

Syllable Structure and Syllabification in Ammani Arabic: External Evidence from the Adaptation of English Loanwords

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Abstract

Drawing on external evidence from the adaptation of English loanwords in Ammani Arabic, (henceforth AA), the dialect spoken in the capital of Jordan, this paper accounts for syllable structure and syllabification in both native and loan words in AA. The data consists of more than 400 well-established English loanwords that are used by monolinguals in AA. To analyse the syllable structure and syllabification of these words, twelve monolingual AA speakers are asked to pronounce the words using pictures. The study reveals that English simplex nuclei, onsets and codas are accounted for by classic OT constraints whereas English complex margins are better analysed using Stratal OT. It is shown that the adaptation process is phonologically-based and is geared towards unmarkedness. A number of phonological processes, such as deletion and epenthesis are mainly provoked to render the adapted form less marked. Most interestingly, results shed light on hidden aspects of AA syllable structure, which would have remained latent had they not been stimulated by the introduction of English complex syllable structure.

Keywords: Syllable structure, Loanwords, Phonology, Optimality Theory

1. Introduction

Syllable structure and syllabification have occupied phonologists over the last fifty years (see Bosch 2011). The study of the phonological adaptation of loanwords at the syllabic level is of paramount importance to phonological theory as it will contribute to a better understanding of thorny issues in syllable structure and syllabification. This study is of particular importance as it sheds light on many phonological issues in AA such as the status of complex onsets, superheavy syllables and syllable bimoraicity and eventually enhances our understanding of AA syllable structure. Moreover, the current study establishes syllable structure in native words as no previous study has tackled this dialect before. It will show that sonority alone cannot account for syllable structure in AA, and probably other Arabic dialects. It also suggests an OT constraint hierarchy that is better able to account for syllable structure in native and loan words. Furthermore, it contributes to Arabic phonology in general as previous studies on loanword phonology in Arabic have not paid enough attention to suprasegmental aspects (cf. Davis and Ragheb 2014).

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews syllable structure in native words. Section 3 describes the methodology. This is followed by an outline of syllable structure in loanwords in Section 4.1. In Section 4.2, I present a syllabification algorithm that incorporates two notions: mora sharing and semisyllables to account for CVVC syllables and complex clusters, respectively. The results will be translated into OT constraints and a constraint hierarchy will be suggested in Section 4.3. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Background

This section establishes syllable structure in AA native words, which will provide a background to the analysis of syllable structure in loanwords.

Like many modern Arabic dialects, the minimum syllable in AA is CV. That is, an onset and a vocalic nucleus are a must. The vowel can be long or short. Two-consonant onsets are attested word-initially as a result of syncope, as in /bilaad/ > *blaad* ‘countries’ (cf. Al-Bay 2001; Abu-Abbas 2003; Btoosh 2006; Amer et al. 2011) or from glottal stop and short vowel deletion, as in /?as.naan/ > *snaan*.

The optimal coda in AA is simple. Complex codas are generally disallowed in AA. Codas comprising an obstruent followed by a sonorant are ruled out due to a reversal in sonority as a sonorant is more sonorous than an obstruent according to the Sonority Sequencing Principle

(henceforth SSP) (see Parker 2011). Codas made up of two sonorants, as in *ħilim* are also ruled out in AA although some of them do not violate SSP. Codas composed of a sonorant and an obstruent can form an optional complex coda (e.g. *kalb* ~ *kalib* ‘dog’ *ramz* ~ *ramiz* ‘symbol’) unless the obstruent is a guttural or a guttural is found within the same morpheme, as in /ħulb/ > *yulub*. This suggests that although SSP is required for complex codas, it is not sufficient. Codas with two obstruents show great variation. The norm is to disallow the cluster; however, they are optionally allowed only if both obstruents are tautomorphemic, non-gutturals and agree in voice as in /ħuxt/ > *ħuxt*, ~ *ħuxut* ‘sister’ and /saks/ > *saks*, ~ *sakis* ‘opposite’. The only complex codas that always appear without epenthesis in AA relate to true geminates as in *sitt* ‘grandmother’ and *ħaxaff* ‘lighter’.

Examining possible and impossible complex codas in AA shows that sonority alone cannot account for coda clusters as some codas are disallowed although they abide by sonority. For example, a sonorant plus a guttural obstruent; whereas sonority plateaus are optionally allowed, as in *ħuxt* ~ *ħuxut*. Therefore, earlier accounts of coda clusters in terms of SSP (e.g. Abu-Salim 1982 for Palestinian Arabic; Abu-Abbas 2003 for Jordanian Arabic) cannot account for AA coda clusters. Also a modified version of SSP (e.g. Farwaneh’s (1995) attempt for Palestinian Arabic) that requires coda clusters not to rise in sonority so as to allow sonority plateaux cannot account for codas as it would predict that sonority plateaux should be legitimate codas. Moreover, it cannot account for sonorant-guttural obstruent codas, which are categorically absent in AA. Therefore, I suggest a constraint that I will call ‘CODA CLUSTER CONDITION’, given in (1), that incorporates the facts presented above about codas in AA.

- (1) CODA CLUSTER CONDITION (henceforth CODACON): a two-consonant coda must be well-formed.

A well-formed CC coda appears only tautomorphemically if i) the first member is a sonorant and the second is an obstruent provided that no guttural sound is found within the same morpheme (e.g. *kalb*), or ii) in the case of two obstruents, they must agree in voice and none of them is a guttural (e.g. *ħuxt*), or iii) the CC coda is a geminate (e.g. *sitt*).

3. Methodology

Data came from a corpus of 412 established English loanwords in AA. The corpus was compiled by the researcher from different sources chief among which were the *Dictionary of Everyday Language in Jordan*, published by the Jordan Academy of Arabic in 2006, previous studies on loanwords in Jordanian Arabic (e.g. Butros 1963 and Al-Saqlqa 2001) and personal observation (see Abu Guba 2016 for more details). Using pictures on a computer screen, the researcher elicited the words from twelve monolingual native speakers of AA (six males and six females) whose ages range from 30 to 60.¹ None of the participants is known for any speech or hearing disorders. They pronounced the words three times in a frame sentence, namely *baguul/?iftareet ____ ?imbariħ/marra θanyih* (I say/bought ____ yesterday/once again).

This was recorded using an LG voice recorder at a 48 kHz sample rate and saved in wav. format. The researcher transcribed all the words and identified syllable structure. This was verified by an American native speaker and trained phonetician and it was found that inter-transcriber reliability stood at 98%. The analysis of syllable structure adopts both classic/parallel OT and Stratal OT. I assume that the reader is familiar with Classic OT so I give a brief overview of Stratal OT only.

3.1. Stratal OT

The inability of Classic OT to account for opacity and cyclicity has called for modified versions of Classic OT. Among the many attempts to account for opacity and cyclicity, Stratal OT seems to be the most successful. This is because Stratal OT keeps the well-defined and restrictive set of OT constraints, it is explanatorily adequate and fits better with learnability (for details, see Kiparsky 2000; Bermúdez-Otero 2003).

Unlike Classic OT, Stratal OT is a serial version of OT that echoes the lexical phonology and morphology interaction where constraints apply at different strata (Kiparsky 2000, 2003; Bermúdez-Otero 2003). The main idea of this theory is that constraints apply at different levels and their ranking status may differ according to the level (e.g. stem, word, postlexical for AA) where they apply.

