of the verb *ʔaxaða* 'take'. Moreover, the part of the sentences without the fronted coverbs sounds incomplete; a request for information might be made such as 'what did he give his brother?' or 'what did Sarah take?'. In (21d), the verb *ʔasˤa:ba* denotes the lexical meaning of 'to hurt' and not the LVC meaning of 'to become blind'. This variation in the meaning of the verb and the discontinuity in the meaning of the LVC due to the fronted element (i.e., the coverb) results in the unacceptability of the sentences.

As is the case with fronting where the coverb is moved away from the LV, insertion of an adverb between the LV and the coverb is not plausible; the LVs lose their meaning to the meaning of the lexical analogs. Therefore, the following examples are not acceptable.

22)

a. ʕamil=na: muʔaxxaran tatˤwi:ran li-l-maʃru:ʕ
did=1PL lately development for-the-project
'We lately developed the project.'

*b. *yuʕtˤi:=hi muʔaxxaran ihtima:man ʕazˤi:man*
give.3SG=3SG lately care great 'He gives him lately great care.'

*c. *ʔaxaðat sa:ra l-ba:riħata ɣafwatan qasˤi:ratan*
took Sarah the-yesterday nap short
'Sarah took yesterday a short nap.'

*d. * ʔasˤa:ba=ha: l-ba:riħata l-ʕama:*
hurt=3FSG the-yesterday the-blindness
'She got blind yesterday.'

Next is the process of object movement; it applies to, as the name indicates, constructions with an object(s), which is a noun, and whether moving the object from its default position is plausible. In the case of the instances of LVCs, again as with the result demonstrated in the processes above, movement of the nominal coverb from the original position is not possible. Consider the following examples in which the movement of the coverb results in a change in meaning and hence unacceptability of the sentences:

23)

*a. *ʕamil=na: li-l-maʃru:ʕ tatˤwi:ran*
did=1PL for-the-project development
'We did for the project a development.'

*b. *ʔaxaðat sa:ra min l-ʕaduwwi l-ħaðara*
took Sarah from the-enemy the-precaution
'Sarah took from the-enemy the precaution.'

In (23a) and (23b), the coverbs *tatˤwi:ran* 'a development' and *ʔal-ħaðara* 'the precaution' are moved away from LVs and are made to follow rather than precede the internal arguments which are PPs, i.e., *li-l-maʃru:ʕ* 'for the project' and *min l-ʕaduwwi* 'from the-enemy'. This change in the order results in a change in the meaning of the construction. Instead of meaning 'to develop the project', the sentence in (23a) implies a meaning of doing a favor for the project. Similarly, the meaning of 'taking a precaution' implies physically taking a precaution from the enemy (23b). Therefore, the resulting sentences after the nominal coverb movement are not acceptable.

Last, there is the process of question formation which is also not possible with the instances of LVCs. When the coverb is questioned—and hence, does not occur adjacent to the verb in the question but the two elements are separated—the verb denotes the meaning of the LV lexical analog, and the LVC meaning is lost. Note that in (24d), even the ordinary meaning of the lexical analog is not used, and the question has the idiomatic meaning of 'what is the matter with her?'. For such changes in meaning, the coverb cannot be a felicitous answer to the respective question. The following sentences are not acceptable:

24)

a. Q*: ma:ða: ʕamil=tum*
what did=2PL
'What did you do?'
A*: *tatˤwi:ran li-l-maʃru:ʕ*
development for-the-project
'a development for the project'

b. Q*: ma:ða: yuʕtˤi:=hi*
what give.3SG=3SG
'What does he give him?'
A*: *ihtima:man ʕazˤi:man*
care great
'great care'

c. Q*: ma:ða: ʔaxaðat*
what take.3FSG
'What did she take?'
A*: *ɣafwatan qasˤi:ratan*
nap short
'a short nap'

d. Q*: ma:ða: ʔasˤa:ba=ha:*
what hurt=3FSG
'What did she take?'
A*: *ʔal-ʕama:*
the-blindness
'the blindness'

These are a number of tests that indicate that the syntactic relation between the LV and nominal coverbs in LVCs in Arabic is rigid and not flexible, i.e., the elements cannot be separated. Such rigidity between the elements of the composite can be related to, similar to Faghiri & Samvelian (2021), the fact that the elements represent

a single semantic unit and are not related to other aspects of the construction as found in the literature for other languages, e.g., the compositionality of the construction as in Fleischhauer and Neisani (2020) or the aspects of the coverb as in, e.g., Karimi-Doostan (1997).[7]As shown in section 2, the elements of the composite represents one predicational meaning which is similar to the meaning expressed by a single verb that is often available in the language. For example, the LVC *ʕamila tatˁwiːran* 'lit. do a development' expresses a similar meaning to the one expressed by the lexical verb *tˁawwara* 'to develop'. Moreover, it will also be shown in the following section that the aspect of semantic wholeness of LVCs can also be seen in the fact that the two elements share a single argument structure. Therefore, for these semantic reasons, the two elements remain adjacent and resist separation. A final point to note is that the non-separability between the LV and the coverb recalls the adjacency requirement characterizing the comparable construction, namely constructions with a main verb and ordinary object (see, e.g., Aoun et al (2010)). In Madkhali (2022), the behavior of the ordinary object is demonstrated with respect to these syntactic processes. Like the coverb in the LVC, the ordinary object does not allow adverb insertion or object movement, but unlike the coverb it can be fronted and questioned. Therefore, similar to the coverb in LVCs, the ordinary object prefers adjacency to the verb; nevertheless, the relation is not as rigid as with the complex predicate. This also highlights the distinction in the status of the two nouns, i.e., the coverb and the ordinary object. Although both are accusative-case marked and postverbal, the nouns differ not only in their semantics but also in their syntactic behavior and relation with the respective verbs as well as in their morphosyntactic aspects. Nonetheless, given the limited scope of this study on LVCs with nominal coverbs in Arabic, further research is recommended to investigate how LVCs differ from constructions with a main verb and an ordinary object. Nazir (2014) provides an exhaustive investigation of this distinction in Potwari.

Having presented the morphosyntactic aspects of nominal coverbs in LVCs in Arabic and the syntactic relation that holds between the LV and coverb, aspects related to the argument structure and lexical semantics of the construction will now be explored.

4. Argument structure and lexical semantics

In this section, a characterization of the argument structure of the different instances of the LVCs under study will be provided. LVCs have a different argument structure from that of lexical analogs, i.e., a different number of arguments and different thematic roles, and the argument structure is shared by the LV and the coverb in the case of LVCs.[8] A classification of LVCs in Arabic will also be presented, namely agentive and non-agentive LVCs; the two classes differ in morphosyntactic and

[7] Principally, Faghiri & Samvelian (2021) relate the tendency of the elements of the complex predicate to be adjacent to a word order preference in Persian, similar to the case of a verb with its ordinary object. In addition, they relate adjacency to the semantic bond and wordhood of the composite, as I similarly do in this work

[8] . Identification of thematic roles is based on Dowty (1991)

semantic aspects.[9] Last, light is shed on aspects of boundedness and causation that are contributed, besides agentivity, to the construction, recalling the typological feature of LVCs contributing a semantic element of agentivity, boundedness, causation, and so on. as pointed out by Butt (2010).

4.1 Argument structure of LVCs in Arabic

The argument structure of LVCs differs from the argument structure of the LV lexical analogs: the number of arguments involved and the thematic roles assigned to those arguments vary. This fact supports the argument structure view, which states that the two verbs – the LV and the lexical analog—belong to two distinct lexical entries and that LVs are not mainly semantically bleached forms of the lexical analogues (see, e.g., Alsina 1993; Butt 1995). Take the case of the verb *ʕamila* 'do'. As a lexical verb, *ʕamila* 'do' is a one-place predicate with an agent argument. In the instances of *ʕamila* 'do' LVCs, on the other hand, it can be a one-place predicate with an agent argument or a two-place predicate with either an agent and a patient or an agent and a theme. A summary of the various cases and examples are given below.

The same applies to the other LVCs and the LV lexical analogs. For example, the lexical verb *ʔaxaða* 'take' is a three-place predicate with an agent, theme, and source argument. However, *ʔaxaða* LVCs are either a one-place predicate with an agent argument or a two-place predicate with an agent and patient. There is also the verb *ʔaʕtˤa:* 'give'. As a lexical verb, it is a three-place predicate with an agent, recipient, and theme argument. In the instances of LVCs, it is a two-place predicate with an agent and patient. Finally, there is the verb *ʔasˤa:ba* 'hurt', which is a three-place predicate as a lexical verb with an agent, patient, and instrument argument but *ʔasˤa:ba* 'hurt'

Table 1. Argument structure of *ʕamila* 'do' as a lexical verb and in LVC

Lexical verb	*ʕamila* 'do'- LVCs
! One-place predicate with an <AGENT> e.g., *raʔay=tu=hu yaʕmalu fi: maktabi=hi* saw=1SG=3SG work in office=his	! One-place predicate with <AGENT> e.g., *ʕamila tˤ-tˤa:ʔata* did.3SG the-act.of.obedience 'He did an act of obedience.' ! Two-place predicate with <AGENT, PATIENT> e.g., *ʕamila tatˤwi:ran. li-l-mafru:ʕ* did.3SG development of-the-project 'He developed the project.' ! Two-place predicate with <AGENT, THEME> e.g., *ʕamila faħsˤan li-l-ʕayyina* did.3SG test of-the-sample 'He did a test on the sample.'

