EGYPTIAN ARABIC PERCEPTUAL REPORTS

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Proceedings of the LFG15 Conference

Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (Editors)

2015

CSLI Publications

http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/
Abstract

This paper offers what is to our knowledge the first discussion of the encoding of perceptual reports in Egyptian Cairene Arabic (henceforth ECA). We build on the analytic framework offered by Asudeh and Toivonen (2012) (henceforth AT), in particular their discussion of individual and eventuality type PSOURCES, and also on the account of perceptual reports in different varieties of Arabic which is given in Camilleri et al. (2014). We show that a range of different syntactic constructions are used to encode perceptual reports in the seem/appear category. ECA does not make productive use of the verbs (such as yabdū ‘seem’) which are used for perceptual reports in Modern Standard Arabic, instead the range of forms used include the active participle bāyen and the noun jaktl. This paper offers a description of the main means used for perceptual reports in ECA, illustrating a number of issues which arise for an eventual formal analysis. We consider how the distinction between individual and eventuality type PSOURCE introduced in Asudeh (2012) and Asudeh and Toivonen (2012) plays out across these constructions.

1 Background

1.1 Perceptual Reports

Asudeh (2004, 2012) and Asudeh and Toivonen (2012) develop an account of perceptual reports in LFG in which they distinguish two main classes of verbs in which an individual rather than some aspect of the eventuality serves as the directly perceptible source (PSOURCE) for the report: copy raising perceptual report verbs and perceptual resemblance verbs with thematic subjects.

They argue that in the English copy raising (CR) construction, illustrated in (1) and (2), the subject of the perceptual report verb is necessarily interpreted as the visible source of perceptual evidence: this requirement is absent from subject raising (SSR) and expletive (EXPL) uses of English subject raising verbs.

(1) Chris seemed like he enjoyed the marathon.

(2) John seems like Mary defeated him.

In English, the copy raising clause is mediated by like/as though/as if, and the subject of seem is associated with an obligatory pronominal copy in the embedding clause. Asudeh and Toivonen (2012) argue that the individual PSOURCE requirement (holding of the subject) means that the English copy raising construction with seem will be infelicitous if (some aspect of) this individual cannot be directly perceived.\footnote{We thank participants at LFG2015, the editors, and the external reviewer for helpful comments and feedback.}

Thus SSR and EXPL uses of perceptual report verbs such as English seem may be used in a wider set of circumstances: suppose that Kim, an incorrigible
user of pungent aftershave, has just left the room. Entering soon after, a colleague might remark Kim seems to have been in here, but Kim seems like he’s been in here would be infelicitous because the source of the perception is just some aspect of the eventuality, in this case, a lingering characteristic odour. Asudeh and Toivonen (2012) argue that PSOURCE is not a thematic argument of the CR verb, but is an entailed participant in the state that the verb denotes, and therefore they introduce a type distinction. In non-expletive CR the PSOURCE is of type individual while in other perceptual reports the PSOURCE is of type eventuality. While in English, the individual PSOURCE is expressed as the subject of the CR predicate, with the Swedish verb verka ‘seem’, it may be expressed by means of a PP in the verka ‘seem’ clause.

1.2 Perceptual Resemblance Verbs

Perceptual resemblance verbs, such as English look, sound, smell are very similar, except that the individual PSOURCE is expressed as a thematic SUBJ, and hence a copy pronoun is not required in the embedded clause. As in CR, the embedding is introduced by like/as though/as if, and the subject (or an aspect associated with it) is interpreted as the individual PSOURCE.

(3) John looked/sounded/smelled like Bill had served asparagus.

(4) John looked/smelled like he’d been running.

1.3 English Copy Raising

The syntactic analysis of English copy raising presented in Asudeh and Toivonen (2012) maintains the syntax of standard SSR, treating the PSOURCE as a non-thematic argument of seem. Although Asudeh and Toivonen (2012) do not provide argument structures in their PRED values (hence for them, the PRED value of seem is simply ‘SEEM’), we assume the more complex semantic forms here for increased clarity and consistency with standard LFG accounts of subcategorisation.

(5) seem (↑ PRED) = ‘SEEM < XCOMP < SUBJ’
(↑ XCOMP SUBJ) = (↑ SUBJ)

The intervening predicate like (equivalently, as though and as if) is treated as a predicative element which heads an XCOMP and itself subcategorises for a COMP argument:

(6) like (↑ PRED) = ‘LIKE < SUBJ, COMP’

poses here is less the details of any one analysis but rather the investigation of the distinction between individual and eventuality type PSOURCES in constructions in ECA which have not received attention in the literature to date. We leave the development of a theoretical account of the patterns we see to subsequent work.
There is a standard anaphoric binding relation between the subject of the CR verb and the obligatory pronominal copy in the embedded clause. In semantic composition the pronominal resource is subsequently removed by a manager resource (as in resumption): since these details of the analysis are not important for our discussion here, we will not illustrate these aspects of their approach here. (7) illustrates the essence of the syntactic aspects of their analysis of English copy raising.