¹ The minimum age was thirty to ensure that the participant's dialect has already been established.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Syllable structure in loanwords

Results show that English syllable structure that has an AA counterpart is readily adapted into AA. However, AA has also adopted some complex structures, which would highlight the status of these structures in AA phonology.

4.1.1. Onsets

Results show that simplex onsets are almost always realised as is as long as the consonant is a legitimate AA phoneme. The only English simplex onset that is not mapped faithfully relates to the English phoneme /p/, which is realised as /b/. On the other hand, English onsetless syllables are augmented with a prosthetic glottal stop, as in *?akṣin* ‘action’ and *?iidz* ‘AIDS’.

The overwhelming majority of source two-consonant onsets are mapped faithfully onto AA as in *freezar* ‘freezer’, *kristaal* ‘crystal’, *staartar* ‘starter’ and *twiitar* ‘twitter’. On the face of it, one might assume that two-consonant onsets in AA native phonology are basic, which would explain the importation of these clusters in loanwords. However, I argue that such complex onsets are not basic in AA and the optimal onset is a simplex one.

The motivation for the above contention is threefold. First, complex onsets in native AA words are not basic as explained in Section 2. Second, there are no restrictions on these complex onsets in AA native words neither in terms of sonority nor homorganicity or voicing, which contradicts the cross-linguistically phenomenon whereby homorganic tautosyllabic consonants are not attested in onsets (Roca and Johnson 1999). That is, complex onsets such as /tl/ and /dl/ are ill-formed; nevertheless, they are frequent in AA. In terms of sonority, AA has onset consonant clusters that comply with SSP as well as those that contravene it. Third, not all source complex onsets in loanwords are retained in AA despite the fact that they comply with SSP (e.g. *fulumaaster* ‘flow master’ and *tarniib* ‘trump’). Note also that source complex onsets are optionally preceded by a vowel and a glottal stop, e.g. *?avwaal* ~ *vwaal* ‘voile’.

Deletion and epenthesis are also attested to fix some complex onsets. Deletion targets glides and liquids (e.g. *?ambalanṣ* ‘ambulance’ and *karafoot* ‘grapefruit’) resulting in an obstruent in the onset. Vowel epenthesis into complex onsets occurs in some two-consonant onsets, as in *trump*’ > *tarniib*, ‘flow master’ > *fulumaastar*, and in all three-consonant onsets, as in ‘scrap’ > *sik.raab*.

4.1.2. Nucleus

A vocalic nucleus, which could be short or long, is a must in AA. Therefore, English syllabic consonants are provided with the default epenthetic vowel /i/, as in ‘double’ > *da.bil* and ‘single’ > *sin.gil*.

Generally, English vowels are mapped faithfully unless metrical constraints are violated. That is, some vowels undergo shortening or lengthening to render the output well-formed in terms of foot-binarity, as in *kiks* ‘cakes’ and *raabif* ‘rubbish’.

Finally, English diphthongs usually undergo monophthongisation as they do not have AA counterparts, as in *sbeer* ‘spare’ and *?uzoon* ‘ozone’.

4.1.3. Codas

There are no restrictions on simplex codas in AA so they are almost always mapped faithfully. Three types of two-consonant complex codas are attested in the corpus: Sonorant + obstruent, as in *band* ‘band’ and *balf* ‘valve’; Obstruent + obstruent, as in *triks* ‘tricks’ and */ʃift* ‘shift’; and geminates, as in *nitt* ‘net’ and *diff* ‘dish’.

All these codas are well-formed according to AA phonotactics (except for very few cases such as *klat*² ‘clutch’ and *?iidz* ‘AIDS’). In all these CC codas, the coda consists of a sonorant /m, n, l, r, w, y/ followed by a stop /t, d, k, g/, a fricative /f, θ/, an affricate /dʒ/ or a sibilant /s, z/. All these codas are unmarked as they satisfy SSP and all of them abide by the CODACON suggested in (1).

Finally epenthesis and deletion are attested in some cases to render the syllable less marked, as in *?ubtikus* ‘optics’ and *kuntak* ‘contact’.

4.1.4. Medial -CCC- clusters

The majority of source -CCC- clusters are retained in loanwords. This is because they are well-formed with respect to CODACON and most of them belong to compound words, as in *kung fuu* ‘kung fu’ and *land.roo.var* ‘land rover’. The stray consonant will be licensed as a semisyllable, as will be demonstrated in Section 4.2. A few of them undergo vowel epenthesis, as in *ban.kir.yaas* ‘pancreas’ and *fu.lis.kaab* ‘foolscap’. Some undergo deletion, as in *am.bi.fa.yar* ‘amplifier’ and *ka.ra.foot* ‘grapefruit’.

² Note that the affricate is bisegmental in AA.

4.1.5. CCCC clusters

Four-consonant clusters are marked in AA and are never retained. The majority undergo vowel epenthesis, as in *koor.nif.lik*s ‘corn flakes’ and *lan.dik.roo.zar* ‘land cruiser’. However, deletion is attested in one case, namely *ban.far* ‘puncture’ where the least salient consonants are deleted.

To summarize, AA imports the majority of complex onsets and codas while it repairs more marked structures such as four-coda clusters. The importation of such syllables calls for a modification of earlier analyses of syllabification of Arabic dialects in general, which is the topic of the next section.

4.2. Syllabification

All previous accounts of syllabification in Arabic dialects (e.g. Watson 2002) fall short of accounting for superheavy syllables and complex margins in AA. In this subsection, I propose a syllabification algorithm for loanwords as well as native words that accounts for these problematic aspects. Adopting moraic theory within a Stratal-OT framework, as laid out in Section 2.1, I assume that the maximum syllable is bimoraic. Under moraic theory (Hyman 1985; McCarthy and Prince 1986; Hayes 1989), short vowels contribute one mora while long vowels and diphthongs contribute two. Geminates contribute one mora and non-final coda consonants are assigned a mora through the parametric constraint WEIGHT-BY-POSITION. So a superheavy syllable such as CVVC and CVCC would be trimoraic according to moraic theory; however, these syllables are bimoraic in AA as evident from stress rules which do not distinguish between superheavy and heavy syllables. Therefore, mora sharing is invoked to account for CVVC syllables and semisyllables are called for to account for complex margins.

4.2.1. Syllabification algorithm

Following Watson (2002), the following syllabification algorithm is suggested to assign syllabic positions within the prosodic word, which is assumed to be the domain of syllabification in AA. (A dot designates syllable boundaries).

(2) Syllabification algorithm (after Clements 1990; Watson 2002)

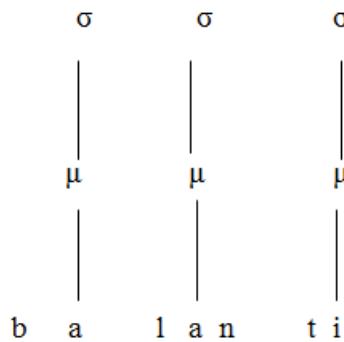
- I. Word-final consonant extrametricality: final consonants are extrametrical (placed between angled brackets). $C > \langle C \rangle / __ \text{word}$.
- II. Associate moraic segments to a syllable node.
- III. Associate a preceding consonant to onset position.

- IV. Assign a mora to a coda consonant (Weight-by-Position(WBP)).
- V. Adjoin moraic coda to the syllable node.
- VI. Incorporate the extrametrical consonant to the final syllable.