[9]. The same classification is proposed in Nazir (2014) for LVCs in Potwari.

LVCs are one-place predicates with either an EXPERIENCER subject in the majority of instances or an agent subject in a few instances. The argument structure of the different LVCs and the LVs lexical analogs can be summarised with examples as follows.

However, when comparing the argument structure of the LVC with the argument structure of the verb in the corresponding construction, i.e., the construction including the coverb- morphologically-related verb, it can be seen that the verb and the LVC have the same number of arguments and the same type of thematic roles. To single out an instance, the verb *tˤawwara* 'to develop' and the LVC *ʕamila tatˤwi:ran* 'lit. do development' meaning 'to develop' are both two-place predicates with an agent and a patient argument. Take the other instance of the verb *iħtˤa:ta* 'to take the precaution' and the LVC *ʔaxaða l-ħi:tˤata* 'lit. take the precaution' meaning 'to take the precaution'; the two instances represent a two-place predicate with an AGENT and a STIMULUS. This observation of the similarity in the argument structure between the two types of constructions and that the occurrence of the single LV with a different coverb coincides with variation in the argument structure of the instance of the LVC intuitively points to the role the coverb plays in the argument structure of the construction. In fact, the description of the LV in the literature as being semantically bleached and that it is 'lighter' than the lexical verb does not only relate to the light meaning of the LV (see section 2) but also to the contribution of the LV in the argument structure. In Alsina (1993), for instance, the LV is characterized as being

Table 2. Argument Structure of other verbs under study as a lexical verb and in LVC

	Lexical verb	*ʕamila* 'do'- LVCs
ʔaxaḏa 'take'	! Three-place predicate ⟨AGENT, THEME, SOURCE⟩ e.g., *ʔaxað=tu l-kita:ba min sˤadi:qat=i:* take=1SG the-book from friend=my 'I took the book from my friend.'	! One-place predicate ⟨AGENT⟩ e.g., *ʔaxaðat ɣafwatan* take-3FSG nap 'She took a nap' ! Two-place predicate ⟨AGENT, PATIENT⟩ e.g., *ʔaxaðat l-ħaðara min=hu* take-3FSG the-precaution from=him 'She took precaution from him.'
ʔaʕtˤa: 'give'	! Three-place predicate ⟨AGENT, RECIPIENT, THEME⟩ e.g., *yu-ʕtˤi: hind l-kita:b* 3SG-give.3SG Hind the-book 'He gives Hind the book.	! Two-place predicate ⟨AGENT, PATIENT⟩ e.g., *yu-ʕtˤi:=hi ihtima:man kabi:ran* 3SG-give.3SG=3SG care big 'He gives him great care.'
ʔasˤa:ba 'hurt'	! Three-place predicate ⟨AGENT, PATIENT, INSTRUMENT⟩ e.g., *ʔasˤa:ba-t=ha: ʔuxtu=ha:* hurt=3FSG sister=her *bi-l-luʕbati fi: raʔsi=ha:* by-the-toy in head=her 'Her sister hurt her with the toy in her head.'	! One-place predicate ⟨AGENT⟩ e.g., *ʔasˤa:ba ðanban* hurt=3FSG sin 'He committed a sin.' ! One-place predicate ⟨EXPERIENCER⟩ e.g. *ʔasˤa:ba=ha l-ʕama:* hurt=3FSG the-blindness 'She became blind.'

incomplete and that it needs to complete its argument structure by combining with another predicate that also has an argument structure, i.e., the coverb [see also, e.g., Grimshaw and Mester (1988), Rosen (1989), and Butt (1995)]. Moreover, in works such as Harley (1995), Marantz (1997), and Folli et al (2005), the LV is claimed to contribute to the external argument, whereas the internal argument is contributed by the coverb. In fact, the change in the internal arguments of LVC when a different coverb co-occurs with the LV is seen to support this view; yet, the plausibility that the LV and the coverb share the external argument is not rejected here. In Arabic, there is the case of the instances of *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt' LVCs, where the change of the coverb also results in whether the LVC is agentive or non-agentive and whether the subject is nominative-case marked or is accusative as in *ʔasˁa:ba ðanban* 'lit. hurt a sin' (meaning 'to commit a sin') and *ʔasˁa:ba=hu l-ʕama:* 'lit. hurt=3SG the-sight. loss' (meaning 'to become blind'), respectively. One question to raise here is whether it is the LV or the coverb that determines the case-marking of the subject, but due to the small scale of this study, questions of what and how much the two elements of the composite contribute to the argument structure and what determines case marking will not be covered here, but are raised as possible avenues of future study.

4.2 Two classes of LVCs: agentive and non-agentive LVCs

It has been shown in the above section that there are some LVCs with an AGENT argument whilst other instances have an EXPERIENCER argument. In fact, these instances exhibit semantic distinctions as well as morphosyntactic distinctions which relate to case-marking and agreement patterns (the latter is indicated in section 2). Therefore, in Arabic, in line with Nazir (2014) for Potwari LVCs, these represent two distinct classes of LVCs, namely agentive and non-agentive LVCs. Agentive LVCs represent volitional eventualities and take an agent subject which is nominative-case marked and with which the verb agrees. Non-agentive LVCs, on the other hand, represent non-volitional eventualities, take an EXPERIENCER subject that is accusative-case marked and a coverb that is nominative-case marked; the verb agrees with the coverb rather than with the subject (see section 2).

Agentivity or not of a verb can be indicated, as in Cruse (1973), by the (in)compatibility with an agent-oriented adverb such as 'deliberately', *ʕamdan* in Arabic, or the happen versus do diagnostic, realized in Arabic as *faʕala* and *ħadaθa,* respectively. Sentences representing agentive events are felicitous answers to a question with *do,* whereas sentences representing non-agentive events pattern with questions with happen. Therefore, according to the two tests, the instances of *ʕamila* 'do', *ʔaxaða* 'take', *ʔaʕtˁa:* 'give', and a few instances of *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt' LVCs are agentive. These LVCs can be modified by an agent-oriented adverb like *ʕamdan* 'deliberately' as can be seen in (25) and can be an answer to a question with *faʕala* 'do' as can be seen in (26), but result in semantically infelicitous sentences when used as answers to a question with the verb *ħadaθa* 'happen' as can be seen in (27).

25)

a. ʕamdan ʕamil=na: tatˁwi:ran li-l-mafru:ʕ
deliberately did=1PL development for-the-project
'Deliberately, we developed the project.'

b. ʔaxað=tu ɣafwatan ʕamdan
take=1SG nap deliberately 'I deliberately took a nap.'
c. ʔaʕtˤa:=hu nasˤi:ħatan ʕamdan
give.3SG=3SG advice deliberately
'He gave him advice deliberately.'
d. ʔasˤa:ba ʃati:matan ʕamdan
hurt.3SG swear deliberately
'He swore deliberately.'

26)
a. Q: ma:θa: ʕamil=tum[10]
what did=2PL
'What did you do?'

A: ʕamil=na: tatˤwi:ran li-l-maʃru:ʕ
did=1PL development for-the-project
'We developed the project'
b. Q: ma:θa: faʕala
what did=2PL
'What did he do?'
c. A: ʔaxaθa ɣafwatan/ ʔaʕtˤa:=hu nasˤi:ħatan/ ʔasˤa:ba ʃati:matan
take.3SG nap give.3SG=3SG advice hurt.3SG swear
'He took a nap/ He gave him advice/ He swore.'

27)
Q: ma:ða: ħadaθa
what happened
'What happened?'
A*: *ʕamil=na: tatˤwi:ran li-l-maʃru:ʕ/*ʔaxaða ɣafwatan/*ʔaʕtˤa:=hu*
did=1PL development for-the-project/ take.3SG nap /give.3SG=3SG
*nasˤi:ħatan/*ʔasˤa:ba ʃati:matan*
advice hurt.3SG swear
'We developed the project/ He took a nap/He gave him advice/ He swore.'

Therefore, it can be said that the LVs *ʕamila* 'do', *ʔaxaða* 'take', and *ʔaʕtˤa:* 'give' contribute agentivity to the construction. Such contribution of the LVs can further be highlighted by comparing the instances of the LVC with the corresponding construction that includes the coverb-morphologically related verb. Compare, for instance, the verb *ɣafa:* 'to nap' with the LVC *ʔaxaða* 'take' *ɣafwatan* 'to take a nap'; while the former represents a non-volitional event, the combination of the agentive verb *ʔaxaða* with the coverb *ɣafwatan* 'nap' denotes a volitional event. This distinction can be seen in the variation in the acceptability of the examples with respect to the *faʕala* 'do' versus *ħadaθa* 'happen' test. While the LVC can be an answer to a question with *faʕala* 'do' as seen in (26b), the contrary holds for the verb denoting the non-volitional event, i.e., *ɣafa:* 'to nap 'as can be seen in (28); the verb is compatible with *ħadaθa* 'happen' as in

[10] The verb *ʕamila* 'do' is used instead of *faʕala* 'do' as it is more compatible with this instance of the LVC since it includes the same verb *ʕamila* 'do'; note that the two verbs are synonymous.