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{PRED 'SEEM'} \\
&\text{SUBJ a [ PRED 'KIM'] } \\
&\text{XCOMP [ PRED 'LIKE' } \\
&\text{SUBJ COMP [ ... p{PRED 'PRO'} ] } \\
&\text{PTYPE CL-COMPAR}
\end{align*}\]

1.4 Modern Standard Arabic

Taking this work as a starting point, Camilleri et al. (2014) looked at the expression of perceptual reports in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Maltese. They show that MSA yabdū ‘seem, appear’ is a perceptual report verb which takes expletive subjects and complements introduced by the complementising particle ʔanna ‘that’ but does not permit SSR. In addition to the expletive construction, they argue that yabdū in fact exhibits a CR construction when the complement is introduced by the complementising particle kaʔanna ‘as if’ in place of ʔanna. The pronominal copy which is anaphorically related to the SUBJ of the perceptual report verb may occur in a wide range of nominal GF functions in the embedded clause. The following examples illustrate the expletive and the copy raising constructions respectively.\(^2\)

\[(8)\] yabdū ʔanna l-ʔawlād-ʔa qad ḥḍar-ʔu seem.IPV.3SGM that DEF-boys-ACC PTL come.PV-3PLM

It seems that the boys have come.

\[(9)\] bad-at-i l-bint-u kaʔanna-hā seem.PV-3SGF-INDIC DEF-girl-NOM as-if-3SGF.ACC
katab-at-i r-risālat-a write.PV-3SGF-INDIC DEF-letter-ACC

The girl seemed as if she wrote the letter. CR Salih 1985: 138

In (9), the subject represents the PSOURCE, and the complement is introduced by kaʔanna. The pronominal copy (which is expressed by the verbal inflection and

\(^2\)Note that both the complementising particles ʔanna and kaʔanna must be immediately followed by a nominal element, or take a pronominal inflection.
also as a pronominal inflection on the complementising particle *ka?anna*) functions as the subject of the embedded clause. Camilleri et al. (2014) suggest when the perceptual report verb *yabdū* occurs in a non-expletive construction with *ka?anna* the matrix subject is necessarily interpreted as the PSOURCE.

To summarise, this perceptual report verb in MSA shows an expletive subject construction and a copy raising pattern with an individual PSOURCE requirement, the latter occurring only in the presence of the complementising particle *ka?anna* introducing the embedded clause.³

### 1.5 ECA ?iz-zaher

The closest equivalent to the MSA use of the predicate *yabdū* in an expletive construction in ECA is most likely the definite N *?iz-zaher* ‘the apparent’, followed by a sentence introduced by the complementiser *?in* ‘that’, a frequent and invariant usage. Like the use of *seem* with an expletive subject, this lacks any individual PSOURCE requirement.

(10) ?iz-zāher  ?in mona gat

DEF-apparent that Mona come.PV.3SGF

It seems that Mona came.

In the following sections we discuss in detail two alternative means by which perceptual reports may be expressed in ECA. It is these two construction types which are the focus of the current paper.⁴

### 2 ECA bāyen

#### 2.1 Expletive Pattern

First consider examples such as (11)-(12), in which we see the form bāyen. This is the active participle of the verb bān ‘show/appear’ in the default MSG form and is followed by a sentential complement introduced by the complementiser *?in* ‘that’. The complement clause can in fact be introduced by either *?in* or *ka?in*. These complementising particles are amongst those which require the NP subject (if non-pronominal) to be immediately adjacent. If the subject is pronominal, the complementiser appears in inflecting form as shown in examples (11)-(13), and others. In the presence of the affixal material, the final consonant of the complementising particle geminates. In (11) the embedded sentence has an adjectival (participial) predicate while (12) contains a finite (bi-imperfective) verbal predicate.⁵

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³Although in principle such examples could involve a thematic use of *yabdū* in the presence of *ka?anna*, Camilleri et al. (2014) reported that none of the examples used in the sources they consulted lacked a copy pronoun.

⁴Glosses used in this paper include AP ‘active participle’, BI.IP{FV} ‘bi-imperfective, INDIC ‘indicative’, IP{FV} ‘imperfective’, PV ‘perfective’, PSP ‘passive participle’.