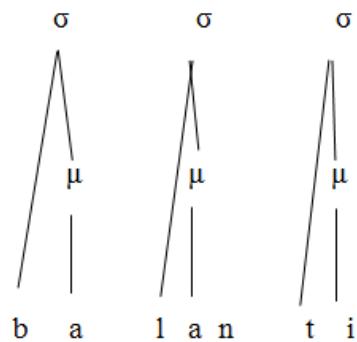
Let us illustrate this with an example below.

(3) A tree for *ba.lan.ti* 'penalty' (only the number of the relevant step is shown)

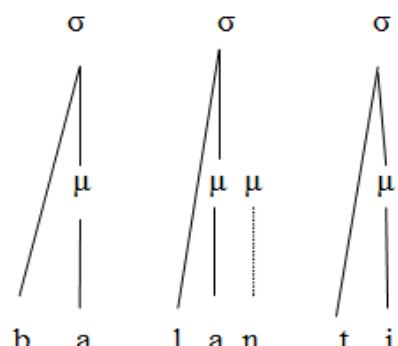
ii) Association of moraic segments to syllable node



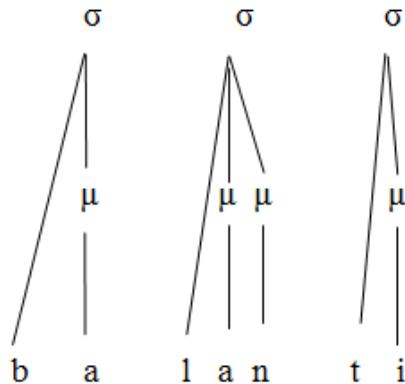
iii) Association of onset to syllable node



iv) Assignment of mora through WBP



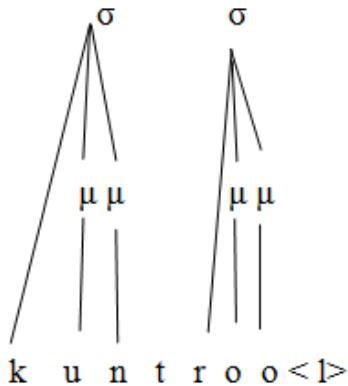
v) Adjunction of WBP mora to syllable node



The above algorithm accounts well for syllables with simplex codas and onsets. However, complex margins and superheavy syllables require an amendment to this algorithm. To account for CVCC syllables and complex onsets, I adopt Kiparsky's (2003) semisyllable analysis and assume that the stray consonant is licensed as a semisyllable, i.e. an unsyllabified mora that is directly associated to the prosodic word.³

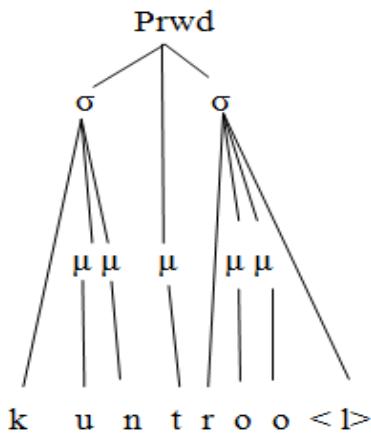
To see how the semisyllable operates in CVCC syllables, take the syllabification of *kunt.rool* 'control' below. The algorithm in (2) will yield the tree in (4).

(4) A tree for *kunt.rool* 'control'



³ The motivation for adopting a semisyllable comes from stress assignment opacity in words such as *ka'tabit* (Kiparsky 2003) where stress falls on a light penult rather than the antepenult. Kiparsky argues that stress applies at the lexical level /katab-t/ where the last consonant is licensed as a semisyllable yielding *ka'tabt* so here stress assignment is not opaque as stress falls correctly on the heavy ultimate syllable. Later at the postlexical level where semisyllables are not licensed, due to the promotion of LICENSE-μ, epenthesis is called for to repair the ill-formed coda cluster -bt yielding *ka'tabit*.

This is incomplete as it has a stray consonant --/t/. Adjoining the stray consonant to either syllable will end up with a complex margin so the stray consonant is licensed as a semisyllable affiliated directly to the prosodic word as shown below.

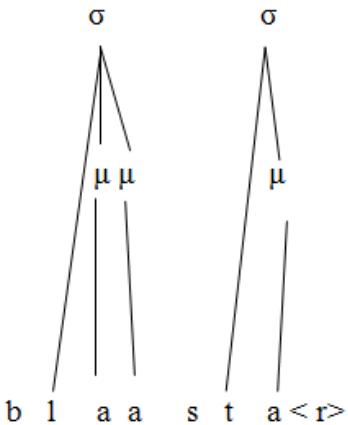


To account for CVVC syllables, a semisyllable analysis cannot be adopted. This is because CVVC syllables can occur word-internally postlexically (Watson 2007). Watson (2007: 349) argues that if LICENSE- μ , which bans semisyllables, is promoted at the postlexical level according to Kiparsky's analysis (see Section 4.3), then CVVC syllables cannot surface and so should appear with an epenthetic vowel or undergo vowel shortening. However, given that such syllables do not undergo vowel shortening or vowel epenthesis in some dialects, it follows that these syllables are licensed. To this end, she proposes a mora-sharing analysis. She argues that a mora sharing approach would account for both lexical and postlexical levels assuming that a mora is shared between the second leg of the vowel and the following consonant.

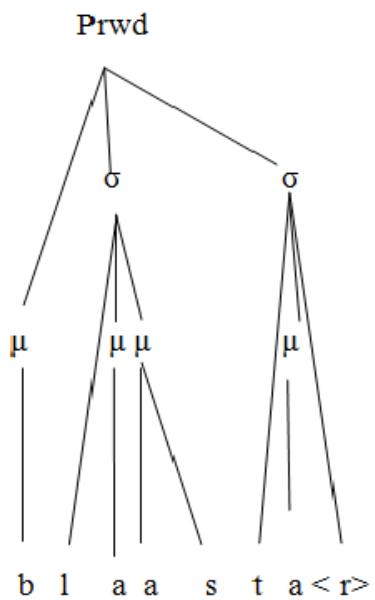
Acoustic evidence lends support to this contention. Broselow et al. (1997: 59) found statistically significant differences in length between long vowels in open syllables and long vowels closed by a coda. Also, the coda consonant following a long vowel is significantly shorter than a coda following a short vowel.

To show how mora sharing functions, take the word *blaas.tar* below. The algorithm in (2) would yield the tree in (5), which is ill-formed as it has two stray consonants.

(5) A tree for *blaas.tar* 'plaster'



Recall that the first consonant is licensed as a semisyllable. The middle consonant will be licensed as it will share a mora with the preceding vowel. Assigning a mora through WBP will render the syllable trimoraic, which is categorically illicit in AA, so mora sharing renders the syllable bimoraic. After applying mora sharing we get the representation below.



Note that a mora sharing analysis cannot account for CVCC syllables or complex onsets. Mora sharing fits well with dialects that do not allow CVCC syllables word-internally. However, AA does have CCC clusters word-medially that satisfy CODACON such as *kalbna* 'our dog'. Moreover, a shared mora analysis (cf. Farwaneh 1995; McCarthy 2007) cannot be maintained as it fails to account for cases such as /bayyan-t-l-ha/ > *bay.yan.'til.ha* 'I pointed out to her' with a stressed penult (Abu-Rakhieh 2009). This is because the stressed epenthetic vowel is inserted lexically as stress assignment is a lexical process (Kiparsky 2003). If mora

sharing was allowed between the nasal and the alveolar stop in /nt/ then the string would end up with one stray consonant, i.e. /l/, which would be analysed as a semisyllable and vowel epenthesis would not happen at the lexical level (cf. Btoosh 2006; Abu-Rakhieh 2009). Note also that mora sharing between two consonants is marked phonetically as the sonority distance between the consonants is not wide enough to allow mora sharing (Broselow 1992: 15). Note further that mora sharing cannot account for CC onsets.

