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On Pragmatics-syntax Interface: The Case of Vocative Nominals in Jordanian Arabic

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Abstract

This paper starts with exploring the internal syntactic structure of the vocative nominals in regional Jordanian Arabic sub-varieties. It shows that a vocative nominal can be either a full DP or a bare NP in the target three Jordanian sub-varieties, namely, Rural (RJA), Urban (UJA) and Bedouin (BJA) Jordanian Arabic. However, they differ in terms of the manifestation of D^0. To illustrate, definiteness in RJA and UJA can only be obtained by a possessive pronominal clitic, whereas the definite article can merge with the vocative nominal in BJA. This should contribute to the vocative DP vs. NP debate in the relevant literature: it implies that data from Jordanian Arabic (JA) do not support the claim that languages should fall into a paradigm, i.e., the vocatives in a certain language must have a specific syntactic nature (either full DP or bare NP). The main goal of this paper is to argue for syntax-pragmatic interface. It is to show that these sub-varieties developed a pragmatic function to determiners within vocative phrases. First, we show that the definite article, which can combine vocative nominals only in BJA, developed a pragmatic function that defines the interpersonal relation between interlocutors. To clarify, the presence of the definite article with a nominal referring to a superior addressee or a good trait of him/her is interpreted as respecting and raising the status of the addressee, whereas its co-occurrence with a nominal referring to an inferior addressee or a bad trait is to condescend the addressee. On the other hand, if the vocative nominal is status-neutral, this neutralizes the intensifying function of the article. On this basis, the peculiarity of the definite article in BJA within vocatives is that its function is defined with reference to the vocative nominal. Additionally, the presence of the possessive pronominal clitic -*na* '1PL.POSS' with the vocative nominal is to raise the status of the addressee or show more respect to him/her. This implies that pragmatics interfaces with syntax while deriving the vocative phrase, consistent with Hill (2007, 2017), Wiltschko, and Heim (2016): a pragmatic function is assigned to D^0 while deriving the syntax of vocatives, and therefore this function should not be post-syntactic.

Keywords: Determiners; Jordanian Arabic; Pragmatics-Syntax Interface; Vocative Nominals.

1. Introduction

Cross-linguistically, vocatives are typically nominals, such as proper names and kinship nouns (Zwicky 1974, 2004; Heyd 2014). Vocatives are significant to the structure of the interactions among interlocutors (Zwicky 1974), as they are basically used to catch the attention (i.e., call) or to maintain the contact with the addressee (Schegloff 1968).[1] Vocatives are characterized by being isolated from an adjacent sentence by an intervening pause and/or by having its own intonational pattern (Zwicky 1974), especially in initial position as it is set off this sentence.[2] Further, a vocative is not local to the thematic grid of a predicate (Moro 2003), that is, it does not serve as an argument in its adjacent sentence.

In the relevant literature on vocatives, their pragmatic functions are extensively investigated in several languages (cf. Hill 2007; Kleinknecht and Souza 2017). One major and ongoing debate in the domain of vocatives is its distribution and (non-)integration in syntax. Is the relation between the vocative phrase and sentence grammar highly constrained or not? For Levinson (1983), Espinal (1991) and Haddad (2020), vocative phrases behave as parenthetical elements, whereas for Ashdowne (2002), Hill (2014) and Slocum (2016), they should be incorporated in syntax (in the left periphery of sentence grammar). For syntax-external proposals, evidence to the non-integration of vocatives in syntax mainly comes from the observations that vocative phrases can freely appear between constituents and can interrupt islands. With regard to syntax-peripheral proposals, the presence of vocatives in sentence-internal or final position is a consequence of movement of a sentence-internal constituent to a pre-vocative position in peripheral syntax; therefore, vocatives should be visible to syntactic computations.

Another interesting topic raised in the relevant literature about vocatives is whether the pragmatic functions they develop in various languages are assigned while deriving the syntax of vocative or post-syntactically. In the current paper, our main goal is to add to the ongoing investigation to syntax-pragmatics interface within the domain of vocatives. The main question is: are the pragmatic functions of vocatives an instantiation of syntax-pragmatics interface? Now, the importance of determiners (or definiteness) of vocative nominals in JA stems in the following statement: they are not used for the sake of determining the definiteness status of the addressee, as the addressee is expected to be inherently definite. Alternatively, definite articles are rather to define the pragmatic meaning and the interpersonal relation between interlocutors (Hill 2017). In Romanian, for instance, the definite article surfaces with a vocative nominal when the speaker means to respect an inferior addressee and disappears when s/he means to condescend the addressee (Hill 2007, 2017). In this paper, we show that the pragmatic function of determiners within vocatives is assigned while deriving the syntax of vocatives in JA (i.e., it should not be post-syntactic). Hence, we argue in this paper with Hill and Wiltschko and Heim (2016) wherein pragmatic or discourse elements are analyzed in syntactic terms.

Additionally, there has been a considerable effort in the last two decades to identify the status of vocative nominals in natural languages, whether they are bare NPs or fully-fledged DPs (see Longobardi 1994; Moro 2003; Coene et al. 2005; d'Hulst et al. 2007; Hill 2007). The spark of these attempts is the (non)-presence of the definite article with vocative nominals. More specifically, it has been reported that in some Romance languages (e.g., French and Romanian), vocative nominals are frequently full DPs (i.e.,

the presence of definite articles with vocative nominals in these languages is frequent), whereas vocative nominals in German seem to be bare NPs (Schaden 2010).

