

*aAIDA*  
*13<sup>th</sup> Alnternational*  
*Conference*

---

Akaki Tsereteli State University

59, Tamar Mephe St., Kutaisi, GEORGIA

June 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>, 2019

<http://atsu.edu.ge/aida13kutaisi/>



# A

## The phonology of (ج) in Gulf Arabic

Yehia ABDELMOBDY MOHAMED

Georgetown University in Qatar – [yam3@georgetown.edu](mailto:yam3@georgetown.edu)

There is no agreement among scholars about the history, reflection, realization, description and variations of the phoneme ‘Ji:m’ in Arabic. According to Watson (2007), the phoneme is known as “ji:m”, which was considered either as a voiced palatal stop or as a voiced palatalized velar stop in early Classical Arabic is currently considered in most dialects today as a voiced palatoalveolar affricate or velar stop. It has the reflex [dʒ] in most of the Bedouin dialects. In some Gulf dialects, the sound has lenited to a palatal glide, [j]. It is realized as [g] in southwestern Oman, which is a characteristic of colloquial Egyptian and southern Yemeni dialects as Ferguson (1956) noted.

In addition to the disagreement about the phoneme “ji:m” in terms of phonological features and description, and because of the various pronunciations of ‘Ji:m’ among Arabs, it is considered as one of the most problematic phonemes presented in the writing system. The Arabic Alphabet has just one symbol (ج), to represent at least 4 allophones: [j], [dʒ], [ʒ] and [g].

The research project is based on a phonetic and phonological corpus of “ji:m” which consists of audio and written authentic materials of the dialect of Qatar, the UAE, Oman, Bahrain, Kuwite and the eastern region of Saudi Arabia.

This research aims to track the development of the phoneme “ji:m”, the current variations of “ji:m” across the Gulf Arabic dialects, and the relationship with the orthography of the letter (ج). It will also examine the role of the phoneme “ji:m” in clusters and syllabic structures in addition to the prosodic aspects of it in the Gulf Arabic dialects.

## الملامح المشتركة بين العربية الباقيّة في أوزبكستان ولهجة جنوب العراق

مظفر عبد رومي

جامعة واسط، العراق – [amudhafer1970@yahoo.com](mailto:amudhafer1970@yahoo.com)

عند قراءتي للنصوص التي سجلها الأساتذة جورج تسيرتيلي، وفينيكوف، وغورام تشيكوفاني، كنت أتحسّن أنّ اللغة العربية التي كتبت بها مجموعة من تنويعات اللغة العربية المحكية بين مجتمعات عربية كثيرة في أوزبكستان من البدو والحضر الذين سكنوا هناك تقترب من اللهجة العراقيّة اليوم، ولكنني لم أتسّرّع في الحكم مطلّاً أنّ عراقيتي ربما دفعتني إلى هذا الإحساس. إلا أنني تمكنت في هذا الإحساس حينما وجدت الكثير من الملامح المشتركة بين العربية الباقيّة في أوزبكستان وعراقيّة اليوم وأخصّ الجنوبيّة منها، فقررت أن أخوض في هذا البحث مورداً تلك الملامح: صوتية وبنائية ونحوية، وهو مقاربة وموازنة بين عربية المكانين، وإليكم بعض الأمثلة:

- 1- الملمح الصوتي: من أمثلته التي أوردتها في هذا البحث هو إبدال عين الفعل (أعطى) عيناً وهو ما يسمى قدি�ماً بـ (الاستنطاء)، فالأوزبكي والعراقي كلاهما ينطقه باللون (أنطى) مع مشتقاته مثل قول الأوزبكي: (إلاك أگر آنطي من عطشونيا أموت) والعراقي يقول: (إذا آنطيك أموت من العطش).

ومنه تسهيل الهمزة: وهو إبدال الهمزة ألفا، أو ياء، أو ياء، فكلاهما ينطق (راس) بفتحة طويلة من (رأس)، و(ذيب) بكسرة طويلة من (ذنب)، و(ضو) من ضوء ومنه (ماي) أي ماء عند العراقيين والأوزبكيون يلفظونه (موي) بضميمة طويلة مفخمة تأثيرا بالفارسية. ومنه الإدغام: وهو المماثلة بين الأصوات مثل قول الأوزبكي والعراقي (نصن) أي (نصف)، و (عراس) أي (على الرأس) وغيرها. وهناك أصوات تبدل بغيرها تقاربها في المخرج مثل صوت الفاف يبدل بالكاف (گ) مثل قولهما (ما گدر) عند كليهما، وتبدل الفتحة القصيرة كسرة قصيرة، وتبدل مواضع الحركات وتقصيرها وتطويلها، وغيرها من الملامح الصوتية التي سوف يتبعها هذا البحث موضحة بالأمثلة.

2 - الملمح البنائي (الصرفي): ومنه مزج بعض التراكيب لتكون مفردة واحدة مثل (مامن) في عربية أوزبكستان وهي بقايا (ما من أحد)، وعند العراقيين (محد). ومنه كسر حرف المضارعة الذي يسمى قدি�ما بـ (الثالثة)، ومن أمثلته الفعل (شرب) كلاهما ينطق (پشرب و نشرب و تشرب) وغيرها من الأفعال. ومنه كسر همزة أداة التعريف فمثاله عند كليهما (الباب ، الناس ، الدرب). ومن هذا الملمح بناء الفعل المبني للمجهول على وزن (انفل) فكلاهما ينطق (انقتل، انضرب، انحسد) أصلها (قتل، ضرب، حسد) وغيرها. ومن هذا الملمح إبدال بناء آخر مثل (رجال) من (رجل). وهناك ملامح مشتركة في أبنية أسماء الفاعل والمفعول والمصدر والصفة المشبهة وأسماء الزمان والمكان والأسماء الخمسة، وأبنية الأفعال مزيدة ومجردة وصحيحة ومعنلة، وفي الزمن والنسب، وإضافة معان جديد لبعض الأبنية مثل (گاعد وماشي) وغيرها من الملامح التي سوف تتبع في هذا البحث.

3 - الملمح النحوي: هناك ملامح نحوية كثيرة مشتركة بين الناطقين في المكانين، ومن أمثلتها: الوقف إذ تسكن أواخر الكلمات كقول العراقيين (الأدمي گال) والأوزبكيون (الأدمي قول). ومنه استعمال كلمة (فرد) سابقة للتفكير كقول الأوزبكيين (الي فد دب اشترو) والعراقيون يقولون (اشترولي فد حسان). ومنه اسم الإشارة (دکولا) كقول الأوزبكيين (دکولا سلاستم قول) أي: (أولادك ثلاثة قالوا) والعراقيون في البصرة يقولون (دکولا ثلاثة گالو). ومنه اسم الموصول (إل) بكسر الهمزة كقول الأوزبكيين (من الـ المخوف) أي: (الذي يخاف من الله) وقول العراقيين (إليخاف من الله). ومنه ظرف المكان (بر) كقول الأوزبكيين (من بحر بـ طلع) وقول العراقيين (من البحر طلع بر) ... وغيرها من الملامح التي ستتوضّح في هذا البحث وفق المقاربة بين الاهجتين

ولا بد من أن أبين أنني بعد معرفة تلك الملامح ذهبت لكتب التاريخ منقباً عن أصول هؤلاء العرب الذين هاجروا إلى آسيا الوسطى في القرن الهجري الأول ، وعن أماكنهم العربية التي جاؤوا منها ، فوجدت أنَّ التوسيع العربي في بلاد آسيا الوسطى الذي جعلهم يقرون على حدود الصين كان على يد القائد العربي الشهير (قتيبة بن مسلم الباهلي). ولم تشهد المنطقة خلال تلك الحقبة أيَّ استقرار عربي ؛ لأنَّ الجندي العربي كانوا يعودون إلى المناطق التي جاءوا منها عقب كل عملية عسكرية مكتفين بأخذ العهد من زعماء المنطقة بعدم القيام بأية أعمال حربية ضد العرب المسلمين ، لكنَّي وجدت أنَّ من استقرَّ من العرب هم العراقيون الذين كانوا في جيش قتيبة والأسباب التي دعتهم إلى الاستقرار في هذه المنطقة ما يأتي:

أولاً: وجدت الإدارة العربية الحاكمة في دمشق بأهمية تأمين حدودها الشرقية بصفة دائمة لأنَّ أخذ العهد من زعماء المنطقة بعدم القيام بأية أعمال حربية ضد العرب المسلمين لا يكفي حين ظهر التمرد منهم كثيراً، فرأيت أنَّ توطن العرب في تلك المناطق البعيدة، وكان بداية هذا التوطين في عام 51 هـ، عندما سيرت خمسين ألف رجل من العرب العراقيين مع عوائلهم (من أهل الكوفة والبصرة، حوالي 250-300 ألف نسمة) ضمن خمس حاميات جاءت بعد الحملات الأولى، خلال الحقبة الممتدة ما بين أعوام 49-62 هـ (654-667م). ويدرك (برتولد) أنه كان تحت قيادة قتيبة بن مسلم في خراسان أربعون ألف عربي من البصرة، وسبعين ألف عربي من الكوفة. واتبع قتيبة بن مسلم النهج نفسه، فعند توجهه إلى كاشغر عام 96 هـ لفتحها سار وحمل الناس مع عيالاتهم ليضعهم في سمرقند.

ثانياً : تذكر المصادر التاريخية أنّ مسلماً عندما فتح ( بخارى ) و ( بيكند ) صالح أهلها ووضع عليهم الأمراء وحملهم على الإسلام ثلاث مرات وكانت يقبلون الإسلام في الظاهر ويجدون الأصنام في الباطن ثم عادوا فارتدوا وقتلوا أمراءه ، وفي المرة الرابعة رأى أن يسكن العرب بينهم ليغرس الإسلام في قلوبهم ، فأمرهم بأن يعطوا نصف بيوتهم للعرب ليقيموا معهم ويطّلعوا على أحوالهم ، وبهذه الطريقة يظلون مسلمين .

## **What to teach to the Russian Orientalists when they want to learn about Egypt: a last glimpse at al-Tantawi's booklet**

**Soha ABOUD HAGGAR**

*UCM (University of Madrid, La Complutense) - [abboud@filol.ucm.es](mailto:abboud@filol.ucm.es)*

After quite a long time, I finished the process of studying Shaykh al-Tantawi's booklet that he wrote in the fifties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while teaching Arabic to the Russian Orientalists in Saint Petersburg. I discovered that the best definition to what he wanted to teach through his short booklet is simply "Egyptian culture", all kind of different short information about Egypt that might be of use to his pupils, the future Orientalists. The Russian University had contracted him in a time where more native educated Arabs were "imported" to other European educational institutions to teach young European who wanted to know more about the Arab world for whatever objectives they had: scientific, military, economic or just for spying.

In my communication I'll gather and summarize all classes of material that al-Tantawi had put together in his booklet as necessary information to foreigners who want to know about Egypt. This material is inspiring to all of us who, generally speaking, work in teaching and discovering to our pupils the richness of any Arab and Islamic country.

## **العناصر اللغوية المشتركة بين اللهجة المحلمية واللغة السريانية - دراسة مقارنة -**

**Yaşar ACAT**

*Sırnak University - [yasaracat@hotmail.com](mailto:yasaracat@hotmail.com)*

تتأثر اللغات واللهجات بالعوامل المختلفة مثل تأثيرها بالبيئة التي يسكنها أهلها. ويتسع هذا التأثير بشكل مهم نحو القاموس والتعابير اليومية الأساسية والتراثية بالإضافة إلى النطق. إن اللهجة المحلية لهجة عربية تمتاز بخصائص ورثتها من اللغة السامية الأم وخصائص اخذتها من اللغات التي أخذت بها عبر التاريخ على إثر العلاقات الاجتماعية والتجارية والعلمية والدينية وغيرها.

يتناول هذا البحث دراسة اللهجة المحكية في مديات (اللهجة المحلمية) مع اللغة السريانية (اللهجة اليعقوبية) دراسة مقارنة من أجل إيجاد العناصر المشتركة بينهما. ان القرابة الموجودة بين المحلمية والسريانية امر طبيعي بسبب الانتقاء الى شجرة لغوية واحدة فضلا عن تعامل أصحاب هذه اللغات في منطقة مشتركة تسمى "طور عابدين / لموناخيم" متآثرین ومؤثرين في مختلف مجالات الحياة.

يَضْمَنُ الْبَحْثُ مَقْدِمَةً وَمَبْحَثَيْنِ، الْبَحْثُ الْأَوَّلُ تَحْدِثُ فِيهِ عَنِ الْلَّهْجَةِ الْمَحْلَمِيَّةِ وَالْلَّغَةِ السَّرِيَانِيَّةِ وَخَصَائِصِهِمَا إِمَّا الْبَحْثُ الثَّانِي تَحْدِثُ فِيهِ عَنِ الْأَصْوَلِ الْلَّغُوِيِّ الْمُشَتَّرَكَةِ مَعَ عَرْضِ نَمَادِجِ نَحْوِيَّةٍ وَصَرْفِيَّةٍ وَمَعْجمِيَّةٍ فِي جَدَالِ مَقْارَنَةٍ.

لَقَدْ تَوَصَّلْنَا فِي هَذَا الْبَحْثِ إِلَى ظَواهِرٍ مُشَتَّرَكَةٍ قَوِيَّةٍ مُورَوثَةٍ عَنِ الْلَّغَةِ السَّامِيَّةِ الْأَمِّ بَيْنِ الْلَّهْجَةِ الْمَحْلَمِيَّةِ وَالْلَّغَةِ السَّرِيَانِيَّةِ مِنْ حِيثِ الْجَوَابِ الصَّوْتِيَّةِ وَالصَّرْفِيَّةِ وَالنَّحْوِيَّةِ وَالْمَعْجمِيَّةِ.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** اللهجة، المحلمية، العربية، السريانية، الآرامية، ماردین، مدیات، طور عابدين.

## The Preliminary Phonological Findings of Arabic Dialect Spoken in Sheikh Taba/Šēxṭōba - North Lebanon

Mahmut AĞBAHT

Uppsala University - [mahmut.agbahn@lingfil.uu.se](mailto:mahmut.agbahn@lingfil.uu.se) / [agmahmut@gmail.com](mailto:agmahmut@gmail.com)

This study presents an overview of the phonology of the Arabic dialect spoken in Sheikh Taba/Šēxṭōba, a village situated 2 kilometers from the capital city, Ḥalba, of the province of Akkar/ṣakkār in the north of Lebanon. To the best of my knowledge, it is the first linguistic study of a dialect spoken in Akkar province.

The Arabic dialect spoken in Sheikh Taba could be characterized by some remarkable features: The long \*ā has disappeared, having split into /ē/ and /ɔ/ depending mainly on the consonantal environment: it becomes /ɔ/ after emphatics /ʂ/, /ʐ/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, and /ɾ/, velars /x/ and /ɣ/, pharyngeals /ħ/ and /ʕ/, or glottal /ʔ/ (< q\*), otherwise shifts to /ē/, e.g. \*ḥšān>ḥšōn ‘horse’, \*xāmis>xōmis‘fifth’, \*qāl>ʔɔ̄l ‘he said’, \*ḥāl>ħɔ̄l‘case’, \*nās>nēs ‘people’, \*wlād>wlēd‘children’. In addition the dialect displays a complex system of pausal phenomena. For instance the diphthongs and the short /a/, /i/, /u/ in final syllables, as well as the consonants /d/, /t/, /d̪/, /n/ /ž/ and /z/, display different realisations in pause, e.g. bēt ʔahli ‘my family’s house’, bayt# ‘house’, halla?>halle?# ‘now’, faskar>faskɔ̄j# ‘soldiers’, walad>waled# ‘child’, daṛaž>daṛož# ‘stairs’. This study aims to present the preliminary phonological findings from recent field research conducted between February-May 2016 in the districts of Akkar, and particularly focuses on the pausal forms.

**Key words:** Arabic Dialects of the Levant, North Lebanon, Akkar, Sheikh Taba/Šēxṭōba

## New data about the Arabic Dialect of Casablanca

Jorge AGUADÉ

Universidad de Cádiz - [jorge.aguade@uca.es](mailto:jorge.aguade@uca.es)

Casablanca is today the biggest town in Morocco and its economic capital.

According to the Moroccan Census Office, in the year 2014 the town of Casablanca had 3,35 million inhabitants (approximately 10% of the whole population of the country).

Due to the importance of the town, its dialect is now the most widespread in Morocco and it is widely used in radio and television.

The dialect spoken in Casablanca is of Bedouin (Hilalian) origin, with urban sedentary features.

This paper is based on data collected (with the help of a questionnaire) during the last 15 years among speakers born in Casablanca (and preferentially with parents born there too).

This paper analyzes several features, like for instance:

- realization of /q/ (not always /g/ in spite of the Bedouin origin of the dialect)
- are the short vowels /ū/ and /ā/ phonemes or merely allophones?
- is diphthong reduction the rule?
- some morphological characteristic features
- lexical evolution: growing influence of Modern Standard Arabic.

## **The Retroflex /ɖ/ in the dialect of the Dawāsir of Dammam, Saudi Arabia**

**Hind ALAODINI**

*University of Essex - [hkaala@essex.ac.uk](mailto:hkaala@essex.ac.uk)*

The analysis presented in this paper is based on research conducted in Dammam, a coastal city on the Arabian Gulf in Saudi Arabia. Dammam is the capital of the Eastern province and it is 400 km far from the capital city Riyadh. The research investigates the dialect of the Dossari family that immigrated to Bahrain from their hometown in Najd and returned to Dammam in 1923. A total of 39 speakers (19 males and 20 females) from the Dossari family were interviewed. This paper focuses on a distinctive feature of this dialect, which is the retroflex /ɖ/. Retroflex /ɖ/, is a voiced unaspirated stop.

To my knowledge although undocumented, retroflex /ɖ/ is found in Bahraini Arabic, and since the *Dawāsir* tribe immigrated to Bahrain, they must have acquired this feature from there, given that the sound is not found in the Najdi Dossari dialect. It is worth noting that this feature might have been borrowed from Hindi (Ladefoged, 2001: 158), as a result of contact with Hindi speakers through trade (Holes, 2016). Retroflex /ɖ/ is also found in Afro-Semitic, Cushitic Afar and Saho (Simone-Senelle, 2006).

In Dammami Dossari, *ad-dāl* is a sociolinguistic variable; it has two variants: [d] and [ɖ]. [ɖ] occurs word-initially, word-medially and word-finally; e.g. *qa:xi~da:xil* ‘inside’, *findi~findi* ‘I have’, and *xa:lid~xa:lid* ‘Khalid’.

A preliminary analysis shows that retroflex /ɖ/ is a recessive feature that is only found in the speech of older women. On the other hand, it is not found in the dialect of middle-age and young females or males across different age groups. This could be because this feature is a marked feature in Saudi Arabia in general.

### **References:**

- Holes, Clive. 2016. *Dialect, Culture & Society in Eastern Arabia Volume III: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.  
Ladefoged, Peter. 2001. *Vowels and consonants (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)*. Maldon, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell publishing.

Simone-Senelle, Marie-Claude. 2006. Horn of Africa. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol II (pp. 268-275). Leiden: Brill.

## L'accent en Dialecte Arabe Soudanais

**Mustafa AHMED ALI**

[alkhandagawi@yahoo.fr](mailto:alkhandagawi@yahoo.fr)

Cette communication met en évidence «l'accent» dans le dialecte arabe du Soudan et l'acquisition de l'accent d'une valeur phonologique dans ce dialecte. Le document commence par introduire le dialecte du centre-nord du Soudan dominant dans le Soudan riverain, sa place parmi les dialectes arabes de l'Orient et du Maghreb et son développement dans la ceinture soudanaise s'étendant de l'Atlantique à la mer Rouge, pour ensuite devenir le dialecte standard non seulement au Soudan, mais aussi au visionnage régional, compte tenu du contexte, culturel, social et politique de cette évolution.

La communication fait référence aux caractéristiques phonétiques de ce dialecte quant à l'absence des phonèmes interdentaux et les changements de certaines caractéristiques phonétiques, tel que l'imphatisation, la désimphatisation et l'affaiblissement ainsi que l'acquisition d'une valeur phonologique résultant de ces altérations et distinguant ce dialecte par rapport à d'autres dialectes arabes.

Ensuite, la communication se concentre sur l'accent et montre les règles qui régissent et déterminent son emplacement par rapport au mot dans le dialecte arabe soudanais, ainsi que sa compatibilité et ses différences avec l'arabe classique et d'autres dialectes arabes. La communication détaille les formations nominales et verbales dans lesquelles l'accent est situé dans le dialecte arabe soudanais et les altérations phonétiques qui ont conduit à la substitution de l'accent, au lieu des phonèmes supprimés. Le document traite de la tendance du dialecte à élargir cette caractéristique phonologique pour inclure d'autres champs grammaticaux où l'accent devient un outil permettant de distinguer les formations verbales des outils auxiliaires, tels que les prépositions dans une gamme de mots à double sens.

بوليفونية العامية والفصحي في شعر العامية المصري (الحلمتيشي)

محمود العشيري

ma1285@georgetown.edu - جامعة جورجتاون قطر

يسعى هذا البحث إلى الكشف عن بوليفونية اللغة (الحوالية/العددية الصوتية) في شعر العامية المصري، وتحديداً في ذلك النمط المسمى بـ "الشعر الحلمتيشي" وهو نمط يعتمد على تضافر الفصحي والعامية معًا في الجملة الواحدة والتركيب الواحد، وما يمكن أن يحدثه هذا الانتقال من مفارقة أو فجوة ذات وظيفة جمالية (استاتيقية)، وما يمكن للعامية أن تمارسه من تفكك ونقض لأيديولوجيا الفصحي ومركزيتها، وكيف يقدم هذا التزاوج حضور اللغات الاجتماعية واشتباكاتها على نحو باذخ، يموقع النص في حيز الفكاهة. لكنه يظل حضور للعامية يقوض فردانية الفصحي ورسميتها ومؤسسيتها ويقوض مفاهيم الغنائية والذاتية والصوت الواحد، ويعين طبقات اجتماعية تتكلم داخل اللغة حقيقة لا مجازاً.

وهنا ندرس حوارية (بوليفونية) اللغة. طبقاً لميخائيل باختين- فإننا ندرس اللغة في طابعها التواصلي، في كيانها الحي الملموس، لكن في ظل هيمنة الوظيفة "الشعرية" على هذا النص المخصوص الذي هو الشعر، اللغة وقد وُضعت على لسان شخص داخل النص، وقد أفعمت بالعلاقات الحوارية، اللغة وقد أصبحت (مواقف) مُعبرأ عنها بالكلمة. وحينئذ لا تؤخذ اللغة بوصفها نظام مقولاتٍ صرفية نحوية مجردة، بل اللغة الممثلة إيديولوجياً واجتماعياً.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** شعر العامية المصري- حلمتيسي- بوليفونية- إيديولوجيا اللغة- تفكير.

## **Qatari Dialect Loss and Community Response<sup>1</sup>**

**Muntasir AL-HAMAD**

*Qatar University - [m.hamad@qu.edu.qa](mailto:m.hamad@qu.edu.qa)*

Qatari community has experienced major cultural and linguistic challenges due to the continuous demographic changes. Interestingly, Arabic is the first language of less than 40% of the country's population (De Bel-Air, Françoise 2014:18) and over 88% of its population consists on non-Qatari citizens<sup>2</sup>.

Various varieties of Arabic are in use, including Qatari dialect<sup>3</sup> which has gone through changes in the recent years (Maṭar, A. 1983 and Bettega, S. 2017) since Qatar experiences a dynamic linguistic situation (Pechine, K. 2013 and 2017; Al Hamad, M. 2017).

This paper examine the viability of the Qatari dialect against the UNESCO's framework<sup>4</sup> in of six major factor scale and other sub-factors in light of the findings of SESRI's National Survey 2018<sup>5</sup>. It will also shed a light on the effect of *language and social policies* and *language planning* agendas (e.g. Recent Qatar Protection Law 2019, RAND educational policies, Qatar Vision 2030, Strategic Qatarization Plan... etc).

---

<sup>1</sup> The title is a reflection of "Endangered languages: Language loss and community response" by Grenoble, E. and Whaley, L. 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Qatari 11.6% out of 2,720,411 (Qatar Statistics Authority, 2019).

<sup>3</sup> The paper acknowledges that there are few Qatari dialects due to socio-geographical conditions (Johnstone, T. 1967, Holes, C. 1984 and Pechcin, K. 2017). However, it will examine the mainstream Qatari dialect of Doha that is commonly used in the media and every day-to-day life.

<sup>4</sup> In the year 2003, the "International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages" adopted the UNESCO's concept document "Language Vitality Endangerment", where it developed a framework of nine language vitality factors in order to examine a language/dialect vitality. "These nine factors can determine the viability of a language, its function in society and the type of measures required for its maintenance or revitalization" (UNESCO 2003).

<sup>5</sup> These data are extracted from the "National Identity Questionnaire" results and outcomes, which were initially published in December 2018 by The Social and Economy Survey Research Institute (SESRI) at Qatar University.

## **Agreement Puzzles in the Arabic Coordinate Complexes**

### **Ahmad ALQASSAS**

Georgetown University - [aa1453@georgetown.edu](mailto:aa1453@georgetown.edu)

Coordinate complexes (e.g. conjoined or disjoined DPs, CPs...etc.) display empirical puzzles that raise questions about their syntax. The theoretical debates diverge on whether coordinate complexes have a special syntactic status necessitating the addition of syntactic categories, operations or configurations. A specific debate is whether coordinated DPs with closest conjunct agreement (CCA) involve phrasal or clausal coordination (Munn, 1999; Aoun, Benmamoun, and Sportiche, 1999; Larson, 2013). I argue that certain cases of DP coordination — namely disjoined DPs with CCA, involve clausal coordination with Bare Argument Ellipsis (BAE). BAE is a phenomenon whereby all elements of a clause are elided except for the argument of the verb (Hudson 1976; Moltmann 1992; Schwarz 1999; Culicover & Jackendoff 2007).

- (1) John bought a book yesterday, and ~~he bought~~ a newspaper ~~yesterday~~. (Zhang 2010: 24)

This talk deploys two tests to identify cases of CCA that involve BAE in Jordanian Arabic. Conjoined and disjoined DPs, which are external arguments in a Subject-Verb clause, both can trigger plural agreement on the verb. Only disjoined DPs, however, allow singular agreement in this context:

- (2) a. laa                Zeed wala fumar                šaaf-uu-na/ šaaf-na                (Disjunction)  
neither                Zeed nor Omar saw-3MP-us/ saw-3MS-us  
'Neither Zeid nor Omar saw us.'
- b. Zeed wa-fumar        šaaf-uu-na/ \*šaaf-na                (Conjunction)  
Zeed and-Omar        saw-3MP-us/ saw-3MS-us  
'Zeed and Omar saw us.'

This dichotomy can also be explained if disjoined DPs are CPs with BAE in the external disjunct; whereas conjoined DPs are genuine DPs with no BAE. The evidence for this comes from contrasts showing that disjoined DPs are *incompatible* with (1) collective predicates and (2) grammatical gender mismatches in DP coordination. I argue that these empirical contrasts suggest that the categorical status of the coordination phrase is determined by the category of the conjuncts or disjuncts (e.g. DP, CP), and no special &P/JunctionP is warranted.

## **Variation between [g] and [g̡] in the Ḥarbi Dialect of Medina, Saudi Arabia**

### **Mohammad ALROHILLI**

University of Essex - [mahalr@essex.ac.uk](mailto:mahalr@essex.ac.uk)

The Ḥarbi dialect of Medina is a Bedouin dialect that belongs to the North-West family of Peninsula dialects. At present, the Banu Ḥarb tribe occupy a fairly large part of Saudi Arabia, extending from the region of Hijaz to central Arabia. The focus of this paper will be on the Ḥarbi community of Medina.

One of the salient features of this dialect is the palatalization of /g/ as [g̡], which alternates with the velar-stop [g] as variants of (g), e.g. *g'idi:m~gidi:m* 'old', and *g'ili:l~gili:l*

'little'. To date, this feature has not been investigated as a sociolinguistic variable in the city of Medina.

The analysis presented in this paper comes from large-scale research which aims to investigate variation and change in the dialect of the Ḥarbi tribe in general. The data were obtained through sociolinguistic interviews with 43 native speakers, distributed over three age groups from both genders. The level of speakers' social contact (low/high contact) was also measured. Regarding the linguistic factors, the data were coded for: preceding and following sounds. Data were analyzed using Rbrul statistical software.

The results show that the traditional palatalized variant [g̡] is undergoing a change in the speech of Ḥarbi clans in Medina, and that there is a tendency to use the innovative and supra-local form [g]. With respect to the social factors, 'contact' was returned to be the most significant factor, with high contact speakers leading in using the non-traditional variant [g]. Age was found to be significant with the young and mid-age being the most innovative groups; they use [g] at rates 80% and 74%, respectively. While the oldest group favour the palatalized variant [g̡](66%). Regarding gender, the women were to be ahead of men in using the innovative form (82%). With respect to the linguistic factors, Rbrul returned the preceding and following environments to be significant. And there seems to be a tendency to use the palatalized [g] in the vicinity of high-front vowels.

## **Loaned Etymologies of Functional Items in Baghdadi Arabic**

**Jade (Judi) AL-SAFAR**

*King Khalid University, Abha, Saudi Arabia  
- ja64@soas.ac.uk*

It is well known in the realm of Arabic dialectology that historical language contact situations have influenced the lexical inventory of Baghdadi Arabic, with Persian and Turkish (and, to a lesser extent, English) being the main contributing donor languages. The fact that the loans in Baghdadi Arabic are not restricted to nouns, but are also found in more functional morphology and in syntax presents much to be explored. That said, as traditional approaches to Baghdadi Arabic contact etymology have favored lexical items, the extent of non-Arabic influence on functional items in the dialect in question remains unclear. Furthermore, in the event that a development presents two potential etymological explanations, the internal explanation is typically favored as the most convincing, prompting items which are likely of loaned origin to be disregarded as internal developments.

As many of the existing etymological proposals are problematic, this article reanalyzes previously proposed etymologies of functional items and also proposes etymologies for functional items whose origins have, as of yet, gone seemingly unmentioned in the existing literature. Drawing upon Mailhammer's (2013) framework of contact etymology, this article, by extending the etymological approach to linguistic items beyond the conventional lexical domain, endeavors to transcend the more traditional notion of etymology as merely focusing on words and their history. Furthermore, by drawing upon

evidence from the proposed donor languages, this article presents new and compelling arguments for non-internal etymological explanations of the items under investigation.

## Against an Ambiguity Analysis of N-words in Different Arabic Dialects

**Atef A. ALSARAYREH**

*Mutah University, Jordan - [atef\\_sarayreh@yahoo.com](mailto:atef_sarayreh@yahoo.com)*

Some Arabic varieties exhibit n-words that require the presence of a negative marker postverbally but not preverbally such as *walaa*-phrases in Egyptian Arabic (EA) (1).

- (1)            a. \*(maa)-šuf-t-i-š            walaa            waahid  
                   NEG-saw-1SG-EV-NEG            no            one  
                   'I didn't see anyone.'
- b. walaa            waahid (\*maa)-gih  
               no            one            NEG-came.3SGM  
                   'Nobody came.'

Ouali and Soltan (2014) propose that *walaa* in EA is ambiguous between [uNEG] *walaa* and [iNEG] *walaa*. They argue that [iNEG] *walaa* is not allowed postverbally (2), as this violates the semantic condition of negation being interpreted only when it takes scope over TP (Zanuttini, 1991; Ladusaw, 1992; Herburger, 2001). They further argue that [uNEG] *walaa* is not allowed preverbally as in (4) due to an economy condition that prefers interpretable features over uninterpretable features in the syntactic derivation.

- (2) \*šuf-t            walaa            waahid.  
               saw-1SG            no            one  
                   Intended: 'I saw nobody.'
- (3) walaa            waahid            maa-gaa-š.  
               no            one            neg-came.3SGM-NEG  
                   'Nobody didn't come.'  
                   #'Nobody came.'