To summarize, the suggested algorithm is better able to account for complex syllables by incorporating semisyllables and mora sharing. However, it differs from Kiparsky's in that it restricts the semisyllable analysis to complex margins only and it differs from Watson's in that it allows mora sharing only between a vowel and a consonant. Moreover, this analysis differs from Kiparsky's in the ranking of constraints especially LICENSE- μ ., as will be demonstrated below.

In the following subsection, I translate these facts into OT constraints and suggest a constraint hierarchy for AA syllable structure at lexical and postlexical levels.

4.3. OT analysis of syllable structure

This subsection suggests a Stratal OT ranking that accounts for syllable structure in AA. As we have seen, an onset and a vocalic nucleus (to the exclusion of syllabic sonorants) are obligatory in AA. In OT terms this means that the following two constraints in (6) and (7) are undominated.

- (6) ONSET: Syllables must have onsets (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004).
- (7) NUC/V: The head of a syllable must be a vowel (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004).

These two constraints also dominate the faithfulness constraint in (8).

- (8) DEP-IO-C: Output consonants must have input correspondents (cf. McCarthy & Prince 1995).

The tableau in (9) below illustrates this ranking. (Only relevant constraints are shown).

- (9) ONSET >> DEP-IO-C

Input: action	ONSET	DEP-IO-C
a. ak ?ak,ʃi<n>		*
b. ak,ʃi<n>	*!	

Candidate (a) wins as it satisfies ONSET at the expense of DEP-IO-C. Another option to fix this ill-formed structure is to delete the vowel in the first syllable yielding **kfin*. However, this will render the adapted form and the source form widely dissimilar, which is avoided in loanword phonology (cf. Kenstowicz 2003, 2007). This strategy violates the faithfulness constraint MAX-IO (given in (10) below), which requires input segments to be faithfully realised in the output (McCarthy and Prince 1995). Since AA resorts to epenthesisising a consonant rather than deleting the vowel, it entails that MAX-IO in (10) dominates DEP-IO.

(10) MAX-IO: Input segments must have output correspondents (no deletion).

Further evidence for ONSET comes from hiatus resolution where an epenthetic glide or a glottal stop is inserted to provide an onset for otherwise onsetless syllables, as in *ku.ka.ʔiin* ‘cocaine’ and *ma.yu.neez* ‘mayonnaise’. There are no restrictions on simplex cudas, which means that *CODA, given in (11), is low ranked in AA and is dominated by MAX-IO and DEP-IO.

(11) *CODA: A syllable must not have a coda (cf. Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004).

So far the ranking in (12) can be established.

(12) ONSET, NUC/V, MAX-IO >> DEP-IO >> *CODA.

For the analysis of complex onsets, recall that the first member is licensed as a semisyllable. Attaching semisyllables to the prosodic word violates the Strict Layering Hypothesis, which requires a prosodic constituent of level n immediately dominate a constituent of level n-1 only (Selkirk 1984). Associating them to the syllable node will violate constraints against complex margins. However, associating them to the prosodic word is the safest option as size restrictions on prosodic words are weaker (Kiparsky 2003; Watson 2007).

So a semisyllable violates the constraint LICENSE- μ in (13) meaning that LICENSE- μ is ranked below COMPLEX ONSET in (14). Also, the consonant cannot be left unparsed, which means that the constraint PARSE-C, given in (15), ranks above LICENSE- μ .

(13) LICENSE- μ : A mora must be affiliated with a syllable (Kiparsky 2003).

(14) *COMPLEX ONSET: Syllables must not have more than one segment in the onset (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004).

(15) PARSE-C: A consonant must be parsed into a mora or a syllable (Kiparsky 2003).

The tableau in (16) exemplifies this.

(16) *COMPLEX ONSET, PARSE-C >> LICENSE- μ

Input: flash	*COMPLEX ONSET	PARSE-C	LICENSE- μ
a. $\text{f}_\mu.\text{laa}[\text{f}]$			*
b. f.laa $[\text{f}]$		*	
c. flaa f	*!		

Note that a complex onset also appears with an optional epenthetic vowel postlexically. Inserting a vowel violates DEP-V, so DEP-V should rank below COMPLEX ONSET. (Note that vowel epenthesis induces glottal stop insertion (violating DEP-C) to provide an onset to the onsetless syllable). Given that the form appears with or without an epenthetic vowel, then LICENSE- μ and DEP-V are not ranked with respect to each other as the tableau below shows.

(17) ONSET, *COMPLEX ONSET, PARSE-C >> LICENSE- μ , DEP-V, DEP-C

Input: flash	ONSET	*COMPLEX ONSET	PARSE-C	LICENSE- μ	DEP-V	DEP-C
a. $\text{f}_\mu.\text{laa}[\text{f}]$				*		
b. f.laa $[\text{f}]$			*			
c. flaa f		*!				
d. iflaa f	*!				*	
e. $\text{f}_i\text{laa}[\text{f}]$					*	*

Another possible way to satisfy COMPLEX ONSET without violating ONSET is epenthesisising a vowel after the stray consonant, as in *fi.laa $[\text{f}]$. This option is not attested in AA due to the high ranked No[i] constraint, given in (18), which dominates LICENSE- μ .

(18) No[i]: High short unstressed vowels in open syllables are banned (Kager 1999).

Based on the adaptation of complex onsets, the following ranking can be established.

(19) ONSET, COMPLEX ONSET, No[i], PARSE-C >> LICENSE- μ , DEP-V, DEP-C

4.3.1. CVVC syllables

As argued above in Section 4.2, these syllables are bimoraic in AA and licensed by sharing a mora between the second leg of the vowel and the following consonant. This violates a constraint that bans mora sharing between a vowel and a consonant, presented in (20).

(20) *SHARDEMORA (VC) (henceforth *NS μ (VC))

A mora cannot be linked to a vowel and a consonant (Broselow et al. 1997: 65).

In OT terms, $^{*}\text{NS}\mu(\text{VC})$ is dominated by WBP, which assigns moras to coda consonants, and FOOT-BINARITY, which requires feet to be bimoraic. The coda consonant will retain its mora only if the vowel is monomoraic. If the vowel is already bimoraic, mora sharing will render the foot bimoraic. Notice that mora sharing does not violate WBP (Morén 2001: 241) as the consonant here is still moraic although it does not have its independent mora. So WBP should outrank $^{*}\text{NS}\mu(\text{VC})$. Consider the tableau in (21) that lays out the ranking of the three constraints in question.

(21) FTBIN, WBP >> * NSμ (VC)

Input: corner	FTBIN	WBP	*NSμ(VC)
a. μμ   koor.na<r>			*
b. μμμ  koor.na<r>	*!		
c. μμ  koor.naμ<r>		*	

The tableau shows that candidate (b) incurs a fatal violation of FTBIN as it assigns a mora to the coda consonant rendering the syllable trimoraic. To avoid this, candidate (c) does not assign a mora to the coda and is consequently ruled out by WBP.