⁵The bi-imperfective forms (glossed BI.IP{FV}) are finite forms, while the ‘bare’ imperfective (glossed IP{FV}) may be used in modal and what we take to be non-finite contexts.
(11) bāyen  ?inn-ik  mabsūt-a
    show.AP.SGM  that-2SGF  happy.PSP.SG-F
    It seems that you (f) are happy.

(12) bāyen  ?inn-ik  bitijri  sagayir
    show.AP.SGM  that-2SGF  drink.BI.IP.FV.3SGF  cigarettes
    It seems that you (f) smoke.

A perceptual report may be temporally located in the past by adding the tense auxiliary kān as in (13).

(13) kān  bāyen  ?inn-ak  mabsūt/bitijra
    be.PV.3SGM  show.AP.SGM  that-2SGM  happy.PSP.SGM/drink.BI.IP.FV.3SGF  sagayir
    cigarettes
    It seemed that you’re happy/It seemed that you smoke.

In these examples, the construction is not subject to an individual PSOURCE requirement — rather, the source of the perception could be any aspect of the event. Note also that the AP occurs in the invariant default MSG form, which is in contrast with other deverbal uses of the active participle, in which it inflects for gender and number of the subject. This observation supports the idea that the examples in (11)-(13) are expletive subject uses.

In order to collect a wider set of examples covering a range of possible structures for the expression of perceptual reports with bāyen, we compiled a corpus of ECA using the web crawling tools available within Sketchengine\(^6\). By directing the web crawl towards blogs, twitter feeds and other websites (such as magazine sites) known to originate with ECA speakers, a 1.5M word corpus of texts containing bāyen was constructed and manually checked for authenticity by the native speaker author. A corpus example showing the expletive use of bāyen is (14).

Throughout this paper, the indicator SE-BYN shows that an example comes from our Sketchengine corpus.

(14) bāyen  kont  ba-ḥeb  ?atfarrag  ṭala  ṭawlām
    show.AP.SGM  be.PV.1SG  BI-love.IMPV.1SG  watch.IMPV.1SG  on  movies
    el-ʔakjen
    DEF-action
    It seems that I used to love watching action movies.  SE-BYN

Note that although (14) does not contain a complementiser, one can be added with no change in meaning:

\(^6\)http://www.sketchengine.co.uk
It seems that I used to love watching action movies.

In these examples, as with the previous constructed examples, the **PSOURCE** is not the individual, but rather some aspect of the event. A plausible context for (14) might be one in which the speaker is going through his old stuff and finds lots of action movies. Note that in (14) the auxiliary follows **bayen**, and is in the embedded clause (in construction with **ba-heb**) ‘used to love’ and hence does not situate the ‘seem’ predication in the past. This is in contrast with example (13) where the auxiliary precedes **bayen** and therefore the whole perceptual report is in the past tense (and hence the translation is ‘it seemed’).

### 2.2 Possible SSR Pattern

There are also cases in which the **AP** is not in the default **SGM** form, but in an agreeing form. This is the case in (16), where the **AP** is **SGF**, potentially indicating that **mona** is the subject of the **AP**. In such cases, it is again possible to use either **?in or ka?in** to introduce the sentential complement.

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(16) mona bayn-a ka?inna-ha mabsüt-a
    mona show.AP.SG-F that-3SGF happy.PSP.SGF

Mona seems to be happy.
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The perceptual report may be temporally located in the past by adding (a subject-inflected form of) the tense auxiliary **kân**, as in (17) and (18).