At the first sight, vocative nominals in Arabic varieties seem to be bare NPs (D-less ones). Further, in the presence of a determiner, the definite article *ʔal-* does not seem capable of conveying a pragmatic and interpersonal function across Arabic varieties. This is also confirmed in Al-Bataineh (2020) who reported that the finding of Hill (2017) that the definite article can perform an interpersonal function, is not applicable to Arabic. However, an interesting observation in Bedouin Jordanian Arabic (BJA) is that it allows the use of the definite article with vocative nominals freely. The definite article in this sub-variety performs a pragmatic/interpersonal function. For exemplification, the definite article suffixed to the vocative nominal *ʃe:x* in (1a) raises the status of the addressee, who already has a high social rank, whereas it emphasizes on the villainy of the addressee in (1b).

(1)   a.   *ja*   *(ʃ)-ʃe:x,*   *sa:ʕid-na*

          VOC.   (DEF)-tribal chief   help-1PL

          'Tribal chief! Please help us.'

      b.   *ja*   *(l)-xisi:s*

          VOC.   DEF-villainous

          'villainous!'

A pragmatic (interpersonal) function can also be performed within a vocative phrase in Rural Jordanian Arabic (RJA) and Urban Jordanian Arabic (UJA); however, this task is assigned to the possessive pronominal clitic *-na* '1PL' as the definite article does not emerge with the vocative nominal under D^0 in these two Jordanian varieties. In (2a), for example, the clitic *-na* is used to glorify and respect the addressee. Noteworthy here is that this pronominal clitic is also used in BJA, and it is in complementary distribution with the definite article, as can be observed in the ungrammatical example in (2b).

(2)   a.   *ja:*   *ʃe:x-na*   *sa:ʕid-na*

          VOC.   tribal chief-1PL.POSS   help-1PL

          'Our tribal chief! Please help us.'

      b.   **ja:*   *ʃ-ʃe:x-na*   *sa:ʕid-na*

          VOC.   DEF-tribal chief-1PL.POSS   help-1PL

The main difference between the definite article in BJA and the possessive pronominal clitic is that the definite article intensifies the meaning in the vocative nominal (i.e., it is either to raise the status or to descend it) based on the nature of the vocative nominal, whereas the clitic is only to raise the status of the

addressee and to show respect; therefore, the clitic cannot combine with vocative nominals referring to low status referents.

Suprasegmental features like stress and intonation play a role in the function of the vocative in Arabic (Arini 2014). For example, the intonation pattern of an utterance can be vital in determining whether it is an exclamation, a question or a predicate (ibid). Where the vocative particle is deleted, some phonological changes can be applied to highlight the vocative style, for example lengthening the vowel of the vocative phrase, as in *xalaaf* instead of *ya xalaf* ' 'Khalaf!'. In Cairene Arabic, deletion of the vocative particle can function pragmatically to imply closeness, where repetition of the vocative NP denotes immediacy (Abdulrhman 2000).

The main goal is to show that the definite article within vocative phrases has a pragmatic/interpersonal function to perform in BJA. This function is to intensify the meaning in the vocative nominal: the presence of the definite article with a nominal referring to a superior addressee or a good trait is interpreted as respecting and raising the status of the addressee, whereas its co-occurrence with a nominal referring to an inferior addressee or bad trait is to condescend the addressee. However, this intensifying function can be hindered if the target vocative nominal is neutral (i.e., it cannot be described as good or bad, high-status or low-status), such as *radʒil* 'man'. Additionally, this paper shows that the pragmatic function of showing respect to the addressee and raising his/her status can be performed by the pronominal clitic –*na* in all JA varieties. On this basis, the definite article in BJA and the pronominal clitic –*na* should be located under D in the syntax of the vocative nominal and should have an interpersonal feature ([i-p]), following Hill (2017). This pragmatic feature should be present while syntactically deriving the vocative phrase to define the relation between interlocutors. This implies that pragmatics interfaces with syntax; it intersects with the syntactic derivation of vocatives in JA. This entails that data from JA argue with Hill (2017) and Wiltschko and Heim (2016) wherein pragmatics, and even discourse, may interface with syntax.RJA and UJA display definiteness by a pronominal clitic, and BJA by a pronominal clitic or the definite article. This should add to the debate on the syntactic status of vocative nominals cross-linguistically. More specifically, data from JA argue against the paradigmatic dichotomy that indicates that languages fall in one of the two groups; languages selecting full vocative DPs and languages selecting bare NPs (Coene et al. 2005; Moro 2003). Further, it does not argue with the proposal that vocative nominals are always full DPs (Hill 2007, 2017).

The outline of the current paper is as follows: Section 2 is to review studies that tackled the issue of the syntactic status of vocative nominals, DPs or NPs. It is also to present diagnostics to the syntactic nature of vocative nominals in BJA, with reference to its status in RJA and UJA. Section 3 is to investigate the function of the definite article with vocative nominals in BJA and the possessive pronominal clitic –*na* with vocative nominals in JA, in general. Section 4 is to argue that the pragmatic/interpersonal functions of the definite article and the pronominal clitic is not post-syntactic. It should rather be account for in syntax (i.e. it signifies pragmatics-syntax interface within the domain of vocatives, consistent with Hill (2017)). Section 5 is to present the conclusion.