(28a) but not with *faʕala* ‘do’ question as in (28b).

28)

a. Q: ma:θa: faʕal
what did=2PL ‘What did he do?’
*A: *ɣafa:*
nap.3SG
‘He napped.’

b. Q: ma:θa: hadaθ
what happened
‘What happened?’
A: ɣafa:
nap.3SG
‘He napped.’

Besides these agentive LVCs, there are LVCs that can be classified as non-agentive; these are *ʔasˤa:ba* ‘hurt’ LVCs with an EXPERIENCER subject which represent the majority of the instances of LVCs with the verb *ʔasˤa:ba* ‘hurt’. The LVCs denote non-volitional events. This can be indicated by the compatibility of the constructions with *hadaθa* ‘happen’ questions but not with *faʕala* ‘do’ questions as can be seen in (29). Also, these non-agentive LVCs cannot be modified by the agent-oriented adverb *ʕamdan* ‘deliberately’ as can be seen in (30).

29)

a. Q*: ma:ða: faʕal*
what did=2PL
‘What did he do?’
A*: *ʔasˤa:ba=hu l-ʕama:*
hurt=3SG the-blindness
‘He became blind.’

b. Q*: ma:ða: ħadaθ*
what happened
‘What happened?’
A*: ʔasˤa:ba=hu l-ʕama:*
hurt=3SG the-blindness
‘He became blind.’

*30) *ʔasˤa:ba=hu l-ʕama: ʕamdan*
hurt.3SG the-blindness deliberately
‘He became blind deliberately.’

Having presented the two classes of LVCs in Arabic and shed light on the agentivity contribution of LVs to the construction, the next section will highlight other semantic aspects contributed to the construction viz. causation and boundedness, a part that cannot be overlooked in across the board account of LVCs in Arabic.

4.3 Causation and boundedness

Romaine (1986) states that to do complete justice to the semantic aspects contributed to the clause by the “compound verbs”, we would need to go into the semantics of

causativity' (qtd. in Nazir 2014:144). Importantly, the relationship between LVCs and causativity is documented in the literature (see, e.g., Butt, (2010); Sultan, (2011); Nazir, (2014). Causativity in LVCs can be explored via the inchoative-causative alternation and whether or not the LVC can participate in the inchoative-causative alternation (see, e.g., Nazir, (2014) for Potwari). As described in Haspelmath (1993), a causative verb (also a transitive verb) selects an AGENT that brings about a change of state, whereas an inchoative verb (also an intransitive verb) does not have an agent participant and the situation is seen to occur spontaneously. For example, the verb 'broke' as given in (31a) is inchoative; there is no agent participant, and the THEME argument—'pencil'—undergoes a change of state, namely the state of becoming broken. On the other hand, in the sentence in (31b), the verb 'broke' is causative as it involves a causer, which is the AGENT argument 'Rebecca' that brought about the change of state. The same applies to the equivalent sentences in Arabic as given in (32); however, unlike in English, where the inchoative and the causative are identical in form, the inchoative verb in Arabic involves a prefix attached to the stem of the causative verb counterpart.

31)
   a. The pencil broke
   b. Rebecca broke the pencil

32)
   a. in-kasara l-mirsa:m
   INCH-broke the-pencil
   'The pencil broke.'
   b. sara kasarat l-mirsa:m
   Sarah broke the-pencil
   'Sarah broke the pencil.'

Relevant to the distinction between inchoative versus causative verbs is the distinction between externally and internally-caused events as proposed in Levin & Rappaport Hovav, (1995), who principally distinguish between two types of intransitives, namely unaccusatives and unergatives. According to the authors, an intransitive verb that does not have a causative counterpart and hence does not alternate in the inchoative-causative alternation denotes an internally caused eventuality. In contrast, an intransitive verb with a causative counterpart represents an externally caused eventuality. An externally caused eventuality involves an external cause that brings about the eventuality, but for an internally caused eventuality the properties of the verb are seen to bring about the eventuality.

As for the instances of LVCs with nominal coverbs in Arabic, *ʕamila* 'do', *ʔaxaða* 'take', and the non-agentive *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt' LVCs can participate in the inchoative-causative alternation and hence represent externally caused events. The instances of *ʕamila* 'do' and *ʔaxaða* 'take' LVCs have inchoative counterparts which are derived by the addition of the prefixes *it-* or *in-*, namely *itʕamalat/inʕamalat* 'get.done' and *itʔaxaða*/*inʔaxaða* 'be.taken', as can be seen in the examples in (33) and (34). The non-agentive *ʔasˁa:ba* 'got.hurt' LVCs are inchoatives that have causative counterparts; the LVs are identical in form but the causative counterparts involve a corresponding PP coverb and not a nominal coverb as shown in (35). That these instances participate in the inchoative-causative alternation indicates that they

represent externally caused eventualities: there is an external cause that brings about the eventuality.

33)
a. ʕamila faħsˁan li-l-ʕayyina
did.3SG examination for-the-sample
'He did an examination on the sample.'
b. itʕamal faħsˁun li-l-ʕayyina
got.done examination for-the-sample
'An examination was done on the sample.'

34)
a. ʔaxaða ɣafwatan
take.3SG nap 'He took a nap.'
b. itʔaxaðat ɣafwatun
taken.3SG nap
'A nap was taken.'

35)
a. ʔasˁa:ba=hu l-ʕama:
hurt=3SG the-blindness
'He became blind.'
b. ʕamiya
got.blind.3SG
'He became blind.'

As for the instances of *ʔaʕtˁa:* LVCs, these likewise involve a causative element; there is an AGENT which is an external causer that brings about the situation. In the example in (36), the AGENT participant caused the PATIENT participant to have advice or to be given advice. As for agentive *ʔasˁa:ba* 'hurt' LVCs, the instances cannot participate in the inchoative-causative alternation; therefore, these can be described as representing internally caused eventualities. For example, in the instances given in (37), there cannot be seen to involve an external causer that brings about the situation.

36) ʔaʕtˁa:=hu nasˁi:ħatan
give.3SG=3SG advice
'He gave him advice.'

37)
a. ʔasˁa:ba ðanban
hurt.3SG sin
'He committed a sin.'
b. ʔasˁa:ba ʃati:matan
hurt.3SG swear
'He swore.'

Besides contributing to causation, LVCs are characterised as contributing an element of boundedness (see, e.g., Wierzbicka, (1982); Kearns 1988; Höche 2009; Butt 2010; Nolan 2014; Madkhali (2017)). In Höche (2009) for English and Madkhali (2017) for Arabic, LVCs are compared to a corresponding construction that also involves

boundedness, namely cognate object constructions. LVCs are described as focusing on the endpoint and perfectivity of the event; the bounding effect is shown to result from the [+bound] as opposed to the [-bound] feature of the nominal that cooccurs with the verb. Moreover, shortness of the duration of the event is claimed for LVCs in, e.g., Wierzbicka, (1982) and Kearns, (1988). In the literature, one test to indicate (un)-boundedness is whether the verb is plausible with *in*-phrase in the case of bounded events or *for*-phrase with unbounded events, represented in Arabic by *fi:* 'in'- phrase and *li-muddati* 'for-period', respectively. For example, the verb *laʕiba 'play'* is an activity verb and is inherently [-bound] as it denotes an ongoing process; it is compatible with *li-muddati* 'for-period'-phrase but incompatible with *fi: in*-phrase as in (38). In contrast, the verb ɣ*asala 'wash'* represents an accomplishment and it is [+bound] as it involves an endpoint; hence, it is acceptable with *fi: 'in'*-phrase but not *li-muddati* 'for-period'-phrase as given in (39).

38)

a. laʕiba fi l-ħadi:qati li-muddati sa:ʕatin
play.3SG in the-garden for-period hour
'He played in the garden for an hour

*b. *laʕiba fi l-ħadi:qati fi: sa:ʕatin*
play.3SG in the-garden in hour
'He played in the garden in an hour

39)

a. *ɣ*asala isˁ- sˁuħu:na li-muddati sa:ʕatin*
wash.3SG the-dishes for-period hour 'He washed the dishes for an hour.'

b. ɣ*asala isˁ-sˁuħu:na fi: sa:ʕatin*
wash.3SG the-dishes in hour
'He washed the dishes in an hour.'

As for the instances of LVCs under study, they also represent bounded events. This can be seen in the compatibility of the instances with the *fi:*'in'-phrase as demonstrated in (40).