The current study shows that this ambiguous analysis of n-words is not on the right track as it predicts [iNEG] *walaa* to be acceptable in (4) and (5) below. In both (4) and (5), sentential negation is marked above TP predicting [iNEG] *walaa* to be acceptable postverbally and the sentences to be acceptable with a double negation reading, contrary to fact.

- (4) (maa)-šuf-t-i-š            walaa waahid.  
               NEG-saw-1SG-EV-NEG    no            one  
                   'I didn't see anyone.'  
                   #'I didn't see no one.'
- (5) walaa            Taalib            gaawib            ɻalaa walaa su?aal.  
               no            student            answered. 3SGM on    no            question

'No student answered any question.'

#'No student answered no question.'

The study proposes an alternative account that takes n-words like *walaa*-phrases in EA to be uniformly [uNEG] phrases that need to enter an Agree relation with the [iNEG] feature of a sentential negative marker that can be either overt or covert.

## **Assimilation of /h/ in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Person Pronouns in a Bedouin Dialect in Northern Oman**

**Sara AL SHEYADI**

University of Essex - [saraalsheyadi@gmail.com](mailto:saraalsheyadi@gmail.com)

This paper presents a morpho-phonological feature in the dialect of the *Yāl Sa'ad* tribe in northern Oman, specifically in the neighbouring coastal towns of *Al-Maṣan'a* and *Al-Suwēq*. The /h/ of the pronominal suffixes [-ha], [-hin], and [-hum], namely the 3<sup>rd</sup> feminine singular and the 3<sup>rd</sup> feminine and masculine plurals, totally assimilates with preceding voiceless consonants creating a geminate; e. g. *bo:f-sum* 'camels-3MPL.GEN', *sif-it-tin* 'see.PFV-1SG-3FPL.ACC', *n-ʕarif-fi* '1PL-know.IPFV-3FSG.ACC', and *ta:ri:x-xi* 'history-3FSG.GEN'. The /h/ assimilates across morpheme boundary to all voiceless sounds, namely /t/, /f/, /k/, /tˤ/, /θ/, /ħ/, /ʃ/, /sˤ/, /s/, /x/, with a wide range of forms. On the other hand, with forms ending with voiced consonants or vowels, the assimilation does not occur, e. g. *sim-hi* 'name-3FSG.GEN', *ji-staxdim-u:n-hin* '3-use.IPFV-MPL-3FPL.ACC', and *be:n-hum* 'between-3MPL.GEN'.

A similar feature is *mutatis mutandis* reported by Holes (2016), Alaodini (forthcoming) for East Arabian dialects, Al-Hawamdeh (2016), Herin (2010), and Bani-Yasin & Owens (1987) for the Ḥōrāni Jordanian Arabic, and de Jong (2000, 2011) for the Sinai Desert.

Additionally, /h/-assimilation is a sociolinguistic variable in this dialect, where assimilated forms vary with unassimilated forms; so, one can hear both *be:t-tum* and *be:t-hum* 'house-3MSG.GEN'. There seems to be more variation in the speech of younger speakers. Older speakers usually conform to the above phonological rule.

Apart from the above, speakers may diverge from the /h/-assimilation rule, such that the /h/ also assimilates to a preceding *voiced* consonant. Forms like *n-xarrigi-gium* '1PL-graduate.IPFV-3MPL.ACC' and *n-dig-gin* '1PL-beat.IPFV-3FPL.ACC' do occur in this dialect.

A special case of assimilation occurs in some instances where a voiced back segment such as /ʕ/ occurs adjacent to a suffix with initial /h/ and the two coalesce, resulting in a voiceless geminate as in: *maʕ+hi>maħ-hi* 'with-3FSG.GEN'.

**Key words:** morpho-phonology, assimilation, sociolinguistic variation

### **References:**

- Alaodini, H. Forthcoming. *A Sociolinguistic study of the Dawāsir Dialect in Dammam, Eastern Arabia: fortition of /j/ and unrounding of /a/*. PhD thesis. Colchester: University of Essex.
- Al-Hawamdeh, A. 2016. *A sociolinguistic investigation of two Ḥōrāni features in Sūf, Jordan* (pp.37-38). PhD thesis. Colchester: University of Essex.

- Bani-Yasin, R. & Owens, J. 1987. 'The phonology of a northern Jordanian Arabic dialect' (pp. 300), *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 137(2). 297-331.
- Herin, B. 2010. *Le parler arabe de Salt, Jordanie: phonologie, morphologie et éléments de syntaxe* (pp. 39-41). PhD thesis. Brussels : Université libre de Bruxelles.
- Holes, C. 2016. *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia III: phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style* (pp. 76-78). Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- De Jong, R. 2000. *A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of the Northern Sinai Littoral: Bridging the Gap between the Eastern and Western Arab World* (pp. 137). Leiden, Boston: Brill. 2011. *A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai* (pp. 147). Leiden, Boston: Brill.

## **Filumena Marturano: Language and Culture in Standard Arabic and Egyptian Vernacular Translations**

**Lucia AVALLONE**

*University of Bergamo, Italy - [lucia.avallone@unibg.it](mailto:lucia.avallone@unibg.it)*

The translation of theatrical works in which dialects are particularly present is a delicate process of mediation requiring a careful valuation of formal and communicative textual aspects. For mediating between two different universes the translator must firstly choose whether to transmit the original text language variation – through the strategies available in the target language – or whether to ignore it, transferring the script into the standard target language. Both the source-oriented and the target-oriented translations are possible and produce results deserving to be examined, in the perspective of a wide interdisciplinary area including linguistic and cultural studies. Arabic versions of Italian literary works, both theatrical and narrative, originally typified by the use of dialects, show a variety of solutions to the problems arising while translating, which are interesting for reflecting on the general make-decision process of translation and on the language choices adopted in a given target culture. My contribution aims to present the outcomes of a comparison between the original text of *Filumena Marturano* (1946), one of the comedies written by the Italian dramatist Eduardo De Filippo, and both the standard Arabic translation (1981) and the Egyptian vernacular script of its stage representation (1998). In the source-text there are many Neapolitan vernacular expressions, as dialect is a major feature in typifying characters and environment, but the translations resort to a general neutralization of the foreign culture, through standardization or homogenization with the Egyptian culture. The otherness is largely reduced, except for keeping some Neapolitan words and idiomatic expressions or clichés lacking correspondence with the source-language *skopos*. Target-culture preconceived ideas affect the process of translation, making the text more familiar to Egyptians and more distant from Eduardo's language and minimalist style, with the effect of weakening the originally embedded cultural message.

**Figurative Words and Sayings Related  
to Wisdom and Stupidity in Levantine Arabic**  
**Lela AVALIANI**

Akaki Tsreteli State University – [Lavaliani@yandex.ru](mailto:Lavaliani@yandex.ru)

The present article deals with the figurative words and sayings related to intelligence and stupidity in Levantine Arabic. Human intellectual capacities are figuratively expressed in Levantine Arabic's sayings and figures of speech. They are rich in various types of tropes/figures of speech (especially metaphors and similes). In phrasal expressions characterizing intelligent person lexeme – rās, ‘āq(>/)il, prevails. It is considered to be the main determinant of human intellect. The fool is compared to different animals and birds. The fool is also associated with a tree. Learning process and knowledge are also evaluated in proverbs. The intelligence is related to the spoken language, conversation.

Such terms are reflected in figurative words. From this point of view, Levantine Arabic, is rich in for example:

1. *'idā šāwa(/i)rt l-'āq(>/)il šār 'a'lo 'ilēk* – talk to a smart and you'll become clever too. (Word for word if you speak to the wise person his intelligence will come to you).
  2. *illi 'ando walad q(>/)āri mitl illi 'ando nah(a)r žāri* – Those who have a taught son looks like the owner of the well-watered river.
  3. *il-'a'l zēna w illi bilāh ħazīne* – Wise is a jewel, a lack of it - grief.
  4. *il-žāhel 'adūw nafso wi 'adūw l-žīrān* – Foolish is not only the enemy of himself, but his neighbor too.
  5. *'adūw 'āq(>/)il hēr min raft' žāhel* – Wise enemy is better than a stupid friend.
- And many others.

**From Interdental Fricatives to Stops in Maltese: A Case of Lexical Diffusion**  
**Andrei AVRAM**

University of Bucharest - [andrei2.avram@gmail.com](mailto:andrei2.avram@gmail.com)

As is well known Modern Maltese no longer has interdental fricatives, which have been replaced with the dental stops /t/ and /d/. The loss of the interdental fricatives is believed by some (e.g. Cohen 1966) to have taken place in the so-called “pre-Maltese” stage, i.e. before the separation of Maltese from the Arab world. The present paper examines the following sources on earlier Maltese: Caxaro’s (c. 1450) *Cantilena* (Wettinger & Fsadni 1968) – the first extant text in Maltese; Megiser’s (1610) wordlist – collected in 1588; Thezan’s (c. 1647) Maltese-Italian dictionary; records of place-names (Abela 1647); Marquis de Sentenat’s (1750) Catalan-Maltese vocabulary; de Soldanis’ dictionaries (1750, 1750-1767); de Soldanis’ dialogues (Id-Djalogi ta’ de Soldanis. n.d.); Vassalli’s comments in his Maltese-Latin-Italian dictionary (Vassalli 1796). The data presented, the analysis of the orthography used in the sources, and observations made

by various authors all converge in testifying to the existence of the interdental fricatives /t̪/ and /d̪/ in Maltese until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (see also Vella 2013, Avram 2014, 2016, 2017). Diachronically, while earlier Maltese /t̪/ corresponds to \*t̪, its voiced counterpart /d̪/ is the reflex of three etymological interdentals, \*d̪, \*d̪ and \*z̪. It is also shown that the replacement of the earlier Maltese interdental fricatives /t̪/ and /d̪/ with the dental stops /t/ and /d/ appears to have proceeded gradually, via word-by-word extension. On this analysis, the loss of the interdental fricatives in Maltese is an illustration of lexical diffusion (in the sense of e.g. McMahon 1994, Bybee 2016).

### **References:**

- Abela, G. F. 1647. *Della descrittione di Malta isola nel mare siciliano. Con le sue antichità, ed altre notitie.* Malta: Paolo Bonacota.
- Avram, A. A. 2014. The fate of the interdental fricatives in Maltese. *Romano-Arabica* XIV: 19-32.
- Avram, A. A. 2016. Phonological changes in Maltese: Evidence from onomastics. In Gilbert Puech & Benjamin Saade (eds.), *Shifts and Patterns in Maltese*, 49-90. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Avram, A. A. 2017. On the phonology of Sicilian Arabic and of early Maltese. In Mauro Tosco & Benjamin Saade (eds.), *Advances in Maltese Linguistics*, 3-38. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Bybee, Joan. 2016. *Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cassola, A. 1992. *The Biblioteca Vallicelliana Regole per la lingua Maltese. The Earliest Extant Grammar and Dictionary of the Maltese Language*. Valletta: Said International.
- Cohen, D. 1966. Le système phonologique du maltais: Aspects synchroniques et diachroniques. *Journal of Maltese Studies* 3: 1-26.
- Id-Djalogi ta' de Soldanis. n.d. [http://malti.skola.edu.mt/kotba/djalogi\\_desoldanis.pdf](http://malti.skola.edu.mt/kotba/djalogi_desoldanis.pdf).
- McMahon, A. M. S. 1994. *Understanding Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Megiser, H. 1610. *Propugnaculum Europe. Wahrhaftige und Ausführliche Beschreibung/der viel und weiter rühmten Afrikanischen Insul Malta*. Leipzig: Henning Großn.
- Queraltó Bartrés, A. 2003. *Un vocabulari català – maltès manuscript del segle XVIII. Edició, transcripció i estudi*. Barcelona: PPU.
- de Soldanis, G. P. F. A.. 1750. *Nuova scuola di grammatica per agevolmente apprendere la lingua punica maltese, aperta agli studenti maltesi, e forestieri abitanti in Malta*. Rome: Generoso Salomoni.
- de Soldanis, G. P. F. A. 1750-1767. ċ-amma tal Kliem Kartaginis mscerred fel fom tal Maltin u Għaucin. Ms143/I-IV, National Library of Malta.
- Vassalli, M. A. 1796. *Ktib yl-Klīm Mältei. Mfysser byl-Latin u byt-Taljan. Lexicon Melitense-Latin-Italum. Vocabolario maltese. Recato nelle lingue Latina e Italiana*. Rome: Antonio Fulgoni.
- Vella, O. 2013. A Gozitan dialect for Standard Maltese in the eighteenth century. Paper presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Maltese Linguistics, 17-19 June 2013, “Lumière” University, Lyon.
- Wettinger, G and Fsadni, M. 1968. *Peter Caxaru's Cantilena. A Poem in medieval Maltese*. Malta.

## **Histoire des communautés et traits dialectaux dans le Mont-Liban: le cas de Hammēna**

**Georgine AYOUB**

*Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales & Cermom - [g.ayoub@wanadoo.fr](mailto:g.ayoub@wanadoo.fr)*

Notre communication se propose d'exposer les premiers résultats d'un travail de terrain mené il y a un mois à peine à Hammēna, village du Mont Liban en altitude (1200m), sis dans la vallée, à gauche du col de Dahr el-Baydar. L'étude se propose de cerner les plus anciens traits dialectaux du parler du village. Celui-ci, au croisement du Matn et du Chouf, est peuplé essentiellement par des chrétiens maronites depuis la fin du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle, la région et les villages environnants étant, eux, dans leur grande majorité, druzes. Les familles qui habitent le village gardent un souvenir très vivace de l'histoire du peuplement et se disent, toutes, originaires de villages du Nord avec lesquels les Pères auraient conservé des relations jusqu'aux 'événements' – i.e. jusqu'au déclenchement de la guerre civile, dans les années soixante-dix du siècle dernier.

Cette étude des traits dialectaux les plus anciens tente de déterminer également si l'histoire de la communauté se lit encore dans son parler le plus ancien. Aussi tente-t-elle de cerner les traits résiduels qui persistent des parlers du Nord, et ceux, en revanche, typiques du substrat et de l'environnement druze. La bourgade, étudiée par H. Fleisch 1959 et 1964,<sup>1</sup> a été classée par lui, du point de vue dialectal, comme un village appartenant à la zone Centre Sud (CS). Elle aurait donc un parler différentiel.

## **B**

### **Differential Object Marking in the Jewish Dialect of Baghdad**

**Assaf BAR-MOSHE**

*Independent researcher - [assaf.bar-moshe@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:assaf.bar-moshe@mail.huji.ac.il)*

Differential object marking (DOM) refers to the cross-linguistic tendency to mark objects of distinct semantic nature in different ways. Most commonly, it is the status of the object on the axis of definiteness and/or animacy that determines which kind of objects fall under which marking strategy.

That the Jewish Arabic dialect of Baghdad (JB), like other dialects of Arabic and the Semitic family in general, is subject to DOM is not a surprise. In JB, definiteness plays the major role in dictating how objects should be marked. Indefinite nominal objects are left unmarked while nominal definite objects are marked by quite an elaborate construction. Typically, this construction flags the nominal object by prefixing it with the

1 Fleisch, Henri, 1959, « Premiers résultats d'une enquête dialectale au Liban », *Orbis*, t. VIII, repris dans *Etudes d'Arabe dialectal*, 1974, Beyrouth : Dar El-Machreq.

Fleisch, Henri, 1964, « Textes en arabe dialectal de la montagne libanaise : limite entre parlers non différentiels et parlers différentiels», *MUSJ*, t.XL, repris dans *Etudes d'Arabe dialectal*, 1974, Beyrouth : Dar El-Machreq.

proposition *l*- but at the same time also indexes it by suffixing a pronominal object to the verb, as the following example shows:

*bā<sup>f</sup>-a l-almasāyi.*  
sell.PFV.3MS-3FS ACC-diamond.  
"He sold the diamond".

Despite the fact that this construction is the most common in use, nominal definite direct objects are sometimes marked by one of its sub-constructions. Thus, in certain cases the object is flagged but left unindexed, or it is indexed but left unflagged. Moreover, in specific cases, neither a flag nor a person index is employed.

The proposed talk will focus on the conditions that allow the use of each of these sub-constructions. Constraints like the nature of the object-NP in terms of definiteness and animacy, the inclusion of additional arguments in the sentence, and word order will be discussed. This will allow us to draw the scale of definiteness and animacy in JB.

## اللهجة المحكية اللبنانيّة في خدمة العقيدة اللبنانيّة-الفينيقيّة

باسيليوس بواردي

University of Bar Ilan Ramat Gan-Israel - [bbawardi@gmail.com](mailto:bbawardi@gmail.com)

يتناول التقرير دور اللهجة المحكية اللبنانيّة في الصراع الأيديولوجي الذي قادته حركة "الفيتيون الشباب" ضد القومية العربية، معتبرين هذه اللهجة لغة قومية لبنانية فينيقيّة ذات خصوصية تفصلها كلية عن اللغة العربيّة الفصحي. فقد وعى مساندو هذه القومية، دور الأدب والثقافة واللغة، في نشر الأفكار العقائدية، وترسيخها في نفوس الناس. وقاموا إذاك، بمحاولات جتية لتأسيس أدب مختلف عن الأدب العربي التقليدي، يستند إلى موروث حضاري مغاير؛ هو الموروث الفينيقي وكتبو باللهجة اللبنانيّة أدبا يعيد صياغة التاريخ اللبناني من منظورهم العقائدي. وقد كان هذا الأدب عامّة، يحاول على الدوام، الخروج عن دائرة التراث الثقافي العربي الإسلامي، الذي اعتبر، في عرفهم، أدبا متخلّفاً جاماً، يعيق عملية التقدّم العصري. واعتبرت لغته العربية الفصحي، لغة عاقدا لا يمكنها التعبير عن مكونات نفس الأديب في العصر الحديث. هكذا تم استغلال الأدب واللهجة المحكية اللبنانيّة لتأكيد الخصوصية القوميّة، ليصبح، من هذا المنظار، جزءا من التسويفات العديدة، التي قدّمتها القومية الإقليمية اللبنانيّة فينيقيّة للانعزاز عن المحیط العربي. ويتخذ هذا التقرير من الشعراء سعيد عقل ومر المر وموريس عواد نموذجا نصيا يساعدنا على فهم تجسيد هذه اللهجة في الصراع العقائدي في لبنان.

## Des traits ruraux et des traits urbains dans le parler de Ouezzane: urbanisation et variation linguistique d'un parler jebli.

Montserrat BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ

Escuela de Estudios Árabes-CSIC - [montsebenitez@eeaa.csic.es](mailto:montsebenitez@eeaa.csic.es)

Différentes missions de travail de terrain menées entre 2014 et 2018 à Ouezzane confirment qu'une partie très importante de la population de Ouezzane est originaire de la région Jbala avoisinante. Cet exode rural qui a commencé au XXème siècle et qui continue à se produire aujourd'hui, est également une réalité ailleurs au Maroc. Ce

processus laisse des traces dans les pratiques linguistiques des locuteurs, notamment le processus d'urbanisation des parlers (Messaoudi, 2001 ; Miller 2008) ainsi que de nivellation (Bassiouney 2011 ; Hachimi 2011 et 2012).

Lors de cette communication, je vais me centrer sur les informateurs appartenant à la tribu de Ghzaoua, au nord de la province de Ouezzane, qui habitent dans cette ville et je vais confronter leur parler avec celui des informateurs étant restés dans le cercle de Moqrisset -dans la partie sud de la *qibla*- où j'ai pu me rendre. Je vais donc identifier les traits montagnards puis vérifier dans quelle mesure ils se sont maintenus ou pas chez les informateurs urbains afin d'analyser le processus d'urbanisation du parler, ainsi que l'éventuelle variation linguistique qui est en train de se produire.

### Références bibliographiques

- Bassiouney, r. 2011. "Levelling", K. Versteegh et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* vol. III. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 8-13.
- Hachimi, A. 2012. "The urban and the urbane: Identities, language ideologies, and Arabic dialects in Morocco", *Language in Society* 41, 321-341.
- Hachimi, A. 2011. "Réinterprétations sociale d'un vieux parler citadin maghrébin à Casablanca", *Langage et société* 138/4, 21-42.
- Messaoudi, L. 2001. « Urbanisation linguistique et dynamique langagière dans la ville de Rabat », *Cahiers de Sociolinguistique* 6, 89-100.
- Miller, C. 2008. « Arabic urban vernaculars: development and change », C. Miller, E. Al-Wer, D. Caubet et J. Watson (eds.), *Arabic in the city. Issues in dialect contact and language variation*. Routledge: London, 1-31.

### A Spotlight of Dialectal Features in Ouassini 'S Laaradj Novel Tawq Elyasamine

**Karima BENHEDDI, Nabila EL HADJ SAID**

*Naama university, Algeria - [karima.benisnous@live.fr](mailto:karima.benisnous@live.fr) / [paradise\\_nabila@yahoo.fr](mailto:paradise_nabila@yahoo.fr)*

The present research paper seeks to highlight the insertion of dialectal features with the standard form in Ouassini 's Laaradj novel "Tawq Elyasamine". The novel is not chosen randomly but on purpose, so what characterizes Ouassini s' novel and supplies it with a distinguished glamour is the presence of language diversity so, despite the standard form is the dominant variety in the novel but, when the author is exposed to cultural elements such as: proverbs, popular songs, he used dialect (mainly Algerian Arabic) in order to be faithful to the context by retaining the original words of characters in dialogue. In fact, the insertion of dialectal features in literary style does not lessen from its value, but rather enforces it and draws beautiful portraits about the characters' behaviours, mentalities and life styles then; it offers a special elegance and charm for the literary work. Thus, this study will describe the reasons behind adopting Algerian Arabic dialect in this novel. Based on a set of literary, linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches, the available cultural and linguistic data in the novel have been analysed and interpreted to

unveil the real and ordinary life of the novels' fictional characters with an aim to rise dialect awareness among readers and to capture the post independent Algerian era.

**Key words:** Algerian Arabic, dialectal features, literary style, novel "Tawq Elyasamine", standard form

## Preliminary Remarks on the Arabic Spoken in Shahhat (Libya)

Najah BENMOFTAH, Marawa BENSHENSHIN

LACNAD (Paris) - [njouhben@gmail.com](mailto:njouhben@gmail.com) / [marwa\\_2710@yahoo.fr](mailto:marwa_2710@yahoo.fr)

Shahhat is an inland town of the northeastern Libya situated about 20 km east of Al-Bayda and about 70 km west of Derna. Like Al-Khums in Tripolitania that is an obligatory crossing point for those who want to visit one of the most spectacular Roman ruins in the Mediterranean: Leptis Magna, Shahhat serves as the gateway to the oldest and most important of the Greek cities in the region: Cyrene, which gave the name Cyrenaica to the eastern coastal region of Libya.

As far as we know, Shahhat Arabic has never been described. Only Terence F. Mitchell has undertaken linguistic fieldwork among Bedouin near Shahhat that allowed him to write three articles about Eastern Libyan Arabic (Mitchell 1952; 1957; 1960), the last of which has been published 59 years ago. In order to contribute to knowledge on Libyan Arabic varieties, this presentation based on recordings gathered among *Šāhhātiyya* will allow to partially fill this gap by providing a linguistic sketch of selected features describing elements of its phonetic and its phonology, its morphophonology, its morphology, along with its morphosyntax.

This presentation will also provide a comparison between Shahhat Arabic and other Libyan varieties, such as Tripoli Arabic (Pereira 2010; Yoda 2005), Jadu Arabic (Pereira 2012), Al-Khums Arabic (Benmoftah & Pereira fthc.), Misrata Arabic (Ras Ali 2015; D'anna fthc.), Fezzan Arabic (Marçais 2001; Caubet 2004) and Benghazi Arabic (Benkato 2014).

## Bibliography

**Benkato**, Adam. 2014. The Arabic dialect of Benghazi (Libya): historical and comparative notes. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 59: 57–102.

**Benmoftah**, Najah, and Christophe **Pereira**. Forthcoming. Preliminary remarks on the Arabic spoken in Al-Khums (Libya). In Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (ed.), *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends, Recent Developments, Diachronic Aspects*. IEIOP, Zaragoza.

**Caubet**, Dominique. 2004. Les parlers arabes nomades et sédentaires du Fezzān, d'après William et Philippe Marçais. In Martine Haak, Rudolf de Jong and Kees Versteegh (eds), *Approaches to Arabic Dialects: A Collection of Articles Presented to Manfred Woidich on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 38. Brill, Leiden: 67–95.

**D'Anna**, Luca. Forthcoming. Two texts in the Arabic dialect of Misrata, with preliminary notes and observations. *Mediterranean Language Review*.

**Marçais**, Philippe. 2001. *Parlers arabes du Fezzān: textes, traductions et éléments de morphologie rassemblés et présentés par Dominique Caubet, Aubert Martin et Laurence Denooz*. Librairie Droz, Geneva.

**Mitchell**, Terence F. 1952. The active participle in an Arabic dialect of Cyrenaica. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14.1: 11–33.

**Mitchell**, Terence F. 1957. The language of buying and selling in Cyrenaica. *Hespéris* 44: 31–71.

**Mitchell**, Terence F. 1960. Prominence and syllabification in Arabic. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23.2: 369–89.

**Pereira**, Christophe. 2012. L'Arabe de Žâdu<sup>۹</sup> (Žébel Nefûsa) d'après Gioia Chiauzzi. In Alexandrine Barontini, Christophe Pereira, Ángeles Vicente and Karima Ziamari (eds), *Dynamiques langagières en Arabophonies: variations, contacts, migrations et créations artistiques. Hommage offert à Dominique Caubet par ses élèves et collègues*. IEIOP, Zaragoza: 164–99.

**Ras Ali**, Hawa. 2015. *L'Arabe de Misurata (Libye)*. MA dissertation, INALCO, Paris. 107 pp.

**Yoda**, Sumikazu. 2005. *The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tripoli (Libya): Grammar, Text and Glossary*. Semitica Viva 35. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

## **Epenthetic Vowels in Arabic Dialects in Comparison with Classical Arabic** **Karim BENSOUKAS, Ahmed ECH-CHARFI**

*Mohammed V University, Rabat - [k.bensoukas@gmail.com](mailto:k.bensoukas@gmail.com) / [a.echcharfi@um5s.net.ma](mailto:a.echcharfi@um5s.net.ma)*

While many Middle Eastern Arabic dialects share similar syllable structures found in Classical Arabic, they differ in the nature of the vowel generally epenthesized to satisfy certain constraints on these structures. In a group of them (e.g. Egyptian), the epenthetic vowel is /i/ whereas in another group (e.g. Yemeni), it is /a/ (cf. Watson, 2002). The purpose of the presentation is to show that this difference is probably an old one. In Classical Arabic as well as in dialects such as Egyptian, i-epenthesis is the most productive process, compared with other vowels. There is some evidence, however, that /a/ used to be epenthesized in Classical Arabic when there was need to observe constraints on consonant clusters. Some arguments in support of this claim will be advanced. First, following traditional Arab grammarians, we will defend the view that the definite article in Classical Arabic is /l/ and that the glottal stop and the following /a/ are epenthetic on the basis of internal evidence. More specifically, the vowel does not show up when the preceding word is vowel-final, e.g. *daxal-tu-lbayt* “I entered the house”. The replacement of /al/ by /il/ in many Arabic dialects will be considered additional evidence that the exceptional /a/ has been regularized. Even in Classical Arabic, /i/ often replaces /a/ when the preceding word is C-final, e.g. *waṣalat-i-l-bint* “the girl has arrived”. By contrast, the preposition *min* “from” is noticed to behave differently in that it is followed by /a/ in Classical Arabic, e.g. *min-al-bayt* “from the house”, although the vowel is clearly epenthetic; it does not show up when the preposition is followed by a CV-initial word, e.g. *min ḥind-i-naa* “from us”. In dialects like Egyptian, but not like Yemeni,

/a/ tends to be regularized, e.g. *min-il-biit*. The final vowel of *laakinna* “but” can also be argued to be epenthetic, given that it occurs only before nouns, compared with the weak form *laakin*, which usually occurs before verbs. Actually, a final piece of evidence concerns the class of particles which co-occur with nouns (often a-final) as compared with the class that co-occur with verbs (often C-final); e.g. ?inna vs. ?in. These particles have apparently preserved the epenthetic /a/ because of frequency. Dialects like Yemeni Arabic, in which /a/ is the regular epenthetic vowel, will be argued to probably descend from varieties of Old Arabic which were different from Classical Arabic in this respect.

**Key words:** vowel epenthesis, Arabic dialects, Classical Arabic

## **Modern Trends in Arabic Dialectology Development**

**Olga BERNIKOVA**

*Research Laboratory for Analysis and Modelling of Social Structure*

*St. Petersburg State University - [o.bernikova@spbu.ru](mailto:o.bernikova@spbu.ru)*

Modern science has undergone through significant change for the last decades due to the developments of the present-day world, caused by deep impact of tendencies of globalization. Spread of information and computer technologies as well as migration of the population completely changed linguistic picture of the world. In this regard, the Arabic dialectology especially needs to rethink its key tasks and basic concepts. The present research regards modern trends in the Arabic dialectology. The tasks are concentrated on analysis of such topics as diglossia and modern reality, territorial Arabic dialects in the 21<sup>st</sup> century; the language of the Arabic media, including social media, correlation local vs. global in linguistics. The basic problems of the Arabic dialectology today corresponds to the fact that it is necessary to break the traditional approach to description of the Arabic dialects, which is primarily based upon territorial classification. There is no anymore the same geographical borders as it was before. People are frequently moving from place to place taking with them their culture and language. Once in the new environment, this culture and language, as part of it, mix with another culture, acquiring a new color. Another factor breaking traditional geographical borders of territorial dialects concerns the use of dialect as a mean of electronic communication. Nowadays it is necessary to implement multidisciplinary research, in order to make formalization of dialects aimed at their processing (both acoustic and written).

**Key words:** language, dialect, Arabic, globalization, ICT

## **18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Century Epistolaries as a Source for the Study of Omani Arabic**

**Simone BETTEGA**

*University of Turin - [simone.bettega@unito.it](mailto:simone.bettega@unito.it)*

The aim of this presentation is to illustrate the type of Arabic employed in a corpus of written documents (mostly consisting of personal correspondences) composed in Oman between the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. These letters are currently preserved in the archives of the Omani National Records and Archives Authority in Muscat, where the present author has had the chance to examine them. Around 30 letters have been analyzed as part of this study. As is well known, texts composed in so-called Middle Arabic (the definition is not unproblematic; see Lentin 2007 for a discussion), are often characterized by marked dialectal influences that can be revealing of the author's linguistic habits. The scope of the present research is to investigate the typologically "dialectal" elements that appear in the corpus, in order to shed some light on certain characteristics of the Omani dialect bundle and their evolution over time. The varieties of Arabic currently spoken within the territory of the Sultanate of Oman have long been known for showing a number of unusual characteristics (Holes 1989), and they strongly differ even from the geographically contiguous Gulf varieties (for which a study similar to the present one, based on a corpus of letters written by several Gulf rulers between the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, already exists: see Holes 2008). In particular, certain uncommon features which had been reported for Omani Arabic at the turn of the last century (Reinhardt 1894) appear today to be either receding or entirely absent (these include, but are not limited to, the *ha-* future/intentive marker, the *bu* relative pronoun, and the *-s* suffixed negative marker). The study of written texts dating back more than 200 years could provide us with precious insights concerning the status and historical development of these and other characteristics.