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(17) kont bäyen ?inn-ak mabsüt
    be.PV.2SGM show.AP.SGM that-2SGM happy.PSP.SGM
You (m) seemed happy.
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(18) kont-i bayn-a ?inn-ik mabsüt-a
    be.PV.2SG-F show.AP.SG-F that-2SGF happy.PSP.SGF
You (f) seemed happy.
```

In such examples, it seems possible that **Mona** and **you** are subjects of the matrix (perceptual report) predicate (this is consistent with both the surface position of **Mona** in (16) and with the agreement inflection on the participle and the tense auxiliary). They are also most naturally interpreted as the **PSOURCE**, where the perceptual report is based on observation of some aspect of the individual. However, although these may be cases of **SSR**, we have found no parallel examples in our corpus data, and native speakers consulted judge them to be infrequent or unusual, although not ungrammatical.
The example in (19) is attested in our corpus: it shares with (16) the initial positioning of the NP. However this complementiser-less example clearly is not associated with an individual PSOURCE requirement, and corresponds very closely to the (constructed) example in (20).

(19) sāheb el- Jerka bāyen ʔefṭara mōʿ zam ʔilli
    owner DEF-company show.AP.SGM buy.PV.3SGM most that
    ʔantag-u
    produce.PV.3SGM-3SGM

    It seems that the owner of the company bought most of what he produced. SE-BYN

This example seems rather to involve a misplacement (or very unusual placement) of the AP, where it’s possible to have the AP initially, in the default SGM form followed by the complementiser, with no change in meaning, as in:

(20) bāyen ʔinn sāheb el- Jerka ʔefṭara mōʿ zam ʔilli
    show.AP.SGM that owner DEF-company buy.PV.3SGM most that
    ʔantag-u
    produce.PV.3SGM-3SGM

    It seems that the owner of the company bought most of what he produced.

2.3 PP Pattern

In a further set of data, bāyen (in the default SGM non-agreeing form) co-occurs with a PP headed by ʕala ‘on’, which expresses the (individual) source of perception and usually corresponds to some (pronominal) function within the embedded CP.\(^7\)

An example of this sort is shown in (21): note that the complementiser ʔaʔin- would be equally grammatical. (22) and (23) are corpus examples.

(21) kān bāyen ʕalē-ki ʔinn-ik mabsūt-a
    be.PV.3SGM show.AP.SGM on-2SGF that-2SGF happy.PSP.SG-F

    You seemed happy.

(22) bāyen ʕal-ēh ʔinn-u taf'bān giddan
    show.AP.SGM on-3SGM that-3SGM tired.AP.SGM very

    He seems to be very tired. SE-BYN

(23) kān bāyen ʕal-ēh ʔinn-uh masdūm
    be.PV.3SGM show.AP.SGM on-3SGM that-3SGM shocked.PSP.SGM

    He seemed to be shocked. SE-BYN

\(^7\)Arabic is a language with inflecting prepositions. Pronominal objects of such prepositions are expressed inflectionally, while non-pronominal objects appear with the uninflected (default) form of the preposition. In all of examples (21)- (25) the preposition ʕala has a pronominal (inflectional) object while (26) illustrates a non-pronominal objects to ʕala.
Example (24) shows that although the AP is invariant (in default form), rather surprisingly the temporal auxiliary may optionally agree with the PSOURCE:

(24) konti bāyen ūalé-ki ?inn-ik mabsūt-a
    be.PV.2SGF show.AP.SGM on-2SGF that-2SGF happy.PSP.SG-F

You seemed happy.

The object of ūala ‘on’ within the matrix PP may correspond to a pronominal copy with a range of different grammatical functions in the embedded clause: in (25) it corresponds to the embedded object.

(25) bāyen ūalé-ha ūinn-ohom darab-ū-ha
    show.AP.SGM on-3SGF that-3PL beat.PV-3PL-3SGF

She seems like they’ve beaten her.

It is also possible to have no copy pronoun in the complement clause, as in (26) below:

(26) bāyen ūala el-modarreb ūin el-Ahli keseb el-matʃ
    show.AP.SGM on DEF-coach that DEF-Ahli win.PV.3SGM DEF-match

Lit: It seems on the coach that Ahli (football team) won the match. = The coach seems like Ahli won the match.

2.4 Summary and Discussion

This section has illustrated a range of constructions involving the AP (active participle) bāyen to express perceptual reports in ECA. The AP bāyen can be used as the main predicate of perceptual reports in ECA. It exhibits three main behaviours and complementation patterns which might suggest different syntactic analyses. The first is the expletive variant which involves an invariant AP and a COMP introduced by ūin or kaūin. In this case, bāyen places no particular PSOURCE restriction, and hence the PSOURCE does not have to be the individual represented by the matrix subject, but can be any aspect of the event.

The second structure is the PP + CP variant, where the AP is followed by a PP which expresses the (visible) individual PSOURCE, irrespective of choice of the complementiser, which can be either ūin or kaūin. The AP must be in default form but a temporal auxiliary may agree with the nominal (PSOURCE) in the PP.