40)

a. ʕamila faħsˁan li-l-ʕayyinati fi: sa:ʕatin
did.3SG examination for-the-sample in hour
'He did an examination on the sample in an hour.'

b. ʔaxaða ɣafwatan fi: *laħzˁatin*
take.3SG nap in second
'He took a nap in a second.'

c. ʔaʕtˁa:=hu nasˁi:ħatan fi: sa:ʕatin
give.3SG=3SG advice in hour
'He gave him advice in an hour.'

d. ʔasˁa:ba=hu l-ʕama: fi: *laħzˁatin*
hurt=3SG the-blindness in second
'He became blind in a second.'

Such boundedness in the LVC instance can further be highlighted by indicating the distinction between the LVC instance and the construction involving the lexical analog, where the latter is inherently [-bound]. This holds for the LVC with the verb ʕ*amila* 'do'. In the lexical analog construction, it represents an activity that is

[-bound] and is hence not compatible with *fi:* 'in'-phrase but possible with *li-muddati* 'for-period'-phrase. This is shown in the following example.

*41) ʕamila li-muddati sa:ʕatin/*fi: sa:ʕatin*
work.3SG for-period hour in hour
'He worked for an hour/ in an hour'

In short, causation, boundedness, and agentivity are elements of meaning that contribute to the construction. Nevertheless, this is a short-scale study on LVCs and will not by no means cover the lexical semantics of LVCs but a further study may be conducted to investigate these aspects of LVCs in Arabic.

5. Conclusion

This paper has presented an account of LVCs in MSA. It has focused on LVCs with nominal coverbs namely those instances including the LVs *ʕamila* 'do', *ʔaxaða* 'take', *ʔaʕtˤa:* 'give' and *ʔasˤa:ba* 'hurt'. The account has covered several facets of LVCs. These include the typological features of LVCs, the discrepancies from or similarities to the lexical verb analogs in terms of lexical features, meaning, and argument structure, the aspects of the coverb, and the issue of whether the elements of the construct are (in-)separable.

The paper has shown that apart from the similarity between LVs and the lexical verb analogs in carrying functional information such as tense and agreement, the two types of verbs exhibit varying distinctions that relate to meaning and argument structure. The LVs do not express the same strong, full meaning expressed by the lexical analogs. Rather, the verbal meaning is mostly expressed by the coverb. As for argument structure, instances of LVCs are shown to have different numbers of arguments and assign different thematic roles to those arguments; hence, the LVCs are different in transitivity. Moreover, determination of the argument structure is shared between the LV and the coverb while the same does not apply to the lexical verb analogues. Such distinction in argument structure supports the view that light verbs and their lexical analogs belong to distinct entries, as proposed in Butt (1995). Whether it is the LV that determines the external argument and the coverb determines the internal argument(s), as proposed in Sultan (2011) for Shabaki, is a matter worthy of further investigation but one which is beyond the scope of the present work. Also, which element in the LVC determines case-marking in the construction is not addressed, a point that can be tackled in a further study on LVCs in Arabic as well.

With respect to the lexical semantics of the construction, the study has shown that there are two classes of LVCs in Arabic that present semantic and morphosyntactic distinctions. These are referred to, in line with Nazir (2014), as agentive and non-agentive LVCs. The former class presents volitional events and takes an AGENT subject and the latter presents a non-volitional event and takes an EXPERIENCER subject. In the former case, it is the usual agreement pattern and case-marking that is involved—the verb agrees with the subject which is nominative-case marked—whereas in the latter the verb agrees with the coverb which is nominative-case marked and the EXPERIENCER argument is accusative-case marked. The instances of *ʕamila* 'do', *ʔaxaða* 'take', *ʔaʕtˤa:* 'give' plus a few instances of *ʔasˤa:ba* 'hurt' LVCs are agentive LVCs whereas the majority of the instances of *ʔasˤa:ba* 'hurt'

LVCs are non-agentive. In presenting these two classes, the LVs semantic contribution of agentivity to the construction has been highlighted, as seen, for example, in the distinction between the LVC *ʔaxaða ɣafwatan* 'lit. take a nap' and the corresponding construction including the lexical verb *ɣafa:* 'to nap'. Other semantic contributions of the construction highlighted in this study include causation and boundedness. Given these aspects of the construction, the study has presented the case of Arabic LVCs as exhibiting the typological features indicated in Butt (1995, 2003, 2010).

With regard to the aspects and status of the coverb, the paper has shown that it is distinct from ordinary nouns and that it is not an object of the verb. Rather, it is a coverb forming with the verb a complex predicate. The coverb involves morpho-syntactic constraints. It occurs in specific patterns in the different instances of LVCs. Moreover, the coverb cannot be determined by a demonstrative pronoun nor can it occur with a quantifier. In this respect, this paper indicates that the coverbs are distinct from ordinary nouns. As for the recurrent question on the relation between the LV and the coverb, and whether the composite is syntactically flexible or not, it has been demonstrated that in MSA, the elements represent a rigid composite and cannot be separated. The syntactic processes of fronting, adverb insertion, object movement, and question formation are not plausible with LVCs. Such rigidity in the syntactic behavior of the composite has been attributed, similar to Faghiri & Samvelian (2021), to the wordhood and the semantics of the composite. The two elements of the composite represent a single semantic unit in that the elements denote a single predicational meaning and share a single argument structure. Accordingly, such rigidity in the syntactic behavior of the composite is not attributed here to other aspects of the construction as found in the cross-linguistic literature on LVCs, such as to the compositionality of the composite as in, e.g., Fleischhauer & Neisani (2020), or the aspects of the nominal coverb as in, e.g., Karimi-Doostan (1997). It is also worth noting that Arabic in respect of the rigid relation between the elements of the composite differs from other languages which may exhibit flexibility, e.g., Shabaki LVCs as indicated in Sultan (2011), or exhibit heterogeneity in behavior such as Potwari LVCs as shown in Nazir (2014), or Persian LVCs as in Karimi-Doostan (2011). Such distinction in the behavior of LVCs in the different languages supports Butt's (2010) point on the variation in the syntax of LVCs cross-linguistically. Moreover, it might be proposed that not only does the syntax of LVCs differ cross-linguistically, but the behavior of the different categories of LVCs within the single language also assumedly differ (recall, for example, the difference between *ʕamila* 'do' LVCs which involve nominal coverbs and *qa:ma* 'stand' LVCs which take corresponding PP coverbs). Therefore, it can be suggested that a study be conducted to explore the syntax and provide an account of the different categories of LVCs in Arabic, i.e., those including verbal coverbs, adjectival coverbs, and PP coverbs and whether these exhibit the same aspects and behavior of LVCs with nominal coverbs and another extensive study on the typology of LVCs cross-linguistically. Additionally, it has been pointed out in this research that the case of LVCs differs from constructions including a main verb and an ordinary object. While in both types of constructions, the nouns are adjacent to the verb, the relation in the case of the construction with a main verb and an ordinary object is not as rigid. The adjacency requirement in the case of the main verb and ordinary object also cannot be accounted for in terms of the wordhood and semantic

unity of the two elements, as is the case with the LVC. Nonetheless, this is a small-scale study on LVCs, and drawing a thorough comparison between the syntax and semantics of the two types of constructions can be the focus of further study.

6. Final remarks

In this research work, I have presented a humble study of light verb constructions in MSA based on corpus data. Different linguistic aspects and behaviors of the construction have been presented. Much research remains to be done for the lexical, semantic, and syntactic aspects and for the theoretical analysis of the construction. I believe that the present work has achieved its goals.

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The Design and Development of an Error Tagging Tool Using the Undergraduate Learner Translator Corpus Error Taxonomy

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Abstract Leaner translator corpus is a promising area in translation studies. However, they require substantial, collaborative, and continuous work to be designed, developed, and exploited. One of the resources in this area is the Undergraduate Learner Translator Corpus (ULTC). It is a parallel, trilingual, bidirectional, and multimodal corpus with more than 55 mln word-tokens. It comprises a main corpus and sub-corpora. To make the corpus more useful, this paper describes the tool designed and developed for error-tagging the ULTC. The tool is web-based, user-friendly, editable, and manageable. A pilot taxonomy has been developed for tagging erroneous as well as positive choices. The designed tagger is currently applied on the main corpus En-ArLTC as a pilot project, to make certain the tool is valid. The data comprises graduation projects, mainly from English into Arabic, produced by undergraduates at Princess Nourah bint Abdulrahman University, SA. This project contributes to filling the gap in representing En-Ar error-tagged translations as there is a lack of available Learner Translator Corpora where Arabic is involved as a pair of languages. The current paper reveals the encouraging attempts towards the application of the error-tagging tool. It yields, however, the necessity of inter-rater reliability. https://arabicparallelultc.com/

Keywords: learner translator corpora – error-tagging tool – error-annotation – metadata – tagset

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1. Introduction

In the field of translation, the number of available learner translator corpora (LTC) is finite. It becomes even scarce when considering error-tagged corpora. In the case of the Arabic language, there is a lack of representation of the Arabic language on LTCs. The Undergraduate Learner Translator Corpus (ULTC) is the first LTC available with a representative size that deals with the Arabic language (See 2.1.1). This paper aims to describe the error-tagging tool used in the ULTC. According to Granger and Lefer, corpora become more useful when annotated with linguistic information, either automatically (e.g., part of speech tagging) or manually (e.g., semantic features and error tagging) (Granger, S and Lefer, M. -A 2023).