**Key words:** Oman, Middle Arabic, Epistolary, Historical dialectology

### **Bibliographical references**

- Lentin, J. (2007), *Middle Arabic*, in Versteegh, K., et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Vol. II, Leiden, Brill: 215-224
- Holes, C. (1989), Towards a Dialect Geography of Oman, in "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies", 52 (3): 446-462
- Holes, C. (2008), *The 'mixed' Arabic of the letters of 19th and early 20th century Gulf rulers*, in Lentin, J., Grand'Henry, J. (eds.), *Moyen Arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire*, Peeters, Louvain-la-Neuve: 193-229
- Reinhardt, C. (1894), *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in Oman und Zanzibar*, Amsterdam, Philo Press

## اللهجة الكثيرية (الضئيلة) في بادية ظفار، عُمان: دراسة لغوية وصفية

عامر بن أزاد عدلي الكثيري

جامعة السلطان قابوس - [a.juffa-87@hotmail.com](mailto:a.juffa-87@hotmail.com)

تدرس هذه المداخلة عدداً من الخصائص اللغوية المميزة للهجة الكثيرية والمسماة بـ(الضئيلة) الموجودة في مناطق بادية شمال محافظة ظفار، الواقعة في أقصى جنوب سلطنة عُمان. ويرجح أن تكون هذه اللهجة امتداداً لمجموعة اللهجات المنتشرة في بادية حضرموت والمناطق القريبة منها. وقد اكتسبت اللهجة المدرّسة خصائص مميزة كثيرة بحكم وشائج القربي مع اللهجات بادية حضرموت، وبسبب جوارها واحتكاكها غير المنقطع مع اللغتين: المهرية والشحرية المنتتمتين إلى مجموعة اللغات العربية الجنوبية المعاصرة.

ولم تدرس هذه اللهجة دراسة علمية مستقلة من قبل، ولا يُنْفَلُ الكتاب الذي ألفه أحمد طويب المهرى (2009)، والذي ضمنه كثيراً من المعلومات عن معجم اللهجة الكثيرية، وبعض الجمل البسيطة. وإن كان اهتمامه الرئيسي باللغة المهرية، ولكن المادة كلها بالحرروف العربية غير المشكّلة، وقراءتها صعبة جداً لغير الناطق باللهجة نفسها.

وتحاول هذه الدراسة أن تقدم مقاربة وصفية لهذه اللهجة في عدد من خصائصها الصوتية والصرفية والتركيبيّة والمعجمية اعتماداً على تسجيلات صوتية جمعها الباحث من متحدثين باللهجة من مناطق مختلفة (ثرىيت وروية وعيون وصلالة) من جاوز عمره ستين عاماً، ولم يتلق تعليماً نظامياً. وفي الجانب الصوتي تحوي اللهجة المدرّسة صوامت مشتركة مع الصوامت الموجودة في العربية الفصيحة المعاصرة مع وجود هذه الملاحظات: صوت القاف التارخي يقابلها ثلاثة تحقيقات هي: الجيم الطبقية [g] والكاف المحنجرة [k] والصوت اللثوي المدور المركب والمحنجر [tʃ]، ويرجح الباحث أن يكون ذلك بتأثير من اللغات الجنوبية المجاورة، كما تُنْطق الطاء نطاً محنجاً [t]، وينطق الجيم باء [j] في كل السياقات ما عدا بعض الكلمات الداخلية على اللهجة، ويحدث العكس بأن تُنْطق الياء المشددة جيماً غارياً احتكاكية [j] وهذه الظاهرة وجود قديم أشار إليها العلماء فيما عُرف عندهم بالungejje. وانحدرت الطاء التاريخية النطق الجنبي المميز للضاد فجري الاندماج بين الفونيمين مجرى يخالف ما نجده في معظم اللهجات، حيث اتخذت الضاد (على الأقل تاريخياً) النطق بين الأسنانى المميز للطاء في معظم اللهجات العربية الأخرى، ويتحقق الصوتان في صوت واحد قریب من اللام المفخمة [l] ويُشيع هذا النطق أيضاً في بعض مناطق حضرموت ودبئنة (Landberg 1901: 637)، وكذلك في منطقة عسیر (Watson J.C.E. and Al-Azraqi M 2011: 425-432). ومن التنويعات الألفونية لصوت اللام تأتيه من المنطقة اللثوية إلى منطقة الغار [g] عند مجاورة الياء كما في نطق كلمة jawm "اليوم". أما أبرز ما يميز نظام الصوامت فهو التعارض بين إمالة الفتحة والألف إمالة شديدة في بعض السياقات [ge:flah] "فافلة"، وتتأخرها مع تدويرها في سياقات أخرى [swɔ:t] "سؤال".

وفي الجانب الصرفي تخلو الأفعال المتصلة بباء المتكلّم من نون الوقاية [melak-i] "جعل القاضي المرأة زوجة لي بعقد شرعي". ويجتمع الفعل مع الفاعل الدال على الجمع [jə-gu:mu:n- ?al-frab] "يقف الرجال للنصراف". وتكون أداة التعريف - غالباً - همزة [i-kram] "الكرم". وتحتفظ اللهجة بصيغ خاصة للمبني للمجهول كما في 1- [?ə-ste:kla-t xubzah] "أكلت الخبرة".

وفي الجانب التركيبي نجد أن صيغة النفي تظهر كمورفيم نفي غير متواصل (discontinuous negation ma...lah) في عدة سياقات [ma ji:t lah] "ما جئت"، أما الاستفهام فأبرز أدواته هي: [wəra:k] "لماذا؟" [mta:h] "متى؟" [ki:h] "كيف؟" ، ومن الأدوات التي تسبق الفعل كلمة [ga:ʃed] "قاعد" وتشترك بذلك مع بعض اللهجات شرق الجزيرة العربية، ويلاحظ عدم وجود هذه الأداة في اللهجة ساحل ظفار الحضرية (المعشنى 2014).

وفي الجانب المعجمي يمكن تقسيم مفردات هذه اللهجة إلى كلمات فصيحة وكلمات خاصة باللهجة الضئيلة وكلمات مرتبطة باللغات العربية الجنوبية التي لا تزال لها بقايا في المنطقة.

أهم المراجع:

- Le conte Carlo de Landberg, 1901. *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, vol. 1  
 Hadramoût, Leiden, Brill.
- المهري، أحمد طويب. 2009. جمهرة قاموس اللغة المهرية. أبوظبي: مكتبة الفقيه.
- Watson J.C.E. and Al-Azraqi M. (2011) Lateral fricatives and lateral emphatics in southern Saudi Arabia and Mehri. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 41, pp. 425-432.
- المعشنی، محمد بن سالم. 2014. دراسة لغوية في لهجة صلالة. مجلة الخليل. العدد 1. جامعة نزوى. 49-13.

## The Grammaticalization of Pre-verbal Particles in Siirti Arabic

**Gabriel BITUNĂ**

University of Bucharest - [gabrielbituna@gmail.com](mailto:gabrielbituna@gmail.com)

Grammaticalization is usually perceived as a process that consists of a series of linguistic changes, after which a lexical element becomes a grammatical element, in specific contexts. In general, there is a typology in which specific lexical elements evolve towards clitics or grammatical affixes, like demonstrative pronouns towards articles or copulative verbs and movement verbs towards aspectual morphemes. Pre-verbal particles in spoken Arabic are oftentimes the result of a long process of language development, both morphosyntactically, and semantically. This paper discusses the pre-verbal particles utilized in Siirti Arabic, taking into consideration several aspects such as the etymology of these particles, their process of grammaticalization and the semantic changes they bring to verbs in this variety of Arabic. The research is mainly based on a corpus of recordings collected by me from Siirti Arabic speakers between 2013 and 2016.

**Key words:** grammaticalization, Siirti Arabic, pre-verbal particles, lexicalization, etymology

## De l'expression de la localisation à celle d'appartenance l'émergence du «quasi-verbe» avoir

**Aziza BOUCHERIT**

Université Paris Descartes-Sorbonne Paris Cité & MoDyCo (CNRS/Paris Nanterre)  
[aziza.boucherit@laposte.net](mailto:aziza.boucherit@laposte.net)

En arabe des prépositions exprimant une localisation ont le rôle de prédicat dans la phrase où elles s'insèrent si elles sont combinées à des pronoms personnels affixes ; la construction syntaxique ainsi formée fonctionne alors une sorte de verbe “avoir” conjugué.

Connu de longue date de l'arabe et des langues sémitiques, ce type de construction à valeur verbale où une particule d'origine diverse est conjuguée au moyen de pronoms personnels affixes repose sur l'existence de la phrase nominale courante dans ces langues et, outre “avoir”, sont exprimées par ce moyen d'autres notions, par exemple “être”.

À la différence des verbes, ces constructions ne prennent pas en charge l'opposition aspectuelle ; cependant, comme les verbes, certaines d'entre elles peuvent explicitement exprimer le passé ou le futur si elles sont précédées de l'auxiliaire *kan* conjugué. Verbe incomplet donc, d'où le terme de “quasi-verbe” utilisé pour désigner ce type de prédicat de phrase nominale.

Dans cette communication je me propose de traiter de quelques prépositions, dont la valeur fondamentale est de marquer la localisation (*lā* “chez”, *fī* “dans”, *lī* “à”), dans leurs emplois de relateur (préposition locative) et de prédicat (quasi-verbe). Mon propos n'est pas de démontrer que la verbalisation de la préposition est un développement de la phrase nominale de la phrase nominale “pure”, c'est-à-dire la phrase nominale à deux termes, sans copule – cela a été parfaitement démontré par David Cohen<sup>1</sup>. Mon propos est de montrer que ce sont les propriétés sémantiques de la préposition qui rendent compte de la “dérive sémantique” qui conduit de la notion de locatif à celle d'appartenance. Pour ce faire, je me baserai sur des données d'arabe algérien, tout en n'excluant pas les rapprochements avec d'autres dialectes, notamment les dialectes maghrébins.

## The Spoken Arabic of *Bəžžāf* (Morocco): A Linguistic Sketch

Cristiana BOZZA

Sapienza University of Rome - [cristiana.bozza@uniroma1.it](mailto:cristiana.bozza@uniroma1.it)

This paper explores the Arabic spoken in *Abī al-Ğafḍ* (or *Abū al-Ğafḍ*, *Bəžžāf* by locals), a small city in the north-central Moroccan region of *Banī Mallāl-Hanifra*, 170 km southeast of Casablanca and about 180 km southeast of Rabat. To the best of our knowledge, this variety of Moroccan Arabic has not been documented yet. The study attempts to fill this gap, by providing a preliminary description of the *bəžžāf* *diyya*, with a particular focus on phonology, morphology and morpho-syntax.

The research draws on data collected during a two-month long fieldwork carried out between October and December 2015, using free and semi-structured interviews partly based on Caubet's questionnaire (Caubet 2000-2001).

The linguistic analysis suggests that the Arabic of *Bəžžāf* reflects the ‘composite nature of the central dialect type’ highlighted by Heath (Heath 2002:9), in that it displays typical features of the *Hilālian*-type coupled with some pre-*Hilālian* traits, in addition to specificities mostly related to the contact with Berber.

**Key words:** Arabic Dialectology, Maghrebi Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, *Abī al-Ğafḍ*

## References

---

<sup>1</sup>. COHEN, David, *La phrase nominale et l'évolution du système verbal en sémitique. Études de syntaxe historique*, Paris, Société de linguistique de Paris, 1984.

Caubet, D. 2000-2001. "Questionnaire de dialectologie du Maghreb (d'après les travaux de W. Marçais, M. Cohen, G. S. Colin, J. Cantineau, D. Cohen, Ph. Marçais, S. Levy, etc.)". *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana e andalusí* 5, Zaragoza, pp. 73-92.

Heath, J. 2002. *Jewish and Muslim Dialects of Moroccan Arabic*, London/New York.

## C / D

### **Revisiting the Use of Future in Moroccan Arabic – The New Future Particle A- Confirmed**

**Dominique CAUBET**

INALCO – CREAM-LaCNAD - [caubet.dominique@yahoo.fr](mailto:caubet.dominique@yahoo.fr)

Nearly 6 years ago at AIDA-Doha 2013, I presented a paper on a “*grammaticalization process in darija: the future in a-*”. It was a tentative utterance because I had only started collecting examples, essentially in a written form on internet (mainly Facebook). I have been collecting more examples for 5 years now, which lead me to confirm the development of this usage.

I analyse this *a-* particle as resulting from a grammaticalization or morphological reduction of the *gādi* particle: *gādi tji* is reduced and truncated in *gā yji* and in the more recent uses, in *ayji*.

Hmd, émta atrje3 {Thank God! When are you coming back?}

- atkuni? {Will you be there? (at a conference)}

Anmchi #LBoulevard18 , chno nlbess? 🤗{I'm going to #LBoulevard18, what will I wear ?}

Anlbess li bghayt! 🤘 {I'll wear what pleases me}

I will also present the use of this *ga-/a-* future form in narratives. It gives a very lively turn to the story and is frequently used by younger generations:

Stof gha ne3rfu ta men be3d, 7ta gha nwelli ana ‘punk’ o l3ibat... men be3d Mustapha ta howa gha ydreb kreta, gha ywelli ta howa ‘punk’...

{I will only meet Stof later, when I will become punk and so on... Later Mustapha will become punk and grow a Mohawk, he will become a punk too.}

## Semantics of Concession in Traditional and Neo-Mutallat Arabic: Observations on the Nature of the Condition

Letizia CERQUEGLINI

Tel Aviv University - [lolaluna2017@gmail.com](mailto:lolaluna2017@gmail.com)

Concession contradicts the expected causal relation between two events. Semantic approaches describe the ‘entailment of denied causality’ as a scalar value that ranges from factual concession (between real events) to irrelevancy (König, 1994). Formal accounts distinguish factual from conditional concession, which entails scalar, alternative and universal types (Haspelmath & König, 1998). I compare concessive clauses in Traditional Mutallat Arabic (TMA) and Neo-Mutallat Arabic (NMA). TMA is a Palestinian dialect spoken by elders over age seventy in the Israeli Mutallat. NMA is spoken by young people under age forty. For data elicitation, I employed a 345,000-word corpus of MA oral narrative and daily speech. To detect the semantic inventory of concessive types in both varieties and compare their representations, I tackled the distribution of:

<i>maš</i>	<i>inn-o</i>	
PREP with	CONJ that – IND.PRON.3MS it	
<i>ida</i>	<i>ašan</i>	
CONJ if	CONJ that	
<i>w-</i>	<i>ida</i>	
CONJ and	CONJ if	
<i>ā</i>	<i>willa</i>	<i>la</i>
ADV yes	ADVERS.CONJ or	ADV no
<i>hatta</i>	<i>law</i>	
PREP until	CONJ if	
<i>law</i>		
CONJ even if		
<i>Bess</i>		
CONJ but		
<i>maš</i>	<i>hēč</i>	
PREP with	ADV so	
<i>ida</i>	<i>hū</i>	<i>nafsu</i>
CONJ if	INDEP.PRON.3MS he	REFL.PRON. 3MS himself
<i>bi-</i>	<i>kull</i>	<i>il-</i> <i>ihlāt</i>
PREP in	ATTR all	DET the
		NOUN MS cases

TMA differentiates factual concessive (*maš innō*) from scalar conditional concessive (*hatta law*), while in NMA *maš innō/ida ašan* apply to both cases. TMA applies *maš innō* in the alternative conditional concession as well. TMA bases factual concession on a yes/no condition (Ladusaw, 1979). Quantificational constructs are rare in TMA, while NMA has loaded ‘no matter how,’ *muš muhimm*, from the Hebrew *lo mešaneh* for the same function. Cross-generational comparison highlights the fact that NMA is developing a

new fluidity between factual and conditional concession, losing the criterion of binary condition that rules both factual and conditional alternative concession in TMA.

## References

- Haspelmath, M., König, E. (1998). *Concessive conditionals in the languages of Europe*. J. van der Auwera (ed.) *Adverbial constructions in the languages of Europe*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 563–640.
- König, E. (1994) *Concessive Clauses*. Asher, R.E. (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Language and Language Universals*, New York: Blackwell, 679–681.
- Ladusaw, W.A. (1979) *Polarity Sensitivity as Inherent Scope Relations*. PhD Diss., University of Texas, Austin.

## Dialectological Expedition to Central Asia: October-November, 2018

**Guram CHIKOVANI, Zviad TSKHVRDIANI**

Free University of Tbilisi – [gchikovani@yahoo.com](mailto:gchikovani@yahoo.com)

Akaki Tsereteli State University – [zviadi\\_2008@yahoo.com](mailto:zviadi_2008@yahoo.com)

From October 28<sup>th</sup> to November 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018 a dialectological expedition to Central Asia was held by Guram Chikovani and Zviad Tskhvediani. The aim of the expedition was to identify the existing language situation in Central Asia, namely in the Arabic kishlaks of Bukhara and Qashqa-darya regions, as well as to gather and process a dialectological material. This goal was achieved. Last time Guram Chikovani visited these regions in 2000. The following paper deals with the evaluation and analysis of the current linguistic situation.

Dialectological material was collected in kishlak Jogari of Bukhara Gijduvon region and kishlak Jeinau of Qashqa-darya region. On-site research revealed that the number of people speaking Arabic dialect has sharply decreased compared to 2000s. This applies especially to young people and the people of middle ages. Native Arabic is more preserved in Jogari than in Jeinau. In the latter one, unlike Jogari, it was difficult for us to find young people knowing Arabic dialect.

Obtained dialectological material illustrates the vitality of grammatical formation in both dialects. As for the lexis, the influence of Tajik and Uzbek languages being in contact is stronger.

Secondary borrowings are also fixed, when the lexis of Arabic origin from Tajik and Uzbek languages enters the Arabic dialect.

**Key words:** Central Asian Arabic Dialects, Bukhara, Qashqa-darya, Scientific Expedition

## **Language and Female Rap in the Arab World: The Cases of Shadia Mansour and Malika**

**Emanuela DE BLASIO**

*Università degli Studi della Tuscia, Viterbo – [emanueladeblasio@gmail.com](mailto:emanueladeblasio@gmail.com)*

Gender studies on the Arab world (Sadiqi, 2003; El Saadawi, 1980; Mernissi, 1997) have shown that women, excluded from public contexts, have had to fight for decades in order to gain some level of visibility in all fields, including the artistic sector.

Even in the musical context, Arab women have had to undermine this concept between "inside" and "outside", between interior and exterior space and have appeared in a public space performing in front of the community and expressing their ideas through the language of the songs.

Studies on language and gender related to the Arab world show that women are linked to a language perceived as more prestigious and high social level and in some contexts also English and French (Vicente, 2009). Despite this, in the hip hop scenario, rappers tend to follow a masculine jargon characterized by direct language and strong expressions. The language, used in the songs of women rappers, is more aggressive than the language used by girls in society and in everyday life. Presumably this could be the result of male dominance in the rap scene in which the women artists work, but also a consequence of freedom of expression offered by the rap genre, providing them with a public space in which to affirm their identity and their own thought.

The present work examines the language used in the texts of two women rapper: the Anglo-Palestinian Shadia Mansour and the Lebanese Malikah. In this context a morpho-syntactic and lexical analysis of the selected corpus is carried out.

**Key words:** language and gender, women rappers, Arabic dialectology, Shadia Mansour, Malika

### **References**

- El Saadawi, N., 1980, *The hidden face of Eve: Women in the Arab World*, Zed Books, London.
- Mernissi, F., 1997, *Rêves de femmes: Une enfance au harem*, Editions Le Fennec, Casablanca.
- Sadiqi, F., 2003, *Women, Gender and Language in Morocco*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Vicente, Á., 2009, «Gender and language boundaries in the Arab world: Current issues and perspectives», *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí*, vol. 13, 7-30.

## **VICAV 3.0: Workflows for the „Digital Dialectologist“**

**Terlan DJAVADOVA, Aleksandra ERCEGOVCEVIC**

*Institute for Near Eastern Studies, University of Vienna - [Terlan.Djavadova@univie.ac.at](mailto:Terlan.Djavadova@univie.ac.at)*

*[aleksandra.ercegovcevic@univie.ac.at](mailto:aleksandra.ercegovcevic@univie.ac.at)*

**Karlheinz MOERTH, Daniel SCHOPPER**

*Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities of the Austrian Academy of Sciences*

*[Karlheinz.Moerth@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:Karlheinz.Moerth@oeaw.ac.at)*

*[daniel.schopper@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:daniel.schopper@oeaw.ac.at)*

The research to be presented is situated at the crossroads between diatopic linguistic approaches and research-driven text technology, and meant to be a methodological contribution to the AIDA community, which has also started to make more and more use of digital language resources. The presentation will introduce an entirely new version of VICAV, a virtual platform collecting digital language resources and will demonstrate in what manner this new, innovative tool helps to answer actual research questions in the field of Arabic dialectology.

Irrespective of its name (VICAV stands for Vienna Corpus of Arabic Varieties), the endeavour has initially been focused on a number of types of language resources other than digital corpora in the narrower sense of digital text collections, comprising language profiles, bibliographies, lexical resources and documentation of tools and workflows. The presentation will provide information on new content, in particular several new language profiles (uniform and concise sketches of linguistic varieties) and highlight features of the growing bibliography created as part of the project.

In addition to describing the linguistic data contained in the research environment, the paper will also touch on methodological aspects discussing the developmental steps that led to the current interface, the most salient feature of which is the dual approach to data representation allowing to access large parts of the materials via interactive maps in combination with specialised viewers that enable researchers to study the data by juxtaposing and thus comparing them. We will also discuss the applied taxonomy and the modes of creating bibliographic data by making use of freely available and open source tools. An important item on the agenda is also the enrichment of the bibliography by geo-referencing.

The presentation will be concluded by an explanation of how to participate in this collaborative, open and community-based endeavour.

**Key words:** dialectology, digital language resources, geo-referencing, lexical data, text technology

## **L'arabe de Sanaa à la radio: identité et changement linguistique en fonction du genre**

**Julien DUFOUR, Hanan MALOOM**

GEO, EA1340, Université de Strasbourg - [espagnac@outlook.com](mailto:espagnac@outlook.com)

Traductrice indépendante - [hanan\\_maloom@yahoo.fr](mailto:hanan_maloom@yahoo.fr)

Cette recherche vise à mettre en évidence une différence générationnelle observable dans le dialecte sanaani des années 2010, tout en étudiant comment elle prend une forme différente en fonction du genre. Elle repose sur l'étude de la représentation qui est faite du parler de Sanaa dans les émissions radiophoniques yéménites. Le travail s'appuie sur l'analyse comparative de textes radiodiffusés (et diffusés sur Youtube) en arabe sanaani appartenant à quatre émissions différentes:

*Mus'id wa-Mus'idah* met en scène un couple de Sanaa discutant à chaque épisode une question sociale pertinente pour la société yéménite (Mutahhar & Watson 2002).

*Basamāt ramadāniyyah* est diffusée durant Ramadan. L'émission aborde en arabe sanaani des questions politiques, économiques et sociales.

*Hidār wa-dāwiyah* est assuré par Mawaddah Tāhā (femme) et aborde des questions de la société moderne plutôt d'un point de vue féminin.

*Rabšat al-'aḥbār* est une présentation divertissante de l'actualité à destination des jeunes gens. La plupart des intervenants ont un parler de type sanaani, mais certains parlent le dialecte de Ta'izz. Ce sont de jeunes hommes, mais qui imitent souvent dans leurs sketches le parler des femmes.

Les deux premières émissions, tout en ayant des aspects divertissants, recherchent une certaine respectabilité et mettent en scène une façon présentée comme traditionnelle de parler le sanaani. Les deux dernières visent un public jeune et se prévalent d'une certaine modernité.

L'analyse mettra en évidence des variables sociolinguistiques pertinentes surtout au niveau de la phonologie, du lexique et de certains éléments de morphologie verbale.

*Note : la diffusion de certaines de ces émissions est devenue irrégulière depuis 2017, avec l'aggravation progressive de la situation sur le terrain. Les documents sur lesquels nous travaillons sont donc vieux d'au moins deux ans. Nous sommes conscients que la situation a probablement évolué depuis, avec la cristallisation de formes nouvelles d'identités sociopolitiques liées au conflit. Il nous a semblé cependant que ces documents constituaient un des derniers moyens à notre disposition d'appréhender les dynamiques linguistiques actuelles dans le pays, et que, en attendant une hypothétique amélioration de la situation, ils permettaient d'éviter un black-out de bientôt dix ans dans les études de sociolinguistique yéménite. Ils ont au moins le mérite de témoigner des mutations qui suivirent la révolution de 2011-2012, jusqu'aux débuts de l'opération Tempête décisive (depuis 2015) et du blocus qui l'accompagne.*

Dufour, Julien & Hanan Maloom (2011), « Le "vrai sanaani". Note sur la perception des changements linguistiques à Sanaa, Yémen. », *Langage & société* n° 138, numéro thématique *Villes du monde arabe : variation des pratiques et des représentations*, décembre 2011.

Freeman A. (2006), « Why there is no koiné in San'aa?, Yemen », in S. Boudelaa (éd.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics*, vol. xvi : *Papers from the sixteenth annual symposium on Arabic linguistics, Cambridge, March 2002*, Amsterdam/Philadelphie, John Benjamins Publishing Company (p. 63-82).

Watson, Janet (2004), « Insiders, outsiders, and language development in San'a », in I. Ferrando & J. J. Sanchez Sandoval (eds), *AIDA 5<sup>th</sup> Conference Proceedings, Cadiz, septembre 2002*, Cadix, Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Cadiz (p. 561-70).

Watson, Janet (2007), « Linguistic leveling in San'ani Arabic as reflected in a popular radio serial », in C. Miller, E. Al-Wer, D. Caubet & J.C.E. Watson (eds), *Arabic in the City, Issues in dialect contact and language variation*, Londres/New York, Routledge (p. 166-187).

Watson, Janet (2009), « Children of San'a », in W. Arnold (éd.), *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra: Analecta Semitica in Memoriam Alexander Sima*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz (p. 383-394).

## E / F

### The Issue of the Final *Mīm* in the Egyptian Arabic Dialect Nino EJIBADZE

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University - [nino.ejibadze@tsu.ge](mailto:nino.ejibadze@tsu.ge)

1. It has been observed for a long time that in some varieties of Egyptian Arabic in verbs, Perfective, III p., pl., the final *mīm* appears, the origin and function of which has caused the interest of researchers.

In mid 20<sup>th</sup> century this *mīm* was regarded as a remnant of old Semitic *mīmation*, but the supposition was followed by criticism, since *mīmation*, as *nūnation*, is a phenomenon characteristic of nouns and discovery of its trace in verbs was considered doubtful. Sometimes it was perceived as an affix having no function. Researchers of the later period usually abstain from giving any definition.

The paper is aimed to offer qualification of the above-mentioned *mīm*.

2. In the Arabic dialects, in general, and namely – in Egyptian the fact of permanent facultative mutual substitution of the sonorants *m-n-l* is observable (*ganb~gamb*, *gurnāl~gurnān*, etc.).

On the other hand, it will be fair to argue that the sounds *m*, *n* in Arabic express the plural (*resp.* more than one). Nouns: masc. regular pl. suffix *-ūn<sup>a</sup>*, broken pl. suffix *-ān<sup>u</sup>*; verbs: Imperfective pl. suffixes *-ūn<sup>a</sup>*, *-n<sup>a</sup>*, Perfect pl. suffixes *-u-m*, *-u-nn<sup>a</sup>*...; the dual is also formed with the suffix containing *nūn*.

3. In Egyptian the final *mīm* under study is described at the end of the form *fa' al-u* (< *fa' al-ū*) – *fa' al-u-m*. Obviously, the final *-m* must be exactly the marker of the plural, the appearance of which is due to the following reasons: in *fa' al-u*, after shortening the final

-ū, the suffix -u lost meaning of plural. Final mīm appeared by analogy may be regarded as an additional attribute of expressing the plural. As the result, unified form of conjugation is created pl. marker of which is (-u)-m.

Similar final mīm of plural is found in Imperfective (*yaf'alum*, *taf'alum*), as well as in some other cases (*dōl/dōlam*).

**Key words:** Arabic, Egyptian, plural, morphology, phonetics, final mīm

## **Les chaînes de coréférence dans le discours d'enfants arabophones (libyens)**

**Naima ELTAGOURI**

*Université de Tours - [naima.eltagouri@etu.univ-tours.fr](mailto:naima.eltagouri@etu.univ-tours.fr)*

Dans cette communication, nous nous focalisons sur la construction de la référence dans une narration d'enfants arabophones. Nous montrerons comment ils construisent les chaînes de référence, et les stratégies utilisées en arabe.

Les études concernant le langage des enfants portent généralement sur les langues indo-européennes (Hickmann 2003, Salazar-Orvig 2006). Cela s'explique par le développement des approches en psycholinguistique dans l'acquisition. Ainsi, nous nous intéressons à l'acquisition de l'arabe libyen. L'objectif est de voir si les phénomènes trouvés s'identifient à l'invariant. Comme nous travaillons sur l'acquisition des chaînes de référence, nous avons opté pour deux échantillons d'enfants représentant deux groupes d'âge afin de voir comment ce phénomène se construit et évolue d'une tranche d'âge à une autre. Notre corpus est issu d'un livre d'images et de dessins animés. Nous effectuons une analyse des occurrences à l'aide du logiciel ANALEC. En outre, nous réalisons une étude contrastive entre l'arabe libyen et le français, pour vérifier si les systèmes utilisent les mêmes mécanismes pour construire la référence.

Les résultats montrent que le type de corpus, sa longueur et la connaissance partagée, peuvent influencer la cohésion phrastique, le maintien et la reprise des référents.

### **Références**

- Hickmann, M. (2003). *Children's Discourse: Person, Space and Time across Languages*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Salazar-Orvig, et al. (2006). « Peut-on parler d'anaphore chez le jeune enfant ? Le cas de pronom de 3<sup>ème</sup> personne ». *Langages* 3, N°163, p 10-24.

## **Two phonologic competitors in an evolving Moroccan city**

**Jacopo FALCHETTA**

*Aix-Marseille Université – IREMAM – [Jacopo.falchetta@gmail.com](mailto:Jacopo.falchetta@gmail.com)*

The etymological Classical Arabic *qāf* (ڧ) is one of the most debated linguistic variables both in Arabic dialectology and sociolinguistics, by virtue of its inclination to give way to a wide range of phonetic and phonologic reflections in present Arabic colloquial varieties. The analysis presented in this paper is based on a corpus of live recordings collected in

Morocco during two field studies in the frame of a PhD project, and intends to join the dialectological and sociolinguistic approaches in order to give a picture of how two of these reflections, /q/ and /g/, alternate in the speech of young male speakers residing in Temara, a Moroccan urban centre characterised by strong immigration fluxes from other Moroccan regions. Moving from the observation that this alternation is lexically conditioned in Moroccan colloquial Arabic, the analysis focuses on a group of five lexemes whose /q/ - /g/ alternation in the population targeted seems to be due to their social connotation, the aim of the analysis being that of bringing to the surface the social values that the speakers attribute to the fact of pronouncing each of the lexemes with /q/ or /g/. The analysis is two-levelled, as it joins a mixed quantitative-qualitative study of the distribution of /q/ and /g/ in the sample of speakers and a micro-study of single instances of /q/- or /g/-use situated in their interactional context. While identifying a complex combination of social connotations associated to these phonemes, the results obtained from the analysis also suggest the existence of a tight link between the city's historical dynamics of urbanisation and the speakers' ways of interpreting and making use of language variation, whereby the former appear to affect the material context of socialisation that, in turn, surrounds and feeds into the speakers' development of linguistic and sociolinguistic competence.

### ملامح من العامية في "ألف ليلة وليلة"

خالد محمد فرج

باحث مستقل - السودان [Khaldoon90@hotmail.com](mailto:Khaldoon90@hotmail.com)

تهدف هذه الورقة إلى رصد وإبراز بعض ملامح اللهجات العامية في نصوص حكايات كتاب ألف ليلة وليلة، ذلك الكتاب ذات الصيت، وذو الأثر البالغ في دنيا الثقافة والإبداع ليس على مستوى العالم العربي فحسب، وإنما على مستوى العالم بأسره. تبدأ الورقة بمقيدة منهجية ومفاهيمية، يتم من خلالها تناول عناصر من الكلام العامي في ثانيا النصوص الأدبية الجادة والعالية بصفة عامة، مع التأكيد على أنّ هذه الظاهرة موجودة في الكتابة الإبداعية العربية والغربية على حد سواء، وتقييم بعض الأمثلة من كلا التجربتين الأدبيتين قديماً وحديثاً. وتعتمد الورقة إلى توضيح بعض العوامل والأسباب التي تدفع الكتاب عموماً، للجوء إلى إقحام الألفاظ والعبارات العامية في متون آثارهم الأدبية الفصيحة أو الكلاسيكية الرفيعة. ثم تمضي الورقة إلى الحديث عن أصل كتاب ألف ليلة وليلة تاريخه، وموقعه في إطار الأدب العربي، وفي سياق الثقافة العالمية كذلك.