Incorporating the already established constraints above gives us more options. To satisfy FTBIN, an attempt to syllabify the stray consonant as part of a complex onset of the following

syllable is ruled out by *COMPLEX ONSET. Unparsing the segment, as well as deleting it, is also avoided as it falls victim to PARSE-C and MAX-C, respectively. Again, inserting a vowel after the offending segment is not possible as it violates both No[i] and DEP-V, which shows that all these constraints are ranked above *NS μ (VC). So far the partial ranking in (22) has been established.

(22) *COMPLEX-ONSET, FTBIN, No[i], PARSE-C, WBP, MAX-C >> DEP-V >> *NS μ (VC) >> *CODA

4.3.2. Complex codas

Complex codas appear word-internally and word-finally. Word-final complex codas are not problematic as they are justified by the fact that the last consonant is extrametrical. (This also applies to CVVC syllables word-finally). So a word-final consonant is weightless. This is accomplished by the constraint *FINAL-C- μ , presented in (23).

(23) *FINAL-C- μ : Domain final consonants are moraless (kager 1999).

This constraint must dominate WBP, as laid out in the tableau below.

(24) *FINAL-C- μ >> WBP

Input: bank	*FINAL-C- μ	WBP
a. $\text{ban}_\mu \text{k}$		*
b. $\text{ban}_\mu \text{k}_\mu$	*!	

Word-internal complex codas in AA are of two types: those that satisfy CODACON and those that contravene it. Here we need to account for these codas at both levels: lexical and postlexical. At the lexical level the second consonant is licensed as a semisyllable as stress assignment shows. Given that the attested form of loanwords corresponds to the surface form, the postlexical level, I refer to AA native words to establish the OT ranking at both levels.

The four relevant constraints to account for CVCC syllables at both levels are DEP-V, LICENSE- μ , CODACON and *COMPLEX CODA. These constraints are ranked differently at each level to yield the optimal output as will be demonstrated below.

Given that CC codas optionally appear internally in AA, as in /kalb-hum/ > *kalbhum*, ~ *kalibhum*, it follows that a semisyllable is attested at the postlexical level. Also, the alternate form with an epenthetic vowel means that DEP-V is equally ranked with LICENSE- μ .

However, this cannot account for coda clusters that violate CODACON such as /dʒisr-hum/ > *dʒisirhum* which always surface with an epenthetic vowel. So here, it cannot be the case that LICENSE- μ is ranked above DEP-V. If LICENSE- μ was promoted postlexically, vowel epenthesis would be obligatory in AA, which cannot account for cases such as *kalbhum*. Therefore, in contrast to Kiparsky, I argue that the ranking of LICENSE- μ is not the only crucial factor. Rather it is the ranking of CODACON, DEP-V and LICENSE- μ with respect to each other that is crucial in AA. At the lexical level, DEP-V dominates both LICENSE- μ and CODACON so epenthesis is blocked and the unsyllabified consonant is licensed as a semisyllable regardless of the well-formedness of the coda.

On the other hand, at the postlexical level, CODACON ranks higher than both LICENSE- μ and DEP-V, which are not ranked with respect to each other. Thus, epenthesis is obligatory in codas violating CODACON but optional in codas satisfying CODACON. This ranking will give rise to optional CCC clusters that do not flout CODACON while it rules out CCC clusters contravening it –hence epenthesis.

This means that AA cannot be categorized as a purely VC dialect according to Kiparsky's (2003) classification. Kiparsky argues that dialects such as AA would always insert a vowel before unsyllabified consonants rendering the stray consonant in coda position. However, results here point out that AA would be better described as an intermediate dialect type between C (where no epenthesis is required) and VC dialects as it shares with C dialects licensing a semisyllable postlexically if CODACON is satisfied.

Consider the tableaux below that show the derivation of native AA words with internal CVCC syllables at the lexical and postlexical levels.

(25) DEP-V >> LICENSE- μ , CODACON

Input: xubz.na 'our bread'	DEP-V	LICENSE- μ	CODACON
Lexical level			
a.  ('xub)z μ .na		*	*
b. xu.(‘biz).na	*		

Stress assignment shows that candidate (b) is suboptimal and loses out to candidate (a). The tableau shows that DEP-V outranks LICENSE- μ and CODACON at the lexical level. At the postlexical level, as demonstrated in (26) below, the optimal form appears with an epenthetic vowel that is unstressed. This means that DEP-V is demoted below CODACON. Candidate (a) is already ruled out as it violates CODACON.

(26) CODACON >> DEP-V, LICENSE- μ

Input: xubz.na Postlexical level	CODACON	DEP-V	LICENSE- μ
a. 'xub.z μ .na	*		*
b. ⚡'xu.biz.na		*	

The same rankings apply to words with well-formed coda clusters, as in /galb-na/ ‘our heart’. At the postlexical level, both 'ga.lib.na and 'gal.b μ .na are attested as DEP-V and LICENSE- μ are equally ranked.

The same analysis applies to loanwords. Recall that the adapted form of a loanword corresponds to the postlexical level. However, this does not mean that loanwords are not evaluated at the lexical level. Rather, they are evaluated and then the output of the lexical level is fed into the postlexical level. A form with a medial cluster such as ‘control’, which is realised as *kunt.rool* shows that the stranded consonant /t/ is licensed as a semisyllable. Tableau (27) shows the evaluation of the word ‘control’.

(27) FTBIN, PARSE-C, No[i], *COMPLEX,⁴ MAX-C >> LICENSE- μ , DEP-V

Input: control	FT BIN	PARSE-C	No [i]	*COMP LEX	MAX- C	LICENSE- μ	DEP-V
a. ⚡kun.t μ .roo<l>						*	
b. kun.t.roo<l>		*					
c. μμμ kunt.roo<l>	*!						
d. kun.troo<l>				*			
e. kun.roo<l>					*		
f. kun.ti.roo<l>			*				*
g. ? ku.nit.roo<l>							*

⁴ I will use the cover constraint *COMPLEX to refer to both complex onsets and codas.

The optimal output in (27a) violates LICENSE- μ to satisfy the higher ranked constraints. Candidates (b) and (c) fare worse on PARSE-C and FTBIN, respectively. Again, *COMPLEX renders candidate (d) suboptimal as it syllabifies the stray consonant as part of a complex onset. Candidate (e) is ruled out as it violates MAX-C and candidate (f) falls victim to the markedness constraint No[i]. Finally, candidate (g) is marked with a question mark as its status requires some comment. According to the established hierarchy, such a form is optimal as it only violates DEP-V, which is equally ranked with LICENSE- μ . In fact, such a pronunciation is attested among old people, especially illiterate ones, and is usually associated with uneducated people; hence avoided.

Before closing this discussion, we still need to introduce another constraint that rules out mora sharing between two consonants, presented in (28).

(28) NOSHAREDMORA-(CC) (henceforth *NS μ (CC)) (after Watson 2007)

A mora cannot be linked to two consonants.

Ranking this constraint above LICENSE- μ ensures that a stray consonant in CVCC is licensed as a semisyllable as sharing a mora between two consonants is worse than affiliating the stray consonant to the prosodic word. However, LICENSE- μ should outrank *NS μ (VC) so that mora sharing between a vowel and a consonant would be less costly than licensing the consonant as a semisyllable, as we have seen above.