2. Are vocative nominals full DPs or bare NPs?

This section starts with discussing the syntactic status of vocative nominals in natural languages investigated in some previous studies. Additionally, it provides diagnostics to the syntactic status of the vocative nominal in Jordanian varieties. It argues that vocative nominals are either full DPs or bare NPs in Jordanian sub-varieties.

2.1 The syntactic status of vocative nominals

In Romanian, Moro (2003) and Coene et al. (2005) argued that vocative nominals are full DPs. Their evidence is based on the observation that vocative nominals in this language allow post-nominal definite articles and pre-nominal adjectives, as can be observed in (3a). Similar to Romanian, French requires a definite article with vocative nominals, as in (3b).

(3) a. *Stimate*   *cititorule,*   *iată*   *ultimele*   *noastre*   *publicat,ii!*

      respected-VOC   reader-the-VOC   here   last-the   ours   publications-the

      'Dear readers, here are our latest publications!'   (Hill 2007: 2085)

  b. *Bonjour,*   *les amis*!

      Good day,   the friends!

      'Hello friends!'   (Schaden 2010, 179)

On the contrary, vocative nominals tend to be bare NPs in German and Italian (Longobardi 1994) as they are typically not compatible with the definite article, as marked in (4 & 5).

(4) *Hey*   (*der)   *Wikinger,*   *runter*   *von*   *meinem*   *Schiff*!   (German)

    Hey   (the)   viking,   down   from   my   ship!

    'Hey Vikings, get off my ship!'   (Schaden 2010: 179)

(5) *Caro*   (*il)   *amico*   *vieni*   *a*   *trovarmi.*   (Italian)

    Dear   (the)   friend   come   to   visit me

    'Dear friend, come and visit me.'   (Longobardi 1994, 612)

However, it does not go without saying that some previous studies reported instances in French where the definite article is not required (e.g., Cabredo Hofherr 2008) and other examples form German in which the definite article is necessary. Consider the French and German Example in (6) adopted from (Schaden 2010). This may entail that vocative nominals in natural languages do not fall within the following paradigm: vocative nominals are full DPs in some languages and bare NPs in other languages. Instead, a language that typically uses bare NPs as vocative nominals may allow full DPs for some reason (e.g., a pragmatic and interpersonal one) and vice versa.

6   a.   (?*Les*)   *françaises*,   (?*les*)   *français*!

         the   French.FEM   the   French

      'female and male French!'

    b.   *Guten*   *Abend*,   ? *Damen*   *und*   ?*Herren*!

         good   evening,   ladies   and   gentlemen

      'Good evening, ladies and gentlemen!'

With regard to Standard Arabic, the vocative nominal can appear bare, as in (7a). However, Standard Arabic does not only allow the combination of the definite article *ʔal-* and the vocative nominal, but also allows the indefinite article *-n* to co-occur with the vocative nominal, as shown in (7b & c). This may indicate that the vocative nominal in this variety of Arabic is either a bare NP or a full DP, where D is filled with the definite or the indefinite article. The other scenario is that the vocative nominal in this variety is constantly a full DP wherein D can be occupied by either an overt or covert article. Note that the definite article cannot surface unless it is combined with a demonstrative pronoun or another vocative particle, *ʔajjuha*.

(7)   a.   *ja:*   *radʒul-u*

         VOC   MAN-NOM

         'Hey man!'

    b.   *ja:*   *haða*   *r-radʒul*

         VOC   this.M.SG   DEF-man

         'Hey man!'

    c.   *ja:*   *radʒul-an*

         VOC   man-INDEF.SG

         '(Any) man!'

In (7c), the indefinite article attached to the vocative nominal indicates that the nominal does not refer to a particular person (i.e., the speaker is calling or addressing any man), whereas the addressee is definite in (7b). In the absence of an overt article under D, as can be seen in (7a), as recently argued for in Al-Bataineh (2020), indicates that the addressee is definite.

However, what may argue against the covert article in D in Standard Arabic is that vocative phrases akin to the example in (7b) are incompatible with post-modifying adjectives, as can be observed in the ungrammatical structure in (8a). If there were a D position in the syntax of the phrase in (7a & 9a) and a covert article occupied this position, it should have allowed adjectival post-modification, similar to the post-modified definite and indefinite vocative nominals in (8b & c).

(8)   a.   *ja:*   *radʒul-u*   **tˤawi:l-u*

              VOC.   man-NOM   tall-NOM

              Intended: 'You, tall man!'

     b.   *ja:*   *haða*   *r-radʒul-u*   *tˤ-tˤawi:l-u*

              VOC   this.MAS   DEF-man-NOM   DEF-tall-NOM

              'You, tall man!'

     c.   *ja:*   *radʒul-a-n*   *tˤawi:l-a-n*

              VOC.   man-ACC-INDEF   tall-ACC-INDEF

              'A tall man!'

The observation that *radʒul-u* in (8) does not allow adjectival post-modification indicates that there should be no D-merger with the vocative NP. This observation should predict that vocative nominals in Standard Arabic can be either full DPs or bare NPs, inconsistent with in Al-Bataineh (2020) who argued that the vocative nominal is a DP and D can be either occupied by an overt or null determiner. This will not change the fact that the vocative nominal in (7a) is specific.