Learner Corpus denotes two types (Štěpánková 2014). First, they refer to texts produced by EFL learners. In this type, it is a resource for analyzing and assessing students' writings in L2. Th second type is the LTC, which refers to the translations produced by translation students or trainees where translations are aligned with their corresponding Source Texts (STs). Some LTCs combine both types in the same corpus (PELCRA, CELTraC, and DiHuTra). This paper focuses on translations of students that are aligned with their respective STs. The language pair is English and Arabic, most of which are from L2 >L1. The tagger tool is applied on graduation projects where a student translates a passage of text of around 5,000-word count. The texts' genera are various and the texts' content includes both general and technical writings (Alfuraih and El-Jasser 2024). The corpus lists two versions of translation for a single project: the pre-edited translation and post-edited translation. It traces the phases of the translation process: the first production of texts without the guidance of the supervisor and the final version of translation after discussion with the supervisor. The tagging tool is designed to target both the drafts and the final versions. A taxonomy of erroneous and positive tags has been developed to tag the English–Arabic Learner Translator Corpus (EALTC). Just as identifying errors plays a vital role in improving students' performance, so does identifying positive choices as it highlights students' competence and creativity. The developed tagger tool is customized and incorporated into the corpus website. The corpus data is not used as a means of teaching methods, evaluating students' performances, or assigning grades. In fact, the main purpose of developing an error taxonomy and an error-tagging tool is to inspire and conceptualize didactic and research insights for researchers in the field, instructors, and students.

In this paper, the expressions *error-tagging*, *error annotation, and error taxonomy* are used interchangeably to refer to both errors as well as positive tags.

In the literature of Learner Corpora, the term annotation refers to either the linguistic annotations of a corpus or a translation error annotation. Linguistic annotation involves linguistic mark-up of some linguistic features such as part of speech tagging (PoS), lemmatization, tokenization, word tagging, morphosyntactic information, and so on (Mikhailov and Cooper, 2016). Translation error annotation, however, refers to the use of corpus annotation to mark-up translation and linguistic errors. The process of annotation in this paper refers to error annotation of students' translations.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows: section two explores error-tagged LTCs. The third section introduces the preliminary taxonomy developed for error annotating the EALTC. Section four describes the error tagger tool and section five conceptualizes the potential opportunities drawn from error-tagging translations.

2. Error-tagging in learner translator corpus

2.1 Related studies

The LTC as afield has emerged from a hybrid of two other fields: learner corpora research and corpus-based translation studies (Granger, S and Lefer, M. -A 2023). The developed LTCs vary in corpus type, size, design, language pairs, collected data, and online availability. There are a number of LTCs such as the *Polish and English Language Corpora for Research and Applications* (PELCRA LTC; Uzar and Walinski, 2001), the *Student Translation Archive* (STA; Bowker and Bennison, 2003), the *Russian Translation Learner Corpus* (RuTLC; Sosnia 2006), the *Multilingual eLearning in LANGuage Engineering* Learner Translator Corpus (MeLLANGE LTC; Kübler, 2008), the *Enseñanza de la Traducción* (ENTRAD; Florén, 2006), the *Multiple Italian Student Translation Corpus* (MISTiC; Castagnoli, 2009), the *Norwegian-English Student Translation Corpus* (NEST; Graedler, 2013), *VARiation in TRAnslation* (VARTRA; Lapshinova-Koltunski 2013), the *Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona) – Learner Translation Corpus* (LTC-UPF; Espunya, 2014), the *Czech-English Learner Translation Corpus* (CELTraC; Štěpánková, 2014), the *Russian Learner Translator Corpus* (RusLTC; Kutuzov and Kunilovskaya, 2014), *Korpusprojekt zur Translationsevaluation* (KOPTE; Wurm 2016), The *Czech-English Learner Translation Corpus* (CELTraC:English into Czech TLC; Fictumova et al., 2017), the *Italian-Greek learner translator Corpus* (Italogreco; Katerina Florou, 2019). The *Undergraduate Learner Translator*

Corpus (ULTC; Alfuraih, 2020), the *Multilingual Student Translation Corpus* (MUST; Granger and Lefer 2020), and *Differences between Human Translations* (DiHuTra; Lapshinova-Koltunksi et al., 2022).

Following the scope of this paper, we will consider the error-tagged LTCs and will have an overview of the mechanisms followed for annotating errors.

2.1.1 An overview on ULTC

The ULTC is a massive learner translator corpus with over 55 million word tokens (Alfuraih 2020). It is a parallel, trilingual, bidirectional, and sentence-aligned corpus. It includes a collection of corpora, and it is designed with a main corpus and complementary sub-corpora. It is composed of texts translated by translation department undergraduates, mainly graduation projects. The students are female undergraduates at Princess Nourah bint Abdulrahman University in Saudi Arabia. Arabic is the main language as it is the students' mother tongue. It is the language paired with English or French. Graduation projects are classified into four corpora: the main corpus and 3 sub-corpora. The methodology used in designing the corpora

is unique in that it presents the original text, the pre-edited translation, and the final version of the translation. The corpora are sentence-aligned, i.e., every sentence in the original text is aligned to its equivalent in the target text (the pre-edited translation as well as the post-edited translation). The corpus is not limited to representing the graduation projects only, but also provides the researcher with metadata, such as the translator's preface (It is a preface where students describe their graduation project, the main challenges, and how they overcome those challenges) as well as the student's foreign language acquisition background. The length of a single graduation project ranges between 2,500 and 5,000 words, depending on the graduation project module. The main corpus is called the EALTC. It is a bidirectional, parallel, and sentence-aligned corpus that comprises graduation projects of bachelor students of the English Translation Department. It is the main corpus in the ULTC project as it includes + 25 million word-tokens. Because the module of some of the graduation projects is audio-visual, they were placed in a separate sub-corpus called the Multimodal Learner Translator Corpus. It includes subtitled video clips in addition to their transcriptions of the original extracts, the draft translation, and the final version of the translation. The French–Arabic Learner Translator Corpus is similar to EALTC but the language pair is French–Arabic. The last sub-corpus is the Preface Learner Translator Corpus which includes the preface of the graduation projects, which were written by students about their experience in the journey of translating the graduation project and mentioning the most significant challenges, and ways to overcome them and the skills they learned. Each preface is linked to its graduation project.

Apart from graduation projects, the ULTC project includes sub-corpora as follows. The multi-target Learner Translator Corpus, where displays the original text aligned with its multiple translations. The texts are assignments performed by students in various translation courses and are shorter than graduation projects, as the original text does not exceed 600 words. Another sub-corpus is called the multilingual corpus. It includes an original text in Arabic and its translation into English and French. The ULTC project includes the Multilingual Learner Translator Corpus (MLTC), a corpus of texts written by native speakers of a language. Its purpose is to compare the works written by native speakers of a language with the works written by foreign students. There is also a corpus called the Comparable Learner Translator Corpus, where the researcher can compare the translated student texts available in the main corpus with texts written by native speakers of the language. The last subcorpus is the Undergraduate Learner and Interpreter Reference Corpus, which comprises translations performed by professional translators. Its purpose is to benchmark against learners' performance and evaluation.

As mentioned earlier, the error-tagging system described in this paper is to be applied to the ULTC project. It will target the graduation projects available on the EALTC corpus in the first phase.

2.1.2 Error-tagged LTCs

Early resources of LTCs have emerged with the spread of electronic data at the beginning of 2000s. The main purpose of LTCs was to serve pedagogical purposes by providing elaborate and systematic error analysis of students' translations (PELCRA,

STA, RuTLC, ENTRAD, and MISTiC). In terms of error typologies, almost all LTCs have developed typologies to systematize the process of error annotation. The annotation process was manual and mainly done by teachers to feedback to students on errors. No software was available for error-tagging. In the case of the ENTRAD project, for instance, it was incorporated into translation classes for teaching and evaluation. Though teachers marked errors by using colored codes of the proposed taxonomy, annotations were not machine readable. Teachers had to print the tagged translation texts so that students became aware of their errors. In PELCRA LTC project, though the error typology included a set of positive tags for interesting choices, the typology is from EFL field, not the translation pedagogy field (Espunya 2014). Some LTCs focus on specific features and no error typology was developed (STA, MISTiC, NEST, VARTARA, DiHuTra). The MeLLANGE LTC was the first LTC to introduce a proper typology of 30 tags with a customized version of MMAX2, a manual annotation tool. More LTCs have adopted the method of developing tagging software to facilitate the process of annotating errors. Table 1 showcases that there are 5 LTCs that have developed tagging software for annotating errors (MeLLANGE, RuLTC, CELTraC, ULTC, MUST). In the case of ULTC, an error-tagger tool has been developed. The table also demonstrates that more focus is placed on error annotation, rather than positive annotation. Positive annotation is added is as a tag, not as a separate taxonomy. In this section, we will have an overview of those LTCs that have developed software or tool for error annotation:

A. The MeLLANGE LTC is an aligned, multilingual learner translator corpus of translated texts produced by translation students as well as translation professionals (Kübler 2008). The metadata and texts are stored in the MySQL database. For translation error annotation, an error typology was developed. The hierarchical taxonomy is classified into two main categories: the content-based and the language-based. The two categories are divided into subcategories which are subdivided into error types. Each error type is marked by a code. The codes are used during the process of annotating translation errors. The corpus annotators download the translated texts and corresponding metadata to annotate the translation errors. There are some features available for annotators during the process of annotation. They can add comments or provide appropriate solutions for errors. In case of dealing with an error not classified in the taxonomy, an annotator can suggest an error type. They can mark multiple categories to specific sections of a text. Translation error annotation is executed using a customized version of the manual annotation tool MMAX2 which represents files in XML formatting. Translation error annotation involves 4 levels: the paragraph, the sentence, the content transfer, and language levels. The two former levels are generated automatically but the two latter ones are developed specifically to use the error taxonomy to annotate translation errors across the MeLLANGE corpus.
B. The Russian Learner Translator corpus (RusLTC) is a large learner translator corpus that is composed of translations produced by Russian under/postgraduates and/or translation trainees from various Russian universities

Table 1. An overview of error-tagging across learner translator corpora

LTC name	Corpus type	Language pairs Directionality	Linguistic annotation	Error annotation	Positive annotation	Error-tagging tool	Annotated by:	Availability	Public Accessibility
PELCRA LTC (2001)	Multiple / manual alignment	Polish (SL) English L1 > L2	PoS tagging	Manual annotation (feedback)	Positive feedback	No	-	Downloadable	No
(STA) 2003	Parallel	French (SL) Spanish (SL) English L2 > L1	POS, Translation tracking system)	Not reported	-	No	-	Unavailable	-
RuTLC 2006	Electronic/ Alignment is not reported	English (SL) Russian L2 > L1	No	Manual annotation (feedback)	No	No	-	Unavailable	-
ENTRAD 2006	Parallel/ textual alignment	English (SL) Spanish (TL) L2 >L1 L2 > L2 (A few students were French)	No	Manual annotation (feedback)	No	No	-	Online	No
MeLLANGE 2008, 2011	Comparable	SL: German, English, French, Spanish TL: Catalan, German, English, Spanish, French, Italian L2 > L1	PoS tagging, lemmatization, tokenization, self-made mini- context level alignment.	Yes	No	A customized version of manual annotation tool: *MMAX2*	Annotators	Online	No

LTC name	Corpus type	Language pairs Directionality	Linguistic annotation	Error annotation	Positive annotation	Error-tagging tool	Annotated by:	Availability	Public Accessibility
MISTiC 2009	Multiple	En (SL) French (SL) Italian L2 > L1	PoS tagging	No	-	-	-	Unavailable	-
NEST 2013	Multiple	Norwegian (SL) English L1 > L2	No	No	-	-	-	Unavailable	-
Variation in Translation (VARTRA) 2013	Comparable/ not aligned	German English (SL)	Yes (PoS, Lemmatised,	No (Out of scope)	-	-	-	Unavailable	-
		L2 > L1	Segmented into syntactic chunks and sentenes.						
RuLTC 2014	Multiple	Russian (SL) English(TL) L2 > 1	Tokenization, POS/self-made	Yes (Hierarchy of 31 types in Content/Language colour-coded Categories)	One tag is labeled as good _ job	A customised *brat* text annotation program	Annotators	Online/ downloadable	Yes
CELTraC Štěpánková 2014,	Parallel	Czech (SL) English L1 > L2	PoS tagging	Yes (Manual error-tagging)	No	*Hypal* tool	Course teacher+ native proof-reader	Online	No

LTC name	Corpus type	Language pairs Directionality	Linguistic annotation	Error annotation	Positive annotation	Error-tagging tool	Annotated by:	Availability	Public Accessibility
LTC-UPF 2014	Multiple	English (SL) Catalan L2 > L1	Word &PoS tagging, lemma, fine morphological features and syntactic functions	Yes (The taxonomy of errors comprises 25 simple categories with no subdivisions)	Markin tool for error annotation/ web-searchable platform IAC	No	Teachers	Online	No
KOPTE 2016	Multiple	Frensh (SL) German L2 > L1	tokenization, lemmatization and POS-tagging/ No alignment	Manual annotation	UAM Corpus Tool	Yes (Positive typology)	Researchers annotate Teachers' evaluations	Unavailable	-
(English-to-Czech TLC) 2017	Multiple	Czech (SL) English L1 > L2	PoS tagging, lemmatization	Yes (Updated error typology of CELTraC's)	Yes (A filter was added to the new typology: *positive-feedback*)	New version of *Hypal* tool	Teachers	Online	No
Italian-Greek learner translator Corpus (Italogreco)	Multiple	Greek (SL) Italian (TL) Or English (TL) L1 > L2	No	Manual annotation of grammatical errors	No	No	The researcher	Unavailable	-

LTC name	Corpus type	Language pairs Directionality	Linguistic annotation	Error annotation	Positive annotation	Error-tagging tool	Annotated by:	Availability	Public Accessibility
MUST 2020	Multiple	Various language (18) L1 > L2 L2 > L1 L2 > L2 (A possible feature)	PoS, Lemmatization	Yes	Yes (Plus metatag)	*Hypal4MUST* platform	Teachers	Online	
ULTC 2020	Composite (Parallel, comparable, multiple, reference)	Arabic English French L2 > L1 L1 > L2 (Few)	In progress	Yes	Yes	ULTC web-based tool	Professional annotators	Available	Yes Corpus site
DiHuTra (2022)	Comparable	English (SL) Croaitian, Finnish, Russian Not reported	PoS, Lemmatization, Parsed	No	-	-	-	Available	Yes

(Kutuzov and Kunilovskaya 2014). The TTs are aligned with corresponding STs using a *hunaliagn* library; and then manually edited using the translation memory eXchange *Okapi Olifant*.

A subcorpus of RusLTC is the En-Ru error-tagged subcorpus (Kunilovskaya 2014). It uses the *brat* program for annotation (Stenetorp et al., 2012). To annotate translations, an error typology has been developed by taking into consideration the analysis of students' errors and drawing upon experience in translation quality assessment (TQA). Content errors are classified into three hierarchical taxonomies: semantics, syntax, and pragmatics whereas language errors are classified according to established practices in foreign language education: lexical, morphological, and syntactic errors as well as spelling and punctuation. As the partners of this corpus believe in the importance of understanding the reasons for such errors, they developed two extra tag sets that enable annotators to describe the severity of mistakes (critical, major, and minor) and to allow them to reflect on potential causes of the mistake. The typology is not only confined to errors but also includes tags for creative choices. The tagset adopts colored tags; and the total number of tags is 6471, 236 of which are for positive choices.

C. The Czech-English Learner Translation Corpus (CELTraC) is a parallel, error-tagged learner translator corpus (Štěpánková 2014). The corpus data are of two sets: written texts and parallel texts. The parallel texts are about translation assignments from Czech into English and are produced by MA students. For annotating errors, the corpus uses *Hybrid Parallel Text Aligner* (Hypal), a corpus annotation tool (Obrusnik 2013). CELTraC aims to test the Hypal tool and investigate challenges that face annotators during the process of tagging errors.

   Corpus users submit texts to the Hypal tool which saves data on a database and performs automatic alignments at paragraph and sentence levels. They can edit the alignment manually to correct possible mismatches. For annotating translation errors, the MeLLANGE error-tagging taxonomy was employed. To serve error-tagging purposes, two separate interfaces have been developed: the student and the teacher interfaces. Teachers upload parallel texts and annotate translation errors. They can also view statistical error analysis of the data, a unique feature that enables teachers to figure out common problems and the most challenging areas.

D. The Multilingual Student Translation Corpus (MUST) is a learner translator corpus composed of translations produced by foreign translation students or trainee translators along with systematic metadata. (Granger, Lefer 2020). As its name suggests, it encompasses STs and their multiple translations produced by students or to-be translators.

   The corpus uses *Hypal4MUST* interface for collecting, aligning, and annotating data. Moreover, the MUST corpus developed an error typology of 60 tags to annotate the translated texts on the corpus, called the 'Translation-oriented Translation System'. The corpus contains a feature of tagging positive translation choices. It also contains an optional layer to tag procedures used by students to

solve problems that are not erroneous such as explication, borrowing, and so on.

