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**From the Selected Works of John J. McCarthy**

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## Review of Janet C. E. Watson (2002) The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic

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the expense of the field as a whole. Many, however, are exemplary in offering clear, comprehensive treatments of their topics. It is likewise inevitable that readers will find many areas of discourse-analytic inquiry underrepresented or absent in the volume and others overrepresented (in part this may be because roughly a quarter of the chapters are authored by faculty and graduates of Georgetown, the home university of all three editors). A very partial list of areas that might have been more fully discussed includes linguistic theories of discourse, such as discourse representation theory or rhetorical structure theory (both of which get only brief mentions); the longstanding work on discourse within linguistic anthropology (a field represented primarily via interactional sociolinguistics), such as the ethnography of communication in non-Western contexts and the more recently developed analyses of language ideology, entextualization, and reflexivity; areas of discourse analysis that increasingly involve video data, especially the extensive work on discourse, gesture, and the body by researchers from diverse perspectives (touched on briefly in one chapter); investigations of grammar in naturally occurring discourse; and poststructuralist theories of discourse (which are not discussed at all). In addition, the volume's unquestionable value as a reference work would have been enhanced by the inclusion of an index of names to provide a clearer sense of the main figures in specific areas and the field as a whole, and of a more complete set of cross-references between chapters in order to highlight points of commonality as well as difference across various approaches. The lack of acknowledgment of these areas of common ground is an indication of how diffuse the field has become.

Hymes (1986) once described discourse analysis as a field of 'scope without depth'. Nearly twenty years later, this claim must be revised, for linguistic investigations of discourse have gone deeply into specific issues. Yet the field's immense breadth is both its strength and its weakness; on the one hand, discourse is seen to be fundamental to many of the most pressing questions in linguistics and other disciplines, but on the other hand, these questions and the theories and methods designed to answer them are so disparate that it is difficult to maintain that they share a common object, 'discourse'.

It may be the case, however, that it is precisely the diversity of discourse analysis that makes this volume necessary. It is true that few readers will be equally drawn to its chapters on, say, relevance theory and child discourse. But one of the many strengths of *The handbook of discourse analysis* is that it accomplishes the tricky task of holding together the divergent strands of discourse analysis as a unified subfield of linguistics. Even if this subfield coheres more in name than in substance, it is a useful reminder that scholars working in different corners of discourse analysis should be able to find common ground. As with distant and estranged relatives at family gatherings, sometimes it's nice just to get everyone in the same room, even if you can't make them talk to each other.

#### REFERENCE

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**The phonology and morphology of Arabic.** By JANET C. E. WATSON. (The phonology of the world's languages.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. 307. ISBN 0199257590. \$95 (Hb).

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The word 'Arabic', like 'Chinese', refers to a group of genetically related language varieties that may not be mutually intelligible. It subsumes the classical tongue, its direct descendant

modern standard or literary Arabic, and the many so-called dialects, often not mutually intelligible, that are spoken throughout the Arab world. The 'Arabic' of this book's title refers not to this huge diversity, an impossible task, but rather to two colloquial varieties, one from Cairo and the other from San'a, Yemen. (The author has resided for extended periods in both cities.)

Of these two dialects, San'ani is much less familiar to Arabists and especially phonologists. Thus, this work's greatest contribution is its careful and systematic presentation of San'ani's many interesting phonological properties, several of which are mentioned below.

There are ten chapters. An introduction (Ch. 1) provides a brief overview of the Semitic family and of the history of Arabic. Ch. 2 is a historically based description of the phonemic system, closely following Fischer and Jastrow (1980:49–60). Ch. 3 lays out the author's assumptions about distinctive features and feature geometry, providing (though not really justifying) under-specified feature matrices for Cairene and San'ani.

The next two chapters deal with prosodic phonology: syllabification (Ch. 4) and stress (Ch. 5). Cairene syllable structure and stress have received a great deal of attention previously (e.g. Broselow 1976, 1979, Hayes 1995, Kenstowicz 1980, McCarthy 1979, Selkirk 1981), so it is difficult to find much new to say. The more interesting material therefore comes from the San'ani dialect. Unusually for Arabic, San'ani has final triconsonantal clusters, always ending in [tʃ]: [ma: gultʃ] 'I/you.M.SG didn't say'. Watson makes a good case that the [tʃ] sequence is actually a monosegmental affricate even though it is created by morpheme concatenation. San'ani stress is remarkably complex: stress is assigned to (a) the rightmost nonfinal syllable with a long vowel or a geminate consonant ([h'a:kaða:ha:] 'like this', [mitʔ'axxira:t] 'late.F.PL'), otherwise to (b) a final superheavy syllable ([ban'a:t] 'girls'), otherwise to (c) the rightmost closed syllable in the penult or antepenult ([m'adrasih] 'school'), otherwise to (d) the leftmost light syllable ([makt'abati:] 'my library', [r'agabatih] 'his neck'). Not unexpectedly, the analysis proposed is complex as well, involving left-to-right trochees and foot extrametricality to account for (d), a difference in how final consonants are licensed in CVVC and CVCC syllables to account for (a) vs. (b), and two moraic layers (as in Hayes 1995) with the stipulation that 'footing is enforced on the upper moraic layer if and only if there are underlyingly bimoraic syllables in a word' (104) to get the difference between (a) and (c).