بعد ذلك تتعرض الورقة إلى نص كتاب ألف ليلة وليلة، ونسخه وطبعاته المختلفة عبر التاريخ، مع بيان الجهود المعتبرة التي بذلها العلماء العرب والغربيون المهتمون معاً في هذا الصدد. وفي الختام، تطرق الورقة بإيجاز لاستعراض نقدي لتناول الأدبيات السابقة لعلاقة ألف ليلة وليلة باللهجات الدارجة عموماً، ومن ثمّ تقدم نماذج محددة من الألفاظ والعبارات العامية التي وردت في نصوص حكايات ألف ليلة وليلة، من خلال جدول يوضح تلك الألفاظ والعبارات، مع بيان عن أواين الحكايات المعنية، وأرقام الصفحات التي وردت فيها تلك الألفاظ والعبارات في النسخة التي اعتمد عليها الباحث، مشفوعةً بتعليقات منه، انطلاقاً من مقتضيات علم المقارنة بين اللهجات، وعبر شئمنا لمقاربة الزمانية التعاقدية.

**BARKI (B)YƏMŠİ L-HĀL!**  
**On Complex Modal BARKI in Colloquial Arabic from Syria**

**Daniela Rodica FIRANESCU**

Dalhousie University, Halifax Canada - [rodica.firanescu@dal.ca](mailto:rodica.firanescu@dal.ca)

The present approach pursues our journey with modalities in colloquial Arabic from Syria. It analyzes the modalizer *barki* (with variants: *balki*, etc.), aiming to inquire into its intrinsic semantic-pragmatic potential and the modal values or flavors it conveys, in specific contexts. The analysis of this modalizer allows to examine not only its modal potential, but also the mechanism of complex modalities, in general. The theories and studies on logic modalities, applied to various languages, usually describe the main types of modalities as distinct categories, in ideal contextual conditions, while practical analysis of modals, applied to colloquial linguistic varieties and effective communication, often reveal the realization of “complex” (“hybrid”) modalities. This leads to questioning (beyond the contextual factors that favorize the blending of various modal flavors) the existence of polyvalent modalizers. Our paper inquires *barki* from this perspective as well, in order to establish whether it may be considered such a polyvalent modalizer.

The examination of the corpus - mainly consisting of data collected from Arabic of Damascus (and, occasionally, from Aleppo) - reveals a high versatility of the modalizer under discussion that may convey various modal values: alethic, deontic, epistemic, bouletic (or boulomaic), etc. These modal flavors are often combined, blended into hybrid compounds, encompassing two or more types of modalities detectable contextually; this aspect leads to a difficult choice between contextually possible translations of *barki*: maybe, perhaps, possibly, could/may/might be that, it may/might happen that, hopefully will (will not) occur/happen that, etc.

The conclusions of this approach highlight the fact that *barki* qualifies as a polyvalent, contextually versatile modalizer attesting the linguistic richness and expressivity of Syrian Arabic, which allows to consider it as an illustrative example when analyzing hybrid modalities.

**Rhotic Emphasis and Uvularization in Moroccan Arabic**

**Aaron FREEMAN**

University of Pennsylvania - [aaronfr@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:aaronfr@sas.upenn.edu)

An important articulatory difference exists between the pharyngeal consonants in Arabic and the pharyngealized coronal consonants known as emphatics. While the guttural pharyngeals are produced in the lower pharynx and involve little tongue root retraction, the secondary articulation of the emphatic coronals consists primarily of upper pharyngeal constriction involving the tongue root (Moisik 2013). In this paper, I use evidence from patterns of emphasis spread to argue that not only is a distinction between upper and lower pharyngeal place, corresponding to the emphatic/guttural contrast, necessary, but also that marginally emphatic consonants such as *r* and *l*

pattern together with the uvular stop *q* to form a third class of post-velar articulations. I argue that due to their phonetic properties, these segments interact with the phonological system of Moroccan Arabic in such a way that their secondary articulations align with uvular rather than pharyngeal place.

Using recordings I collected during fieldwork in Fès, I analysed patterns of emphasis spread in Colloquial Moroccan Arabic by comparing the acoustic properties of vowels in a variety of phonetic contexts, with a particular focus on marginally phonemic post-velar articulations. Formant data from *i* and *a* indicate a raised first formant in vowels adjacent to guttural pharyngeals; a lowered second formant and slightly raised first formant in vowels adjacent to emphatic coronals; and a slightly lowered second formant and slightly raised first formant in vowels adjacent to *r* and *q*. These results indicate that rather than treating uvular and approximant emphasis as attenuated or variable pharyngealization, a separate uvularized place for emphatic articulations should be recognized.

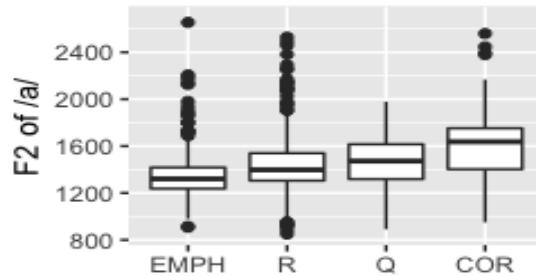


Figure 1: F2 effects on following vowels by consonant class.

## G

### **The Hierarchization of Linguistic Varieties in the Drafting of the New Linguistic Policy in Morocco (2015-2017): the Place for Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic and Amazigh**

**Laura GAGO GÓMEZ**

*University of Salamanca - [lgago@usal.es](mailto:lgago@usal.es) / [gagomez.lau@gmail.com](mailto:gagomez.lau@gmail.com)*

In 2011 Morocco became an officially bilingual country: the new Constitution not only recognizes Amazigh as official language (alongside Arabic), but it also mentions *Hassaniyya* and the *lahjaat* as cultural expressions, and it alludes to the foreign languages.

Since then, Morocco is called to build a new Linguistic Policy that would meet all the constitutional requirements. So far, the different parties have presented five drafted laws. These refer to the implementation of Amazigh's official role (Law 26.16 of 2016 and Law 12/11/2015), the 'protection' and development of Arabic (Law 11/15/2017) and the establishment of the National Council for the Moroccan languages and culture (Law 04.16 of 2016 and Law 06/09/2017).

The present paper examines these drafted laws and unveils the ideologies underneath them. The aim is to expose the hierarchization of the different linguistic varieties. To do so, the analysis attends to two levels: First, the 'explicit' level, which concerns, on the one hand, the definitions and the labelling of the linguistic varieties and, on the other hand, the specific measures proposed, which are called to regulate the position of each linguistic variety. Second, on the 'implicit' level, it points out the linguistic expressions and the phrasing which reveal the views on the different varieties.

---

- مقترن القانون التنظيمي المتعلق بمراحل تفعيل الطابع الرسمي للغة الأمازيغية وكيفيات إدماجها في مجال التعليم وفي مجالات الحياة العامة ذات الأولوية. برلمان المملكة المغربية. 17/12/2015.
- مشروع قانون تنظيمي رقم 26.16 يتعلق بتحديد مراحل تفعيل الطابع الرسمي للأمازيغية وكيفيات إدماجها في مجال التعليم وفي مجالات الحياة العامة ذات الأولوية. الأمانة العام للحكومة. المطبعة الرسمية. الرباط. 2016-1437.
- مشروع قانون تنظيمي رقم 04.16 يتعلق بالمجلس الوطني للغات والثقافة المغربية. الأمانة العام للحكومة. المطبعة الرسمية. الرباط. 2016-1437.
- مقترن قانون يقضي بحماية وتطوير تنمية استعمال اللغة العربية. برلمان المملكة المغربية. 2017/11/15.
- مقترن قانون تنظيمي يتعلق بال المجلس الوطني للغات والثقافة المغربية. برلمان المملكة المغربية. 2017/06/09.

## On Necessity of Teaching Arabic Dialectology

**Thea GAGNIDZE**

NGO "Public Advocacy" –[theagagni@gmail.com](mailto:theagagni@gmail.com)

In the near past, it was hard for an Arabist to find an Arab person in Georgia to activate his/her language competence and gain more confidence that there is demand on his/her profession. However, the situation is completely different now. Due to the international migration, there are many Arab asylum-seekers or status holders in Georgia. These people had to leave their homelands based on various factors – wars, unsettled political or social and economic situation, violence, racial, ethnic, religious persecution, intimidation on different grounds, etc. Thus, demand on Arabic dialectology experts, who also speak Fusha, is very high today at local governmental and nongovernmental levels, i.e., ministries, courts, integration centers, international organizations. Therefore, proper understanding of migrants' speech and the appropriate follow-ups gained utmost importance.

Based on the above-mentioned, we discuss about the need of human resources with good knowledge of literary/standard Arabic, plus, at least, the general understanding of different Arabic dialectal lexicon and features. We suggest promotion of Arabic dialectology studies, in the form of one year training/courses, covering general features of various Arabic dialects from Mashriq to Maghreb. Throughout the proposed teaching,

students will analyze the texts from different Arabic dialects and observe and master distinctions among them.

In the paper, we also bring to your attention the Arabic dialectal data to make it serve our main purpose, namely, to let those, who seek enhancing their knowledge in the dialectal variations, benefit from it.

**The Vernacular Voice of *Dā'iš*:  
Jihadist Poetic Discourse and its Socio-Political Function  
in Modern-day Tribal Societies**

**Kurstin GATT**

Free University of Berlin – [kurstin.gatt@fu-berlin.de](mailto:kurstin.gatt@fu-berlin.de)

To date, the medieval Arabic tradition and its long-standing poetic legacy still resonates with modern-day jihadist movements such as the Islamic State organization (ISO), that employ poetry as an authentic cultural artefact within their social group to channel their views and invoke support for the cause they stand for. This paper does not focus on poetry in classical Arabic, but on vernacular (*nabāti*) poetry produced by ISO-related media outlets. Although *nabāti* poetry tends to appear remotely related to classical Arabic poetic heritage, in reality, it is not free from classical thematic, metrical and rhythmical conventions. The paper examines the symbolic, musical and metaphorical features of ISO's *nabāti* poetry in tribal politics and how *nabāti* poetry is employed to shape people's socio-cultural and political life by pervasive patterns of lexical, morphological, syntactic and acoustic repetition. In addition, it seeks to establish whether *nabāti* poetry has retained its function of communication in case of registering and resolving disputes, airing one's anger and despair, spreading knowledge and propagating ideologies especially in modern-day tribal cultures that still rely on this aural-cum oral tradition in their day-to-day activities.

Hence, the objective of this paper is to analyze ISO poetry as a communicative and expressive power of discourse in a theoretical framework based both on classical Arab and modern Western scholarship. Al-Ǧurğāni's well-established theory of construction is especially useful for such analysis because it explains how in a given poetic construction, the meaning of a specific word is defined and selected by its context. Modern theories of critical discourse analysis (CDA) on the other hand reveal how *nabāti* poetry transmits the self-image of ISO and also sheds light on how ISO organizes its identity, actions, aims, norms and values as well as its relations to other jihadist groups.

**Key words:** Islamic State organization, jihadist poetry, *nabāti* poetry

**Appreciative Modality in Baghdadi Arabic**

**George GRIGORE**

University of Bucharest – [gmgriore@yahoo.com](mailto:gmgriore@yahoo.com)

The appreciative modality – the most subjective of all modalities – expresses an emotional-aesthetic attitude of the speaker, his own evaluation of a situation. In this

paper, I will present an analysis of the possibilities to express the appreciative modality – with its multiple facets – in Baghdadi Arabic, analysis based on a corpus of data gathered by me in the last years, during my visits to Iraq. The present analysis discusses the main verbs of appreciative lexical meanings (i.e.: *iğab* “to like”, *habb* “to love/like”, *kirah* “to detest”, etc.), exclamative constructions (i.e.: *yā salām!* “How nice”, “My goodness”; *wēli ‘alēh* “Poor fellow!”, *haṣra* “ah (litt.: sigh)!”: *haṣra ‘ala dāk il-yōm!* “Ah, what day that was!”) or exclamative words (i.e. *šlōn* “how”: *šlōn gawwād hāda!* “What an asshole (litt.: pander)!”, adverbial constructions (i.e.: *ma‘a l-’asaf* “unfortunately”) and so on used to introduce the appreciative modality in Baghdadi Arabic.

**Key-words:** Arab dialectology, Baghdadi Arabic, Modalities, Appreciative modality.

## **Various Galilean Palestinian Agricultural Calendars and their Terminology**

**Aharon GEVA-KLEINBERGER**

*University of Haifa – [agkleinberger@gmail.com](mailto:agkleinberger@gmail.com)*

The lecture focuses on rural Arabic-speaking Palestinian farming communities which form a cul-de-sac for the languages of historic cultures and a major hotspot of associated linguistic diversity. Dialect mosaics in the Galilee reflect the influences of historical events and the extensive cultural heterogeneity encompassing Arabic-speaking communities of Muslims, Christians, Jews, Druze and other small minorities. The Palestinian fellahin live in a region which is characterised by weather instability. On the one hand, the region's mean amount of rain is between 350 mm in the south and 1,200 mm which is sufficient for a good Ba'al agriculture, a Canaanite word which is still used to denote an agriculture which depends on rain only. The farmers have a general agricultural calendar which is called التقويم الشعبي or الشعبية الرزنامة, literally “the folk's calendar,” as this calendar ends with the time of the harvest of spike (ear of corn or grain). There are various agricultural calendars observed by the local fellahin. The different calendars comprise a vast range of terminology, proverbs and customs. Customs are dying out and without documenting them they can disappear as if they had never existed under the skies of this region and with them, alas, a range of linguistic terminology.

## **The question of interdentals in pre-Hilali Arabic dialects revisited**

**Jairo GUERRERO**

*Aix-Marseille University - [jairo.guerrero@uca.es](mailto:jairo.guerrero@uca.es)*

The present study aims at revisiting the question of fricative interdentals in the so-called pre-Hilali Arabic dialects, that is the descendants of the first stage of Arabicization in North Africa. The absence of interdental consonants and its merger with dental ones have sometimes been regarded as a hallmark of pre-Hilali dialects (Caubet 2000/2001). In this way, we find that most Moroccan pre-Hilali dialects display no interdentals. The

same seems to be true for a few Algerian pre-Hilali dialects (i.e. Tlemcen, Skikda) and Maltese, the only living Maghrebi dialect to have remained relatively impermeable to the influence of Hilali varieties. Nevertheless, almost all pre-Hilali dialects of Tunisia and those of north central Algeria (i.e. Cherchell, Blida, Dellys) do display interdental phonemes, a fact that has been accounted for by appealing to borrowing (Cantineau 1960; Grand'Henry 1972).

In this paper, I will sift the available evidences suggesting that interdental phonemes did occur in some of the dialects spoken by the first Muslim troops to set foot in North Africa. Moreover, I will point at the factors that may have triggered the loss of inherited interdental consonants in some pre-Hilali Arabic dialects.

**Key-words:** Interdentals, Maghrebi Arabic, pre-Hilali dialects, phonetics, diachrony

## Bibliography

- Avram, Andrei A. 2014. "The Fate of Interdental Fricatives in Maltese", *Romano-Arabica* 14, 19-32.
- Cantineau, Jean. 1960. *Cours de phonétique arabe, suivi de notions générales de phonétique et de phonologie*. Paris: C. Klincksieck
- Caubet, Dominique. 2000-2001. "Questionnaire de dialectologie du Maghreb (D'après les travaux de W. Marçais, M. Cohen, G.S. Colin, J. Cantineau, D. Cohen, Ph. Marçais, S. Lévy, etc.)", *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí* 5, p. 73-92.
- Cohen, David. 1966. "Le système phonologique du maltais. Aspects synchroniques et diachroniques, *Journal of Maltese Studies* 3, 1-26.
- Grand'Henry, Jacques. 1992. "Eléments du système consonantique pré-hilalien en arabe maghrébin: perspective historique", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 10, 93-98.

## Les mots modaux dans le dialecte d'Homs

**Eva GURGENISHVILI**

Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University- [eva.gurgenishvili002@gmail.com](mailto:eva.gurgenishvili002@gmail.com)

La communication aborde la question des mots modaux dans le dialecte syrien de la langue arabe, notamment - dans le langage d'Homs. La matière pour l'analyse est recherchée par l'auteur de la communication directement des informateurs d'Homs, ainsi que dans les contes folkloriques en dialecte syrien.

Dans les mots, dont la majorité sont les verbes, la modalité est considérée comme la catégorie sémantique et avec l'analyse formelle, sont également souligné des sens nuancés, que ces mots attribuent à une phrase. Plus précisément, nous étudions les verbes : **qām**, **qa'ad**, **ija**, **baqa** et **halla** et le nom **bidd**, à qui s'ajoute toujours le suffixe pronominal correspondant à un sujet, tandis que par sa signification réelle, il est compris comme le verbe.

Dans l'arabe littéraire les verbes mentionnés ci-dessus fonctionnent comme les verbes de pleine signification et comme les verbes auxiliaires aussi. Mais dans les dialectes, et entre autres, dans le langage d'Homs, ils acquièrent la fonction de modalité, dont l'analyse détaillée fait l'objet de notre communication.

L'analyse démontre que dans le dialecte d'Homs les mots modaux sont utilisés sous forme variable ou invariable, et peuvent exprimer le fait de la prise de décision, la permission de la part du locuteur d'exécution de quelque chose par la deuxième ou la troisième personne, ou le désir du locuteur d'obliger la deuxième ou la troisième personne d'accomplir l'acte quelconque.

Dans certains cas, il y a les transformations phonétiques typiques qui sont les traits caractéristiques des dialectes arabes.

**Les mots clés:** L'arabe de Syrie, le langage d'Homs, les mots modaux

## H

### Ottomanization of Classical Arabic Lexemes in the Palestinian Dialect

**Moin HALLOUN**

Bethlehem University - [moinh@bethlehem.edu](mailto:moinh@bethlehem.edu)

The term 'Ottomanization' is usually means: 'assimilation to the Ottoman Empire'. In this paper we will enlarge the meaning of the term for linguistic needs. Here it will mean the assimilation of classical Arabic items with the Ottoman language rules. Many Classical Arabic items were ottomanized by getting new form and meaning, and later on they penetrated into the Palestinian dialect. The research will try to establish rules for the Ottomanization, which, consequently, will define the etymology of many unclear origin words used in the Palestinian dialect and other Arab dialects.

### Reciprocity in Cairene Arabic

**Julie HALSÉ**

CERMOM, INALCO - [HASLE4@hotmail.com](mailto:HASLE4@hotmail.com)

This presentation focuses on the expression of reciprocity in Cairene Arabic. Cairene Arabic shows two constructions to express reciprocity: a synthetic construction (a), which uses the prefix *et-* on third form verbs (*fā‘al*), and an analytic construction (b), which uses the word *ba‘d*.

(a) *eħna et-ħabel-na      ?abl      keda ?*

1PL PREF-meet- Before DEM  
1PL.PFV

Have we met before?

(b) *U ba'dēn seb-tu ba'd?*

And then leave.PFV-2PL.PFV RECP

And then did you break up ? (Am)

This presentation will develop earlier findings presented at AIDA 12, focusing on features of *ba'd* as a reciprocal marker. As a quantifier, *ba'd* constitutes a group of objects or persons by creating a scope of reference between them. They are therefore associated. The aim of this paper is to find out if these values are shared with the synthetic construction.

As an addition to this first question, I will investigate to which extent synthetic and analytic constructions are equivalent or mutually exchangeable, and whether discrete functions can be observed and described.

The last aspect that will be explored concerns the so-called “inherent reciprocals” . This term is used to designate certain verbs that, because of their semantical properties, seem to inherently imply a reciprocal process. Exemples of such verbs are *to meet* (*'ābil*), *to correspond with* (*rāsil*), *to make up with* (*sāliħ*), *to quarrel with* (*xāni?*)... This paper offers to analyze the enunciative context in which those verbs and their analytic and synthetic constructions are used, in order to understand the motivation of speakers in choosing one construction over the other.

Most of the data comes from recording made in Cairo during two fieldwork visits. A homogeneous group has been selected among our informants, restricted to a certain social and geographic part of the population of Cairo. This selection was done to facilitate the comparison between the linguistic practices of different informants. Some of the data are provided from songs of the contemporary musical Cairene scene.

## References

- Geniušiene, E. 2001. “Towards a typology of the polysemy of reciprocal markers.” In *Functional grammar: aspect and aspectuality, tense and temporality: essays in honour of Alexander Bondarko*, edited by A. A Barentsen and Youri A Poupyrin, 51–65. Lincom Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 23. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.
- Haspelmath, Martin, and Suanne Maria Michaelis. n.d. “Analytic and Synthetic: Typological Change in Varieties of European Languages.”
- Wise, Hilary. 1975. *A transformational grammar of spoken Egyptian Arabic*. Oxford, Royaume-Uni: Basil Backwell.

Woidich, Manfred. 2006. *Das Kairenisch-Arabisch: eine Grammatik*. Wiesbaden, Allemagne: Harrassowitz.

## **Evidentiality in Traditional Negev Arabic Narrative: Morphological, Lexical, and Discourse-Syntactic Strategies**

**Roni HENKIN**

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev – [henkin@bgu.ac.il](mailto:henkin@bgu.ac.il)

Evidentiality as a linguistic category marks the source of information transmitted, from the speaker's point of view, as non-witnessed or surprising. It may be encoded in grammatical, lexical, syntactic and discourse means. Grammatical evidentiality has been recognized as a highly diffusible Balkan Sprachbund feature (Aikhenvald 2006 9.2.1).

In the Bedouin dialects spoken in the Negev the perfective-resultative active participle was established as a morphological evidential (Henkin 1992). Since the area has never been in substantial contact with the evidential Sprachbund (notwithstanding Ottoman rule) a contact origin is hard to surmise unless intermediate areas can be shown to have it too. The only other Arabic dialects where it has since been documented (Procházka 2002; 2006; Procházka & Batan 2016) are clearly within the Turkish influence zone. In this talk I will show interrelations between this morphological strategy and alternative means in traditional oral narrative: lexical evidential particles *itrā(t)*, *iṛīt*, *tarīt*, *aṛāt*, *aṭāriy* ‘apparently’; discourse-syntactic markers of evidentiality, including presentative structures of both conversational and narrative discourse types, combining the visual evidential (seeing the evidence in front of one's eyes and deducing the events that led to it) with the mirative element of surprise.

As multiple elements of evidentiality cluster together to mark evidential environments, the result is saturated environments which may differ in their specific components across genres, text types and dialects, but share the principle of marking evidentiality through saturation of lexical, morphological and syntactic discourses strategies. Finally, I show similar clustering patterns of evidential strategies in other Bedouin and sedentary dialects of the area where this category has not yet been documented but is clearly present, with or without potential contact with the Balkan Sprachbund.

### **References**

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006 *Evidentiality*. Oxford.
- Henkin, Roni 1992 The Three Faces of the Participle in Negev Bedouin Dialects: Continuous, Resultative, and Evidential. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* LV/ 3:433–444.
- Procházka, Stephan 2006 Cilician Arabic: In: Kees Versteegh et al. (eds.): *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* 1:388–397.
- Procházka, Stephan & Ismail Batan 2016 The Functions of Active Participles in Šāwi Bedouin Dialects. *Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide. Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of AIDA*, Bucharest, 2015:457–466.

**اللهجات في المغرب وسياق التاريخ**  
**محمد حجو**  
جامعة محمد الخامس بالرباط – [hijoumed@hotmail.fr](mailto:hijoumed@hotmail.fr)

تأثير المغرب بعلاقات الجوار مع أوروبا المطلة على البحر المتوسط من الضفة الشمالية، بحكم هذا الجوار، وبحكم فترات الاحتلال البرتغالي والإسباني والفرنسي المتعددة لبعض ثغوره، أو مناطقه. يضاف إلى ذلك ما عرفه في تاريخه القديم من تواجد روماني، ثم مجيء الإسلام وانتشاره، ومعه العربية لغة القرآن إلى جانب اللهجات الأمازيغية والأم، ابتداءً من سقوط الدولة الأموية، ومروراً بنشر الإسلام في الأندلس عبر المغرب. فلا غرابة إذن أن تتجلى كل هذه الروافد اللغوية والثقافية والعرقية في اللهجات المتداولة في المغرب المعاصر.

وهكذا توجد في اللهجات المغاربة ألفاظ وتعبيرات من أصل فرنسي أو إسباني أو روماني قديم أو فارسي، جاء مع العربية وانتشر وتداوله الناس. ونقول للهجات المغرب لأن الاختلاف واضح بين منطقة وأخرى: فالهجة الشمال المغربي ليست هي لهجة شرقه ولا هي لهجة غربه ولا هي لهجة جنوبه، ولا حتى لهجة وسطه. وكلما غيرنا المنطقة، نكتشف نبرة جديدة أو أسلوباً مغايراً؛ فاللهجة الطنجية ليست هي الفاسية، وهذه ليس هي المراكشية، وكلهن يختلفون عن اللهجة الوجدية في شمال شرق المغرب. وللهجة ورزازات وما والاها من الصحراء والواحات نبرة وأسلوب مغاير لكل ما سبق. إلا أن هذا لا يعني أن الناس لا يتقاهمون في ما بينهم؛ فكل هذه اللهجات لها ما يجمعها في الأصل العربي أو المغربي المستمد من اللهجات الأمازيغية. في حين أن اللهجات الأمازيغية تختلف عن بعضها اختلافاً بيناً أحياناً، فلا يفهم الناطقون بها بعضهم من منطقة لأخرى؛ فالريفية في شمال المغرب وجزء من شرقه ليست هي لهجة أمازيغ الأطلس المتوسط، وهم معاً مختلفان عن لهجة أهل سوس في الجنوب وعن الحسانية في مناطق الصحراء.

ويتضخ من كل هذا أن أصول الدارجة المغاربية المعاصرة ترجع إلى أربعة جذور لغوية، هي العربية والأمازيغية والفرنسية والإسبانية. وإن كنا نجد بعض الكلمات النادرة ذات الأصول الإيطالية والتركية والإنجليزية والفارسية، ولكنها قليلة ونادرة، كما سبق، بالمقارنة مع الأصول السالفة الذكر.

ولهذا فتتبع تطور اللهجة المغاربية الدارجة يسعفنا في فهم التاريخ اللغوی للمغرب.

**'Eywa Yā Brins: Formal and Informal Politeness  
and *Habībī* Language in Cairo**

**Bohdan HORVAT**  
Independent Researcher - [horvat.bohdan@gmail.com](mailto:horvat.bohdan@gmail.com)

The paper intends to discuss forms, formulas, and formalities in Egyptian Arabic as practiced daily in Cairene streets, souqs, other public places and institutes with special attention to situations and environments.

The firsthand questions raised include the following. How common Egyptian formulas and formalities are used in small talk and non-functional social interaction, how informative can they be and what kind of information do they communicate?

Secondly, the paper aims to outline a discussion of formal/informal communication in modern Egyptian Arabic while paying attention to age, status, gender, milieu etc., proceeding next to a number of observations on the processes of transition from formal to informal interaction and socializing in first meeting and new acquaintance situations through means of what I call *habibī language*.

## **Panel: Accommodation linguistique entre arabophones**

### **Facteurs sociolinguistiques de l'accommodation dans la conversation interdialectale**

**Julie HALSÉ, Nina van KAMPEN, Marie-Aimée GERMANOS,**

**Alexandrine BARONTINE, Dora TANNOUBI**

CERMOM, INALCO - [HALSE4@hotmail.com](mailto:HALSE4@hotmail.com) / [ninavankampen@gmail.com](mailto:ninavankampen@gmail.com) /  
[magermanos@yahoo.com](mailto:magermanos@yahoo.com)

LacNAD, INALCO - [alexandrine.barontini@inalco.fr](mailto:alexandrine.barontini@inalco.fr) / [trad\\_dora@yahoo.fr](mailto:trad_dora@yahoo.fr)

Cette communication s'inscrit dans le cadre du « projet blanc – jeunes chercheurs » (2017-2019), intitulé *Accommodation linguistique entre arabophones : Maghreb, Moyen-Orient et diaspora (France)*, et financé par le Conseil Scientifique de l'INALCO. Elle s'intéresse aux facteurs de convergence et de divergence dans la conversation interdialectale entre arabophones.

Il s'agira, dans une première partie de la communication, de mettre en évidence les facteurs généraux pouvant expliquer les diversités de comportements accommodatifs entre locuteurs différents, ainsi que chez un même locuteur dans des contextes variés:

- 1- Certains locuteurs font preuve d'attitudes et de stratégies mouvantes selon les thèmes, les émotions et le degré de connivence, et ce dans la même interaction.
- 2- Les locuteurs d'un même parler peuvent aussi mettre en œuvre des attitudes et des stratégies différentes, d'une interaction à une autre.

Ces éléments qui ressortent de notre corpus et qui marquent la variation des comportements accommodatifs d'un même locuteur, sont aussi influencés par le contexte, les compétences linguistiques des interactants et leur adaptabilité à l'autre.

Une deuxième partie sera consacrée aux discours des locuteurs sur leurs pratiques, ce qu'ils pensent de leurs comportements accommodatifs ou non. Ainsi, des traits caractéristiques de certains parlers, et dont les locuteurs peuvent avoir du mal à se défaire, sont parfois mal acceptés ou font réagir leurs interlocuteurs. Nous évoquerons, également, les traits qui peuvent mener à une incompréhension, ou qui sont, en tout cas, considérés comme des obstacles. Il existe, par ailleurs, des traits que les locuteurs disent cibler ou éviter dans leurs stratégies d'accommodation, nous verrons lesquels.

Le corpus qui servira de base à cette communication est composé de conversations interdialectales et d'entretiens sociolinguistiques recueillis au Caire, à Beyrouth, à Tunis et à Casablanca.

A. Abu-Melhim (1991), “Code-switching and linguistic accommodation in Arabic”. In Bernard Comrie & Mushira Eid (éds), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics*. Amsterdam, Philadelphie: John Benjamins, p. 231-250.

A. Abu-Melhim (1992), *Communication across Arabic dialects: Code-switching and linguistic accommodation in informal conversational interactions*, PhD: Texas A & M University.

H. Blanc (1960), "Stylistic Variations in Spoken Arabic: a sample of Interdialectal Educated Arabic", dans C. Ferguson (éd), *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 79-161.

B. Chakrani (2015), "Arabic interdialectal encounters: Investigating the influence of attitudes on language accommodation", *Language and Communication* 40, 17-27.

A. Hachimi (2013), "The Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology and the politics of identity in a globalized Arab world". *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17(3), p. 269–296.

### **Traits linguistiques de l'accommodation entre arabophones**

**Julie HALSÉ, Nina van KAMPEN, Marie-Aimée GERMANOS,**

**Alexandrine BARONTINE, Dora TANNOUBI**

CERMOM, INALCO - [hasle4@hotmail.com](mailto:hasle4@hotmail.com) / [ninavankampen@gmail.com](mailto:ninavankampen@gmail.com) /

[magermanos@yahoo.com](mailto:magermanos@yahoo.com)

LacNAD, INALCO - [alexandrine.barontini@inalco.fr](mailto:alexandrine.barontini@inalco.fr) / [trad\\_dora@yahoo.fr](mailto:trad_dora@yahoo.fr)

Cette communication s'inscrit dans le cadre du « projet blanc – jeunes chercheurs » (2017-2019), intitulé *Accommodation linguistique entre arabophones : Maghreb, Moyen-Orient et diaspora (France)*, et financé par le Conseil Scientifique de l'INALCO. Elle s'intéresse aux facteurs de convergence et de divergence dans la conversation interdialectale entre arabophones.