There is also the putative SSR variant, where the AP agrees in gender and number with the subject. This structure possibly has individual PSOURCE interpretations which may be associated with the choice of complementiser (kaūin instead of ūin) for the embedded complement. However this structure was much less frequent than the other two and appears to be of questionable grammaticality for some native speakers of ECA. We found no clear corpus examples representing this structure.

These data raise a number of interesting issues for further investigation. First, what is the nature of and significance of the use of the AP form?
A number of distinct uses of the AP can be distinguished in ECA and other vernaculars. Some are lexically specified as nouns where they have broken plural rather than sound plural forms: for example, the plural AP ʿummāl ‘workers’ is related to the singular AP ʿāmil ‘worker’:

(27) ʿabelt ʿummāl 
meet.PV.1SG DEF-workers
I met the workers. Mughazy 2004: 3

APs also occur in clearly adjectival function, occurring postnominal in the NP and showing concord in number, gender and definiteness with the head noun. Beyond these cases, some APs, such as ʿāzīm ‘be necessary’ and ʿāyīz ‘be possible’ are clearly modal. These occur with a single clausal argument and are always in default SGM form:

(28) ʿāzīm ʿamʃī dilwaʔti 
be.necessary.AP leave.IMPV.1SG now
I must leave now. Mughazy 2004: 4

However although themselves always in default SGM form, such modal APs may be accompanied by default or agreeing forms of the temporal auxiliary:

(29) kān ʿāzīm tidʃī ʿali 
be.PV.3SGM must.AP invite.IMPV.2SGM ali
You should have invited Ali (i.e. you did not). Azer 1980: 23

(30) kunt ʿāzīm matballaghūs el-ʃabar da 
be.PV.2SGM must.AP inform.IMPV.2SGM.NEG DEF-news this
You shouldn’t have told him this news. Azer 1980: 64

The use of an active participle as the main sentential predicate is completely standard in ECA, as in other contemporary vernaculars. The temporal/aspectual interpretation of the AP in such a deverbal usage depends on a number of factors which include the lexical aktionsart of the root verb and the presence or absence of temporal auxiliaries and adverbials: a very broad brush generalization is that APs from stative and motion verbs give rise to a range of meanings (including present progressive and various perfective meanings) while other (eventive) verbs give rise to perfective (typically, present perfect) meanings (see Mughazy (2004) for a very detailed discussion of how the range of interpretations can be accounted for). The following are typical examples of APs functioning as the main sentential predicate.

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8The broken plural is formed by internal ablaut processes (as in English mouse, mice), while the sound plural involves regular suffixal morphology.

9To avoid confusion, these examples from Azer (1980) have been reglossed and re-transliterated to conform with the practice in this paper. We thank an anonymous reviewer for asking a question that caused us to provide these examples.
As the example in (31) shows, a deverbal AP agrees in number and gender with its subject, which is different behaviour from what we have observed with the cases of bāyen in perceptual reports. The fact that the AP bāyen appears in default form in all the cases discussed above (with the exception of the potential SSR pattern illustrated in (16)-(18)) is therefore consistent with the idea that these perceptual report examples have expletive subjects (or no subject). Note further that the optional agreement of kān in the expletive subject (or no subject) modal examples such as (30) is also parallel to what we observe with bāyen.

Secondly, what is the status of the PP?

Asudeh and Toivonen (2012) show that the Psource may be expressed with the Swedish verb verka ‘seem’ in one of two ways, either as a (raised) subject or as a PP (adjunct) with the expletive construction. The examples in (33) have the same meaning (where Tom and han are coreferential):

(33) a. Tom verkar som om han lagar mat
   Tom seems as if he makes food
   Tom seems as if he’s cooking.

   b. Det verkar på Tom som om han lagar mat
      it seems on Tom as if he makes food
      Tom seems as if he’s cooking.

We have seen in the data discussed above that the Eca sala-PP also expresses the Psource in an expletive construction.

Thirdly, what is the significance of agreement on the temporal Aux kān? Among the main possibilities to consider are that it represents a case of what we might call ‘miscreant’ or ‘parasitic’ agreement with a non-subject but prominent participant (the Psource) or alternatively, that the PP (Psource) is in fact the subject of the main predication.\(^\text{10}\) In relation to the former possibility, we note that in other cases too kān can (optionally) show agreement with a prominent element which is not a clause-mate subject. In (34), for example, kān may optionally agree with the clause-mate object of the preposition (which is co-referential with the embedded subject).

\(^{10}\) The term ‘parasitic’ agreement (or morphology) occurs in various places in the literature, including in discussion of some long-distance agreement effects (such as those in Hindi) in which agreement on an embedded infinitival is ‘parasitic’ on agreement expressed on the embedding predicate Boeckx (2008, 68). We also use the term here to denote agreement on a target which appears not to stand in a canonical agreement relationship with the controller.