Chs. 6 and 7 treat nonconcatenative and concatenative morphology, respectively. These chapters could be quite useful to non-Arabists looking for a clear synopsis of how Arabic words are put together. Ch. 8 deals with lexical phonology in two sections, one on prosodic phonology and the other on segmental phonology. Ch. 9 treats postlexical phonology and is organized similarly. Since nothing in the analysis really hinges on the lexical/postlexical distinction or other premises of the theory of lexical phonology, it might have made more sense to unite the sections on prosodic phonology with the material on syllabification in Ch. 4. There is a solid consensus among phonologists of diverse theoretical persuasions that many phonological processes are intimately connected with conditions on syllabic well-formedness. The author clearly shares in this consensus, since Chs. 8 and 9 are salted with cross-references back to Ch. 4.

Chs. 9 and 10, the latter dealing with emphasis (pharyngealization), contain some interesting discussion of San'ani segmental phonology. Unusually for Arabic, San'ani has devoicing of geminate stops and intervocalic voicing of singleton stops. The emphatic consonants [sʕ], [tʕ], and [ðʕ] are not only pharyngealized but also labialized, and the labial feature spreads rightward, changing /i/ to [u] even at a distance: /jisʕallah-ajn-hin/ → [jisʕallahannahun]. Apparently, labialization is now the primary cue of the former pharyngealization contrast, recalling Jakobson, Fant, and Halle's (1952) proposal that labialization and Arabic emphasis are subsumed by the same acoustic feature, [flat] (cf. McCawley 1967).

Analyses throughout are couched in terms of a rule-based phonological system with autosegmental and metrical structure. A great deal of theoretical literature is reviewed, some of it a little tangential. The bibliography is very thorough, running up through 1999.

Some quibbles. The author uses a system of phonetic transcription that is standard among Semitists. This choice will no doubt make the work more accessible to that audience, but it brings with it some not very salient symbols, such as the easily-missed [ʔ] for IPA [ʕ]. Although

underlying forms are supplied in abundance, there is not much argumentation for them. Colloquial Arabic has both syncope and epenthesis, for instance, so it would be helpful to show why some words have an underlying vowel that is deleted at the surface and other words lack an underlying vowel that is supplied at the surface. Finally, though there are plenty of data, the generalizations are not always exemplified as carefully as one would like. Particularly welcome in a work like this would be negative examples, those that show a process correctly failing to apply because its antecedent conditions are not met.

Since 1968, evidence from Arabic has contributed much to our understanding of phonological theory in areas as diverse as the cycle, dissimilation, feature theory, nonconcatenative morphology, stress, and syllabification. *The phonology and morphology of Arabic* does a good job of covering these topics to the extent that they are exemplified in Cairene and San'ani. But Cairene and San'ani are rather similar phonologically, so they somewhat underrepresent the diversity of important phenomena in Arabic. Since both are Middle Eastern dialects, neither has the highly reduced vowel system found in North African varieties. Both are also 'onset' dialects, meaning that triconsonantal clusters are broken up by assigning the middle consonant as onset of an epenthetic syllable: San'ani /gul-t-l-ih/ → [gultaliḥ] 'I/you.M.SG told him'. The difference between onset dialects and coda dialects (e.g. Iraqi [gilitla]) resonates throughout the prosodic phonology, as shown in work by Broselow (1992), Farwaneh (1995), and Kiparsky (2003). Finally, the cycle receives only passing mention, since the evidence for cyclic processes found in some other Arabic dialects (Brame 1974) is generally missing from onset dialects like these.

The greatest value of *The phonology and morphology of Arabic* lies in its careful documentation of the little-studied San'ani dialect. Despite its title, though, it does not achieve the coverage or authoritative status of some of the other books in the series 'The phonology of the world's languages'. Indeed, perhaps no work short of an encyclopedia could achieve this when it comes to the large and varied linguistic entity called Arabic.

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