Il s'agira dans cette communication de s'intéresser à la dimension proprement linguistique des phénomènes d'accommodation. Dans un premier temps, nous passerons en revue les traits linguistiques concernés et déjà évoqués dans les travaux existants.

Nous présenterons, ensuite, les traits cibles de la convergence, qui sont employés pour se rapprocher de la variété parlée par l'interlocuteur. Puis, nous examinerons les traits qui constituent des points de divergence, ceux qui sont conservés par les personnes y compris lorsque, par ailleurs, elles convergent massivement vers la variété employée par l'interlocuteur. Nous décrirons, enfin, les formes interdialectales et mixtes.

Le corpus qui servira de base à cette communication est composé de conversations interdialectales et d'entretiens sociolinguistiques recueillis au Caire, à Beyrouth, à Tunis et à Casablanca.

## **I**

### **Innovations in the Tense-aspect System of Spoken Arabic of Mersin**

**Ştefan IONETE**

*University of Bucharest - [sir.ionete@gmail.com](mailto:sir.ionete@gmail.com)*

The focus of this study is on the tense-aspect system of the Arabic Spoken in Mersin and on the analysis of the temporal and aspectual values of the pre-verbal particles that

accompany the verbal lexeme, with an emphasis on the innovations specific to the mentioned Arabic variety.

The Arabic Spoken in Mersin, a city situated in the province of Çukurova in Southern Turkey, is part of the Cilician group, along with the varieties of Tarsus and Adana, located in the same region (Prochazka 2006: 388). The current paper is based on a corpus that I have gathered both in Bucharest and during a number of fieldtrips in Mersin which I have backed up with what has already been written on Cilician Arabic.

**Key-words:** Cilician Arabic, Mersin, Southern Turkey, Çukurova, Tense-aspect System

**Selected bibliography:**

Grigore, George. 1999. "Ka a temporal prefix in Mardini Arabic derived from the verb kān (to be)" in *Annals of University of Balamand no.9*. 9-17.

Prochazka, Stephan. 2006. "Cilician Arabic" in K. Versteegh (Ed.): *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill 388-396.

Prochazka, Stephan. 2002. *Die arabischen Dialekte der Çukurova (Südtürkei)*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

## **Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic as Focus Markers**

**Ana IRIARTE DÍEZ**

American University of Beirut - [aei01@mail.aub.edu](mailto:aei01@mail.aub.edu)

The Cognate Infinitive construction (CI) in Lebanese Arabic (LA) consists of a *maṣdar*, cognate with the main verbal form that is said to 'emphasize' the verb it accompanies. However, since the existing literature has not provided yet a solid definition for the overly broad notion of 'emphasis', the question remains: what part of the verb is exactly emphasized by the CI and why?

This study posits that Cognate Infinitives in Lebanese Arabic indicate the existence of **focus**. Drawing on the theories of Alternative Semantics (Rooth, 1992) and on the general theory of Common Ground (Stalnaker, 2002; Krifka, 2007), this study conceives of focus as a universal category at the level of information structure that manifests the existence of contextual alternatives relevant to the interpretation of a specific utterance and is in charge of dynamically updating the common ground (CG).

This study presents preliminary findings from natural speech data collected over a period of three years (2015-2018) in Lebanon through a participant observation method. During the collection of this data, notes on the situational context and on the informants' impressions were taken so that semantic and pragmatic observations can be made.

My analysis of the data, which synthesizes functional-pragmatic approaches, shows that CIs in LA function **as verbal and predicate focus markers**. In this capacity, they highlight the prevalence of one action over other possible alternative action(s) within a specific set of alternatives for its introduction in the CG. It also shows that CIs in LA may function as markers of a variety of verbal and predicate foci, namely *corrective focus*, *exhaustive focus*, *parallel focus*, *selective focus* and *verum focus*.

**Works cited:**

- Krifka, M. (2007). "Basic notions of information structure" in Féry, C., G. Fanselow and M. Krifka (eds.) *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure 6: The Notions of Information Structure* (pp. 13-55), Potsdam Universitätsverlag.
- Rooth, M. (1992), "A theory of focus interpretation", *Natural Language Semantics* 1, 75–116.
- Stalnaker, R. (2002). "Common ground", *Linguistics and philosophy*, 25(5-6), 701-721.

## K

**The Language of a Young Writer: Thriller Story in the Arabic Varieties of  
*Bilād aš-Šām***

**Najla KALACH**

*Tuscia University of Viterbo - [naj.kalach@gmail.com](mailto:naj.kalach@gmail.com)*

This speech relates to thriller-horror stories written by a young author who belongs to the new generation of writers. He fascinatingly writes his works in Colloquial Arabic, such as the selected-two for the purpose of this conference which have been published on the Internet by receiving a good interest by the online readers and followers. The author has both Palestinian and Syrian origin, but he grew up and studies in Jordan. This is why, in his writings, he uses the languages of *Bilād aš-Šām* - in particular Jordanian, Palestinian and Syrian Arabic - and the reader can find those three different local varieties when reading. On one hand this speech therefore aims to encourage a new young talent from the Middle East, and on the other hand to compare three varieties within the stories.

**Key-words:** Jordanian Arabic- Syrian Arabic- Palestinian Arabic- Arabic Dialectology- Colloquial Variety- Horror Story- Thriller Story.

**Linguistic Misplacement as a Means of Creating Humor: the Case of the  
Popular Movie "*Al-Limbi fi zaman ig-gāhiliyya*" (2014).**

**Gisela KITZLER**

*Department of Oriental Studies, University of Vienna - [gisela.kitzler@univie.ac.at](mailto:gisela.kitzler@univie.ac.at)*

*Al-Limbi*, played by Egyptian actor Muḥammad Saď, is a fictional movie character known for creating humor by being placed in contexts which are strikingly inappropriate. In this

movie his linguistic misplacement is the dominant feature, since this modern urban *šāfi‘ī* anti-hero accidentally time traveled to a *gāhilī* society where everyone speaks *fushā*. The language varieties employed in this movie are the two varieties considered to be furthest apart ideologically: According to Badawi’s classification, *al-Limbi* speaks *Qāmiyyat al-ʔummiyān*, whereas everyone around him only speaks *fushā at-turāt*. This maximum sociolinguistic distance is used to create humor. A variety of different grammatical and lexical (socio-)linguistic features such as phonological similarity and homonyms, syntax and lexicon are employed to express this.

For instance, *al-Limbi* stubbornly understands *fushā* expressions according to his *Qāmmiyā*-knowledge, which results in metalinguistic puns e.g.: *ʕarabiyya*, “Arabic”, as opposed to one of its meanings in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, “car”. At the same time, he does not understand many lexical *fushā* expressions, which further promotes misunderstandings, e.g.:

caravan leader: *tahaddat il-ʕarabiyya!*

*al-Limbi*: *ma-ʕandiš ʕarabiyya ana!*

*Al-Limbi* does try to accommodate to the language variety surrounding him by attempted code-switching and code-mixing. However, his mistakes and anti-knowledge of *fushā* grammar are another source of humor: “*?ē kulēba di? mufrad kalbī di walla ?ē?*” “What should that be, *kulēba*? The singular of dog?”

This paper will analyze the sociolinguistic features employed by *al-Limbi* to create humor by playfully juxtaposing these two varieties of Arabic. In addition, the language ideology implied in this depiction of a distant *fushā* alongside Egyptian Colloquial Arabic will also be discussed.

**Key words:** Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, diglossia, sociolinguistics, language ideology, linguistic joke, Popular Culture

## Dialectological Methods and Tools: Notes from Fieldwork in Gozo (Malta)

Maciej KLIMIUK, Maria LIPNICKA

Heidelberg University - [klimiuk.maciej@gmail.com](mailto:klimiuk.maciej@gmail.com) / [maciej.klimiuk@ori.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:maciej.klimiuk@ori.uni-heidelberg.de)

The encounter with pausal forms has stricken Semitic dialectology in the last few decades and imposed a new challenge on the methodology of this field. As the previous research attempts conducted in Gozo had shown, the methods applied while questioning the informants can utterly alter the findings and conclusions of a dialectological objective. For example, free speech samples rarely contain both the context and pausal form of a morpheme which puts more emphasis on the detailed elaboration of a suitable questionnaire applied in the field research.

Having the privilege to learn from previous scholars (Agius, Aquilina, Isserlin, Puech, Schabert, Stumme) and seeing dialectological fieldwork from a diachronic perspective, we

are confronted with the urge of reforming existing methods and tools used while gathering linguistic data.

In this presentation, we will reveal methods developed specifically for dialects exhibiting paradigmatic pausal phenomena on the example of the project fieldwork in Gozo, Malta, which is part of the Project *GozoDia: Gemeinschaftsorientierte dialektologische Studien zur Sprachdynamik der Insel Gozo (Malta)* funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF).

- Agius, Dionisius A. 1992. 'Morphological Alternatives in the Gozitan Dialects of Maltese'. *Matériaux Arabes et Sudarabiques-Groupe d'Études de Linguistique et de Littérature Arabes et Sudarabiques. Nouvelle Série* 4: 111–161.
- Aquilina, Joseph, and B.S. J. Isserlin. 1981. *A Survey of Contemporary Dialectal Maltese. Volume I: Gozo*. Leeds: B.S.J. Isserlin.
- Puech, Gilbert. 1994. *Ethnotextes maltais*. 'Studia Melitensia' 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Schabert, Peter. 1976. *Laut- und Formenlehre des Maltesischen anhand zweier Mundarten. Erlanger Studien*' 16. Erlangen: Palm & Enke.
- Stumme, Hans. 1904a. *Maltesische Märchen, Gedichte und Rätsel in deutscher Übersetzung. 'Leipziger semitistische Studien'* 1: 5. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- . 1904b. *Maltesische Studien. Eine Sammlung prosaischer und poetischer Texte in maltesischer Sprache nebst Erläuterungen. 'Leipziger semitistische Studien'* 1: 4. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

### **Verb Insertion in Arabic-English Code-Switching**

**Małgorzata KNIAŹ, Magdalena ZAWROTNA**

*Jagiellonian University in Krakow- [malgorzata.kniaz@gmail.com](mailto:malgorzata.kniaz@gmail.com)*

The aim of our study is to provide new insights into Arabic-English code-switching with special reference to verb insertion within the Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 1993).

Contrary to other studies (Okasha 1999, Alenezi 2006, Myers-Scotton 2010), we claim that patterns of verb insertion in Arabic-English code-switching are not exceptional compared to other language pairs. Incongruence between Arabic and English verb systems does not restrain morphological integration of English verbs into Arabic. We suggest that the number of IP islands recorded in previous studies may be overestimated due to the method of data classification and that the lack of mixed verbs results from conventional patterns perpetuated in the investigated communities.

The study is based on data collected from American University in Cairo students in 2015 (approximately 14 hours of recordings from eight interviews conducted as informal conversations, each lasting 45 to 170 minutes).

Also, our research shows that psycholinguistic characteristics, especially the manner and time of exposure to English and Arabic-English CS, may have a substantial impact on linguistic behavior.

**Key words:** code-switching, Egyptian Arabic, English, Matrix Language Frame

**Literature:**

- Alenezi, F. H. (2006). *Formal Constraints on Arabic/English Code-switching: A Lexically-based Approach* (Ph.D. dissertation). University of Kansas.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2010). Patterns and Predictions for Code-Switching with Arabic. In R. Bassiouney (Ed.), *Arabic and the Media* (pp. 81–95). Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Okasha, M. (1999). *Structural Constraints on Arabic/English Codeswitching* (Ph.D. Dissertation). University of South Carolina.

## **Patterns of Egyptian Arabic-English Code-Switching in Online Conversations**

**Małgorzata KNIAŻ & Magdalena ZAWROTNA**

Jagiellonian University - [malgorzata.kniaz@gmail.com](mailto:malgorzata.kniaz@gmail.com)

Our study is a preliminary analysis of some structural aspects of Egyptian Arabic – English code-switching in the internet aimed at providing the outlook on the strategies of mixing. We base our analysis on Muysken's (2000) typology.

The material used in this paper originates from social media. The corpus involves one-to-many and many-to-many semi-public type of communication, characterized as informal (see Dorleijn and Nortier 2009) and asynchronous. 30 full conversations and 165 unrelated utterances containing mixing were selected for the analysis (1037 usually multi-sentential utterances ranging from 2 to 744 words).

All Muysken's patterns are clearly present in our data in different proportions. The corpus is mostly alternational and no dominant matrix or base language can be distinguished. Utterances with a defined ML constitute less than one third. Alternations (including religious expressions and references to God used for the sake of politeness) concern mostly (89.21%) full clauses, full sentences or even longer fragments of discourse. Tags were distinguished as a separate category, they are usually equivalent to Muysken's alternations, but some of them resemble insertions as well. Insertions constitute less than a quarter of all switches; English insertions are much more common than the Arabic ones. EA islands are more common than EA single word insertions, whereas in English it is the other way around. A fair number of Arabic insertions are culturally related, meanwhile, the same was not observed in English. Also, despite the lack of typological relatedness of the studied languages, there is a sizeable portion of utterances containing congruent lexicalization.

**Key words:** code-switching, Egyptian Arabic, English, online communication

**Literature:**

Dorleijn, M. and Nortier, J. 2009. Codeswitching and the internet [in] Barbara E. Bullock and Almeida J. Toribio (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 127–141.

Muysken, P. 2000. *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-Mixing* (Kindle Edition). New York: Cambridge University Press.

## L

### **Tūnis fī ‘ayniyya by Nizār al-Ša‘arī: al-Dārğā al-Tūnisiyya between Resistance and Hypertextuality**

**Cristina LA ROSA**

*University of Catania - [cristinalarosa82@gmail.com](mailto:cristinalarosa82@gmail.com)*

*Tūnis fī ‘ayniyya* by Nizār al-Ša‘arī is a novel ‘written on the road in the language of the young generations’, in Tunisian Arabic, and for the ‘ḡīl al-qādim’ (al-Ša‘arī 2017). In the book, the *dārğā* intermingles and dialogues with audiovisual codes as well as with other linguistic varieties like French and *Fuṣḥā*. This dialogue starts inside the novel and develops also outside it. Nizār al-Ša‘arī, infact, inserts links, relating to other online written and audiovisual texts, in every chapter and frequently uses code-mixing *dārğā*/French (Janoussi 1986; Belazi 1992; Baccouche 1994; Lawson, Itesh 2000; Sayahi 2011; Dallaji 2017) throughout the narration. The author’s linguistic choices, aiming at emphasizing the multilingualism and pluriglossia that characterise Tunisian Arabic, meet with the usage of hypertextuality (Yaktine 2004, 2008) and generate a novel which aspires to reflect the current situation of Tunisians’ language and culture.

The aim of this paper is to analyze Nizār al-Ša‘arī’s linguistic choices and particularly the functions he provides to *dārğā* as a means of resistance both to the stereotyped image of Tunisian youngsters, portrayed as indolent and lazy, and to the injustice that characterises Tunisian society. Moreover, attention will be devoted to some spelling issues, concerning the author’s usage of different scripts (Arabic and Latin), which reveal the difficulties of transliterating an oral variety like Tunisian Arabic. Despite the fact that the Association Derja ([bettounsi.com](http://bettounsi.com)) has been doing a remarkable work on the normalisation of the transliteration of Tunisian Arabic, it has not been ‘standardised’ yet and therefore the author is allowed to create his own original rules.

# **Topic Specification in North African Arabic and its Relating Contact-induced Grammaticalisation in Berber**

**Mena B. LAFKIOUI**

*Université Sorbonne Paris Cité - LLACAN-UMR 8135  
École des hautes études en sciences sociales – IMM - [menga.lafkioui@cnrs.fr](mailto:menga.lafkioui@cnrs.fr)*

The paper examines topic specification in North African Arabic and the impact of this pragmatic phenomenon on the Berber languages with which it is in close contact since remote times. Colloquial Arabic varieties – not only the North African Arabic varieties, but also those used elsewhere, such as Levantine and Gulf Arabic – generally do not make use of topic specifiers (see e.g. Owens and Elgibali 2010). And when they do, they mainly employ these specifiers for contrastive purposes and in specific contexts which relate to certain language registers and levels that reflect schooling and social status. Contrastive topic demarcation in colloquial Arabic, just as in many other languages of the world (including Berber), is usually rendered by means of fronting, as in (1) from Gulf Arabic, whose fronted NP *il-falt* ‘scattering’ is identified as a topicalised subject by Holes (2010: 71).

- (1) [il-falt]<sub>T</sub>              *ya-b̥ya*              *akθar*  
scattering-DEF    need-IPFV-3MSG more

‘Scattering requires more (fertilizer).’ (Compared with diluting it with water)

(Holes 2010: 71)

Contrastive topicalisation in colloquial Arabic, as well as in Berber and in various other languages, is necessarily associated with prosodic demarcation, which may go together with sentence-initial non-dedicated contrast enhancers like conjunctions, prepositions and adverbs.

When topic specifiers are employed in colloquial Arabic, they appear as instances adopted straight from Modern Standard Arabic, or they appear as instances which are processed and accommodated to the local variety in question and its discursive routines. A case in point which is frequently attested across North Africa is the topic specifier *bi n-nisbat-i ilā* ‘as for’ (in-the-relation-GEN-to) from Modern Standard Arabic. In Moroccan Arabic, for instance, this specifier is commonly attested as *b-ən-nəsba l-* ‘as for’, whose preposition *l* ‘for’ generally takes a pronominal clitic (e.g. ‘as for me, you, him...’), which points to the interactive position the speaker takes vis-à-vis his or her discourse and its topical referents.

In order to enhance the contrastive load of the topical referents that are compared, Berber has developed a set of dedicated topic specifiers by contact with Arabic, along different paths of replication and borrowing, which will be accounted for in this study (replica and contact-induced grammaticalisation; Heine and Kuteva 2003). In fact, in all attested cases of proposed topic specification, Berber replicates from Arabic its specific syntactic-pragmatic pattern, which requires a dedicated marker preposed to a fronted topic. And in some cases, Berber also borrows material from Arabic, from both its Standard and colloquial varieties, with or without processing it.

Furthermore, the study accounts for the functional parameter of contrast as being the probable trigger of the whole innovation process in North African Arabic as well as in Berber and hence corroborates Matras' hypothesis (1998) regarding contrast as a motivating factor for borrowing.

**References:**

- Heine, Bernd, and Tania Kuteva. 2003. "On Contact-Induced Grammaticalization." *Studies in Language* 27 (3): 529–72.
- Holes, Clive. 2010. "Word Order and Textual Function in Gulf Arabic." In *Information Structure in Spoken Arabic*, Jonathan Owens and Alaa Elgibali (eds.), 61–74. Routledge Arabic Linguistics Series. London, New York: Routledge.
- Matras, Yaron. 1998. "Utterance Modifiers and Universals of Grammatical Borrowing." *Linguistics* 36: 281–331.
- Owens, Jonathan, and Alaa Elgibali, eds. 2010. *Information Structure in Spoken Arabic*. Routledge Arabic Linguistics Series. London, New York: Routledge.

**The Progressive in Southern Iraq**

**Ladina LANGE**

University of Vienna - [ladina.lange@gmail.com](mailto:ladina.lange@gmail.com)

In the following paper, which is based on my Master thesis, I will investigate how the progressive construction in Southern Iraqi dialects is triangulated by aspect, grammaticalization, and areal morphology. In reference to Sasse (1990, 2001) and Bickel (1997, 2000), I will look at the aspectuality concerned with the progressive construction and the language specific constraints on verbal classes. Grammaticalization plays an important role due to the development of a progressive construction, and secondly, to the areal distribution of this specific construction in the greater region of Iraq and Kuwait. The construction in question fits well into the typologically proposed models of progressive development, as it involves the grammaticalization of the posture verb "to sit" with an inflected verbal form. The linguistic data is mostly based on fieldwork conducted in Vienna; my consultants are Iraqi Arabic natives, who had to seek refuge in Austria in last few years. The study attempts to add another piece to a morpho-syntactical based research in the studies of Arabic dialectology and to the understanding of aspect in the greater region of Southern Iraq and Kuwait.

**Keywords:** Aspect, Iraq, progressive, grammaticalization, morpho-syntax

**References:**

- Bickel, B. (1997). Aspects of scope and the difference between logical and semantic representation. *Lingua*, 102(2-3), 115-131.
- Bickel, B. (2000). Unlogischer Aspekt: Zur Bedeutungsstruktur von Aspekt und Aktionsart, besonders im Belharischen. *Probleme der Interaktion von Lexik und Aspekt (ILA)*, 1-20.

Sasse, H. J. (1991): „Aspekttheorie”. In: H.-J. Sasse (Hrsg.), *Aspektsysteme* (= Arbeitspapier Nr. 14 N.F.). Köln: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Universität zu Köln, 1-35.

Sasse, H. J. (2001). *Recent activity in the theory of aspect: accomplishments, achievements, or just non-progressive state?* (No. 40). Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Universität zu Köln.

## **Arabic Temporal Adverbs ‘now’ across Time and Space**

**Thomas LEDDY-CECERE**

*Faculty in Sociolinguistics, Bennington College, USA - [thomasleddycecer@bennington.edu](mailto:thomasleddycecer@bennington.edu)*

This study offers a unified account of the development Arabic temporal adverbs ‘now’ across time and space. Though their lexical forms represent a near-constant desideratum in Arabic dialectological description, the distribution of these items and their diachronic evolution have received little in-depth attention beyond the partial etymological cataloguing presented by Fischer (1959). These adverbs thus constitute a richly documented yet under-analyzed dataset which stands to comment on patterns of contact between Arabic varieties and the progression of cross-linguistically recognized processes of language change in the Arabic sphere.

Drawing on an original 146-item sample of adverbs meaning ‘now’, representing near-comprehensive geographic coverage of the contiguous Arabic-speaking world, I am able to assign all attested forms to one of three broad developmental pathways: NOW < THIS TIME (103 items reflecting 9 distinct etymologies; e.g., *dilwaʔti* < \*ðī l-waqt), NOW < THE TIME (20 items and 4 etymologies; e.g., *alħaz* < \*al-ħazza), and NOW < IMMEDIATELY (23 items and 2 etymologies; e.g., *tawwa* < \*tawwa(n)). In analyzing the characteristics of these developmental trajectories and the progress of given reflexes along them, I concur with the suggestion by Watson (2006) that the modern Arabic adverbs ‘now’ predominantly represent the products of grammaticalization, and support this conclusion using the diagnostic parameters proposed by Heine (2007). The fit, however, is not a perfect one, and some concession must be made to the lexicalization account offered by Fischer and extended by more recent authors (e.g., Procházka 2000), which focuses on the univerbation of previously distinct syntactic operators rather than an increase in grammaticality per se. Such a reconciliation, though, is possible through reference to advances in lexicalization theory, particularly notions of fusion and subjectification (Brinton and Traugott 2005), and comparison to cross-linguistic tendencies in the evolution of temporal adverbials (cf. Haspelmath 1997).

I proceed to utilize this understanding of grammaticalization pathway to reveal an areal patterning to the distribution of modern Arabic forms for ‘now’ not discussed in previous literature, namely that the various products of the NOW < THIS TIME, NOW < THE TIME, and NOW < IMMEDIATELY trajectories show a striking degree of geographic contiguity between the representatives of each overarching path. This state of affairs strongly suggests the spread and replication of grammaticalization pathways – rather than etymological surface forms themselves – through processes of dialect contact and areal diffusion. This conclusion, if convincingly supported by additional data beyond the temporal adverbials, could serve to extend Heine and Kuteva’s (2005) proposal of

contact-induced grammaticalization between genetically distinct languages to the realm of dialectology, with critical implications for the study of Arabic and diachronic linguistic inquiry more broadly.

## **Clause-final Position of Arabic Verbal Copulas and Auxiliaries: A comparative analysis of a syntactic contact phenomenon**

**Bettina LEITNER**

*Institute of Oriental Studies, Vienna – [bettina.leitner@univie.ac.at](mailto:bettina.leitner@univie.ac.at)*

This paper proposes that the clause-final position of the verbal copula and auxiliary verb *čān* in Khuzestan Arabic (KhA) can be attributed to contact with the Persian language.

An analysis of the author's KhA text corpus has shown a tendency for the copular and auxiliary verb *čān* 'to be' to appear clause-finally in perfect-tense clauses (as a copula 23 times out of 89; as an auxiliary 7 times out of 53; corpus size: 28.000 words of Arabic transcription). This phenomenon is very likely a reproduction of the Persian pattern in which the default position of the copula *būdan* 'to be' as well as of verbs in general is clause-final.

However, neither a general tendency for verb-final word order nor an obligatory overt present-tense copula is present in KhA. This suggests that the clause final position of copulae and auxiliaries can develop independently of a total shift to verb-finality.

To prove that the origin of this phenomenon lies in the vernacular's contact with Persian and to investigate whether this applies also to other vernaculars in contact with Iranian languages, the author will compare two different sets of texts and their respective number of occurrences of clause-final verbal copulae and auxiliaries. The first set is texts of other Arabic varieties that have been influenced by Persian or other Iranian languages, e.g. Khorasan-Arabic or Noršēn-Arabic (Seeger 2002, 2009; Talay 2017); the second set is texts of varieties that are typologically close to KhA but have not been exposed to Persian or other Iranian languages, or to a much lesser extent, e.g. Bahraini and Kuwaiti Arabic (Holes 2005; Johnstone 1964, 1967).

Expectedly, the compared vernaculars which show no or significantly less influence from Iranian languages will show a significantly lower number of clause final copulae and auxiliaries.

**Keywords:** language contact; syntax; pattern-copying; clause-final verbs; copula

### **References cited:**

- Holes, Clive. 2005. *Dialect, culture, and society in eastern Arabia. Volume 2: Ethnographic texts*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Johnstone, T.M. 1964. "Further Studies on the Dōsiri Dialect of Arabic as Spoken in Kuwait", in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27/1, 77–113.
- Johnstone, T.M. 1967. *Eastern Arabian dialect studies*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2002. "Zwei Texte im Dialekt der Araber von Chorasan", in W. Arnold & H. Bobzin (eds) *"Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik. Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 629–646.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2009. "Khalaf – Ein arabisches Dorf in Khorasan", in W. Arnold, M. Jursa, W.W. Müller und S. Procházka (eds) *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra. Analecta Semitica In Memoriam Alexander Sima*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 307–317.

Talay, Shabo. 2017. "Nōṛṣēn – ein anatolisch-arabischer Dialekt der Sason-Muṣ-Gruppe", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 65, 73–95.

## **Sur les formes verbales dérivées ‘croisées’ dans les dialectes arabes**

**Jérôme LENTIN**

*Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris - [jlentin@club-internet.fr](mailto:jlentin@club-internet.fr)*

On trouve dans tous les dialectes arabes, à côté de la dizaine de formes verbales dérivées habituelles, des formes ‘croisées’, qui combinent deux (et parfois même trois) de leurs schèmes. Les plus représentées sont du type X x II/V (*istahabba* ‘se cacher’) et X x III/VI (*sthāyal* ‘s’imaginer’), ou encore des formes combinant *n* et *-t-* (*ntažrah* ‘être blessé’), parfois avec en outre II/V (*intifarrag* ‘être dispersé’) ou III/VI (*intakal* ‘être mangeable’). Mais bien d’autres combinaisons encore sont possibles.

Après avoir dressé un inventaire de ces formes, des problèmes que posent leur caractérisation et des valeurs sémantiques particulières que prennent certaines d’entre elles, on s’interrogera sur leur caractère vivant et productif, sur les modes de dérivation qui les déterminent (dérivation lexicale, passage par la racine...), et sur leur extension relativement limitée en arabe par rapport à ce qu’on trouve dans certaines autres langues sémitiques.

## **Ce que disaient les grammaires de l’Arabe in Latin a propos des dialectes Arabes**

**Antoine LONNET**

*CNRS, ENS, Paris - [lonnet@gmail.com](mailto:lonnet@gmail.com)*

Entre 1538 (Guillaume Postel, *Grammatica arabica*, Paris) et 1910 (A. Durand & L. Cheikho, *Elementa grammaticæ arabicæ, cum chrestomathia, lexico variisque notis*, Beyrouth) cent trente volumes environ sont parus en latin, qui portent sur la grammaire arabe. Quelques-uns suivent la tradition grammaticale arabe, les autres les diverses écoles grammaticales européennes.

Les dialectes arabes ne sont qu’exceptionnellement au centre de l’attention des auteurs. Cependant, la variété dialectale est très souvent signalée, que ce soit pour la phonétique, la morphologie, la syntaxe ou le lexique. Les sources de ces informations restent souvent mystérieuses, mais sont parfois clairement précisées. Un panorama de ces très inégales données dialectologiques sera proposé, et on cherchera à percevoir l’intérêt qu’elles présentaient pour le lecteur de l’époque.

# **From Diglossic Switching to Pure Dialect: Gulf Accents in Youtube Oral Micro-advertising**

**Letizia LOMBEZZI**

*Università per Stranieri di Perugia - [letizia.lombezzi@gmail.com](mailto:letizia.lombezzi@gmail.com)*

Introduced by a short theoretical introduction based on literature review about code-mixing, linguistic choices and communication effectiveness, this paper presents a selection of Youtube advertisements (2015-2018), as an updated source for linguistic analysis about Gulf Arabic. The previously investigated Egyptian or Levantine TV advertising (Bassioney 2009, Gully 1996), has now been replaced by on-line microadvertising, mostly spread by the Youtube channel. There, the Gulf accent reveals to be widely used. The domains covered by Gulf commercials belong to upgraded and updated categories, compared with the past. In fact, both men and women are addressed for cars and body-care (e.g.: BMW Kuwait, Nivea Middle East), both young and old people for fast-food items (e.g.: McDonald's Arabia, Coca Cola Middle East). The stereotypes of "women for food", and "men for cars" seem to be marginal compared to the main target that is selling the product, with no regard at all to the gender of the potential customer.

Audio-visual advertising is mostly based on oral interaction, so heavily relies on paralinguistic strategies and contexts. Communication takes place by Gulf Arabic, which here resembles a "disjunctive language" with a "disjunctive grammar" (Leech 1966 and 1963). Effectively, due to commercials time constraints, each short sentence seems to be independent from the others, and the degree of linking and parataxis is very low. On the syntactic level, idafas and elatives are predominant, and conditional sentences are substituted by coordination. Sentences are extremely short, the style is essential, prepositions and adverbs are repeated many times. Discourse effectiveness and communication are mostly based on the choice of lexicon, with few ad hoc loanwords from English, for specific terminology.

Advertising takes place orally, no (dialectal) writing is showed on the screen-except for the final commentator's remarks-so reinforcing the idea of a more realistic context and daily speech.

**Key-words:** Gulf Dialects, on-line Arabic, Arabic Youtube, Arabic Advertising

## **References:**

- ADRIAN, G. 1996. "The Discourse of Arabic Advertising: preliminary investigations". *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 1 (1996-97)
- BASSIOUNEY R. 2009. "The Variety of Housewives and Cockroaches: Examining Code-choice in Advertisements in Egypt". *Arabic Dialectology: in honour of Clive Holes on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*, edited by Enam Al-Wer and Rudolf de Jong. Leiden: Brill
- LEECH, G. N. 1963. "Disjunctive Grammar in British Television Advertising" *Studia Neophilologica* 35.2:256-264.
- LEECH, G. N. 1966. *English in Advertising: A Linguistic Study of Advertising in Great Britain*. London: Longmans.