2.2 Limitations and gap in previous research

This paper addresses the gap in two main features in LTCs. In corpus linguistics, there are two main approaches: the corpus-based and corpus-driven. In the corpus-based research approach, the corpus is a method for testing, approving, or refuting an existing theory or methodology whereas in corpus-driven's the corpus is the source for drawing on novel hypotheses, theories, or analyses (Tognini-Bonelli 2001). Conducting a corpus-based research requires having a source or a resource. Granger and Lefer did a bibliometric survey on corpus-based translation and interpreting studies to draw insights into the current status of corpus-based translation as a field (Granger and Lefer 2022). They examined three trending categories of corpus studies: theory- and methodology-oriented studies, applied studies, and empirical studies. They surveyed '186 corpus studies published in English in twelve top-rated translation and interpreting journals between 2012 and 2019'. Though the study is confined to journals written in English, the study revealed the current reality of this research field. In general, they concluded that corpus-based translation and interpreting studies are still a relatively young research field. Although the scope of the study is much wider than our scope in LTCs, it gives an overview of the status of corpus-based research and that it is under-researched. Considering the aims geared by ULTC, Alfuraih stated that ULTC aims to create a standardized, corpus-driven error taxonomy to support teachers, students, and researchers by providing resources on common translation errors made by undergraduate learners when translating to and from Arabic. Additionally, a core objective of the ULTC is to develop a corpus-based quality assessment framework that evaluates undergraduate translations in terms of competence, creativity, and effective practices. (Alfuraih 2024). Furthermore, by annotating errors in ULTC, research areas typically investigated by researchers interested in LTC are becoming available to researchers interested in translation within the scope of the Arabic language or Saudi undergraduates. Additionally, research will be directed beyond error analysis and quality assessment of translation of students to quantitative representation of errors, based on large data. Tracking students' performance before and after editing will unveil students' progress and will highlight competence aspects. The availability of large, authentic annotated translations will contribute to enhancing students' critical thinking. Hence, tagging errors will inform theory and practice.

3. ULTC pilot error taxonomy

Corpus error annotation requires setting out a defined error typology. Using state-of-the-art studies across error-tagged LTCs, ULTC has developed its pilot error taxonomy. The taxonomy is web-based, user-friendly, editable, and expandable. Granger stated that in the literature on LTCs there are four principles for an annotation system: the annotation system has to be manageable, well documented, and makes

the correction task easy and the typology should be hierarchical (Granger 2020). In the case of ULTC, the principles of the annotation system are largely met. The methodological framework focuses on semiotic features of a linguistic sign: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics (Charles Peirce and Charles Morris 1983). This is the typology method used in the RusLTC (Maria Kunilovskaya 2016). Most error-tagged LTCs classify errors into a hierarchical scheme of language errors and content transfer errors (MeLLANGE (2014), CELTraC (2014), MUST (2020). Regardless of language pairs, the scope of translation errors falls under lack of linguistic expression or improper content transfer (Kunilovskaya 2014). Likewise, the scope of ULTC error typology comprises errors in language, language mechanics, and content transfer. The developed tagset is inspired by experience in dealing with students' translations, the Arabic language features, and the common practices across LTCs. The tags are of types: positive and error tags. Figure 1 depicts error tags and positive tags on the administrator website.

The current taxonomy is directed towards written texts, not interpretations. It includes around 100 tags. However, to make the tagset concise and manageable, the tags that are incorporated on the error-tagging tool are 20 for errors and 8 for positive tags. Each error or positive tag is coded and colored. Coding is based on the initial letters of a word. For example, [LA-SY- DERI] stands for derivation. It is classified under the category *Language*, and the subcategory is *Syntax*. The error type is *Derivation*. To avoid having a complex taxonomy, errors that undergo a broad classification are assigned the same color. For example, the yellow color is assigned to the syntactic category, and pink for lexis. Hence, ULTC users can easily figure out an error category once they glance at the color. Then, they can specify which error

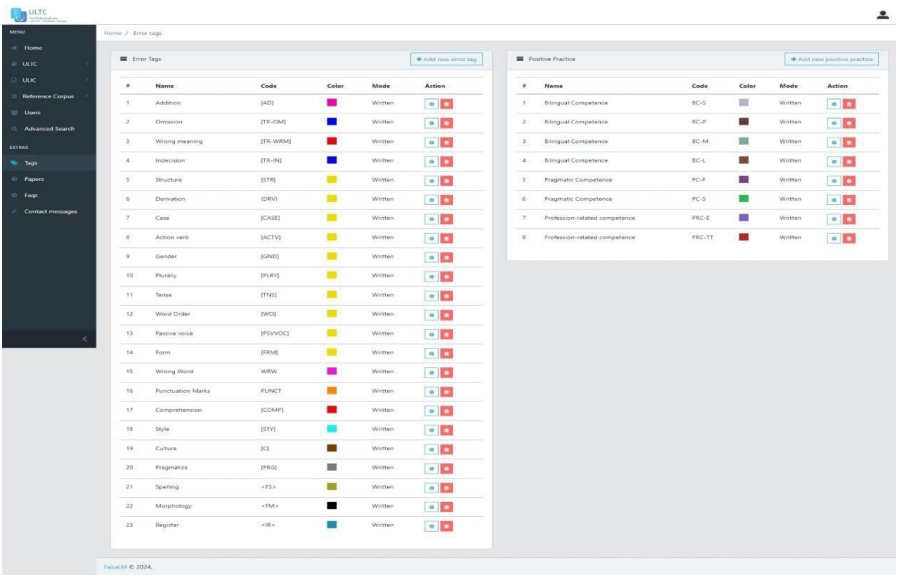

Figure 1. Error and positive tags.

type by reading the code. The error types that are selected to be on the taxonomy are common among undergraduates and expected to come across during the process of error-tagging. More focus is placed on language error tags as error annotation in this phase is at the sentence level. Tags are displayed within a sentence after the tagged word.

The aim of the taxonomy developed is to provide an automated source of identifying and describing translation errors committed by translation students or translators-to-be systematically and comprehensively. This will contribute to a breakthrough in research across a number of translation fields: translation pedagogy, translation competence, 'qualitative/quantitative' error analysis, translation criticism, and curriculum design. Researchers, instructors, and students will benefit from viewing the tagged errors displayed on the screen. This will result in identifying errors as patterns and working on developing strategies to avoid such patterns of errors. If well devised, it is anticipated that translation pedagogy will develop more effective curricula and students' levels will be with higher outcomes.

As only trivial attempts are directed towards positive tags, the taxonomy makes this feature available as it will open up novel directions in the fields of translation competence and TQA. It will enable researchers to find a resource of representative data for systematic analysis to draw new findings. By reviewing Table 1, good or creative choices of translation are referred to by adding a tag that denotes a positive choice. In ULTC, however, developing a stand-alone taxonomy of positive choices is one of the ambitious objectives (See 2.2).

4. ULTC error tagging tool

The error-tagging tool is incorporated on the ULTC website. On the administrator website, there is an icon for *tags* where annotators can input, edit, or delete tags by clicking on the *setting* button ⚙. A window will pop-up to add the required information. To add a new tag, an annotator has to select the error type from the drop-down list and define whether it is an error or a positive tag. Also, the mode has to be selected whether it is written or oral (Figure 2).

In the boxes that follow, the annotator will type in the category and name of error-type; then, s/he will assign a code for the error type. The error-tagging tool is designed to allow future modifications on tags. It is possible for annotators to add new modes and can modify an existing tag by clicking on the *setting* icon (Figure 3). For an easier visual representation, each category is assigned with a color (Yellow is for syntax and morphology, pink is assigned to lexis, purple is for cohesion, and so on). To maintain short and straightforward codes, language levels are reflected by their assigned color on a given code (Figure 1).

As the methodological framework of the ULTC is to provide pre-edited translations and post-edited translations for a single project (Alfuraih and El-Jasser, 2024), the tool is designed to tag both pre-edited and post-edited texts. On the administrator's interface, texts and tags are displayed side-by-side. Each sentence is aligned with the corresponding draft translation and the final version of the translation. Next to each draft sentence, there are two separate boxes (One for error tags and the other

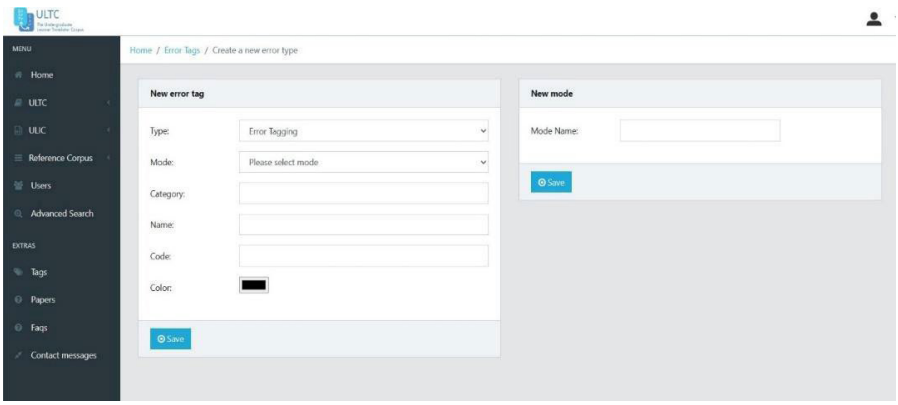

Figure 2. Adding a new error tag window

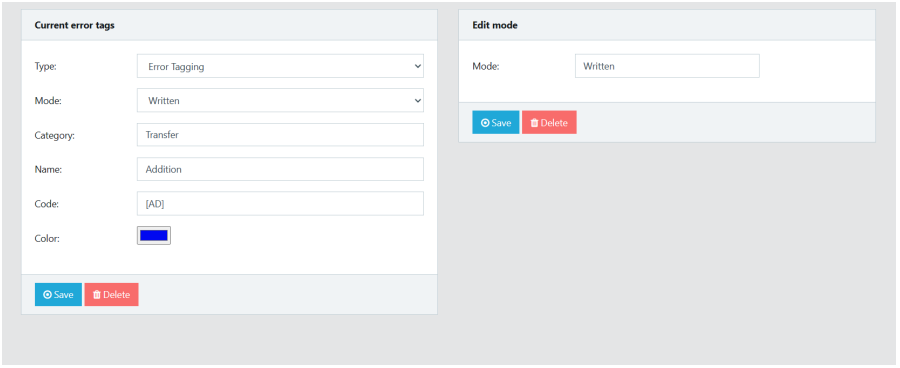

Figure 3. Modification of an existing error tags.