Incorporating all constraints, the following two constraint rankings account for AA syllables at both lexical and postlexical levels.

(29) Constraint rankings

- a) Lexical level: NUC/V, *FINAL-C- μ , FTBIN, PARSE-C, COMPLEX CODA, COMPLEX ONSET, ONSET, MAX-IO, *NS μ (CC), No [i] >> WBP >> DEP-IO, >> LICENSE- μ , *NS μ (VC), CODACON >> *CODA
- b) Postlexical: NUC/V, *FINAL-C- μ , FTBIN, PARSE-C, COMPLEX CODA, COMPLEX ONSET, ONSET, MAX-IO, *NS μ (CC), No [i] >> CODACON, WBP >> LICENSE- μ , DEP-IO >> *NS μ (VC) >> *CODA

5. Conclusion

The adaptation of English loanwords into AA, which is phonologically-based and is geared towards unmarkedness, has enhanced our understanding of AA syllable structure. It has shed light on the status of complex onsets and superheavy syllables. Also, it has shown that all two-consonant codas comprising non-guttural obstruents are legitimate in AA provided that they agree in voicing and the fact that some of such codas are missing in native AA words represents accidental rather than systematic gaps in AA.

The contribution of this paper is threefold. It has demonstrated that SSP cannot account for complex codas. Instead it has proposed a new constraint, CODACON, that better accounts for coda clusters in AA and other Arabic dialects. Also it has suggested a revised syllabification algorithm that better accounts for CVVC syllables and complex margins thanks to mora sharing and semisyllables. In this regard, it has been shown that AA would be better described as an intermediate dialect type between C and VC dialects as it shares with C dialects licensing a semisyllable postlexically if CODACON is satisfied. Finally, it has offered a new OT hierarchy that successfully accounts for problematic aspects of Arabic syllable structure.

Findings are also of relevance to phonological theory in general. It has been shown that sonority alone is not enough to account for syllable structure. Rather, it would be better to incorporate markedness factors to account for complex codas as demonstrated in Section 2. Although this paper has drawn on data from AA only, it is believed that the same analysis could account for other Arabic dialects especially Levantine dialects as they share with AA the same syllable structure. Therefore, further research that applies these constraint hierarchies and syllabification algorithms to other Arabic dialects is highly recommended.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Professor Janet Watson from Leeds University and Professor Stuart Davis from Indiana University for their feedback on earlier versions of this paper.

Appendix: Loanword corpus

English word	English Pronunciation	AA typical pronunciation
accordion	ə'kɔ:diən	?a'koordyun
acetone	'asitəʊn	?asitun
acid	'asid	?a'siid
action	'akʃ(ə)n	?a(a)kʃin
adrenaline	ə'dren(ə)lin	?adrina'liin
advantage	əd'ventidʒ	?ad'vaantidʒ
aids	eɪdz	?eedz
airbag	'eəbag	?er'baag
airbus	'e(ə)r, bəs	?er'bass
album	'albəm	?al'buum
ambulance	'ambjul(ə)ns	?amba'lans
amplifier	'amplifɪə	?ambi'fa(a)yar
antenna	an'tenə	?an'teen
antifreeze	'antifri:z	?anti'friiz
antivirus	'antivʌɪrəs	?anti'vaayrus
archive	'a:kʌɪv	?ar'ʃiif
aspirin	'asp(ə)rin	?asbi'riin
axle	'aks(ə)l	?aks
baby	'beɪbi	'beebi
baby	'beɪbi	'bubbu
back axle	'bak aks(ə)l	ba'kaks
backfire	bak'fʌɪə, 'bakfɪə	baak'fa(a)yar
baggy	'bagi	'baagi
baking powder	'beɪkɪŋ paʊdə	bakim'bawdar
balance	'bal(ə)ns	ba'lans
band	band	band

bandana	ban'danə	ban'daane
beige	beɪ(d)ʒ	beedj
bermuda	bə'mju:də	bar'mooda
between	bɪ'twi:n	'batwane
bikini	bɪ'ki:ni	bik'kiini
billionaire	bɪljə'neə	bilju'neer
biology	bɪ'ɒlədʒi	bu'loodʒya
block	blɒk	'blukke
body	'bɒdi	'badi
body	'bɒdi	'budi
boiler	'bɔɪlə	'boylar
boot	bu:t	boot
boss	bɒs	buss
bouquet	bʊ'keɪ, bəʊ'keɪ, 'bukeɪ	bo(o)'kee
boutique	bu: 'ti:k	bo(o)'tiik
box	bɒks	buks
brake	breɪk	brikk
bravo	bra: 'vəʊ, 'bra:vəʊ	'braavu
bulldozer	'boldəʊzə	bal'doozar
bye	bʌɪ	baay
cafeteria	kafɪ'tiəriə	kaftiirya
caffeine	'kafɪ:n, ka'fi:n	kafa'yin
cake	keɪk	keek
cakes (pl)	keɪks	kiks
camellia	kə'mi:liə, 'meliə	kaa'miilya
cancer	'kansə	'kaansar
cappuccino	,kapu'tʃi:nəʊ	kabat'ʃiinu
caravan	'karəvan, karə'van	kara'vaan

carbohydrate	ka:bə'haidreɪt	karbuhay'draat
carburettor	ka:bjʊ'retə, bə	karbu'reetar
carnival	'ka:nɪv(ə)l	karna'vaal
case	keɪs	kees
cash	kaʃ	kaafʃ
cashew	'kaʃu:, kə'ʃu:	'kaadʒu
cashier	ka'ʃɪə, kə	ka(a)'ʃiir
casket	'ka:skɪt	kas'keet
cassette	kə'set	'kasit
caviar	'kaviə:, 'kavi'a:	kav'jaar
centre	sentə	'santar
central locking	sentə ləkɪŋ	'santarlukk
ceramic	si'ramɪk	sara'miik
chamois	'ʃamwa:	ʃam'waa
chance	tʃa:ns	ʃans
charleston	'tʃa:lstən	ʃal'listun
chat	tʃat	ʃayyat
chat	tʃat	ʃaat
cheetah	'tʃi:tə	'ʃiita
chef	ʃef	ʃiff
chenille	ʃə'ni:l	ʃanil
chimpanzee	tʃɪmpən'zi:	ʃam'baazi
chips	tʃips	ʃibs
cholesterol	kə'lestərəl	kulis'trool
christmas	'krɪsməs	'krişmas
clip	klip	klibb
clips (pl)	klips	'klibse
clutch	klʌtʃ	klatsʃ

cocaine	kə(v)keɪn	kuka'iin
cobra	'kəʊbrə	'koobra
coffee shop	'kəfiʃɒb	kufi'subb
coiffure	kwa:'fjuə	kwaa'feer
coil	kɔɪl	'koyl
collage	'kɒla:ʒ	kul'laadʒ
compressor	kəm'presə	kum'breeşa
computer	kəm'pjutə	kum'byuutar
condenser	kən'densə	kun'dinsar
condition	kən'dɪʃ(ə)n	'kundisın
condom	'kəndəm	'kundum
congress	'kɔŋgres	'kungris
contact	'kɒntakt	'kuntak
container	kən'teɪnə	kun'teenar
control	kən'trəʊl	kun'trool
convoy	'kɒnvɔɪ	kam'boy
cooler	'ku:lə	'kuular
corn flakes	'kɔ:nflēks	ko(o)rnif'liks
corner	'kɔ:nə	'koornar
corridor	'kɔrɪdɔ:	kara'door
cortisone	'kɔ:tɪzəʊn	kurti'zoon
counter	'kaʊntə	'kaawntar
coupon	'ku:pɒn	koo'boon
cowboy	'kaʊbɔɪ	ka(a)'boy
crystal	'krɪst(ə)l	kris'taal
custard	'kʌstəd	'kastar
cut-out	kʌtaʊt	ka'tawt
cyanide	'saɪənaɪd	saya'niid