In addition to Standard Arabic, vernacular Arabic provides instances where a D head that c-commands the vocative NP may not project in the syntax of vocatives. Such instances will be presented and discussed in (15 & 16) below.

2.2 Diagnostics to the syntax of vocative NPs in JA

The main question in this section is: are vocative nominals (or nominals in form of address) fully fledged DPs or bare NPs in the target Jordanian sub-varieties? To anwer the question, we provide an argument showing that the vocative nominal can be either a full DP or bare NP in BJA, RJA and UJA.

To begin with, JA branches into three main sub-varieties. They resulted in the emergence of different local diversities, and the three groups developed their own linguistic characteristic dialect (Mashaqba et al. 2020). They are UJA, spoken in the main cities (e.g., Amman and Zarqa), BJA spoken in the north-eastern and southern parts of Jordan, and RJA spoken by inhabitants of the villages surrounding the north-western cities (Irbid, Jerash, and Ajloun) and in the south of Jordan (e.g. Ma'an and Wadi Mousa). Each of these varieties has also sub-varieties with minor differences. For details on the linguistic situation in Jordan, refer to Mashaqba (2015). The main concern of this study is the BJA spoken in north-east Badia and south Badia, RJA spoken in the villages surrounding Irbid, and UJA spoken in Amman, the capital of Jordan. The data of the three sub-varieties has been elicited from 4 native speakers of each variety, whose ages were above 50. To address the issue of the syntactic status of vocative nominals and to investigate the pragmatic function of determiners attached to vocative nominal in Jordanian varieties, we rely on

naturally-occurring data retrieved from participants in free speech and elicited from Twitter and Facebook.

What is common among the three target Jordanian sub-varieties is that the definite article cannot co-occur with vocative nominals that are proper names.[3] However, they differ in treating common nouns. In BJA, the vocative nominal is normally but not necessarily definite, whereas it typically appears bare (i.e., without a determiner) in RJA and UJA. Consider the examples in (9 & 10). In (9), the presence of the definite article with the vocative nominal renders the sentence ungrammatical in RJA and UJA. On the contrary, the absence of the definite article in the examples from BJA in (10) is marked, albeit not ungrammatical. The observation that the definite article can only project in the syntax of the vocative nominals in BJA (i.e., in D) may indicate that the vocative nominal is a full DP in BJA, whereas it is a bare NP in UJA and RJA.

(9)   a.   *ja*   **ʔil-ʔaxx*   (RJA & UJA)

                 VOC   brother

                 'You brother!'

    b.   *ja*   **ʔil-dʒa:r*

                 VOC   neighbor

                 'You (my) neighbor!'

(10)   a.   *ja*   *l-axu*   (BJA)

                 VOC   DEF-brother

                  'You brother!'

    b.   *ja*   *l-dʒa:r*

                 VOC   DEF-neighbor

                  'You (my) neighbor!'

Another observation that indicates that the vocative nominal can be a full DP in BJA is that vocative nominals in this variety allows adjectival post-modification, unlike the other sub-varieties. As an exemplification, the vocative nominal in BJA in (11a) allows adjectival modification, unlike its counterpart in RJA and UJA in (11b). The structure in (11b) can be repaired by the cliticization of a possessive pronoun to the vocative nominal and the definite article to the adjective, or by *ja*-duplication (i.e., by inserting another *ja* to the left of the adjective).

(11)   a.   *ja*   *ðˤ-ðˤe:f*   *il-ʕizi:z*   *tifaðˤðˤal*   (BJA)

                 VOC   DEF-guest   DEF-precious   come.2SGM

'Dear guest, you are welcome!'

b. *ja*   *ð ͨe:f*   **(ʕizi:z)*   *tfaðˤðˤal*

    VOC   guest   precious   come.2SGM

A second observation supporting the proposal that the vocative nominal can be a DP in BJA is that vocative nominals in BJA can be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, as shown in (12). In this example, the proclitic demonstrative *ha-* appears to the left of the vocative nominal.

(12) *ja*   *ha-r-rabiʕ*

      VOC.   DEM.3SG.M-DEF-people

      'Oh, people!'

To account for these observations, the demonstrative pronoun can only be adjoined to full DPs, not to bare NPs. This accounts for why its presence within vocative structures in BJA is grammatical, unlike in the other two Jordanian varieties. Additionally, what supports the proposal that the vocative nominal is a full DP in BJA, is that the vocative nominal can be followed by a relative clause in BJA. Consider the following examples:

(13) a. *ja*   *l-binit*   *ʔilli*   *wa:gfah*   *hna:k,*   *wiʃ*   *ʔis-sa:lfah*   (BJA)

          VOC   DEF-girl   that   standing.F.SG   there,   what   DEF-story

          'Hey lady, the one standing there, what happened?'

      b. *ja:*   *ʃ-ʃe:x*   *ʔilli*   *ma:*   *jðˤi:m*   *ʔaħad,*   *sa:ʕid-na*

          VOC   DEF-old man   that   NEG   oppress.3SGM   one,   help.3SGM-1PL

          'Tribal chief who oppresses no one, help us!'

On the contrary, vocative nominals in RJA and UJA do not allow relative clauses:

(14) *a. *ja*   *binit*   *(ʔilli)*   *wa:gfah*   *ɣa:d,*   *ʃu:*   *ʔil-gisˤsˤah*

          VOC   girl   that   standing.F.SG   there,   what   DEF-story

          Intended: 'Hey lady, the one standing there, what happened?'