It was known about you that you’re a liar/ you were known to be a liar.

But note that here too, the participle cannot show agreement:

It was known about her that she was happy/ She was known to be happy.

3 ECA ʕakl

3.1 ʕakl and Predicate

The following examples are both very natural and frequent as expressions of perceptual reports.

The boy seems tired.

They seem to be waiting for an important thing =

They involve the noun ʕakl (MSG) which means ‘form, shape’ heading a construct state or iql̃a fa construction (CSC) (in (36) above, the NP ʕakl el-walad), together with a following predicative phrase. The construct state is a common structure in ECA, and all other varieties of Arabic, in which a head noun, which cannot be inflected for definiteness, is immediately followed by a definite or indefinite nominal dependent, which is inflectionally expressed when pronominal. The CSC is the most common means of expressing possession (as in (38)) and a range of other associated relations such as part whole relations between head and dependent NP.

Mona’s book

b. kitab-ha

er.SGM-3SGF

her book
The status of the CSC as definite or indefinite depends on the definiteness of the (most deeply embedded) dependent nominal. There is a tight syntactic link between the head noun and the nominal dependent, such that adjectival modifiers (or complements of the head noun) may not intervene between them, but occur after the nominal dependent: adjectives agree with the noun (head or dependent) which they modify (note that in (39) the adjective is definite because the CSC as a whole is definite since the dependent nominal is definite):

(39) kitāb mona el-ʔadīm
    book.SGM mona DEF-old.SGM
    Mona’s old book

(40) kitāb el-bint el-gamīla
    book.SGM DEF-girl.SGF DEF-beautiful.SGF
    the beautiful girl’s book

Impressionistically, this structure with ġakl is very frequently the usage of choice for the expression of perceptual reports. Nevertheless, the majority of instances of ġakl which came up in our corpus searches were cases which the noun was being used simply in its standard meaning of ‘form’ or ‘shape’. Having discounted these as irrelevant to our present concerns, it emerged that the vast majority (and perhaps all) of the corpus examples remaining contained an attached pronoun rather than a NP dependent, as in (37) or (41) (the latter contains an initial NP doubling the attached pronoun).

(41) Morsi ġakl-u rigi’
    Morsi form-3SGM come.back.PV.3SGM
    It seems that Morsi came back.

It is rather clear that in (41) the PSOURCE is not of type individual as the Morsi in question is the ousted president of Egypt. The PSOURCE here is some aspect of the eventuality - something which is happening in the country that gives rise to this observation.

There are a number of interesting aspects to this perceptual report construction, which has not been discussed in any previous literature we are aware of.

The first issue concerns the nature of the (predicative or propositional) element which co-occurs with the CSC ġakl NP. In examples (36) and (37) we see adjectives and verbal participles, which may head predicative complements, but example (41) exhibits a finite (perfective) verb (and hence potentially a full finite IP). Finite verbal complements are only possible provided the subject of the finite verb is co-referential with the dependent NP. This is illustrated by the contrast between (42) and (43).

(42) ġakl el-welād etdarabo
    form DEF-boys beat.PV.PASS.3PL
    The boys seem to have been beaten.

(43) ġakl el-bint el-gamīla
    form DEF-girl.SGF DEF-beautiful.SGF
    The girl seems to have been beautiful.
The boys seem as if she’s beaten them.

Note that in an example such as (42), the finite verb *etdarabo*beat.PV.PASS.3PL necessarily agrees with the dependent NP (within the CSC, that is the ‘possessor’ or ‘whole’). This is a behaviour which is not found in other CSC, where it is the head noun (possessed element) which controls NP external predicate agreement. Similarly, it is the dependent NP which dictates the plural number on the deverbal AP in (37). In the adjectival case in (44), however, the dependent pronoun (or NP) only optionally controls agreement on the (embedded) predicate.

(44) *fakl-ik mabsût-a/mabsût
form-2SGF happy.PSP.SG-F/PSP.MSG
You (f) seem happy.

As shown in (44) above, the dependent NP may control agreement on the predicate, a behaviour which is not found in other CSC, where it is the head noun (possessed element) which controls predicate agreement. Consider now (45)- (48): these examples show that when the dependent NP controls agreement on the predicate, it may also optionally control agreement on a temporal auxiliary in initial position.

(45) kân *fakl-ik mabsûta
be.PV.3SGM form-3SGF happy.PSP.SG-F
You seemed happy.

(46) konti *fakl-ik mabsûta
be.PV.3SGF form-2SGF happy.PSP.SGF
You seemed happy.

(47) kân *fakl-ik bithîbî-h
be.PV.3SGM form-2SGF love.B1.IPFV.2SGF-3SGM
Your form seemed to love him= You seemed to love him.