defrost	di: 'frøst	di(i)'frust
deluxe	dr'løks, 'løks	di(i)'luks
derby	'da:bi	'deerbi
desk	desk	disk
dettol	'detøl	di(i)'tool
diesel	'di:z(ə)l	'diizil
digital	'dɪdʒɪt(ə)l	'didʒital
dinosaur	'dɪnəsɔ:	dayna'soor
disco	'diskø	'diisku
dish	dɪʃ	diff
distributor	dr'strɪbjøtø	disbara'toor
double	'dʌb(ə)l	'dubul
double	'dʌb(ə)l	'dabil
double kick	'dʌb(ə)l kɪk	dabil'kikk
drill	drɪl	drill
drum(s)	drʌm	dramm
dry clean	drʌɪ kli:n	dray'kliin
dum dum	'dʌmdʌm	'dumdum
duplex	'dju:pleks	dub'liks
earth	ɜ:θ	ʔeerθ
emulsion	r'mʌlf(ə)n	ʔa'milʃin
eskimo	'eskimø	ʔas'kiimu
eskimo	'eskimø	ʔaskimu
essence	'es(ə)ns	ʔa'şans
etiquette	'etiket	ʔiti'keet
exhaust	ɪg'zø:st	ʔug'zust
extra	'ekstrø	ʔi'kistra
fabricate	'fabrikeit	'fabrake
facebook	'feisbuk	'feesbuk

fax	faks	faaks
fibre glass	'fʌɪbə gla:s	fibarig'laas
fillet	'filit, US fi'lā	fi'i'lee
filter	'filtə	'filtrar
flash	flaʃ	flaaʃ
flasher	'flaʃə	'flaʃar
flow master	fləʊ ma:stə	fulu'maastar
fluoride	'flʊərاید, flə:	floo'rayd
folklore	'fəʊklo:	fulu'kloor
foolscap	'fu:lzkap, 'fu:ls	fulis'kaab
football	'fotbə:l	'fuṭbul
formica	fɔ: 'mΛɪkə	fur'maayka
foul	faul	'fawl
freezer	'fri:zə	'freezar
full	fol	full
full	fol	'fallal
full options	fol 'ɒɒpʃ(ə)nз	full'ɒɒbʃin
fuse	fju:z	fjuuz
gallon	'galən	'galan
gardenia	ga: 'di:nɪə	gar'diinya
gateau	'gatəu, ga'təu	'gaatu
gear	giə	giir
gel	dʒel	dʒill
gene	dʒi:n	dʒiin
gentle	'dʒent(ə)l	'dʒintil
georgette	dʒɔ: 'dʒet	dʒur'dʒeet
geyser	'gi:zə	'kiizar
gin	dʒɪn	dʒinn
glucose	'glu:kəʊs/z	klo(o)'kooz

goal	gəʊl	goon
grapefruit	'greɪpfru:t	kara'foot
hamburger	'hambɜ:gə	ham'burgar
hand brake	'hand breɪk	handib'rikk
hand rummy	hand'rʌmi	hand
hands	han(d)z	hanz
hangar	'haŋə	hangar
hard luck	'ha:d lʌk	haard'lakk
hatchback	'hatʃbak	hatʃ'baak
head phone	'hedfəʊn	'hitfun
heater	'hi:tə	'hiitar
hula-hoop	'hu:ləhu:p	hila'hubb
hummer	'hʌmə	'hamar
insulin	'ɪnsjʊlɪn	?ansu'liin
intercom	'ɪntəkɒm	?antar'kamm
internet	'ɪntənet	?antar'nitt
interpol	'ɪntəpɒl	?antar'bool
jack	dʒak	dʒakk
jacuzzi	dʒə'ku:zi	dja(a)'kuuzi
jeans	dʒi:nz	dʒinz
jelly	'dʒeli	'dʒili
jerry can	'dʒerɪkən	'dʒarkan
jersey	'dʒɜ:zi	dʒur'zaaye
joker	'dʒəʊkə	'dʒookar
judo	'dʒu:dəʊ	'dʒuudu
jumbo	'dʒʌmbəʊ	'dʒaambu
kaki	'ka:ki	'kaaki
karate	kə'ra:ti	kara'tee
kata	'ka:ta:	'kaata

ketchup	'ketʃəp, -ʌp	katʃabb
key board	'ki:bɔ:d	ki(i)'boord
kiwi	'ki:wi:	'kiiwi
kong fu	kɔŋ 'fu:	kung'fuu
land cruiser	land'kru:zə, 'land kru:zə	landik'roozar
land rover	land'rəuvə	land 'roovar
laptop	'laptɒp	laab'tubb
large	la:dʒ	'laardʒ
laser	'leɪzə	'leezar
lego	'legəʊ	'liigu
limousine	'liməzi:n, limə'zi:n	limu'ziin
list	list	'leesta
lobby	'ləbi	'luubi
lux	ləks	luks
madam	'madəm	ma'daam
mafia	'mafɪə	'maafya
magic (marker)	'madʒɪk	'madʒik
mall	mɔ:l	mool
manhole	'manhəʊl	'munhul
manicure	'manɪkjøə	mana'kiir
manifold	'manɪfəuld	mana'vult
marathon	'marəθ(ə)n	mara'θoon
marshmallow	ma:ʃ' maləʊ	marʃa'millu
mascara	ma'ska:rə	mis'kaara
mask	ma:sk	maask
massage	'masa:ʒ, mə'sa:ʒ -dʒ/	ma'saadʒ
master key	'ma:stə	maastar 'kii
matriculation	mətrɪkju'leɪʃ(ə)n	'matrik
mauve	məʊv	muuv

maxi	'maksi	maksi
mayonnaise	meɪə'neɪz	mayu'neez
melamine	'meləmi:n	mila'miin
metallic	mi'talɪk	'mitalik
microscope	'mʌɪkrəskoʊp	maykru'skoob
microwave	'mʌɪkroʊ(ʊ)weɪv	maykru'weev
militia	mi'lɪʃə	mi'liisya
millionaire	miljə'neə	milyu'neer
mini market	mini ma:kit	mini 'maarkit
minus	'mʌɪnəs	'maaynus
mobile	'məʊbail	mo(o)'bayl
monopoly	mə'nɒp(ə)li	munu'buli
montage	mɒn'ta:ʒ, 'mɒnta:ʒ	mun'taadʒ
moquette	mɒ'ket	moo'keet
morris (trademark)	'mɒris	'muris
motor	'məʊtə	maa'toor
naphthalene	'naftəli:n	nifta'liin
NASA	'nasə	'naasa
NATO	'neɪtəʊ	'naatu
nectarine	'nekterɪ:n	nikta'riin
negative	'negətɪv	'nigativ
negro	'ni:grəʊ	'niigru
neon	'ni:ɒn	'niyun
nescafe	'neskafi/, neska'fee	niska'fee
net	net	ritt
neuter (neutral)	'nju:tə	'nootar
niagara (a trademark)	nʌɪ'ag(ə)rə	na'yaagra
nicotine	'nikəti:n	niku'tiin
night club	'nʌɪtklʌb	naaytik'labb