14) *b. *ja*   *zalameh*   *(ʔilli)*   *ʃuftuh*   *ʔisˤ-sˤubuħ,*   *xallasˤ-it*   *ʃuɣl-ak?*

          VOC   man   that   see.PST-3SG.M   DEF-morning,   finish.2SGM   Work-2SGM

          Intended: 'You man, the one I saw this morning, have you finished your work?'

The presence of the definite article in D c-commanding the vocative nominals in BJA in (13), licenses the relative clauses that modify these vocative nominals. On the contrary, the ungrammaticality

of the examples in (14) in RJA and UJA stems in the presence of relative clauses. They should be omitted. This indicates that a D head does not project over the vocative NPs in RJA and UJA to license these relative clauses. On this basis, vocative nominals in RJA and UJA seem lack a D head (Longobardi 1994). Hence, vocative nominals in BJA are typically bit not necessarily DPs (they can be bare NPs in the absence of the definite article as it is optional), and those in RJA and UJA are typically bare NPs. Below, we show that the vocative nominals in RJA and UJA can also be full DPs; however, they do not allow the definite article.

Here, we should highlight the fact that definiteness of the vocative nominal can be carried out by a pronominal clitic in all the three Jordanian sub-varieties. Consequently, vocative nominals allow adjectival modification and relative clauses when they are definite by the attachment of a possessive pronominal clitic to them, as exemplified in (15). In this case, the possessive clitic should be the determiner that lends definiteness to the vocative nominal in all the JA sub-varieties. Worth noting is that the example in (15) is taken from RJA; however, it is also found in UJA and BJA but with some variations in the phonological realization of words.

(15)   *ja*   *ðˤe:f-na*   *l-ʕazi:z*   *tfaðˤðˤal*

        VOC   guest-1PL.POSS   DEF-precious   come.2SGM

        'Our dear guest, you are welcome!'

What confirms on this syntactic status of the possessive clitic as a determiner is that it is in complementary distribution with the definite article in vocative nominals in BJA. Consider the ungrammatical example in (16), wherein either the definite article or the possessive pronoun can surface with the vocative nominal. This entails that they compete to occupy the same syntactic position, which is D.

(16)   **ja*   *ʔiðˤ-ðˤe:f-na*

        VOC   DEF-guest-1PL.POSS

In this section, it has been shown that vocative nominals in all the three Jordanian sub-varieties can be either full DPs or bare NPs. The major difference is that BJA allows definiteness by the definite article or a possessive pronominal clitic, whereas RJA and UJA allow only possessive clitics.

3. The interpersonal function of definiteness markers in JA

This section starts with introducing the interpersonal function(s) of vocatives reported in the related literature. Then, it introduces the interpersonal function of the definite article in BJA and the possessive pronominal clitic *-na* in JA in general, within the vocative phrase.

3.1 The interpersonal function of vocatives

Hill (2017) assumes that the interpersonal (pragmatic/evaluative) function should be presented as a pragmatic feature that is a property of the vocative phrase. She proposes that this feature can be conveyed by a vocative particle, a vocative case marker or the definite article. For exemplification, Joseph (1997)

and Hill (2017) reported that the absence of the vocative particle *bre* in Greek indicates an underspecified degree of formality (neutral politeness). Further, Hill (2017) has reported that the presence of the Romanian vocative particle *fă* and Bulgarian *ma* strongly indicates a degraded interpersonal relation.

Additionally, Hill (2017) has shown that the interpersonal feature can be conveyed through vocative case marking. In (17a), the presence of the vocative case marking in Romanian yields an informal address, whereas in (17b) the absence of the vocative case marking yields formal address.

(17)   a.   *Radu-le,…*   (informal)

               Radu-the.voc

        b.   *Radu,….*   (formal)   (Hill 2017, 342)

Beside the vocative case marking, Hill (2017) has also reported that the definite article, which is optional in Romanian, is not for definiteness, as the addressee is inherently definite, but it is rather to perform an evaluative/interpersonal function; the presence of the definite article in vocative phrases in (18a) indicates that the speaker is respectfully addressing an inferior party, such as a waiter, while its absence in (18b) indicates that that the speaker is condescending the inferior party.

(18)   a.   *Băiat-u',*   *vino*   *te*   *rog.*

            boy-the   come.IMP   you   please

            'Young man, come please.'

        b.   *Măi*   *băiat,*   *fi:*   *cuminte*

            MAI   boy   be.IMP smart

            'My boy, smarten up.'   (Hill 2017, 343)

Below, it is shown that the interpersonal function/feature is mapped through the definite article in BJA; however, the function of the definite article in this Jordanian variety is determined with reference to its vocative nominal. Further, we show that the pragmatic feature can be conveyed by a possessive pronominal clitic, based on data from JA varieties.