# M / N

## **Subgrouping Arabic Dialects via Historical Developments in Closed-Class Morphemes**

**Alexander MAGIDOW**

*University of Rhode Island - [amagidow@uri.edu](mailto:amagidow@uri.edu)*

The classification of Arabic dialects has traditionally been undertaken via a qualitative approach focusing on a small number of isoglosses, especially the realization of certain phonemic variables such as the reflexes of /\*q/, /\*ʒ/, etc. (see e.g. Taine-Cheikh 1998; Palva 2006). In addition to focusing strongly on phonological isoglosses, many of the distinguishing features used to classify dialects are actually genetic retentions, not innovations. While phonemic variables are extremely important sociolinguistically, they are also subject to rapid change in the course of a small number of generations. Morphological elements on the other hand tend to be better preserved over time since they are relatively deeply integrated into a dialect, are less likely to be borrowed, while also changing more slowly over time (Hetzron 1976). This study uses closed-class morphemes – pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives – to provide historically motivated subgroupings of Arabic dialects, and to analyze the importance of these subgroupings for our understanding of the history of Arabic.

This study uses a database of dialect material from 80 dialects. Through historical analysis of the development of the pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives, 55 historical isoglosses were identified (for example, the lengthening of the first syllable in the pronoun *a'na* 'I', the realization of the 3ms suffix pronouns with vowels /u/, /a/, /i/, etc.). In this presentation, I will briefly discuss a small number of the potentially more controversial isoglosses, but the focus will be on the identification of dialect subgroupings.

Dialects were grouped using two methods – first they were grouped manually, using a cross-tabulation of percentages of dialects with a given feature. This method identified three major dialect groups: a North African dialect group, a Peninsular Bedouin group, and Sedentary Levantine group. Following this, the matrix of innovations was used as input to a Bayesian phylogenetic algorithm, which provided support further support for the North African group, and identified two further groups – a Southern Arabian group which includes Andalusian and Classical Arabic, and a Syrio-Iraqi group, of which the Sedentary Levantine group is a subgroup (and which also includes Central Asian dialects.) See the attached figure for a map of these groups.

These groupings call into question some important beliefs in the field of Arabic dialectology. For example, the North African group includes dialects on both sides of the

supposed Pre-Hilalian/Hilalian dialect division and indeed this is the single most cohesive dialect group, suggesting that our narrative for the dialect history of North African should be reconsidered. Similarly, the most common innovations found in the study suggest that the Southern Arabian group is not the most proximate ancestor of most modern dialect, and instead is a very early branch away from the main ancestors of most Arabic dialects today.

Hetzron, Robert. 1976. Two Principles of Genetic Reconstruction. *Lingua* 38. 89–108.

Palva, Heikki. 2006. Dialects: Classification. In Kees Versteegh (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, vol. 1, 604–611. Leiden: Brill.

Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 1998. Deux macro-discriminants de la dialectologie arabe (la réalisation du qâf et des interdentales). *atériaux arabes et sudarabiques (GELLAS)* 9. 11–51.

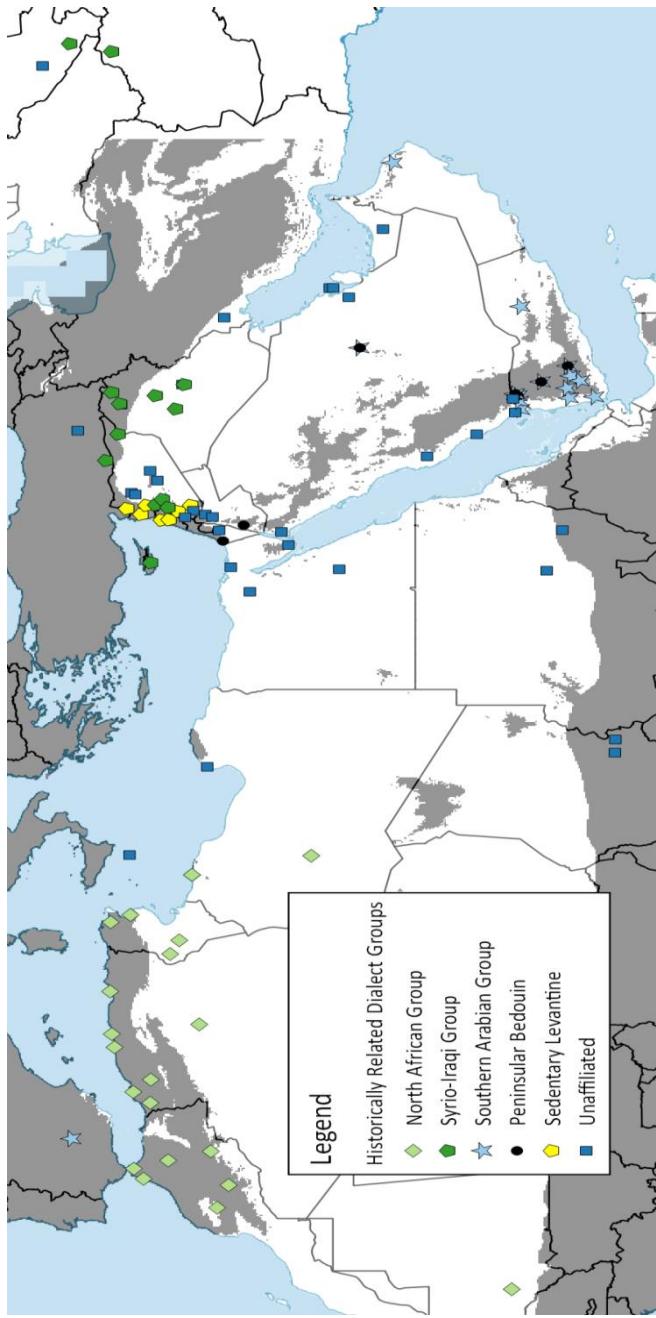


Figure 1: Map of major dialect grouping determined by manual comparison and phylogenetic methods. Note that multiple symbols on the same dialect represent membership in multiple groups.

## **Interférences linguistiques entre l'arabe marocain et le tachelhit dans la ville de Tiznit (sud du Maroc)**

**Ahmed MARBOU**

LACNAD CREAM, Inalco (Paris) - [ahmed.marbou@gmail.com](mailto:ahmed.marbou@gmail.com)

Dans le cadre de ma formation en Master, j'ai mené une recherche visant l'étude morphologique et syntaxique du parler arabe de Tiznit. La particularité de cette ville réside dans le fait qu'elle est une ville majoritairement berbérophone, et l'usage actuel de l'arabe marocain est secondaire par rapport au tachelhit, mais son usage s'ancre de plus en plus dans les pratiques langagières des Tiznitis. Cette recherche est fondée sur un corpus recueilli sur le terrain, entre 2016 et 2018, auprès d'informateurs d'âge et de sexe différents. Le corpus a été transcrit et glosé en appliquant les résultats du projet CorpAfroAs.

Cette recherche m'a permis de mettre en évidence plusieurs phénomènes linguistiques de ce parler arabe, dus à son acquisition en tant que second langue de communication. Les résultats principaux de cette recherche sont d'ordre phonétique/phonologique (exemple: la tendance à labialiser les consonnes postes-palatales /k, g/, les vélaires /x, ġ/, et l'uvulaire /q/, et la métathèse du schwa), syntaxique (exemple : l'usage de quelques adverbes de temps propres au tachelhit), lexical (exemple : les emprunts au tachelhit du type *ta- -t*), sémantique (exemple : les calques). Le bilinguisme arabe marocain/tachelhit dans le contexte étudié donne également lieu au code-switching, qui dépend du profil sociolinguistique du locuteur.

Les phénomènes linguistiques sus-indiqués, ne sont pas restreints au parler arabe de Tiznit, certains d'entre eux existent également dans les parlers d'autres villes du sud du Maroc, comme Skūra (Aguadé & El yaacoubi, 1994), les Ksima (Moscoso, 2002), et Marrakech (Sánchez, 2014).

Mon intervention a donc pour objectif, la présentation de ces phénomènes, illustrés par des occurrences relevées de mes données.

### **Bibliographie**

- AGUADÉ, J. & ELYAACOUBI, M. 1995. *El dialecto arabe de Skūra (Marruecos)*. Madrid : Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- DELL, F. & EL MEDLAOUI, M. 2002. *Syllables in Tashlhiyt Berber and in Moroccan Arabic*. Dordrecht, Pays-Bas.
- HEATH, J. 1989. *From Code-Switching to Borrowing: Foreign and Diglossic Mixing in Moroccan Arabic*. Library of Arabic Linguistics, no. 9. London: Kegan Paul International.
- KOSSMANN, M. G. 2013. *The Arabic Influence on Northern Berber*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, volume 67. Leiden Boston: Brill.
- MARBOU, A. 2017. *Arabe marocain et tachelhit en contact, le cas de la ville de Tiznit*. Mémoire de Master 1, Paris : INALCO.

MARBOU, A. 2018. *Étude morphologique et syntaxique du parler arabe de Tiznit (sud du Maroc).* Mémoire de Master 2, Paris : INALCO.

## Nouvelles variétés hilaliennes du Maroc: Rhāmna, Dukkāla-‘Abda et Qal‘at Srāgna

Issam MARJANI

Université de Pisa - [issam.marjani@cli.unipi.it](mailto:issam.marjani@cli.unipi.it)

Cette étude porte sur les variétés dialectales des régions rurales du Rhāmna, Dukkāla-‘Abda et Qal‘at Srāgna jamais décrites auparavant. Ces variétés dialectales, situées dans un territoire stratégique du Maroc (entre Marrakech et Casablanca), sont analysées pour la première fois : une analyse comparée des données recueillies *in loco* est présentée, et sont illustrés les liens et les différences linguistiques avec les autres variétés hilaliennes connues.

دراسة في اللهجة الشامية من خلال كتاب ياسمين الشام لمؤلفة ديمى بركات

مصطفى الموسى

جامعة كركلي – تركيا [mustafamawas105@hotmail.com](mailto:mustafamawas105@hotmail.com)

اعتبر العلماء اللغة مجموعة من الأصوات تتناغم فيما بينها، يقول ابن جيّي في تعريف اللغة : "هي أصوات يُعَيِّرُ بها كلُّ قومٍ عن أغراضهم". وتدخل هذه الأصوات وتفاعل في اللغة الواحدة وفي اللهجة الواحدة فتتغير وتختلف وبصيتها ما يصيب الكائن الحي من تفاعلات وانفعالات.

واللهجة بشكل عام تحصل نتيجة لهذه التفاعلات الصوتية بينها وبين اللغة التي انحدرت منها أو تأثرت بها.

سأدرس في هذا البحث التطورات التي حدثت في اللهجة الشامية وتفاعلها مع اللغة العربية الفصحى أو مع اللغات الدخيلة كالتركية مثلاً ، إضافة إلى تفاعلها مع اللهجات الأخرى.

سأقوم بدراسة بعض المفردات أو الجمل التي حصل فيها تغيير نتيجة التفاعلات الصوتية، ثم سأوضح من خلال هذا البحث أهم الظواهر وأضعها ضمن القواعد التي حصلت فيها بالإعلال والإبدال والقلب والإدغام والإملالة والزيادة والتخفيف والحذف والتذكير والتأنيث والإفراد والجمع والثنائية، واللحون الصوتية التي تتعارى المفردات نتيجة تجاورها لبعض الأصوات الأخرى .

تقوم الدراسة على تقصي هذه الكلمات أو الجمل من خلال كتاب ياسمين الشام الذي قامت بتأليفه الدكتورة ديمى بركات، ويُعتبر الكتاب من أوائل الكتب التي وضعَت اللهجة الشامية ضمن دقائق كتاب وقعتها إلى درجة ما، كما سأبين من خلال هذه الدراسة المميزات والمآخذ على هذا الكتاب.

## Arabic Youth Speeches: A preliminary state of Arts

Catherine MILLER

IREMAM, CNRS / Aix Marseille University - [miller.catherine51@gmail.com](mailto:miller.catherine51@gmail.com)

Since the 1990s, youth languages (YL) or youth speeches (YS) have been the focus of a huge body of linguistic and sociolinguistics research in many parts of the world. The interest for these kinds of speech or practices is due to the fact that youth languages seem to have considerably developed due to urbanization and globalization processes. They show a number of similar dynamics whatever the structural system of the

language. They are often considered to represent destandardization forces. In the Arab world, researches on youth speeches remain rather scanty. Up to now they tend to mainly focus on two aspects: lexical creation and internet writings (arabizy). My paper attend to present a preliminary state of the Arts of youth language in the Arabic-speaking world and to present the results of a collective research undertaken in Morocco and Lybia in 2009-2011. What are the main recorded trends in Arabic YS? How far do these trends coincide with general findings? Are Arabic YS transitional generational practices or are they indices of more general cases of language evolution and change?

Androutsopoulos, Jannis and Alexandra Georgakopoulou. 2003. "Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities." Amsterdam: Benjamins

Nortier, Jacomien and Bente A. Svendsen. 2015. "Language, Youth and Identity in the 21st Century. Linguistic Practices across Urban Spaces." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rampton, Ben. 2011. "From 'multi-ethnic adolescent heteroglossia' to 'contemporary urban vernaculars'." *Language & Communication* 31, 4: 276-294.

Ziamari, Karima and Alexandrine Barontini. 2015. "Les liaisons dangereuses medias sociaux et parlers jeunes au Maroc. Le cas de Bouzebbal." Pp. 579-588 in *Arabic Varieties Far and Wide. Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of Aida*, Bucharest, 2015, edited by G. Grigore and G. Bituna. Bucharest.

## **Did Pre-diasporic Arabic Have Two Ejectives? Evidence from Caucasus, South Arabia and Africa**

**Shuichiro NAKAO**

Osaka University - [agarbattii@gmail.com](mailto:agarbattii@gmail.com)

There is a subtle but widely accepted belief that Arabic had lost ejective realizations of Proto-Semitic emphatics for pulmonic (uvular or pharyngealized) realizations, long before the expansion of New Arabic dialects, since (almost) none of them attests an ejective sound (cf. Versteegh 2014). In the real world, however, there are several instances of glottalic (including ejective and implosive) reflexes of Pre-diasporic Arabic \*q (and/or \*g̡) and \*t in contact situations in Caucasus, South Arabia and Sudanic Africa.

In line with Nakao (2018), this presentation draws on Arabic loanwords, '*ajamī* traditions and peripheral Arabic dialects (including native and non-native varieties) in these regions to argue that Pre-diasporic Arabic may well have had two ejective (or glottalic) emphatics \*q and \*tvis-à-vis three non-ejective (or non-glottalic) emphatics \*s, \*d and \*d̡. This hypothesis is supported by the medieval grammarians' comments on Old Arabic /q/ and /t/, and the fact that similar phonetic heterogeneity of emphatic consonants is attested in Modern South Arabian languages, such as Bathari (Gasparini 2917).

**Key words:** Pre-diasporic Arabic, emphatics, glottalic, Arabic in contact

### **References**

Gasparini, Fabio. 2017 "Phonetics of Emphatics in Bathari", Bettega, Simone & Gasparini, Fabio (eds.), *Linguistic Studies in the Arabian Gulf*. Turin: University of Turin. 69-85.

Nakao, Shuichiro. 2018. “Glottalic Reflex in Peripheral Arabic: Towards Reconstruction of Proto-Arabic Emphatics” (in Japanese), *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 16. 71-92.

Versteegh, Kees. 2014. *The Arabic Language* (Second edition). Edinborough: Edinborough University Press.

### **The Magazine “Simpaticuni”: Tunisian Arabic and Sicilian Italian in Contact?**

**Aldo NICOSIA** - [nicoaldo@yahoo.it](mailto:nicoaldo@yahoo.it)

Through the lexical analysis of some columns of the satirical and humouristic magazine in Sicilian language, published in Tunis, spanning more than two decades (1911-1933), I wish to highlight which kind of lexical items and linguistic structures were used by the Sicilian allochthonous community in Tunisia. This magazine also sheds light on some features of the relationship and power balance among the different communities living in that area: Maltese, Tunisian Jewish, French colonizers, Italian bourgeoisie from Central and Northern Italy. While analysing morphological, syntactical and lexical features of the magazine language, specially in its direct speech language. I wish to focus on to which lexical and/or pragmatic elements are present in the oral speech form in some columns of Simpaticuni and to what extent this interaction between languages and varieties has shaped the present-to-day Tunisian Arabic.

Does this magazine represent a unique document of the language used by the Italian (mostly Sicilian) community living in Tunisia one century ago, as researchers Ahmed Somai and Marinette Pendola affirm? Through the analysis of two specific columns that feature two interesting characters (Kiki Fartas and his wife Braima) and the readers' mail, I try to argue that this language (the so-called “italo-tunisien” by Somai) is more likely spoken by Tunisian Jews, living in contact with the Sicilian (and Italian community, who were mostly made by Jews from Tuscany).

**Key words:** Tunisian, pragmatism, Sicilian, humour, press

## **O / P**

### **The Teaching of Moroccan Dialect to Spanish Speakers in the 1930s through Storytelling**

**Omar Salem OULD GARSÍA**

*Granada University* - [omarould@ucm.es](mailto:omarould@ucm.es)

In the early twentieth century the foreign languages teaching trends included the use of popular tales as a way of showcasing not only all the proper elements of the language such as the vocabulary, grammatical structures, expressions, spelling or pronunciation but also cultural aspects and facts that illustrated everything surrounding a language.

This trend would also be applied to the teaching of Arabic dialects, including Moroccan that at the time was a Spanish protectorate. One of the institutions created during the protectorate was the Moroccan studies centre of Tetouan (Centro de Estudios Marroquíes de Tetuán) that published several Moroccan language manuals.

The main objective of this paper is to analyse one of this study books consisting of children stories and the reason behind the use of these stories. We will transcript some of this tales that are written in the Arabic alphabet and we will analyse some dialectological features. This book is interesting hence it has traditional customs, farming and agronomy facts, Yuha stories, city and countryside, traditional professions.

**Key words:** Arabic dialectology, *Darija*, written *darija*, study books, methodology, Spanish Morocco protectorate.

#### **Key bibliographical references:**

Montserrat Benítez Fernández, Catherine Miller, Jan Jaap de Ruiter, Youssef Tamer, *Évolution des pratiques et des représentations langagières dans le Maroc du xxie siècle*, L'Harmattan, 2013 , p. 175–188.

Meouak, M. Sánchez, P. Vicente, Á. (eds.)(2012). *De los manuscritos medievales a Internet: la presencia del árabe vernáculo en las fuentes escritas*, Zaragoza, Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo.

Moscoso García, F. (2012) árabe marroquí: Vulgar y dialectal. El Interés por su aprendizaje y su metodología de estudio durante el Protectorado, *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos (REIM)* , nº 12, pp. 183-220.

Gracia Mechbal, M. (coord.), “Instituciones científicas durante el protectorado: la escuela de estudios árabes (CSIC)” en Bengochea Tirado, E., Monzón Pertejo, E. & G. Pérez Sarmiento, D. (2015). Relaciones en conflicto: Nuevas perspectivas sobre relaciones internacionales desde la historia, Asociación de Historia Contemporánea, pp. 2623 – 2638.

### **Les débuts du théâtre en dialecte hassaniyya Ahmed Salem OULD MOHAMED BABA**

*Université Complutense de Madrid - [aouldmoh@filol.ucm.es](mailto:aouldmoh@filol.ucm.es)*

La société hassanophone n'a pas connu au cours de son histoire ce qu'on nomme théâtre "à l'occidentale", mais il y a eu certaines formes de représentation locales ayant des traits dramatiques. Il y avait, d'une part les griots traditionnels appelés *iggawen* qui, en plus de l'art de chanter, avaient le rôle d'amuser leur public en dramatisant des récits du passé, et, d'autre part, il y avait des humoristes, connus sous le nom de *əl-hamārā* (sg. *əl-hamār*) "les imitateurs" dans quelques campements de nomades, qui profitaient de certaines occasions (fêtes religieuses, cérémonies de mariages, etc.) pour offrir au public des imitations de quelques personnages populaires. Ces spectacles avaient pour but surtout de faire rire au moyen de mouvements et de grimaces qui accompagnaient les récits humoristiques.

Ce n'est qu'au début des années 60, avec l'octroi de l'indépendance à la Mauritanie, qu'un groupe de théâtre fut créé sous le nom de *al-kaykūtiyyā* par Hämmām Fall, surnommé *əl-Mälīk*. Contrairement aux humoristes des campements nomades, ce

groupe de théâtre s' était installé dans la nouvelle capitale du pays, Nouakchott, et présentait ses spectacles, en dialecte hassaniyya, devant un public récemment urbanisé parmi lequel il y avait les autorités du nouvel État.

La présente communication traitera la naissance du théâtre en dialecte hassaniyya, analysera ses principaux traits et offrira un échantillon des premiers sketchs conservés par les archives sonores.

### **The Linguistic Situation in Qatar**

**Katarzyna PECHCIN**

*University of Warsaw - [kasiadyl@poczta.onet.eu](mailto:kasiadyl@poczta.onet.eu)*

Aim of this paper is to present a brief description of a linguistic situation in the State of Qatar. A Qatari Arabic placed on a wider spectrum of Arabic dialects of the Gulf still remains underestimated and not very well described, even within a field of Arabic dialectology and linguistics. A research for this study was conducted during a fieldwork in Doha, Qatar in 2009 and 2010, and then further developed in 2013. A conception, on which this research is based, is the conception of diglossia defined as common phenomenon of complementary coexistence of Modern Standard Arabic along with local dialects of Arabic. Furthermore, the dialectal division of the Qatar Peninsula is presented, aiming to give a general picture of dialectal diversity in the State of Qatar. The main part of research concerns the linguistic situation and the dialectal diversity in the State of Qatar that has been discussed as well as the geographic and systematic division of the Qatar Peninsula along with the socio-cultural context. The last aspect taken into consideration. While describing the linguistic situation, is the influence of foreign languages on local dialects. Qatar has been chosen to conduct dialectological research and cultural observation - among other factors - due to a lack of complex dialectological research conducted so far in this area. The paper is based on a chapter of unpublished Ph. D. dissertation "Sea and Pearl Diving in the Language and Culture of the State of Qatar. Studies on the Qatari Dialect of Arabic" written under the supervision of Prof. Janusz Danecki and Dr. Maciej Klimiuk and successfully discussed at Chair of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Warsaw in November 2018.

**Key words:** Qatari Arabic, Qatar, Arabic Dialectology, Arabic Language and Linguistics

### **Qāmūs ad-Dāriġa al-Mağribiyya:**

**Media Reaction and Language Practices in Moroccan Digital Press**

**Rosa PENNISI**

*DSAAM Ca' Foscari University / IREMAM Aix-Marseille Université - [rosa.pennisi@unive.it](mailto:rosa.pennisi@unive.it)*

The Zakoura Center for Promotion of *ad-Dāriġa* published in 2017 the first monolingual dictionary of *ad-Dāriġa*, a project developed by a team of Moroccan linguists and professors. According to the report of FAFO survey (Kebede, Kindt 2016), Darija is the most used variety in writing, especially on the internet, in Morocco. For this reason, this dictionary aims at the normalization and standardization of the spelling of this language,

which is characterized by a rich diatopic and diastratic variation, especially at the phonetic, morphological, and lexical levels (Caubet 1993, Youssi 1986, Durand 2004). From an ideological point of view, this publication has revived controversies between conservatives of Arabic *al-Fushā* and promoters of *ad-Dāriḡa*. Therefore, this study aims to analyse the reception of this dictionary through the debate that took place on the internet, and especially through the analysis of a corpus of articles and readers' comments of two Moroccan digital newspapers, Goud and Hespress. The purpose of this study is twofold: on the one hand, it wants to observe the opinion of readers in relation to the aforementioned dictionary, and more generally, on their relationship with their languages; on the other hand, it wants to investigate what language(s) or styles Moroccans use when they speak/write about language issues. The analysis of the comments shows contrasting results with respect to the linguistic choice of people against the promotion of the dictionary and the use of *ad-Dāriḡa* in writing. At the same time, the linguistic analysis of the corpus shows that, at the morphological and syntactic level, mixed varieties of Arabic emerge among the usual practices of a so-called standard language, revealing a stylistic variation among the practices of both journalists and readers.

**Key words:** Sociolinguistics, Linguistic Variation, Written Arabic, Mixed Arabic, Digital Press

## References

- Caubet, D. 1993. *L'arabe marocain*, 1 & 2. Louvain: Peeters;
- Caubet, D. 2017. "Morocco: An Informal Passage to Literacy in dārija (Moroccan Arabic)", Høigilt, Jacob;
- Durand, O. 2004. *L'arabo del Marocco: elementi di dialetto standard e mediano*. Volume 20 di Studi semitici. Roma: Università degli Studi La Sapienza;
- Kebede, T.A., & Kindt, K.T. 2016. *Language and Social Survey in Morocco, A Tabulation Report*. Fafo-report 2016:20;
- Mejdell, G. 2006. *Mixed Styles in Spoken Arabic in Egypt, Somewhere between Order and Chaos*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 48. Leiden: Brill;
- Mejdell, Gunvor, 2017 (eds.), *The Politics of Written Language in the Arab World Writing Change*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 90. Leiden Boston: Brill. 116-141;
- Mgharfaoui. K., Mabrour A., Chekayri A. 2017. *Qāmūs ad-dāriḡa l-maḡribiyya*. Casablanca : Markaz tanmiyya ad-dāriḡa Zakūra ;
- Miller, C. 2017. "Contemporary dārija Writings in Morocco: Ideology and Practices", Høigilt, Jacob & Mejdell, Gunvor, (eds.), *The Politics of Written Language in the Arab World Writing Change*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 90. Leiden Boston: Brill. 90-115;
- Youssi, A. 1986. *L'arabe marocain médian : analyse fonctionnaliste des rapports syntaxiques : de la synchronie dynamique dans les corrélations de normes linguistiques et des formes phonologiques, morphosyntaxiques et lexicales*. Thèse de doctorat en Linguistique: Paris 3

## **Les phrases conditionnelles / hypothétiques en arabe de Tripoli (Libye)**

**Christophe PEREIRA**

INALCO – Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (Paris)  
LACNAD – Langues et Cultures du Nord de l'Afrique et Diasporas (EA 4092)  
[christophe.pereira@inalco.fr](mailto:christophe.pereira@inalco.fr)

Le but de cette communication est d'examiner des phrases conditionnelles / hypothétiques marquées, c'est-à-dire constituées d'une protase introduite par un des trois subordonnants employés dans l'arabe de Tripoli contemporain : *kān(a)*, *law* ou *law kān*. Dans ces phrases, les protases et les apodeses peuvent contenir des prédicts averbaux ou verbaux. Pour ce qui concerne ces derniers, onze combinaisons ont été relevées :

<b>Protase</b>	<b>Apodose</b>
1. Participe actif	Participe actif
2. Conjugaison préfixale	Conjugaison préfixale
3. Conjugaison suffixale	Conjugaison préfixale
4. <i>b-</i> + Conjugaison préfixale	Conjugaison préfixale
5. Conjugaison préfixale	<i>b-</i> + Conjugaison préfixale
6. Conjugaison suffixale	<i>b-</i> + Conjugaison préfixale
7. Conjugaison préfixale	<i>ḥā-</i> + Conjugaison préfixale
8. Conjugaison suffixale	<i>ḥā-</i> + Conjugaison préfixale
9. Conjugaison suffixale	<i>taw-</i> + Conjugaison préfixale
10. Conjugaison suffixale	Participe actif
11. Conjugaison suffixale	Conjugaison suffixale

Quelles valeurs aspecto-temporelles et modales sont signifiées à travers les nombreuses combinaisons entre les formes participiales, celles préverbées ou non (Benmoftah & Pereira 2018) ? Quid des protases et des apodeses averbales ? Les différents introducteurs de protases véhiculent-ils des valeurs distinctives (D'Anna 2017) ? Sur le continuum hypothétique, quels degrés d'hypothèse sont exprimés à travers les nombreuses combinaisons (Comrie 1986) ?

## Références bibliographiques

BENMOFTAH N. & PEREIRA Ch. 2018. Les futurs en arabe de Tripoli (Libye) : temporalité, aspectualité et modalités. *Studies on Arabic Dialectology and Sociolinguistics. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference of AIDA held in Marseille from 30<sup>th</sup> May – 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2017*. Aix-en-Provence. Institut de Recherches et d'Etudes sur le Monde Arabe et Musulman. <http://books.openedition.org/iremam/4869>.

COMRIE B. 1986. Conditionals: A Typology. *On conditionals*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 79-99.

D'ANNA L. 2017. On the Development of Conditional Particles in the Arabic Dialects of the Fezzān. *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common trends – Recent Developments – Diachronic Aspects*. Zaragoza. Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza. 351-370.

## Arabic Varieties in Nasser's Political Speeches

**Florentina-Laurența PÎRLOG**

*University of Bucharest – [laurentapirllog@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:laurentapirllog@yahoo.co.uk)*

This paper examines the overlapping and coexistence of the two varieties of Arabic (the Standard Arabic SA and colloquial Arabic QA) in president Gamal Abdel Nasser's political speeches. This widespread phenomenon is used by political leaders of the Arab World in order to convey the political message to a larger part of audience, including the illiterate people who do not possess the sophisticated linguistic skills as the educated strata. The style shifting and code switching are consciously manipulated by the president and they constitute a valuable field of research from a sociolinguistic approach which is the scope of the current work. In others words, Nasser's use of a mixture between SA and QA in his speeches has an important rhetorical function. For instance, he uses the SA in order to introduce general political issues or to kindle the pan-Arabic ideal in his audience. On the other hand, QA is used mainly for addressing specific topics concerning the uneducated public or in order to create a more intimate atmosphere of joking and scolding. The analysis focuses primarily on the mechanism of the switch between the two codes without ignoring the larger political context in which the president delivered his speeches.

**Key words:** Cairo Arabic, Code switching, Style shifting, sociolinguistic analyses, public speeches, Nasser's presidency

## Polar Questions in Tunis Arabic

**Stephan PROCHÁZKA**

*Institute of Oriental Studies, Vienna - [stephan.prochazka@univie.ac.at](mailto:stephan.prochazka@univie.ac.at)*

In the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (Gibson 2009: 570) it is mentioned that in the Arabic dialect of Tunis “yes/no questions can be marked by an initial *yāxxi*”, and that “interrogation can be expressed by the suffix *-ši*.” These statements may suggest that the particle *yāxxi*, respectively the clitic morpheme *-ši*, both function as a kind of interrogation marker. Particularly the latter is also described by

Cohen 1975 and Singer 1984 to be frequently used in both the Jewish variety and in the Muslim dialect of Tunis. Hellmuth (forthcoming) describes a third and hitherto unnoticed (clitic) question particle for Tunis Arabic, namely a word-final epenthetic vowel. Surprisingly, on map 92A of the *World Atlas of Language Structures* Tunis does not appear as a variety exhibiting any question particles.

The aim of this paper is to find out which roles the three particles play in interrogative sentences. The investigation is mainly based on the analysis of the Viennese TUNICO corpus (of roughly 100,000 words) that contains more than 2,000 utterances which can be labelled as yes/no questions in the widest sense. Even a first glance shows that the two above-mentioned particles are by far not default question particles as they occur in less than 5 per cent of the polar questions found in the corpus. As for the epenthetic vowel, it is more frequent but also clearly not obligatory. The overwhelming majority of yes/no questions in the Arabic dialect of Tunis are merely marked as such by rising intonation.

Thus, I want to analyse the particular syntactic and pragmatic functions of these three particles and to discern under which circumstances they are used.

### **References cited**

- Cohen, David. 1975. *Le parler arabe des juifs de Tunis*. Tome II: *Étude linguistique*. The Hague-Paris: Mouton.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2013. “Position of Polar Question Particles.” *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute.
- Gibson, Maik. 2009. “Tunis Arabic.” In: K. Versteegh et al. (eds.): *EALL*. Vol. 4. Leiden: Brill, 563-571.
- Hellmuth, Sam. 2020 (forthcoming). “Text-tune alignment in Tunisian Arabic yes-no questions.” In *Prosodic Variation (with)in Languages - Intonation, Phrasing and Segments*. Equinox eBooks Publishing, United Kingdom.
- Singer, Hans-Rudolf. 1984. *Grammatik der arabischen Mundart der Medina von Tunis*. Berlin-New York: de Gruyter.