for positive tags) for tagging the proposed translation. The same applies for the final version of the translation (Figure 4). On the other hand, it is possible to tag texts offline. Each project is aligned in an Excel file; and annotators can download the text to be annotated, work on tagging the text, and finally upload it to the ULTC website. However, more tests are needed for activating the downloadable feature. In this phase of the project, error annotation is at the sentence level. It is planned to include multi-level and thematic annotation in the future. It is worth mentioning that all students have already passed the course, and the annotation process is not for assessing or evaluating students. However, the project files are stored based on a systematic criterion that does not reveal the names of students. The files, however, are linked to their respective metadata where adding the student's name is optional.

On the ULTC user website, query search could be retrieved with or without annotation, depending on the user's choice. In case the user is interested in an error-tagged query, there is an option where one can click to query with error-annotation.

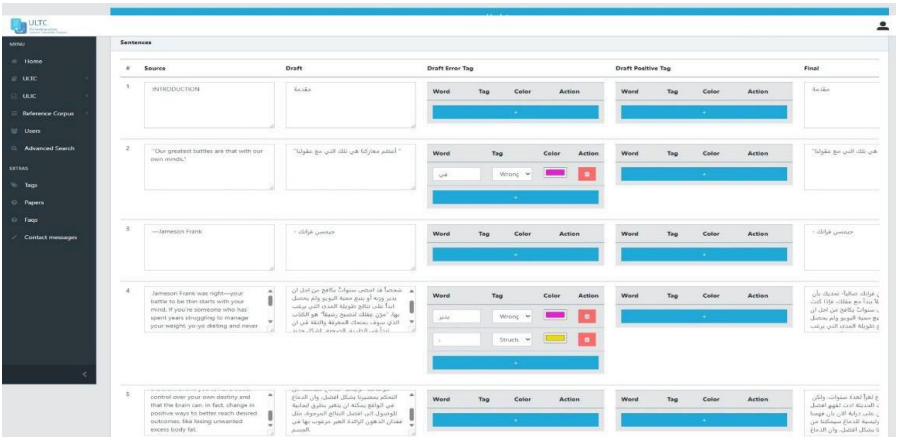

Figure 4. The process of tagging errors and positive choices.

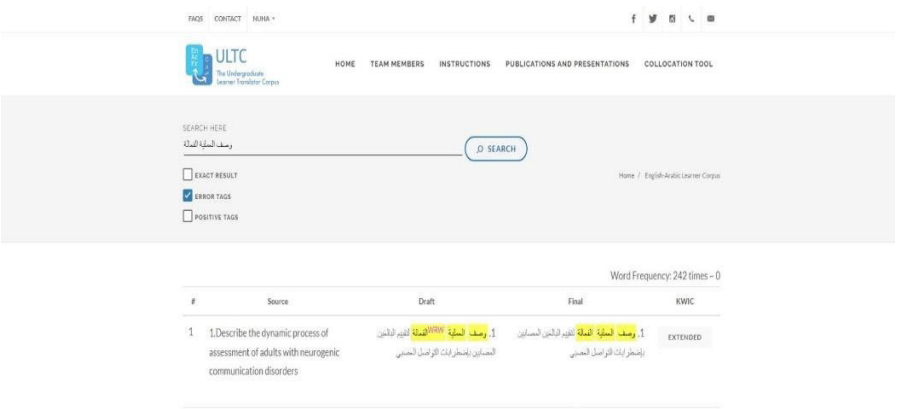

Figure 5. Error-tagged query search.

Error-tagging is tokenized within the text. They are shown next to an erroneous word (Figure 5).

5. Opportunities and challenges

This paper attempts at developing a tool to better devise the raw data on ULTC into tagged- ones. It also serves as a preliminary step towards developing an approved and valid taxonomy of errors. The potential advancements are enormous. The availability of the corpus for users: researchers, students, and teachers with no financial subscription requirements makes it available and handy to everyone. The automation of errors will direct research in the field of Translation into more comprehensible, reliable findings.

The taxonomy will enable researchers to apply systematic analysis on a wide-scope scale. The taxonomy as well as error-tagging will highlight the strengths and weaknesses areas of students. This will have an impact on error analysis, contrastive analysis, critical thinking, curriculum design, design of exams, developing glossaries, assignments, and in-class activities. The scope of research can be narrowed down to examine specific linguistic or translational features. The impact extends to trendy research practices such as comparison between pre-edited translation and post-edited translation, or comparison between human translation versus machine translation. By viewing and searching authentic texts and translations, students will benefit from being exposed to annotated translations and become more autonomous by developing critical thinking skills and self-directed learning. Instructors can benefit from error-tagged translations by giving authentic examples to students.

Given the fact that the ULTC corpus is 55 mln word tokens, it is a suitable resource for corpus-driven research in which researchers can draw on new methodologies and can make generalizations. Both the taxonomy and the error tagging tool are of paramount importance as they fill the gap in the lack of corpus-driven studies that involve the Arabic Language as a language pair. They also fill the gap in corpus-based research to investigate linguistic and translational features, on a limited scope or wider scope. Longitudinal or cross-sectional research could be both implemented using the ULTC as the collected data comprises translations from 2014 to 2018. They will enrich the various fields of study such as translation pedagogy, TQA, translation competence, translation process, translation criticism, training translators, translation evaluation, corpus-based analysis, corpus-driven approaches, machine translation, corpus linguistics, computational linguistics, contrastive (interlanguage) analysis, lexicography, and qualitative and quantitative research. The web-based tagger tool makes the process of error annotation easier for annotators, and does not require annotators to have a computational background. The tagging process becomes also easier and time-saving as the tagset is incorporated into the system where annotators just click on the error type and it will be displayed on the screen with all taxonomy levels. The error-tagging tool is accessible everywhere and manageable. This leads to an opportunity to form a remote team of annotators.

On the other hand, given the fact that the process of error-tagging is manual, this requires plenty of time and effort and might be overwhelming for some annotators. Dealing with such big data requires forming a team to tag the errors across the corpus. Hence, this entails working on a manual to be used by annotators to maintain systematic methodology as done in other projects (The Louvain Error Tagging Manual; Granger et al., 2022). Current challenges have to be addressed such as dealing with duplication of errors and how to tag a single word with more than one error. Defining the demarcations of errors poses another dimension of challenges. The proposed pilot taxonomy has to be tested for its validity and comprehensibility by inter-rater reliability. Elevating the level of error tagging is to be considered to make it available to annotate errors at a textual level, and not be confined to the sentence level. For multimodal corpora, a multi-layered standoff model is to be developed.

6. Conclusion

This paper presents the attempts to develop an error taxonomy and error-tagger tool for annotating the error and positive tags in the EALTC. It is the main corpus in the composite corpus ULTC. EALC is a parallel, bidirectional, and sentence-aligned corpus of graduation projects of translations produced by female students at the Translation English Department, Princess Nourah bint Abdulrahman, KSA. Most translations are from English into Arabic. The corpus traces the students' progress by aligning the draft translations and final versions of translations with their respective ST. There are two websites for ULTC. One is for administrators to develop and improve features of the corpus. Another one is for users which is freely accessible. A pilot taxonomy has been developed to classify error and positive tags. It focuses on improper content transfer, language errors, and language mechanics. For tagging translations, each error or positive type is assigned a code and color. The tagger tool is built-in on the ULTC website. This feature makes it easy for annotators to have access everywhere and annotate remotely. The tool is editable and user-friendly. Annotators can view the annotated parts by clicking on an icon *preview* to make sure the tagging process is successful without having to surf the ULTC website, the user interface. Users can access the corpus via the corpus website. They can query either with or without annotation depending on their preference. The current project yields promising advancements in the field. It also requires working on solving problems to challenges that arise to reach core findings. The purpose of error-tagging this corpus is to keep up with advancements in the field and to enrich the Arabic language with a resource for analyzing data, improving translations, enable researchers to conduct research with a variety of comprehensible and reliable approaches that have not been available before.

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