3.2 The interpersonal function of the definite article in BJA vocatives

The vocative nominal, which refers to the addressee, can be specific in JA even though it may lack a marker of definiteness, such as the definite article or a possessive pronominal clitic. Hence, the definite article may perform an additional function. This function is a pragmatic and interpersonal one. First, it is to add more respect or raise the status of a person who has a high rank (e.g., social or political rank) or who is distinguished with a good human value/trait. In (19), the affixation of the definite article to the vocative nominals further raises the status of the addressees *ʃe:x* 'a tribe chief' who already occupies a high social rank. Similarly, the presence of the definite article to the left of adjectives that express good human values and traits, such as *kiri:m* 'generous', emphasizes on them as intrinsic traits in the addressee,

as shown in (20). However, the omission of the definite article from the examples in (19 & 20) does not mean that the speakers are underestimating the addressees. Its absence indicates the lack of a pragmatic/interpersonal function; the evaluative function will disappear, and therefore the address will be pragmatically-neutral. Note that adjectives in Arabic behave like nominals, and thus it is possible to refer to the addressee using an adjective, as in (20).

(19) a. *ja*   *(ʃ)-ʃe:x,*   *sa:ʕid-na*

        VOC   (DEF)-tribal chief   help-1PL

        'Tribal chief! Please help us.'

    b. *ja*   *(l)-fa:ris,*   *tidill*   *itˤ-tˤiri:g*

        VOC   (DEF)-knight   guide.2SG.M   DEF-way

        'You, knight! Do you know the way?'

    c. *ja*   *(l)-ga:jid,*   *ħinna*   *maʕak*

        VOC   DEF-leader   1PL   with-2SGM

        'You, leader! We are all under your command.'

(20) a. *ja*   *(l)-kiri:m,*   *tifaðˤðˤal*

        VOC   (DEF)-generous,   do good.2SG.M

        'You, the generous! Please come in.'

    b. *ja*   *(l)-mazju:n-ah,*   *tidill-i:n*   *itˤ-tˤiri:g*

        VOC   DEF)-beautiful-F.SG   guide-2SG.F   DEF-way

        'You, the beautiful lady! Do you know the way?'[4]

    c. *ja*   *(ʃ)-ʃidʒa:ʕ,*   *nhab-u:-na*

        VOC   DEF-brave   steal.PST-3PLM-1PL

        'You, the brave man! They stole our properties.'

On the contrary, the presence of the definite article with a nominal referring to an inferior addressee (a socially inferior status) or a person who is known by a bad trait, is to condescend the addressee and to emphasize that this bad trait is intrinsic. In the examples in (21), the presence of the definite article is to convey a negative pragmatic/interpersonal message: the speaker deliberately is underestimating the status of the herdsman (the addressee) and his role in the community in (21a) and emphasizes that the bad traits in the addressee are intrinsic in (21b-d). Note that in the absence of the definite article, there is no intensifying function on the meaning of the vocative nominal.

(21)   a.   *ja*   *(r)-ra:ʕi*

       VOC   (DEF)-herdsman

       'You herdsman!

       b.   *ja*   *(l)-xisi:s*

       VOC   (DEF)-villainous

       'You villainous!'

       c.   *ja*   *(ʃ)-ʃa:jib*

       VOC   (DEF)-old gray-haired man

       'You, old gray-haired man!'

       d.   *ja*   *(sˤ)-sˤigi:tˤah*

       VOC   DEF)-failed-FSG

       'You, good-for-nothing!'

If the vocative nominal is neutral and it does not refer to a social or political status, a job or a human value/trait, the presence of the definite article does not perform a pragmatic/interpersonal function, such as *binit* 'girl' and *radʒil* 'man' in (22).

(22)   a.   *ja*   *(l)-binit,*   *ismaʕ-i!*

       VOC   (DEF)-girl,   listen-2SGF!

       'You girl, listen to me!'

       b.   *ja*   *(l)-radʒil*   *ismaʕ*

       VOC   DEF)-man   listen!

       'You man, listen to me!'

       Worth noting here is that sentence-non-initial position, as in (23), are clearly evaluative in BJA. Their function is not to call or grab the attention of the hearer. It is rather to endear or disparage respectively, consistent with Haddad (2020) and Slocum (2016).

(23)   a.   *ta:mri*   *ja-l-mazju:n-ah*

       Command. 2SG.F   VOC-DEF-beautiful-F.SG

       'I am under your command, beautiful girl!'

b. *ʔiskit*   *ja-n-naðil*

shut up. 2SG.M   VOC-DEF-villian

'Shut up, villain!'

To wrap up, the definite article of the vocative nominals in BJA performs a pragmatic/interpersonal function. In Section 4, it is proposed that this pragmatic function should be presented as a feature of the head D, signaling pragmatics-syntax interface within the domain of vocatives syntax, following Hill (2017).

3.4 The interpersonal function of the pronominal clitic -na with vocative NPs

In addition to the definite article in BJA, the possessive 1st plural pronominal clitic *-na* has a similar pragmatic function in RJA, UJA and BJA. As introduced in section 2, such a clitic is in complementary distribution with the definite article in BJA. This entails that it should be a determiner. This clitic, which marks plural, can be used with vocative nominals to raise the status of the addressee. In (24), for exemplification, the speaker is using *-na* with the vocative nominals to raise the status the addressee further.[5] In the absence of the clitic *–na* in (24), the speaker is neutrally addressing the hearer. Note that the examples in (24) are retrieved from RJA; however, they are also found in UJA and BJA with some phonological variations.

(24) a. *ja*   *ʃeːx-na,*   *bad-na*   *n-isʔal-ak*   (RJA)

VOC   Muslim scholar   want-1PL   1PL-ask-2SGM

'Our sheik, we want to ask you (some questions).'

b. *ja*   *daktoːr-na,*   *ʔismaʕ-na*

VOC   doctor-1PL   hear.2SGM-1PL

'Our doctor, listen to us!'

c. *ja*   *ga:jid-na*   *ʔiħna*   *maʕak*

VOC   leader-1PL   1PL   with-2SGM

'Our leader, we are all under your command.'