(48) konti *fakl-ik bithîbî-h
be.PV.2SGF form-2SGF love.B1.IPFV.2SGF-3SGM
You seemed to love him.

If the temporal auxiliary appears after the CSC NP (between the subject and the predicate) agreement with the dependent (annexed) NP within the CSC becomes obligatory.11

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11These examples correspond to normal word order in ECA, which is SVO.
Your form seemed happy/ You seemed happy.

You seem as if you were happy.

The boys seem to have been (being) beaten.

The boys seem to have been (being) beaten all year.

Although the dependent NP (within the CSC headed by *fakl*) can (and sometimes must) control predicate agreement, it is not necessarily interpreted as the PSOURCE. In terms of the distinction drawn by Asudeh and Toivonen (2012) the PSOURCE is not of type individual in these cases, but just some aspect of the wider eventuality. Consider the following corpus example in this connection.

It seems that we’ll get into an open heart operation.

Here the first interpretation that comes to mind is not the one in which ‘we’ refers to the group of doctors commenting on what they are actually doing. A plausible context is one in which the speaker is observing the operation or the patient or drawing a conclusion from the fact that the doctors are taking so long discussing options: the ‘we’ in such scenarios refers rather to people related to the patient in some way, perhaps those who might be affected by him having this operation. The same is true of (54), in which the annexed pronoun (dependent NP within the CSC) and the embedded subject are co-referential, referring to those who will make the arrest, but they do not have to be visible to the speaker (the speaker may, for example, be reporting on a rumour which is currently circulating). Hence, the PSOURCE is not required to be of type individual for (54).

It seems that they’re going to arrest him.

They seem to be going to arrest him.
Another rather interesting structure is shown in (55), where the embedded verb is an OBJ-PSYCH verb (hence literally 'They were lacking to you') and the 'possessor' in fakl-uhum corresponds to the theme argument not the experiencer argument, while it is plausibly the appearance/behaviour of the experiencer which gives rise to the reported perception.

(55) fakl-uhum wahajū-k
form-POSS.3PL lack.PV.3PL-2SGM
It seems like you missed them!

The key points shown in this section are (i) the dependent NP/pronoun in the fakl CSC may (and sometimes, must) control agreement of a temporal auxiliary and of the predicate but (ii) is not obligatorily interpreted as the PSOURCE. In the following section, we consider a structure in which the embedded predicate is a CP introduced by a complementising particle.

3.2 ka?in Complements

We have now seen examples in which the CSC headed by fakl is followed by an adjectival or deverbal participial predicative phrase, and cases in which it is followed by a finite predication. It may also occur with a sentential (CP) complement, which must be introduced by the complementising particle ka?in. Notice that in this case, there is no requirement of co-reference between the dependent nominal inside the CSC and the subject of the (embedded) predication.

(56) fakl-aha ka?inn-uhum dehku ʕalē-ha
form-3SGF as.if-3PL laugh.PV.3PL on-3SGF
She seems as if they’ve fooled her.

(57) fakl el-welād ka?enn-aha darabet-hom
form DEF-boys as.if-3SGF beat.PV.3SGF-3PL
The boys seem as if she’s beaten them.

(58) fakl-ak ka?inn-ak mabsūt
form-2SGM as.if-2SGM happy.PSP.2SGM
You seem as if you’re happy.

There is an important and clear difference between these examples, involving a CP with the complementising particle ka?in, and the previous examples with fakl, which do not involve a complementiser: (56)-(58) and other examples with this pattern receive an interpretation in which some aspect of the individual denoted by the dependent NP in the CSC is the source of the perceptual report. That is, these examples involve an individual PSOURCE.

The contrast between the following examples supports the observation that it is essentially the presence of the complementising particle ka?in which introduces the
individual PSOURCE requirement. (59) requires direct observation of the patient, while in (60) it can be any aspect of the eventuality: for example, the reaction of her mother, or the lack of medicine in her room.

(59) kān ʃakl-aha ʔenn-aha ʔethassinit be.PV.3SGM form-3SGF as.if-3SGF got.better.PV.3SGF
She seemed as if she got better.

(60) Ŧakl-aha ʔethassinit form-3SGF got.better.PV.3SGF
It seems she’s got better.

An association between kaʔin and some form of direct perception is found in other examples in which a NP occurs with a kaʔin-CP. Thus consider (61), with a CSC as subject and (62), with a simple NP subject. Each of these is interpreted as reporting a direct observation of the office (as indicated by the English free translation), and in fact substitution of the ’standard’ complementising particle ʔin is impossible. 12

(61) maktab-ak ʔenn-u lessa mitratteb office-2SGM as.if-3SGM just tidy.PSP.SGM
Your office looks as if its just been tidied up.