nougat	'nu:gə:	'nooga
nurse	nɜ:s	neers
off side	əf'saɪd	?uff'saayd
off white	əf'waɪt	?uff'waayt
okay	əʊ'keɪ	'?ukkee
optics	'ɒptɪks	'?ubtikus
orchid	'ɔ:kɪd	?ur'kiida
organ	'ɔ:g(ə)n	?oorg
ounce	aʊns	?oonşa
out	aʊt	?awt
overtime	'əʊvətʌɪm	?uvar'taaym
ozone	'əʊzəʊn	?o(o)'zoon
packet	'pakɪt	ba(a)'keet
pager	'peɪdʒə	'beedʒar
pancreas	'pæŋkriəs	bankir'yaas
panda	'pændə	'baanda
panel	'pan(ə)l	ba(a)'neel
party	'pa:ti	bar'tiyye
pass	pa:s	baaş
patron	'peotr(ə)n	ba'troone
pedicure	'pedɪkjʊə	budi'keer
penalty	'pen(ə)lti	ba'lanti
pentagon	'pentəg(ə)n	bin'taagun
pepsi	'pepsi	'bibsi
piano	pɪ'anəʊ	'byaanu
pick up	'pɪk ʌp	'bikam
pixel	'pɪks(ə)l, sel	'biksil
pizza	'pi:tsə	'biidza
plaster	'pla:stə	'blaastar

playstation	pleɪ 'steɪʃ(ə)n	blis'teeʃin
poker	'pəʊkə	'bookar
polish	'pɒlɪʃ	'buliʃ
polyester	,pɒli' estə	bu'listar
polystyrene	,pɒli'stʌɪrɪ:n	bulis'triin
polytechnic	,pɒli'teknɪk	buli'tiknik
porcelain	'po:s(ə)lɪn	bursa'laan
poster	'pəʊstə	'boostar
power steering	'paʊə strəriŋ, paʊə 'stəriŋ	'bawar ('stiiring)
primus	'prʌɪməs	'briimus
prince	prɪns	brins
printer	'prɪntə	'brintar
professor	prə'fesər	brufu'soor
prostate	'prɒsteɪt	brus'taat
protein	'prəʊti:n	bro(o)'tiin
puncture	'pʌŋ(k)tʃə	'banʃar
racquet	'rakɪt	'rikit
rally	'rali	'raali
range (rover)	reɪndʒ 'rəʊvə	rindʒ (roovar)
radiator	'reɪdɪeɪtə	ro(o)'deetar
receiver	ri'si:və	ri(i)'siivar
regime	reɪ'zi:m	ro(o)'dʒiim
remote (control)	ri'məʊt	ri(i)'moot
reverse	ri'vɜ:s	ri(i)'virs
ribs	ribz	'ribs[e]
ring (spanner)	riŋ	ring
roll	rəʊl	rull
rolls royce	rəʊlz'rɔɪs	ro(o)z'raayz

roof	ru:f	ruuf
roundel	'raund(ə)l	run'deella
routine	ru: 'ti:n	ro(o)'tiin
rubbish	'rʌbiʃ	'raabish
salmon	'samən	'salamun
samsonite	'samsənait	samsu'naayt
sandwich	'san(d)wɪtʃ	'sandwiʃ
satellite	'satəlɪt	sata'laayt
sauna	'sɔ:nə, US 'sou	'saawna
scallop	'skɒləp/'skaləp	ska(a)'lubb
scanner	'skanə	'skanar
scooter	'sku:tə	'skootar
scrap	skrap	sik'raab
seesaw	'si:so:	'siisu
self	self	silf
sensor	'sensə	'sunsur
service	'sɜ:vɪs	sar'fiis
seven up	'sev(ə)n ʌp	sivin 'abb
sex	seks	siks
shampoo	ʃam'pu:	'ʃaambu
shell	ʃel	ʃill
shift	ʃift	ʃift
shoot	ʃu:t	ʃuuṭ
short (circuit)	ʃɔ:t	ʃurṭ
shorts	ʃɔ:ts	ʃurṭ
shower	'ʃaʊə	'ʃawar
silicon	'sɪlɪk(ə)n	'silikun
single	'sɪŋg(ə)l	'singil
siphon	'sʌɪf(ə)n	si(i)'foon

snubbers	'snʌbəz	şno(o)'bars
solid	'sɒlid	şuld
sonar	'səʊnə:	so(o)'naar
spade	speɪd	'sbaati
spaghetti	spə'geti	sba(a)'gitti
spare	speə	sbeer
spiky	'spɪki	'sbaayki
spoiler	'spoɪlə	'sboylar
spray	spreɪ	?asbiree
stainless steel	steɪnləs'sti:l	staallisis'til
starter	'sta:tə	'staartar
steak	steɪk	steek
steam	sti:m	stiim
steering	'stiəriŋ	'stiiring
stereo	'stiəriəʊ, 'steriəʊ	'stiiryu
stick	stɪk	?as'tiika
stock	stɔ:k	stukk
super market	'su:pə ma:kɪt, su:pə 'ma:kɪt	subar'maarkit
superman	'su:pəman	subar'maan
surf (trademark)	sɜ:f	şirf
sweater	'swetə	'swiitar
switch	swɪtʃ	switʃ
syringe	si'rɪn(d)ʒ, 'si-/	'srindʒe
system	'sistəm	'sistim
tank	taŋk	tank
tanker	'taŋkə	tank
tape	teɪp	tibb
tartan	'ta:t(ə)n	tir'taan

tattoo	ta'tu:	tat'tuu
taxi	'taksi	'taksi
technology	tek'nɒlədʒi	tiknu'loodjʒa
telefax	'telɪfaks	tili'faaks
tester	'testə	'tistar
thermos	'θɜ:mɒs	'teermus
thermostat	'θɜ:məstat	θeermu'staat
thinner	'θɪnə	'tinar
tights	tʌɪts	taayt
toffee	'tɒfi	'toofe
topsider (a trademark)	'tɒpsɪdə	tub'saydar
tractor	'traktə	ta'raktur
trailer	'treɪlə	'treella
trampoline	'trampəli:n	trambu'liin
transit	'transit, 'tra:n̩s-, -nz	tran'ziit
tricks	triks	triks
trump	trʌmp	tar'niib
tsunami	tsu:'na:mi	so(o)'naami
tube	tju:b	tjuub
tubeless	'tju:bles	'tjuublis
tuna	'tju:nə	'tuuna
tupperware	'tʌpəweə	tabar'weer
turbo	'tɜ:bəʊ	'teerbu
twitter	'twɪtə	twiitar
valium	'valiəm	'vaalyum
valve	valv	balf
van	van	vaan
vanilla	və'nilə	va(a)'neella
video	'vɪdiəʊ	'viidyu

vitrine	'vɪtri:n	bat'riina
vodka	'vɒdkə	'vootka
voile	vɔɪl/ vwa:l	vwaal
wafer	'weɪfə	'weevar
x large	'eks la:dʒ	?iks 'laardʒ
yen	jen	yann
yoga	'jəʊgə	'yooga
you tube	ju: tju:b	yu(u)'tyuub
zigzag	'zigzag	zig'zaag
zoom	zu:m	zuum

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