Note that the first person singular pronominal clitic *–i* can also be used to serve a pragmatic and interpersonal function; however, it is used to show endearment. In (25), the speaker is using the clitic *–i* to show that the addressee is very close to him/her. Data in (25a) and (25b) share the notion that the speaker is probably is not addressing his actual son. This entails that the function of the clitic *–i* is not to mark a family relation between the speaker and the addressee. In this context, it can rather be used to show endearment in which the speaker is addressing the hearer affectionately.

(25)   a.   *ja*   *walad*   b.   *ja*   *walad-i*   (RJA & UJA)

              VOC   son   VOC   son-1SG.POSS

              'Son!'   'My son!'

In the next section, it is shown that the pragmatic feature within vocatives is a property of determiners under D. The definite article in BJA has an underspecified intensifying feature to the denotation or quality of the vocative nominal, whereas the pronominal *–na* has a specified the pragmatic feature that is only to raise the status of the addressee.

4. Pragmatics-syntax interface: the pragmatic feature of determiners

Based on the discussion in Section 3, the determiner in a vocative phrase can regulate the speaker-addressee relation. More specifically, the introduction of the definite article or the possessive pronominal clitic *–na* in a vocative phrase adds pragmatic information to the speaker-addressee relation. This does not mean that the use of the definite article or the clitic is optional in all contexts. It is obligatory in formal contexts, such as when addressing a president or king.

The main question here is: is the interpersonal feature ([i-p] in Hill's (2017) terms) a post-syntactic feature, i.e., it is inserted later after the completion of the syntactic derivation, or is it integrated while the syntactic derivation of vocatives? Evidence to its integration in the syntactic derivation is that each determiner has a relatively different feature. First, the definite article in BJA has an underspecified interpersonal feature and establishes a relation with its vocative nominal. If the vocative nominal refers to high status or good trait, the definite article will intensify this denotation or trait, and vice versa. This entails that this interaction between the definite article and the target vocative nominal must take place while the vocative phrase is being derived. With regard to the pronominal clitic *-na*, it has a specified function; to raise the status of the vocative nominal. On this basis, D has an underspecified interpersonal feature. It intensifies the meaning or quality in the vocative nominal. If the definite article merges in this position, this underspecified intensifying function will be maintained. However, in the presence of the pronominal clitic in this position, only vocative nominals that refer to high status people or good traits can be combined with it. All these specifications cannot be post-syntactic. They should be determined while syntactically deriving vocative phrases.

On this basis, we propose a schema to the internal structure of vocatives in JA in the presence of the definite article or the pronominal clitic, as shown in (26). Voc is occupied by the particle *ja:* and D is either occupied by the definite article or the pronominal clitic. The interpersonal feature, as shown in (26), is a property of D, and its intensifying function is determined with reference to the vocative NP. Determining its intensifying function with reference to the vocative nominal supports the proposal that this pragmatic function is not post-syntactic, but it is rather attained while the syntax of a vocative phrase is being processed. Noteworthy mentioning is that a neutral NP, such as *binit* 'girl', with the definite article will neutralize the intensifying function of the definite article under D in BJA.

(26)

```
                    VocP
                   /    \
                 /        \
              Voc          DP
                          /  \
             ja:        /      \
                      /          \
                     D            NP

                 il or −na

                    [i-p]
```
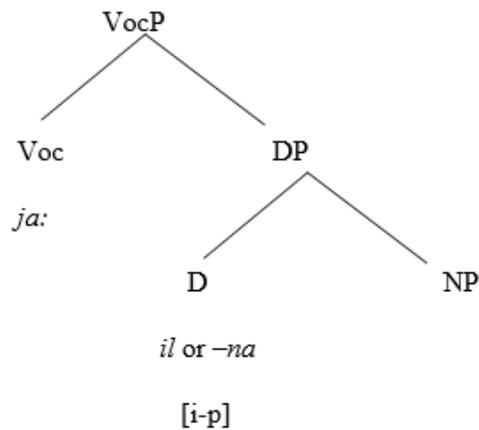
On the other hand, DP does not project in intermediate position between VocP and the vocative NP in the absence of the definite article or the pronominal clitic, as can be seen in (27). This entails that the vocative nominal in this case is a bare NP, and therefore it does not allow post-modification, demonstratives or relative clauses. Furthermore, the interpersonal feature/function of intensification will also be absent, and therefore the address should be pragmatically neutral and non-evaluative. This point also supports the proposal that the pragmatic function of determiners within vocative phrases is not post-syntactic. If it were post-syntactic, this pragmatic function should have been blind to the absence of determiners and could have been assigned to the vocative phrase.