TUNICO: [https://tunico.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/about\\_corpus.html](https://tunico.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/about_corpus.html)

# R / S

## **Presentation of the Project “Tunisia’s Linguistic *terra incognita*: An Investigation into the Arabic Varieties of Northwestern and Central Tunisia” (TUNOCENT)**

**Veronika RITT-BENMIMOUN**

*University of Vienna, Institute of Oriental Studies - [veronika.ritt@univie.ac.at](mailto:veronika.ritt@univie.ac.at)*

My presentation will introduce a project that will start in April 2019 and will be financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF). All the data gathered during the project will be hosted and prepared for long-term preservation at the Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities (Austrian Academy of Sciences) with its director Dr Karlheinz Moerth being our national research partner. Within four years and with a team of four collaborators, the project TUNOCENT will provide up-to-date linguistic data for the hitherto almost unknown Arabic varieties spoken in the region approximating the seven Tunisian governorates of Jendouba, Beja, Kef, Siliana, Kasserine, Sidi Bouzid, and Gafsa.

In 1950 the famous French dialectologist William Marçais affixed the term *terra incognita*<sup>1</sup> to Tunisian Bedouin-type dialects, differentiating them into what he called the H- (Hilāl) and S- (Sulaym) dialects. His judgement that further research into these almost completely unknown varieties is urgently needed still holds true now, almost 70 years later.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, this project is the first attempt to linguistically illuminate a part of Tunisia which has long remained under-studied.

I will give details concerning the collection of the linguistic data through fieldwork, the proceeding and analysis of the data, which will take place in the first years. In the final year of the project, an intra-dialectal comparison will reveal the common traits and differences of Tunisian Bedouin-type dialects and should enable a detailed classification of them.

### **References:**

- Aguadé, Jordi. 2018. “The Maghrebi Dialects of Arabic.” In: C. Holes (ed.) *Arabic Historical Dialectology: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Approaches*. Oxford: University Press.
- Marçais, William. 1950. “Les parlers arabes.” In: A. Basset (ed.) *Initiation à la Tunisie*. Paris, 195-219.
- Mion, Giuliano. 2015. “Réflexions sur la catégorie des «parlers villageois» en arabe tunisien.” *Romano-Arabica XV* (Graffiti, Writing and Street Art in the Arab World), 269-277.
- Ritt-Benmimoun, Veronika. 2014. “The Tunisian Hilāl and Sulaym Dialects: A Preliminary Comparative Study.” In: O. Durand, A.D. Langone & G. Mion (eds.) *Alf lahğā wa lahğā. Proceedings of the 9<sup>th</sup> Aida Conference*. Wien-Münster, 351-359.

---

<sup>1</sup>W. Marçais (1950: 212) used *ignota* instead.

<sup>2</sup>G. Mion (2015: 270): “En absence complète d’analyses sur la région intérieure du pays ...”.

**The Egoist and the Lioness:  
Curses and Abuse Words in Egyptian Arabic**  
**Gabriel M. ROSENBAUM**

*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
The Israeli Academic Center in Cairo – [gabicairo@gmail.com](mailto:gabicairo@gmail.com)*

Egyptian Arabic is very rich in curses and terms of abuse. In Egyptian culture, as in many others, such words and phrases are more common in speech than in the written or literary language, though currently they penetrate the written language at an increasing pace and on a rising scale.

This paper reports on some findings from a larger study on this topic (in preparation). It is mainly based on intensive and extended work with informants, but also on written sources (published and retrieved from the internet). It shows the role of curses and abuse words in Egyptian society, through representative examples used in spoken Egyptian Arabic. It also demonstrates how some of them are integrated into contemporary literary writing in Egypt as well as Egyptian websites and digital communication.

When curses and abuse words appear in writing they may undergo changes. Euphemisms are often used, but in recent times some Egyptian writers have begun using curses and abuse words as they are, so that more and more such words that were traditionally absent from or rare in written texts now appear in print in more daring and permissive ways. The spread of writing in social media on the internet has also accelerated the use of such vocabulary in written literature as well as in speech, and the paper shows the different attitudes toward representing such terms in older texts as opposed to contemporary ones.

**Les emplois de ‘ind « chez » dans le parler de Benghazi**

**Aisha SAAD**

*Université Sorbonne-Nouvelle, Paris 3 - [aicha\\_soliman@yahoo.fr](mailto:aicha_soliman@yahoo.fr)*

Ce travail fait partie de notre recherche de thèse qui se base sur un corpus oral. Il propose une étude syntaxico-sémantique des emplois de ‘*ind* dans les énoncés non-verbaux. Notre objectif est de révéler la variété d’emploi que cette unité linguistique exprime dans le parler de Benghazi. ‘*ind* est considéré selon la dialectologie arabe comme un pseudo-verbe (Cohen 1975) ainsi nommé un prédicatoïde. Toutefois, en l’associant à un nom abstrait, on accorde à ‘*ind* un rôle de support (Ibrahim 2002). Ce support présente *l'état de l'ayant* (Benveniste 1966) et autorise une parenté avec des formes participiales et verbales qui véhiculent, à leur tour, des extensions aspectuelles différentes. ‘*ind* est comparable, dans ce contexte, à des participes actifs comme *lāgī* « trouver », ‘*ārif* « savoir » et *wāhid* « prendre », ‘*āqī* « donner », etc. Nous montrerons, en outre, comment ‘*ind*, dans son rôle possessif, établit une affinité avec les constructions locatives et existentielle. De même, la nature du substantif associable à ‘*ind* et l’impact de la négation présentent des régularités sémantiques variées qui annoncent des valeurs modales et qui expriment les affects.

**Mots clés:** Construction loco-possessive, existence, modalité, prédicat, support, extension aspectuelle

**Références:**

- BENVENISTE, E. (1966). *Problème de linguistique générale*. Paris : Gallimard.
- COHEN, D. (1975). « Phrase nominale et verbalisation en sémitique ». *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile Benveniste*. Paris. 87-98.
- CREISSELS, D. (2015). Prédication existentielle et constructions transpossessives. In <http://www.deniscreissels.fr/public/Creissels-transposs.exist.pdf>
- HAGÈGE, C. (2006). « Vers une typologie linguistique des affects », *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 101 (1) : 89-132.
- IBRAHIM, A. (2002). « Les verbes supports en arabe ». *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Tome XCVII, fasc.1, Louvain : Peeters, pp. 315-352.
- SAAD, A. (à paraître). « Les pseudo-verbes dans le dialecte de Benghazi : valeurs possessives et non possessives ». *Aida* 12.

**Written Documents in the *k*-dialects of Lower Yemen:  
Observations on the materials in the Goitein Archive in Jerusalem**

Ori SHACHMON

*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem - [ori.shachmon@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:ori.shachmon@mail.huji.ac.il)*

The archives of the late S. D. Goitein, stored at the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, contain more than one hundred notebooks with word lists, linguistic notes and full-length stories in Yemeni-Arabic dialects. The materials were recorded in the early 1950s from Jews who immigrated from Yemen to Israel, and were then copied in the meticulous, typical *šaxṭ* handwriting of Goitein's Yemenite assistant, in Hebrew (occasionally vocalized) letters. In a few cases, I detected more than one version of the same story, as well as the original audio recording of the session which Goitein and his assistant held with the informant. My paper follows the evolution of several such texts, analyzing them as a multi-stage process, during which the story is told, re-told and recorded several times and in different manners, until it assumes its final, polished form. The stages will be demonstrated via a sample story in the dialect of a small village in Lower Yemen, parts of which were published by Goitein in an article from 1960.

While the informants, who hailed from the province of Ibb in Lower Yemen, spoke the *k*-dialects typical of that region, Goitein's assistant spoke a Yemeni dialect essentially different from theirs. On occasion, the dialectal gaps emerge from the manuscripts, and bring to the fore various strategies, which the Yemenite assistant employed along the process of transcription. I will thus point out cases of **(a)Phonetic writing**, e.g. the use of Hebrew 'א to represent the realization of OA qāf as [g], as demonstrated by forms like גָּנִי which stands for dialectal *gāni* (< OA *qad 'anā*); **(b)Etymological writing**, revealing the assistant's linguistic knowledge (and intuition), e.g. the spelling שַׁבַּע for Arabic *bōṣ* 'there is not', which is plausibly influenced by his deep familiarity with texts written in Judaeo-

Arabic; and **(c)Substitute writing**, where forms in the informant's speech are replaced by the corresponding forms in the assistant's own dialect, e.g. קָלַח for the dialectal *qāla* 'she said'; or קְוִילְתִּי for the dialectal *k*-perfect *qulki* (or: *qulš*) 'you (f.sg.) said', side by side with וָעַגְתִּי *gūk* 'I came'.

My analysis of the archive materials is supported by a series of open interviews and elicitation sessions, which I conducted in the years 2016-2018 with Jews from the villages of Lower Yemen, some of whom are actually the descendants of Goitein's informants from the 1950s. These recent recordings enable a more accurate interpretation of the archive's written texts, which constitute a rich and promising database for future investigation of Yemeni *k*-dialects.

## Bibliographical References

- Behnstedt, P. (2016) *Dialect Atlas of North Yemen and Adjacent Areas*. Leiden : Brill.
- Diem, W. (1973) *Skizzen jemenitischer Dialekte*. Beirut: In Kommission bei F. Steiner, Wiesbaden.
- Goitein, S.D. (1960) "The language of Al-Gades: The main characteristics of an Arabic dialect spoken in lower Yemen". *Le Muséon* 73:351-394.
- Jastrow, O. (1986) "Alles über Qāt, Ein Text im arabischen Dialekt von Jiblīh (Nordjemen)", *Zeitschriften der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 136 : 23-55.
- Morag, Sh. (1963) *The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews* [in Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language.
- Prochazka, Th. Jr. 1974. "The perfect tense ending -k in the spoken Arabic of Ta'izz", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37,2: 439-442.
- Rossi, E. (1938a) "Appunti di dialettologia del Yemen", *RSO* 17: 230-265.
- (1938b) "Nuove osservazioni sui dialetti del Yemen", *RSO* 17: 460-472.
- Shachmon, O. (forthcoming) "The Arabic dialects of the Jews of Yemen", in: Lutz Edzard and Ofra Tirosh-Becker (eds.) *Jewish Languages: Text specimens, grammatical, lexical, and cultural sketches*. Harrassowitz.
- Shachmon, O. and Faust, N. "Secondary Articulation in the k-dialects of Lower Yemen", paper read at the the 2nd International Conference on Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics. Laboratoire de Linguistique de Nantes, France.
- Testen, D. (1992) "Extra-Arabic Affiliations of k-Yemeni", in: *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics IV*: 77-89.
- Vanhouve, M. (1993). "Note sur le dialecte *qəltu* de Dhala' (province de Lahej, Yémen)". *Matériaux Arabes et Sudarabiques* 5: 165-190.
- (1995) "A propos du verbe dans les dialectes arabes de Yāfi' (Yémen)". *Dialectologia Arabica. A Collection of Articles in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Heikki Palva*. Helsinki : Finnish Oriental Society. pp.257-269.

## ملاحظات في الأحكام الناظمة للهجات الشامية واستنباط القواعد النحوية

يوسف شحادة

- جامعة ياغيلونسكى فى كراكوف [josefshh@hotmail.com](mailto:josefshh@hotmail.com)

على عكس ما يظن البعض، لا تخلو اللهجات العربية من الأحكام التي تضبط ألفاظها أسماء وأفعالاً، وتركيبيات تسير عليها سياقاتها اللغوية. ولا شك أن اللهجات الشامية تسير وفق ضوابط محددة، حتى وإن بدا لنا أنها خلو من القواعد المثبتة، إذ أنها تكسر الأحكام النحوية والصرفية للغتها الأم – العربية الفصيحة. تقدم هذه الورقة نماذج لأحكام تضبط ألفاظ اللهجة الشامية وتركيبياتها اللغوية معتمدة على تجربة طويلة، لصاحب هذه الورقة، في تدريس اللهجة السورية – الفلسطينية لغير الناطقين بها. تظهر نتائج البحث الأحكام الناتجة عن التغيرات التي طرأت على الألفاظ، ونشوء الضوابط التي تسيرها، وهي ضوابط تخرج عن أحكام اللغة الفصحي. فعلى سبيل المثال، تلفظ النساء المربوطة في اللهجة الدمشقية بطريقتين مختلفتين، كل طريقة منها لا تائي اعتماداً على قاعدة محددة، لا يدركها الناطق بهذه اللهجة إذ ينطقتها تلقائياً بما يناسب الكلمة التي ترد فيها. إن التخلّي عن قواعد الصرف والإعراب الفصيحة لا يعني أن أساليب الكلام العامي تفقد وضوحها، أو تصبح مبهمة في معناها العام، بل تتشكل تركيب جديدة لها ضوابطها الناظمة، فتنشأ قواعد مختلفة لا تأخذ بالحركات الإعرابية جاعلة المعنى المراد من الجملة مرتبطة بموقع مكونات الجملة في السياق. مثلاً جملة: "ضرب الولد الشرطي" في العربية الفصيحة لا يفهم معناها تماماً إلا بوجود الحركات الإعرابية التي تدل على من هو الفاعل، ومن المفعول به، أما في اللهجات الشامية فيجب أن يراعى ترتيب عناصر الجمل، فنقول: "الولد ضرب الشرطي" وهذا يعني أن "الولد" هو الفاعل و"الشرطي" هو المفعول به. ونقول: "الشرطي ضرب الولد" فيكون "الشرطي" هو الفاعل، و"الولد" المفعول به، القاعدة المستخلصة: الفاعل يأتي أولاً، ثم الفعل، وبعد ذلك المفعول به. ولن يفهم المعنى إن قلنا ذلك بشكل مختلف، فالتقديم والتأخير يغيران المعنى. لكن من الممكن إضافة عنصر جديد إلى الجملة، فتنشأ قاعدة جديدة: "الولد ضربه (ضربو) الشرطي"، والفاعل هنا هو "الشرطي"، و"الشرطي ضربه (ضربو) الولد" حيث يكون "الولد" هو الفاعل.

## الكتابات الدارجة على السيارات في مصر دراسة في أنماط الجملة الاسمية

سعد سيد أحمد عبد الرحيم

- القاهرةجامعة [alustaath@yahoo.com](mailto:alustaath@yahoo.com)

يدرس هذا البحث أنماط الجملة الاسمية في الكتابات على واجهات السيارات في مصر، ومدى توافقها أو اختلافها مع النظام التركيبى للجملة الاسمية في العربية الفصحي. واحتُصنت الكتابات على واجهات السيارات بالدراسة؛ لأن لغتها جزء من اللغة السائدة في المجتمع المصري، وتتسم بالإيجاز وبساطة التركيب، وسهولة اللغة. أما المنهج الذي اتخذته وسيلة لدراسة هذه الكتابات فهو المنهج الوصفي التفسيري الذي يعني بوصف الظاهرة اللغوية وتفسيرها تفسيراً يتافق وخصائص اللغة المدرستة؛ حيث استقراء الكتابات على واجهات السيارات، ثم تحليلها نحوياً، والمقارنة بينها والنظام التركيبى للجملة الاسمية في العربية الفصحي. ويقسم البحث الجملة الاسمية إلى:

أولاً: الجملة الاسمية المثبتة.

ثانياً: الجملة الاسمية المنفية.

ثالثاً: الجملة الاسمية المؤكدة.

وقد تم عرض أنماط الجملة الاسمية المثبتة ثم أنماط الجملة الاسمية المنفية فأنماط الجملة الاسمية المؤكدة، وقد بحثت القضايا الإعرابية والظواهر اللغوية لمعرفة مدى اتفاقها أو اختلافها مع آراء وأحكام النحاة العرب.

لا يبالغ إذا قلنا بأن العامية المستعملة في هذه الكتابات مستمدّة من الفصحي في كثير من أنماطها التركيبية مع إحداث تغيير في حرف أو حركة في بعض الكلمات، ولعل الفارق الواضح الذي يميز الفصحي عن العامية هو الإعراب، في بينما تتسم الفصحي بالإعراب تفتقد العامية هذه السمة.

**"شي" في اللهجة العربية بماردين**  
**Mehmet SAYIR**

*Gazi University, Ankara - mmmsayir@gmail.com*

إن الهدف من هذا البحث هو محاولة لطرح الأشكال المختلفة لاستخدام مصطلح "شيء" (شيء) في اللهجة العربية بماردين، بوظائفها المختلفة التي قد تبين وتحدد أشكال استخدام هذا المصطلح في لهجات عربية مختلفة بوضوح بالإضافة إلى إجراء مقارنة بين استخدام هذه العبارة في هذه اللهجة واللهجة القاهرة. حيث تأتي "شيء" أمام الاسم والفعل والأداة وبعدها بمعنى "الشيء" كما يتم الاستفادة من "شيء" للحصول على أداة الاستفهام "أيُّش" أو "أش" بمعنى "ماذا" وكذلك "أشن" أو "أشون". بمعنى "كيف" و "أيش" بمعنى "لماذا".

ويتبين من خلال دراسة اللهجة أن "شيء" تأتي على أشكال مختلفة وبمعانٍ مختلفة على النحو التالي:

- ١ - بعد الفعل المضارع، كقولهم:  
"مُؤْكَلِ شَيْءٍ" بمعنى "لا أكل شيئاً"
  - ٢ - بعد الفعل الماضي، كقولهم:  
"مَا أَكَلْتُ شَيْءٍ" بمعنى "ما أكلت شيئاً"
  - ٣ - بعد قد التحقيقية (ك - كل) كقولهم:  
"مَا كِلَّا كَلَّا شَيْءٍ" بمعنى "لست أكلًا شيئاً".
  - ٤ - كأدلة لصياغة أدوات الاستفهام "أيُّش" أو "أش" بمعنى "ماذا" وكذلك "أشن" أو "أشون". بمعنى "كيف" و "أيش" بمعنى "لماذا".
  - ٥ - أمام الاسم الموصول كما ورد في المثل الشائع في المنطقة موضوع البحث وهو:  
"كُلُّ شَيْءٍ لِتَعْجِبَ وَالبِسْ شَيْءٍ لِتَعْجِبَ النَّاسَ" بمعنى "كل ما (الشيء الذي) يعجبك والبس ما (الشيء الذي) يعجب الناس".
  - ٦ - أمام الفعل بمعنى "تارة وحينما..." كقولهم:  
"شَيْءٌ يَقُولُ كَذَهْ وَشَيْءٌ يَقُولُ كَذَهْ" بمعنى "تارة يقول كذا وتارة يقول كذا".
  - ٧ - بعد الضمائر المتصلة كقولهم:  
"مَا عَلِيَا شَيْءٌ" بمعنى "لا يأس" وكذلك "معليش" في لهجات أخرى.  
وسيعتمد البحث على مقارنة بين استخدام "شيء" في اللهجة ماردين العربية واللهجة القاهرة.  
كما يتمحور هذا البحث حول الصيغ والأشكال والمعاني المختلفة لعبارة "شيء" أي "شيء" من خلال طرح الأمثلة المختلفة لهذه الصيغ بجميع أنواعها وتقاصيلها ورصد القارب بينها وبين اللهجة القاهرة من هذه الناحية.
- الكلمات المفتاحية :** ماردين، اللغة العربية، اللهجة المحلمية، اللهجة الجزراوية، مدبات، شيء، شوية.

## **Notes on Aswan Arabic**

**Jason SCHROEPFER**

*Virginia Military Institute – [schroepferjw@vmi.edu](mailto:schroepferjw@vmi.edu)*

This study furnishes Arabic dialectology with a preliminary description of the Arabic spoken in Aswan. The city is a sprawling urban center that boasts many tourist attractions and several thriving local industries (Praat 2007). Behnstedt and Woidich's (1985:11) monumental 5 volume dialect Atlas captures the vast majority of Egypt's linguistic variation, yet Aswan remains an admittedly obscure lacuna. Winkler's (1937) a study remains the only study to describe some lexical and phonological variation as far south as West Aswan village, but it does not touch on the Arabic spoken within Aswan city limits. Thus, linguists know very little about the Arabic spoken in Aswan.

This study draws upon 30 hours of sociolinguistic interviews and notes from several trips to the field (following Labov 1984). The researcher discovers that several social factors govern phonetic variation in Aswan Arabic (Author 2017). He also finds many shared linguistic features between Aswan Arabic and other nearby Upper Egyptian dialects, Be'ērī Arabic and in some cases Yemeni and West Sudanic varieties (cf. Roset 2018, Behnstedt and Woidich 1985, Woidich 2006, Behnstedt 1985, Rosen 2018). It also optionally bears some phonotactic similarities with the western Egyptian oases of ID-Dāxila and il-Farāfira (cf. Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 76). It also displays some features and functions that are only attested in Aswan thus far.

These notes collectively aim to paint a preliminary picture of some of the more salient phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of Aswan Arabic. Thus, it is by no means comprehensive or exhaustive and much remains to be researched in Aswan. However, the findings do provide Arabic dialectologists with some emerging data on the Arabic spoken in that region. It is hoped that this contribution will also furnish scholars of Arabic dialects with some additional linguistic data to better contextualize our understanding of Arabic dialects and their development.

### **References:**

- Behnstedt, P. and Woidich, M. (1985b): *Die Ägyptisch-Arabischen Dialekte*. Beihefte Zum Tubinger Atlas Des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften Vol. 2. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert.
- Behnstedt, P. (1985). *Die Nordjemenitischen Dialekte*. Vol. 2. Wiesebaden: L. Reichert.
- Labov, W. (1984): Field Methods of the Project on Linguistic Change and Variation. In BAUGH J. - SHERZER J. (eds.): *Language in Use: Readings in Sociolinguistics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall: 28-53.
- Praat, N. (2007): Aswan. In DUMPER M. – STANLEY B (eds.): *Cities of the Middle East and North Africa: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO: 49–52.
- Roset, C. (2018): A Grammar of Darfur Arabic. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Amsterdam.

Woidich, M. (2006): Be‘erī Arabic. In – Versteegh K. – Woidich M. – Elgibali A. – Zaborski A. (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics Volume 2*, Leiden: Brill: 299–308.

Winkler, A. (1936): *Ägyptische Volkskunde*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

## An Ashkenazi Jewish Song of the Haggadah in Moroccan, Syrian and Yemeni Arabic

**Jonas SIBONY**

GEO – Strasbourg University - [sibony.jonas@gmail.com](mailto:sibony.jonas@gmail.com)

*Ehad Mi Yodea* (The one who knows – in Hebrew) is one of the concluding songs of the Haggadah, the Jewish text of Passover’s Seder<sup>1</sup>. According to the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, the oldest version of this song was found in an Ashkenazi Haggadah (East-European) of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The song itself was probably at first a Yiddish adaptation of the popular German pastoral song “Guter Freund Ich Frage Dich” that would have been translated into Hebrew in a second phase. The song is meant to be humorous and its basic function is to keep the children awake until the end of the Seder.<sup>2</sup> For that reason, it was translated from the Hebrew version into the vernacular languages of the Jewish communities around the world; in order to be understandable to all, women and children, who often did not learn Hebrew and Aramaic, the two languages of the Jewish sacred texts.

There are versions of *Ehad Mi Yodea* in Yiddish, Hebrew, Judeo-Spanish, English, Italian, Tadjik, Alsatian, and of course in Arabic. Actually, dozens of versions do exist in Arabic. Every Arabic speaking Jewish community seems to have developed its own version.

Those texts show very interesting features in a comparative perspective. A linguistic comparison of three of them, from Fez (Morocco), Aleppo (Syria) and south Yemen will allow to highlight some dialectal specificities. The differences in terms of translation choices and the will to use Arabic or Hebrew lexicon in such or such place is meaningful concerning the diversity of relations of those communities towards the Arabic language and to the “Islamic lexicon”. Moreover, some intriguing lexical proximities between those versions coming from far distant places could indicate they weren’t independently translated from the same Hebrew version, but more likely from a source text already in some form of Arabic.

*Ehad mi yodea* is a cumulative song, built on 13 stanzas, each one insisting on the meaning of the numbers from 1 to 13 in Judaism.

As an example, here is the first stanza in the three versions mentioned above:

Fez (Morocco):

tālām u tādri yā ’allāh l-muzālli, tālām-o bə-l-      תעלם ותדרי يا אללה למוזלי,

<sup>1</sup>Seder is the name of the Jewish ritual feast marking the beginning of Passover.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopedia Judaica 2007 : 237.

*wāhed*,  
 ולוֹאַחֵד הוּא אֱלֹהָה, לֹא אֱלֹהָה אֱלֹהָה הוּא,  
*u l-wāhed huwa 'allāh, lā 'ilāh 'illa huwa,*  
 וסְמָאוֹת סְמָאוֹתוֹ, וְלֹא־רֶצֶחֶן  
*u smāwāt smāwāt-o, u l-'ard 'arda-ho,*  
 וְחַנָּא עֲבִידָהו דִּי רְבָבִי צְבָחָנָהוּ,  
*u ḥna 'bīda-ho di rəbbi šubḥāna-ho,*  
 לֹא אֱלֹהָה אֱלֹהָה לְלֹהָה.  
*lā 'ilāh 'illa llāh.*

Aleppo (Syria):

*min ya'lām u min yədri*  
 מִן יַעַלְם וּמִן יַדְרִי,  
*'en uwe el-wāhed, wāhed rabbi l-ḥāle'-nā,*  
 אֵן הוּא אֶל וּוֹאַחֵד, וּוֹאַחֵד רָב אַלְכָלְקָנָה,  
*'amma huwe wāhed*  
 אַמְמָה הוּא וּוֹאַחֵד.

Yemen (South):

*min ya'lām u min yadri, min yadri u min ya'lām,*  
 מִן יַעַלְם וּמִן יַדְרִי, מִן יַדְרִי וּמִן יַעַלְם,  
*al-wāhed min hū, l-wāhed ayya hū,*  
 אַלְוֹאַחֵד מִן הָוּ, אַלְוֹאַחֵד אֵי הָוּ,  
*al-wāhed hū rabba-na, ḥāleq as-samāwāti wa-l-'ard.*  
 אַלְוֹאַחֵד הוּ רְבָנָה, כָּלֵק אַ-סְמָאוֹת וְאַלְאַרְץ

### Selective Bibliography

- BAHAT, Yaakov. 2001. *The Hebrew component in the Written Arabic of Moroccan Jews* (in Hebrew). Mosad Bialik, Jerusalem.
- Bar-Asher, Moshé. 1978. Hebrew elements in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic. *Lašonēnū*, 48-49 (in Hebrew). 163-189
- BAR-ASHER, Moshe. 1987. "On the Hebrew Element in the Maghrebi Sharh". *The 6<sup>th</sup> Hebrew Scientific European Congress* (In Hebrew). London. 20-27.
- BRUNOT, Louis & MALKA, Elie. 1939. *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*. Ecole du Livre, Rabat.
- BRUNOT, Louis & MALKA, Elie. 1940. *Glossaire judéo-arabe de Fès*. Ecole du Livre, Rabat.
- CHETRIT, Joseph. 1991. "A socio-pragmatic study of the Hebrew component in the Judeo-Arabic poetry in North Africa: Textual Aspects". *Massorot* 5-6 (In Hebrew), 251-311.
- CHETRIT, Joseph. 2007. *Diglossie, hybridation et diversité intra-linguistique, Etudes socio-pragmatiques sur les langues juives, le judéo-arabe et le judéo-berbère*. Editions Peeters, Paris-Louvain.
- COHEN, David. 1978. "Judeo-Arabic Dialects". *Encyclopedia of Islam* VII. Brill, Leiden. 299-302.
- GOITEIN, Salomon Dov. 1931. "The Hebrew elements in the vernacular of the Yemenite Jews". *Lešonenu* 3 (In Hebrew). 356-380.

- HARY, Benjamin. 2000. "Egyptian Judeo-Arabic Sharḥ - Bridging the Cultures of Hebrew and Arabic" *Judaism and Islam - Boundaries, Communication and Interaction: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner*. Leiden, Brill. 395-407.
- KHAN, Geoffrey. 2013. "Judeo-Arabic". *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2. Brill, Leiden. 526-536.
- KHAN, Geoffrey. 2015. Judeo-Arabic. *Handbook of Jewish Languages*. Brill, Leiden. 22-63.
- LESLAU, Wolf. 1945. "Hebrew elements in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Fez". *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 36. 61-78.
- LEVY, Simon. 2009. *Parlers arabes des Juifs du Maroc, Histoire, sociolinguistique et géographie dialectale*. Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, Zaragoza.
- MAMAN, A. 1999. "The Sharḥ of the Haggadah from Sefrou (Morocco): Provenance, Linguistic features, Hebrew and Hebraisms". *Vena Hebraica in Judaeorum Linguis*. Milano, Università degli Studi di Milano. 289-320.
- NEVO, M. 1991. *The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Aleppo: Phonology and Morphology*. Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- SHARVIT, Shimon. 1990. "The Language of the Passover Haggadah". *Lešonenu La'am* 40-41 (In Hebrew). 28-35
- SIBONY, Jonas. 2018. Éléments lexicaux hébreux ou pseudo-hébreux dans le parler judéo-arabe de Fès des années 40, emplois contextuels, dérivations sémantiques, adaptations phonologiques, *Proceedings of the 12th AIDA Conference*, forthcoming.
- ZAFRANI, Haïm. 2004. *Littératures dialectales et populaires juives en occident musulman (Jewish Dialectal and Popular Literature in Muslim Occident)*, Paris, Geuthner.
- "Ehad mi Yodea", -editor's article- *Encyclopedia Judaica* 2007, second edition, vol. 6 DR-FEU. Keter Publishing House, Jerusalem. 237.

## **Perceived Identities and Dialect Accommodation in Bahrain**

**Navdeep SOKHEY**

*The University of Texas at Austin – [navsokhey@utexas.edu](mailto:nnavsokhey@utexas.edu)*

Third-wave variationist theories posit that linguistic features linked to ideological meanings have indexical powers, allowing their meanings to be constantly re-negotiated with every interaction (Eckert 2012, Podesva 2004). The assignment of certain social values to linguistic features is thus often interaction-specific (Sharma and Rampton 2015). To date, no sociolinguistic studies within Arabic explore stylistic variation based on the perceived identities of the interactants. This paper examines the variation of vowel-rounding, namely of the long vowel *alif* [aa] → [ɔɔ], in the speech of Bahraini university-aged speakers when interacting with other Bahraini interlocutors of various perceived communal backgrounds. Previously, vowel-rounding contained regional links and was noted to be commonly used by women (Holes 1987). It has also been linked with the Sunni Bahrainis' prestigious dialect, which was found to be spreading and replacing the dialect of the Shiites (Holes 1987, Al-Qouz 2009).

This study traces the construction of social meanings surrounding vowel-rounding alongside communal identity using a linguistic accommodation experiment. The experiment consisted of a simulated Q & A interview using pre-recorded questions produced by 4 native speakers in either the Bahraini Sunni or Shi'i dialect, each question containing either a rounded or unrounded vowel occurring in stressed syllables, surrounded by voiced or voiceless consonants. Participants answered by restating each question, revealing their selection of features indexing a particular sect alongside a rounded or unrounded vowel.

Using a mixed effects model, vowel-rounding was analyzed against sex, perceived communal identity, and social class. Results show that vowel-rounding covaries with interlocutor identity, revealing higher usage of vowel-rounding by the Shiites, but many retain saliently Shiite dialectal features. This complicates previous findings of a unidirectional shift toward the Sunni variety, and finds that Shiites are not necessarily losing their dialect, but strategically shift styles based on their interlocutors' identities.