(62) el-maktab ʔinn-u lessa mitratteb DEF-office as.if-3SGM just tidy.PSP.SGM
The office looks as if its just been tidied up.

(63) *el-maktab ʔinn-u lessa mitratteb DEF-office that-3SGM just tidy.PSP.SGM
The office that its just been tidied up.

Although we do not provide any details of an analysis here, we can view the relation between the CSC and the following kaʔin CP as mediated by an (unexpressed) copula predicate. It is no surprise then that we get a temporal auxiliary if the perception reported is temporally located in the past, as illustrated in (64). As with the other examples in this subsection, in (64) some aspect of the directly perceived corpse is the source of the perceptual report.

(64) kān ʃakl-o ʔenn-o mayyet men ʔatra tawila be.PV.3SGM form-3SGM as.if-3SGM dead from time long
He seemed as if he’s been dead for a long time.

12 There is, of course, a crucial additional factor distinguishing (61), for example, from examples such as (58) and (57): in the latter examples there is an inalienable relation between the ’part’ (head N) and the ’whole’ (dependent NP). (61) would be totally infelicitous uttered when ’you’ but not ’the office’ was visible.
Agreement on the auxiliary is optional, where it can be controlled either by 
$fakl$ or the annexed (dependent) nominal, with no apparent difference in meaning.

(65) \begin{align*}
\text{kān} & \text{ } fakl-aha \text{ } \text{ka?enn-aha ?ethassinit} \\
& \text{be.PV.3SGM} \text{ } \text{form-3SGF} \text{ } \text{as.if-3SGF} \text{ } \text{got.better.PV.3SGF}
\end{align*}

She seemed as if she got better.

She seemed as if she got better.

(66) \begin{align*}
\text{fakl} & \text{ } \text{el-welād kānu} \text{ } \text{ka?enn-ohom etdarabo} \\
& \text{form} \text{ } \text{DEF-boys be.PV.3PL} \text{ } \text{as.if-3PL} \text{ } \text{beat.PV.PASS.3PL}
\end{align*}

The boys seemed as if they were beaten.

(67) \begin{align*}
\text{fakl} & \text{ } \text{el-welād kānu} \text{ } \text{ka?enn-ohom etdarabo} \\
& \text{form} \text{ } \text{DEF-boys be.PV.3PL} \text{ } \text{as.if-3PL} \text{ } \text{beat.PV.PASS.3PL}
\end{align*}

The boys seemed as if they were beaten.

### 3.3 Summary and Discussion

We have shown in this section that a natural and frequent means to express perceptual reports in 
ECA involves the use of a CSC headed by the N $fakl$ ‘form’ and either a predicative phrase, finite IP or sentential complement introduced by the complementising particle $ka?in$. The construct headed by $fakl$ has unusual agreement properties, where the complement sometimes agrees with the dependent N (rather than the head N). However the pattern of agreement which we see does not correlate with the distinction between individual and eventuality types of PSOURCE: agreement patterns are basically independent of whether the dependent (annexed) nominal serves as PSOURCE. We have seen two further clear patterns in the data. First, a bare finite complement may occur only when the subject is co-referential with the dependent N within the CSC. Second, an individual PSOURCE requirement emerges only when $fakl$ CS combines with a COMP, which must be introduced by $ka?in$. The central role of this complementising particle in the construction is consistent with, and similar to, the role which Camilleri et al. (2014) argue is played by the cognate particle in MSA copy raising with the verb $yabdū$ ‘seem’.

### 4 Summary

This paper has presented a preliminary investigation of the expression of perceptual reports in 
ECA, based on a substantial corpus of data collected using the webcrawling corpus collection tools available in SketchEngine. We have discussed two constructions which are used to express perceptual reports in ECA. The first, less frequent, uses the AP $bāyen$. We have suggested that $bāyen$ occurs principally in two constructions. The first is an expletive construction, and here there is no requirement that the PSOURCE be a (visible) individual. In the second construction, the PSOURCE is expressed in a PP, which we take to be in the matrix clause. This is reminiscent of the expression of an individual PSOURCE in a PP in Swedish,
discussed by Asudeh and Toivonen (2012). This construction has some interesting agreement properties, which we are tempted to view as cases of parasitic agreement. That is, predicate agreement is not always a reliable subject diagnostic. The second, more frequent way of expressing perceptual reports involved the use of the noun fakl, heading a (nominal) construct state construction and co-occurring with a predicative phrase, IP or a CP. The choice of complementising particle for CP in this construction is limited to ka?in, and we argue that an individual P-SOURCE interpretation arises obligatorily, as in English CR, in such cases. Where the fakl CSC occurs with an IP/finite verbal complement, then the dependent nominal within the CSC and the subject of the finite verb are co-referential. With the fakl constructions we have also seen some interesting agreement facts, notably cases in which the dependent nominal within the NP CSC may control predicate agreement at clausal level.

References