(27)

```
                    VocP
                   /    \
                 /        \
              Voc          NP

              ja:
```
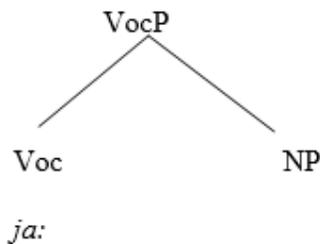
To wrap up, the previous discussion signifies the pragmatics-syntax interface in the vocatives in JA; the pragmatic/interpersonal feature is processed in the syntactic derivation of vocatives in this dialect. Hence, data of vocatives from different Jordanian sub-varieties support the proposal that pragmatic features, such as the pragmatics of vocatives (Hill 2017) and conformationals (Wiltschko and Heim 2016), are not always external to the core and paraphrial grammar (i.e., syntax). Alternatively, they can be assigned while the syntax of some constituents are being derived.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, it has been shown that the vocative nominal can be either a full-fledged DP or a bare NP in JA sub-varieties. It has also been shown that definiteness can be attained by the definite article (as in BJA) or a possessive pronominal clitic. Based on these observations, it has been found that the three Jordanian sub-varieties developed a pragmatic/interpersonal function within the vocative phrase; the definite article in BJA functions as a pragmatic intensifier and the pronominal clitic is to raise the status of the addressee. It has also been shown that the source of these functions is the interpersonal feature

under D ([i-p] in Hill's (2017) terms). This implies that JA developed a pragmatic function/feature for the determiner in vocatives like some other languages (e.g., Romanian and French). Moreover, this feature is visible to syntactic computation as it is a property of D within the vocative phrase. This implies that data of vocatives from JA supports pragmatics-syntax interface.

تلاقي الدلالة والنحو: أسلوب النداء في اللهجة الأردنيّة أنموذجاً

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الملخص

استهلّت الدراسة بفحص البنية النحوية لأسلوب النداء في اللهجات الأردنيّة المختلفة. وقد تبيّن أن الاسم المنادى في اللهجات الأردنية المدنية والقروية والبدوية قد يكون Determiner Phrase (DP) كاملاً أو Noun Phrase (NP) مجرداً. ومع ذلك، فإن هذه اللهجات تختلف في مظهر المحدّد الوظيفي (D^0). ولتوضيح ذلك، بيّنت الدراسة أن المنادى المعرّف يتحقق في اللهجة القروية واللهجة المدنية من خلال إضافة ضمير الملكيّة، إلا أنه يتحقق في اللهجة البدوية، علاوة على سبق، من خلال إضافة أداة التعريف (ال). وتساهم هذه النتيجة في إثراء التناظر المتعلّق ببنية النداء فيما إذا كانتDP أم NP: وهذا ضمناً يعني أن البيانات اللغوية المتوفّرة من اللهجة الأردنية لا تدعم الزعم بأن اللغات يجب أن تندرج في نموذج واحد، أي يجب أن يكون لأسلوب النداء في لغة معينة طبيعة نحوية محددة (إما DP مكتملة أو NP مجرّدة). وعليه، فإن الهدف الأساسي لهذه الدراسة هو تبيان جوانب من التداخل النحوي-الدلالي، وكيف تمكّنت كل لهجة أن تطوّر الوظائف اللغوية الدلالية المتضمنّة في أساليب النداء المختلفة. أولا: بيّنت الدراسة أن إضافة ضمير الملكية (–نا) مع المنادى، دون سواه من الضمائر، يهدف إلى رفع شأن المخاطب أو إظهار مزيد من الاحترام والتقدير له. كما خلصت الدراسة إلى أن اللهجة البدوية طوّرت من الوظائف اللغوية لاستخدام أداة التعريف (ال)، إذ تبيّن أن هذا الأسلوب يدلّ على وجود علاقة شخصية بين المتخاطبين: فوجود أداة التعريف (ال) مع الاسم المنادى ذي الشأن الكبير أو ذي الصفات العالية تعبير عن مزيد من الاحترام ورفع شأن المنادى، كما أن استخدام هذه الأداة مع مخاطب ذي شأن أدنى أو ذي صفات غير محمودة جاء لتأكيد التعبير عن الانتقاص من شأن المنادى. أما إن كان المنادى يتمتّع بصفة محايدة، فإن ذلك يحيّد الأثر الكبير الذي تقوم به ال التعريف في اللهجّة الأردنية البدوية. في ضوء ما سبق، فإن وظيفة أداة التعريف (ال) في اللغة العربية البدوية الأردنية في أسلوب النداء تعتمد على الاسم المنادى. وهذا بالضرورة يؤكد أن الدلالة اللغوية تتفاعل مع بناء الجملة أثناء اشتقاق جملة النداء، وهذه الخلاصة تتفق مع (2007, 2017) Hill و (2016) Wiltschko and Heim في أن الوظيفة الدلالية تُعزى إلى المحدد الوظيفي () عند اشتقاق صيغ النداء النحوية، وبالتالي ينبغي ألَا تكون هذه الوظيفة بعد-نحوية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المحددات، اللهجات الأردنية، تلاقي الدلالة والنحو، الاسم المنادى.

Endnotes

[1] A vocative phrase may have an addressee that is either extradeictic or infradeictic. The latter refers to one of the arguments of a predicate.

[2] Vocatives in sentence-final position can be intonationally integrated in the sentence (Schaden 2010).

[3] In few cases, BJA may use the definite article with proper nouns.

[4] In some BJA sub-varieties, *id-dilli* is another variant of *tidill-i:n*.

[5] The use of the definite article along with the plural pronoun *-na* can have another pragmatic function: irony. In such case, vocative nominal has a following adjective phrase that highlights this function, e.g. *ja ʃe:x-na al-bixi:l* 'our mean sheik'. Future studies may look at the different pragmatic functions of the use of the definite article with the plural pronoun *-na*.

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