## **A Fresh Analysis of the Origin and Diachronic Development of ‘Dialectal *Tanwīn*’**

**Phillip W. STOKES**

*The University of Tennessee, Knoxville - [pstokes2@utk.edu](mailto:pstokes2@utk.edu)*

Scholars have long noted the existence in many Arabic dialects of a morpheme (typically *-in* or *-an*) suffixed to morphologically indefinite nouns when followed by an attribute. The morpheme most commonly occurs in Noun + Adjective constructions (e.g., Najdī *bēt-in kibīr* “a large house”; Ingham 1994: 48), but also occur in Noun + Relative Clause (e.g., Bahrainī *arād-in bayya'-hā* “lands which he sold”; Holes 2016: 132) and, more rarely, Noun + Preposition Phrase (e.g., Bahrainī *marr-in lik marr-in 'alēk* “sometimes (life's) for you, sometimes against you”; Holes 2016: 132). Due to the morphological and distributional similarities to Classical Arabic (henceforth CAr) *tanwīn*, many scholars (e.g., Blau 1965) have referred to the morpheme as ‘dialectal *tanwīn*.’ The most detailed discussion of the feature is that of Blau (1965/1999), who argued that all instances of dialectal *tanwīn* are derivable from CAr *tanwīn*, specifically the accusative singular \**an*. Others (e.g., Behnstedt 2016: 65), have accepted the identification, but assume that the synchronic quality of the vowel represents a frozen case marker (e.g., *-in* is derived from a frozen genitive; *-an* from a frozen accusative, etc.). More recently, some have questioned this reconstruction, primarily based on the lack of functional equivalence between CAr *tanwīn* and the so-called dialectal *tanwīn* (cf. Owens 2006; Holes 2011). While these scholars’ proposals present important caveats to the traditional identification, they do not propose a convincing etymon, instead simply reconstructing it as a “linker *-n*” (Owens 2006: 302). Further, no discussion heretofore offered has adequately addressed the relationship between the morpheme *-in/-an*, and the various phenomena attested in NW Yemen.

In this presentation, I will defend the traditional interpretation that dialectal *tanwīn* is derived ultimately from Proto-Arabic *tanwīn*, the etymological equivalent of, though not necessarily descended from, CAr *tanwīn*. I hope to show that Proto-Arabic *tanwīn* is the most likely fit to explain the synchronic data, for both Yemeni and non-Yemeni data. However, I will argue, *pace* Blau, that not all instances of dialectal *-in* or *-an* need be derived from accusative *\*-an*, and *pace* Behnstedt, that we cannot assume the synchronic quality of the vowel is original. Specifically, I will argue based on examples from across the geographical spectrum, that a vowel merger, initially perhaps confined to high vowels, but later *\*a* as well, resulted in a reduction and, eventually, loss of case distinction in this context. This merger, combined with loss of final short vowels, would in turn lead to the loss of the case system. Finally, I will show that the distributional patterns evident in the Yemeni and non-Yemeni data provide evidence for two different systems of pause in the ancestors of each group.

I will conclude with a discussion of the diachronic significance of the feature and data discussed above, focusing specifically on how the above analysis of dialectal *tanwīn* illustrates the importance of taking all Arabic data, including those of the dialects, CAr and inscriptional into account when doing Arabic historical linguistics.

### **References:**

- Behnstedt, Peter. 2016. *Dialect Atles of North Yemen and Adjacent Areas*, trans. By Gwendolin Goldbloom (DOS 114). Leiden: Brill.
- Blau, Joshua. 1965/1999. The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute.
- Holes, C. 2011. "Nabaṭī Poetry, Language of," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Kees Versteegh. Accessed online 2/1/2018 ([https://www.academia.edu/12649210/The\\_language\\_of\\_nabati\\_poetry](https://www.academia.edu/12649210/The_language_of_nabati_poetry))
- Holes, C. 2016. *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia, Volume Three: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ingham, Bruce. 1994. *Najdi Arabic: Central Arabian*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Owens, Jonathan. 2006. *A Linguistic History of Arabic*. Oxford: OUP.

# T

## **Les pronoms possessifs du ḥassāniyya — entre héritage et innovation due au contact**

**Catherine TAINÉ-CHEIKH**

*LACITO (CNRS, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle et Inalco) - [cath.tainecheikh@gmail.com](mailto:cath.tainecheikh@gmail.com)*

Le ḥassāniyya (dialecte arabe parlé en Mauritanie) a la particularité de présenter des pronoms possessifs composés de pronoms affixés précédés d'une forme variable en nombre et, au singulier, en genre:

	M.SG <i>līl-</i>	F.SG <i>līlt-</i>	PL <i>lwāyl-</i>
1SG	<i>līl-i</i> 'le mien'	<i>līlt-i</i> 'la mienne'	<i>lwāyl-ī</i> 'les mien(ne)s'
2SG.M	<i>līl-ak</i> 'le tien (à toi M)'	<i>līlt-ak</i> 'la tienne (à toi M)'	<i>lwāyl-ak</i> 'les tien(ne)s (à toi M)'
2SG.F	<i>līl-ək</i> 'le tien (à toi F)'	<i>līlt-ək</i> 'la tienne (à toi F)'	<i>lwāyl-ək</i> 'les tien(ne)s (à toi F)'
3SG.M	<i>līl-u</i> 'le sien (à lui)'	<i>līlt-u</i> 'la sienne (à lui)'	<i>lwāyl-u</i> 'les sien(ne)s (à lui)'
3SG.F	<i>līl-hä</i> 'le sien à elle)'	<i>līlt-hä</i> 'la sienne (à elle)'	<i>lwāyl-hä</i> 'les sien(ne)s (à elle)'
1PL	<i>līl-nä</i> 'le nôtre'	<i>līlt-nä</i> 'la nôtre'	<i>lwāyl-nä</i> 'les nôtres'
2PL	<i>līl-kum</i> 'le vôtre'	<i>līlt-kum</i> 'la vôtre'	<i>lwāyl-kum</i> 'les vôtres'
3PL	<i>līl-hum</i> 'le leur'	<i>līlt-hum</i> 'la leur'	<i>lwāyl-hum</i> 'les leurs'

Ces pronoms assument différentes fonctions syntaxiques, notamment celles d'objet (1) et de sujet (2):

- |     |                       |                       |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) | <i>aṭī-h lwāyl-u</i>  | 'Donne-lui les siens' |
| (2) | <i>līlt-kum hamra</i> | 'La vôtre est rouge'  |

En fonction prédicative, l'emploi du pronom possessif (3a) est plus rare que le recours au pronom affixe de possession (3b) ou à la tournure possessive avec la préposition *al* (3c) :

- |      |                           |                            |
|------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| (3a) | <i>hāḍā l-ktāb līl-i</i>  | 'Ce livre (est) le mien'   |
| (3b) | <i>hāḍā l-ktāb ktāb-i</i> | 'Ce livre (est) mon livre' |
| (3c) | <i>hāḍā l-ktāb l-i</i>    | 'Ce livre (est) à moi'     |

La relation entre la préposition *l(i)* et le pronom possessif hassane semble évidente, mais la forme redoublée de la préposition (*lil*), attestée dans certains dialectes, ne semble pas avoir abouti à une grammaticalisation comparable à celle observée en ḥassāniyya.

Après avoir examiné les différentes valeurs de *l(i)* et de ses possibles dérivés(celui de *lil*, voire celui de *dyāl*), j'analyserai les données berbères éclairant la formation des pronoms possessifs hassanes.

### **New findings in the field of Anatolian Arabic**

**Shabo TALAY**

*Freie Universität Berlin – [Shabo.Talay@fu-berlin.de](mailto:Shabo.Talay@fu-berlin.de)*

The talk will summarize some of the results of my field research of the last years on Anatolian Arabic dialects, with the focus on two dialectal areas, namely Sine and Hasköy. The questions I want to discuss are: the inter-dialectal relations, history of the speakers and their distribution in the region. In addition, I want to re-examine the hypothesis of the Mesopotamian-Levantine Arabic dialect continuum, which I postulated in Talay 2014.

Talay 2014: “The Mesopotamian-Levantine Dialect Continuum”. In: T. Davidovich, A. Lahdo and T. Lindquist (eds.): *From Tur Abdin to Hadramawt. Festschrift Bo Isaksson* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2014. S. 179 – 188.

### **Verbal Stem Formation in Arabic Dialects and Modern Standard Arabic**

**Vera TSUKANOVA**

*Philipps-Universität Marburg – [vera.tsukanova@uni-marburg.de](mailto:vera.tsukanova@uni-marburg.de)*

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) began to emerge in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and displays differences from Classical Arabic on various levels. It is acknowledged that dialects have influenced MSA in both lexicon and grammar, see examples in (Versteegh 1997). One parameter of this influence that has not been studied before is the dynamics in stem productivity from Classical Arabic (Lane 1865, digital version) to MSA (Wehr 1979).

In particular, one can observe that Stem IV (*'af'al-*), which was the second productive stem in the early stages of Arabic, crucially lost its position in MSA, so that the top productive stems became I (*fa'al-*), II (*fa''al-*) and V (*tafa''al-*). Dialectal data provide a key to the explanation of this redistribution. Statistical analysis of the derivational stems in the Syrian and Emirati dialects, based on the dictionaries (El-Massarani, Segal 1978) and (Qafisheh 1997) indicates that Stem IV is almost lost and replaced by Stem II, which can be explained morphologically by the phonetic merger of its imperfect with that of Stem I (*yaf'alu / yuf'ilu* > syr. *yəf'el*). In fact, the statistics of the better studied dialects indicates the same top productive stems as in MSA.

At the same time, not all the dialectal features affect the statistics of MSA. Thus, Stem VII (*infa<sup>a</sup>l-*) is productive in the Syrian and Emirati dialects as passive and medio-passive but remains lexicalized in MSA where it failed to rise from its penultimate position. A possible explanation of this phenomenon is that not all dialects use it to form passive, for example, in Cairene, Moroccan and Yemenite (Sanaa) Stem VIII (*iſta<sup>a</sup>l-*) or its equivalents (*tfa<sup>a</sup>l*, *ttəfəl*) are used instead in the same meaning.

In my presentation I am going to adduce other examples of interaction between the dialects and MSA, as well as explicit statistics.

**Key words:** Derivational stems, Morphology, Syrian dialect, Gulf dialects

**On the Importance of Comparative Study  
of Bilingual Proverbial Fonds  
(Based on Syrian Dialect Arabic and Georgian Material)**

**Khatuna TUMANISHVILI**

Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University - [khatu64@yahoo.com](mailto:khatu64@yahoo.com)

Az is known, proverbs represent important linguoculturological stock of a given language collective. It practically accurately reflects beliefs and socio-cultural specifics of environment in which it was formed.

Whenever discussion (from purely Arabistics viewpoint) deals with sociolinguistic and ethnocultural side of one or another Arab ethnos, we cannot overlook the significant part of verbal supply, contained in its proverbial collection. Arab community, institutionalized in poetic art over historical development, at present too actively striving to figurative speech. This important peculiarity (not only from sociocultural viewpoint) is a specific characteristic of ethnopsychic aspect of Arab community. Today the Arab world, against the background of radical changes occurring in it, is in the spotlight in the world. Practical aspects of knowledge of a language assumed special topicality in international arena. Practice shows that without mastering these collections full-fledged communication with the Arabic world is virtually impossible.

Modern globalized communication system significantly expanded linguocultural contacts of different peoples. Structure of new epochal challenges logically caused in the field of paremiological research too the necessity to pose the question of the function of figurative language in contemporary culture already in global context. Therefore, today, it is important to study interlingual evidence in comparative context, in order to obtain a common stock of international collections with their diverse functions in different cultures.

In order to illustrate the above reasoning, it'll be considered a semantic model - “everyone finds his/her match”. By the comparative-typological analysis of the Syrian Dialect Arabic and Georgian semantic parallels falling within it, we can identify what experience the given ethnoses rest on, i.e. by what semantic means, characteristic of each, the given approved wisdom of life is created. Conclusions also cover the general theoretical aspect of the problem.

All examples are recorded and translated from Arabic primary source - directly from Syrian, Lebanese informants.

## Arabic Indefinite Articles in Typological Perspective

Michael TURNER

*University of North Carolina Wilmington - [turnerm@uncw.edu](mailto:turnerm@uncw.edu)*

In this paper I show how recent advances in cross-linguistic semantic typology can be harnessed to more effectively describe the nominal morphosyntax of indefiniteness in Arabic dialects. Dryer (2014) proposes a REFERENCE HIERARCHY, inspired in part by data collected for his (2005) contribution to the World Atlas of Language Structures, that recognizes three distinct sub-types of ‘indefinite’ article: ‘pragmatically specific indefinite’ (PSI), ‘pragmatically nonspecific indefinite’ (PNI), and ‘semantically nonspecific indefinite’ (SNI). In colloquial English PSI approximates indefinite ‘this’, PNI ‘some (sort of)’, and SNI ‘a(n)’, referring respectively to entities that are both discursively unique and identifiable to the speaker, unique but not identifiable to the speaker, and neither unique nor identifiable by anything other than generic type. In the Arabic context, dialectologists have long recognized that certain varieties have one or more ‘indefinite’ articles: Moroccan has both *wāḥed* (1-) and *ši*, Iraqi varieties have *fadd*, Levantine has *ši*, and so on (see Mion 2009 for a survey). Brustad (2000, 91–99) has put forth a strong argument in favor of reading many such articles as ‘indefinite-specific’, lending a degree of individuation to indefinite nouns that would not be present with zero-marking alone. What is lacking, however, is a unified theoretical and terminological framework that would allow us to systematically describe the formal representation of indefiniteness in discrete dialects and, subsequently, facilitate cross-dialectical comparative work.

Here, I suggest that Dryer’s model is ideally suited to this task, and take five Arabic varieties as case studies in the diverse ways that morphosyntactic structures can pattern semantically along the indefinite range of the Reference Hierarchy. Data is drawn from previously published transcribed oral texts, which are used as primary sources. To obtain the data, I employ a set of diagnostic strategies that take into account discursive prominence, attributive modification, and co-occurring verbal constructions as a form-agnostic means of delineating the semantic status of a given noun. In the following Hassaniya excerpt, for example, the (1) past tense first-person verb, (2) modification with a relative clause, (3) subsequent discursive resumption all suggest that the speaker has unique knowledge of the referent *blad* ‘place’, thereby indicating it as PSI. I take this as provisional evidence that the accompanying marker *-wāḥed* is a PSI article:

dxal-na      blad      -wāḥed      Ø      yəngāl      -lu      hari-bomo  
entered-1PL place -PSI      REL      say.PASS.3MSG      -3MSG.DAT Hari-Bomo  
'We entered this place called Hari-Bomo...' (Heath 2003, 110).

This analysis is repeated for each semantic concept within each focus variety. In aggregation, the resulting data set (see table below) shows a high degree of variability

within Arabic, wherein some forms are polysemous, some meanings are expressed with more than one form, and attested forms derive from a number of different etymological sources. In demonstrating this variability, I hope to underscore the benefits that pragmatically informed analyses and terminologically precise descriptions promise to yield for our overall understanding of comparative Arabic grammar and Arabists' ability to contribute back to the larger field of linguistic typology.

	PSI	PNI	SNI
Moroccan	<i>wāḥad</i> ( <i>l-</i> )	<i>ši-</i>	<i>∅, l</i>
Iraqi	<i>fadd-</i>	<i>fadd-</i>	<i>∅</i>
Levantine	<i>∅</i>	<i>ši-</i>	<i>∅</i>
Sana'ani (Yemen)	<i>∅, -hākadahā</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>∅</i>
Hassaniya (Mali)	<i>∅, -wāḥad</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>∅</i>

Brustad, Kristen. 2000. *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic: A Comparative Study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti Dialects*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press.

Dryer, Matthew. 2005. "Indefinite Articles." In *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, edited by Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie, 158–61. OUP Oxford.

———. 2014. "Competing Methods for Uncovering Linguistic Diversity: The Case of Definite and Indefinite Articles (Commentary on Davis, Gillon, and Matthewson)." *Language* 90 (4): e232–49.

Heath, Jeffrey. 2003. *Hassaniya Arabic (Mali): Poetic and Ethnographic Texts*. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag. Mion, Giuliano. 2009. "L'indétermination nominale dans les dialectes arabes. Une vue d'ensemble." In *Miscellanea arabica 2009*, edited by Angelo Arioli, 215–31. Edizioni Nuova Cultura.

## V / W

### The Linguistic Contact in Palestinian Arabic: Towards A Research of the Strata

**Annamaria VENTURA**

Sapienza University of Rome – [annamaria.ventura@uniroma1.it](mailto:annamaria.ventura@uniroma1.it)

This paper presents the preliminary results of extensive research on the phenomenon of contact in Palestinian Arabic (PA). Borrowing and interference in PA have been investigated especially with regard to Semitic languages like Hebrew (Horesh 2015), and including substrata like Aramaic (Bassal 2012, Borg 2008) and the Canaanite substrate (Hopkins 1995) or mentioned in studies focusing on specific groups of speakers (Geva-Kleinberger 2009). However the phenomenon in PA has never been seen in its entirety, including all languages in a comprehensive analysis and in a single study. The aim of this research is to provide an overview of the phenomenon of contact in PA including all the languages that it is possible to recognize as a source of borrowing and interference.

The study aims to identify and verify the historical presence of different cultures in the language.

This study identifies the linguistic strata in PA and isolates the languages that have had or still have an influence on PA. The research analyzes all the strata that can be identified in PA, and reports some examples of the terms collected. The strata examined in the research include substratum and parastratum or adstratum. The languages investigated are: Aramaic, Persian, Greek, Latin, Turkish, English, French, Italian, and Hebrew, along with other languages that have a lower frequency of contact. The linguistic elements taken into account include phonology, morphology and lexical items such as verbs, nouns, adverbs and other items with low rates of occurrence.

The research demonstrates that PA has absorbed linguistic elements that show the historical linguistic stratification in its geographical area, through which it is possible to trace the diachronic evolution of contact in PA by means of historical linguistics.

**Key words:** contact, Palestinian Arabic, borrowing, interference, historical linguistics, strata

### **À la rencontre d'autres arabophones: Accommodation linguistique entre locuteurs d'arabe maghrébin en Europe**

**Ángeles VICENTE**

*Área de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, Universidad de Zaragoza – [mavicen@unizar.es](mailto:mavicen@unizar.es)*

Cette communication essayera d'analyser les stratégies individuelles d'accommodation linguistique développées pour la communication entre locuteurs de différentes variétés d'arabe maghrébin installés en Europe. À l'heure actuelle, la forte crise migratoire que vivent les différents pays arabes a modifié une situation plus ou moins stable il y a quelques années, car poussés vers l'émigration économique ou l'exil, de nombreux arabophones sont obligés à communiquer avec des locuteurs d'autres variétés vernaculaires de l'arabe, une circonstance qui n'a pas été aussi commun qu'aujourd'hui.

Pour ce faire, nous aborderons des questions telles que les contextes dans lesquels l'accommodation est habituellement produite, la direction des convergences lorsque des locuteurs de différentes variétés arabes interagissent et le rôle que toute cette situation joue dans l'identité linguistique et la conscience sociale de l'utilisation de la langue.

### **Infixed -n(n)- in Emirati Arabic**

**David WILMSEN**

*American University of Sharjah – [dwilmSEN@aus.edu](mailto:dwilmSEN@aus.edu)*

An infixed -n(n)- falling between active participles having verbal force and their suffixed pronominal objects has been noted for the Arabic dialects of the southern Arabian Peninsula, including those of eastern Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, and the Yemen. It is also been observed in folk poetry and a few nineteenth-century written records from the UAE. Otherwise, it has not been fully investigated in Emirati Arabic. This study reports

on ongoing work with oral histories related by mariners and pre-nineteen-sixty residents of the old town of Sharjah, the recordings and transcriptions of which are housed in the Collection of Oral Heritage and Stories of the Sharjah Museums Authority. These are augmented by observations of conversational usage from the northern Emirati dialects of Sharjah, Ras Al Khaimah, and Fujairah. Through these, a systematic view of the features of infixed *-n(n)-* in northern Emirati Arabic emerges, the features of which are as follows:

- It obligatorily occurs with singular active participles and their pronominal objects:

(1) a. *anā fāhm-inn-eh*

PRO.1S understand.PTCP-3FS-NN-PRO.3MS

'I understand him'

b. *in-nās fāhm-it-inn-ha galat*

DAT-people understand.PTCP-FS-NN-PRO.3FS wrong

'People understand it wrongly'

- It may occur with perfective verbs and pronominal objects, imparting a present perfect meaning:

(2) *ma xall-it-in-ni a-tṣarraf*

NEG allow.PFV-NN-PRO.1PL 1-act.IPFV

'She [has] not let me act'

- It assimilates to a following dative preposition /li-/ to become /-ll-/.

(3) a. *fī wāhid gaddam-ill-he*

EXIST one present.PFV-NN/DAT-PRO.3FS

'There [is] someone [has] requested her [hand in marriage]'

b. *msawwi-t-ill-ik rayūg*

do.PTCP-3FS-NN/DAT-PRO.2MS breakfast

'She [has] made for you breakfast'

It has been observed as well in a few other Arabic dialects from the Syrian Steppes, and it is attested in the peripheral Arabic dialects of sub-Saharan Africa and of central Asia. Its presence in the latter especially, carried into place early in the Arab diaspora, as well as its appearance in diverse Arabic dialects separated by wide distances, indicates a pre-diasporic origin.

## **Lexical Creativity in Arabic Dialects: The Case of ‘Blind’**

**Manfred WOIDICH**

*Universiteit van Amsterdam - [m.a.woidich@uva.nl](mailto:m.a.woidich@uva.nl)*

As can be seen on map 69 in Volume I of the “Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte”, there is a number of lexical items besides the usual *aṣma* which render the meaning “blind” in modern Arabic dialects. Suffice it to mention here *baṣr*, *darīr*, *kafīf*, which are well known from the classical lexicon, and less common ones such as *ṣāgiz*, *līsa*, *ṣadīr*, *ṭaṣṣ*, *ṣwār*, *kōr*, *twērta* among a couple of others, which are confined to certain dialects and regions. It seems that the word *aṣma*, referring to a serious handicap, is felt by some people to be rather direct and, thereby, unpolite and offending, which leads them to the creation of less direct and euphemistic expressions, comparable to wordings such as ‘visually handicapped’ for ‘blind’ in some varieties of the English language. After a short introduction with general remarks on the development of euphemisms (following Reutner 2009), the paper will discuss a number of these items trying to analyze the source domains and the creative strategies and pathways which led their creation.

Ursula Reutner. *Sprache und Tabu. Interpretationen zu französischen und italienischen Euphemismen*. Tübingen: 2009.

## **Y / Z**

### **Some Pre-Hilalian Features in the Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tripoli**

**Sumikazu YODA**

*Osaka University - [yodasmkz@uranus.dti.ne.jp](mailto:yodasmkz@uranus.dti.ne.jp)*

The impact of the invasion of Hilal and following Maqil and Sulaym tribes into the Maghrib area affected on the development of the Arabic dialects so greatly that it is habitual to use the term “pre-Hilalian” and “Hilalian” (bedouin) dialects as one of the criteria for the classification of the dialects of the area. The ancient urban dialects and village dialects of the Maghrib as Fez, Tlemcen, Tunis-Jewish, Malta, Djidjelli belong to the pre-Hilalian. These dialects share some linguistic features; *qāf* of the Classical Arabic (henceforth CA) is reflexed as a voiceless consonant and CA interdentals as corresponding plosives etc.

In this respect it is natural to consider the Arabic dialect of the Jews of Tripoli (henceforth TJ) as a pre-Hilalian dialect. Among the pre-Hilalian features observed in this dialect, the followings should be noticed; (1) the derived form for the reflexive-passive with the prefix *n-*, (2) partial confusion of the sibilants and chuintants, (3) the affrication of CA *t*, *t̪* to TJ *c̄* (except for some cases) and (4) the verbs “to eat” and “to take” with two

variants one of which is defective verb; *klā* “to eat”, *xđā* “to take” and another hollow verb; *kāl* “to eat”, *xād* “to take”, the usage of which is not free but the defective verbs conjugate fully whilst the hollow verbs only in the 3rd person. Indeed these are features observed widely in the whole Maghribi area, but considering the area, i.e. in the Eastern Maghrib, especially (3) and (4) are not common features for the sedentary dialects, and (1) is common with Maltese.

The purpose of this paper is to try to discuss about the distribution of these (and other) pre-Hilalian features observed in TJ and their historical backgrounds.

## **Why Are You Talking Like That, Sir? Demystifying the Speech of El-Lembi**

**Islam YOUSSEF**

*University of South-Eastern Norway – [islam.youssef@usn.no](mailto:islam.youssef@usn.no)*

This paper investigates the pronunciation features of El-Lembi, an immensely popular character in Egyptian comedy played by actor Mohamed Saad, in as much as it deviates from Educated Cairene Arabic (ECA). The popularity of El-Lembi can be partly attributed to the audience’s identification with the downtrodden, impoverished, and simpleminded protagonist, who represents a compromised masculinity (van Eynde 2011). The laughter is born of his lawless behavior, which mocks social conventions and the disturbed pretensions of class (Hamam 2011). This lawlessness is nowhere more manifest than in his speech.

Descriptions of El-Lembi’s manner of speaking – full of stammering and mispronunciations – range from ‘coarse and unrefined’ to ‘demented and distorted’. It is so extreme that Hamam entertains the idea that this is deliberate and meaningful parodying rather than a speech impediment. Masquerading as the socially superior warden, El-Lembi attempts (and fails) to compensate by altering his speech. As he grapples with pronouncing formal Standard Arabic words and gratuitous loanwords from English, he highlights the diglossic situation and the pretentious use of English into ECA.

The data are gathered from four movies in which the cult figure of El-Lembi appears in different plots. Phonological analysis reveals a number of systematic features that diverge from the prevailing patterns in ECA. The consonant inventory lacks the marginal phonemes /q v ʒ/, which are restricted to educated use. A predominant feature is consonant mutation, whereby the consonant’s place or manner of articulation is altered; the patterns show a preference for nasal over oral and for alveolar over non-alveolar consonants. Other trademark features include abundant metathesis and a shift from voiceless guttural /χ h/ to voiced /f/. Two noteworthy vocalic features are vowel raising to /i/, which targets non-final low vowels; and vowel harmony, which duplicates high /i u/ to an /a/ in the preceding syllable.

# **Forms of /g/ in Egyptian Dialects**

Attia YOUSEIF

Indiana University - [ayouseif@iu.edu](mailto:ayouseif@iu.edu)

The /g/ sound is one of the sounds that has drawn the attention of many linguists, whether Arab or non-Arab. Many historical linguistic studies have focused on that sound. Some believe that the roots of the sound are the Cairene /g/ on the basis that it is a single sound, and not a complex one, whereas, the single precedes the complex. Other studies claim that the origin of /g/ is the sound /j/, rather than, /dj/ based upon evidence, particularly the Quran readings. Regardless of the origin of the sound, its different forms exist in usage now as it has been in the past although the frequency of usage may differ. This study focuses on the different forms of the /g/ sound in the Egyptian dialects based upon usage. It explores four different forms as follows:

- 1) The Cairene /g/ sound, and it is the most well-known among the Egyptian dialects until it has become the signpost of the dialect. It exists in Greater Cairo, Alexandria, North Egypt cities, Port Said, Sues, Ismailiyah, and some cities in Upper Egypt;
  - 2) The /j/ sound which exists in most Egyptian villages in most North Egypt and Delta cities; 3) The /dj/ sound which is close to /tʃ/, and it exists in Idco and its suburbs; and
  - 4) The /g/ sound, which is transformed into /d/ and it exists in some villages in Upper Egypt, particularly in Sohag. This study attempts to shed light on the reasons for pronouncing the /g/ sound variously in various geographical areas in Egypt.

تطور اللهجات من منظور علم الاجتماع اللغوي

عبد الصمد پشیل داغ

- جامعہ کریکالی ، ترکیا - abdussamed@kku.edu.tr

يعتبر علماء الاجتماع اللغوي أن اللغة كائنٌ حيٌ تزدهر وتتطور وتتدثر نتيجة لعوامل مرتبطة بالمجتمع الذي تعيش فيه، كما يعتبر العلماء للهجات ولبيدة لهذه العوامل، ويحصرُ علماء الاجتماع عدّة عوامل في تطور اللغة ولهجاتها، كما يضعون معايير لتطور لغة على حساب لغة أخرى، أو لمحنة على حساب لمحنة أخرى.

في دراستي هذه سأبيّن أهم المعايير التي وضعها علماء الاجتماع اللغوي في تطوير اللهجات على حساب لهجات أخرى أو على حساب اللغة الأم، كما سأبيّن أثر هذه العوامل على أصحاب اللغة أنفسهم.

ومن أهم العوامل التي تساعد على نشوء لهجة وتطورها على حساب اللغة الأم أو لهجات محلية مقاربة:

- العوامل السياسية حيث تقوم بعض الأحداث السياسية بمساعدة مجموعة من الناس على فرض لهجتهم أو لغتهم على مجموعة أخرى من الناس كما يحصل أثناء احتلال دولة أخرى، أو من خلال نزوح مجموعة من الناس إلى بلاد غير بلادهم كما يحصل مع السوريين أو العراقيين الآن حيث نزحوا أو هاجروا إلى بلدان أخرى مما اضطرهم إلى اكتساب لغات ولهجات جديدة.
  - العوامل الاقتصادية وذلك عندما تسيطر مجموعة اقتصادية على بقعة جغرافية فيسيطرن بذلك على اقتصاد البلد ثم يفرضون لهجتهم أو لغتهم.

## ‘Šāmisms’ in Ottoman Cairene Arabic

Liesbeth ZACK

University of Amsterdam - [E.W.A.Zack@uva.nl](mailto:E.W.A.Zack@uva.nl)

In his important article “Existait-il un ‘arabe levantin’ à l’époque ottomane?” (1995), Jérôme Lentin poses the question why in the Ottoman era Egyptian Arabic and Levantine Arabic had many lexical items in common, which have since disappeared from one of the two dialects while remaining in use in the other. For Egyptian Arabic, he mentions ‘šāmisms’ such as *akwas* “better”, *minšān* “for, because”, *lēš* “why”, *ēš* “what” and *ṣār* “to become”, and the future particle *rāyīh*. Others can be added to this, for instance *milīh* “good, nice, pretty”, *bidd* “to want”, *aṭa* “to give”, *mara* “woman” and *kitīr* “very”. These lexical items are now considered by Cairenes to be typically Levantine, while they had been in use in Egypt for centuries (see Davies 1981 and Zack 2009 for examples from the 17th century), and sources from the 19th century (such as al-Ṭāntāwī 1848, Spitta 1880 and Spiro 1895) reveal that they were still in common use in Cairene Arabic at that time (see also Woidich 1995). Lentin suggests that there existed a Levantine Ottoman koine, or at least strong influences of Levantine Arabic on Egyptian Arabic (and vice versa) in the Ottoman period, and attributes the disappearance of these šāmisms to the decreasing contacts between the two regions after the Ottoman era.

In this lecture, I will discuss whether the aforementioned features can be considered šāmisms, or if they were indigenous to the dialects of Egypt (a question also posed by Lentin 1995). Sources from the 19th century do not comment on these features as being considered Levantine. Moreover, data from dialectological fieldwork shows that many of these features can still be found in the Egyptian countryside (see Behnstedt and Woidich 1985, 2011, 2012, 2014), where influence from the Šawāmm would have been less than in the capital. If the features were indeed indigenous to Egypt, then perhaps other processes, apart from the weakening of the ties between Egypt and the Levant, could lie at the root of the disappearance of these features at the end of the 19th century.

### References:

- Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 1985. *Die Ägyptisch-Arabischen Dialekte. Band II: Dialektatlas von Ägypten*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 2011. *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. I: Mensch, Natur, Fauna, Flora*. Leiden: Brill.
- Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 2012. *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. II: Materielle Kultur*. Leiden: Brill.
- Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 2014. *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. III: Verben, Adjektive, Zeit und Zahlen*. Leiden: Brill.
- Davies, Humphrey Taman. 1981. *Seventeenth-Century Egyptian Arabic: a Profile of the Colloquial Material in Yūsuf al-Širbīnī’s Hazz al-Quḥūf fī Ṣarḥ Qaṣīd ’Abī Šādūf*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Berkeley: University of California.

- Lentin, Jérôme. 1995. "Existait-il un 'arabe levantin' à l'époque ottomane? Traits dialectaux communs et koïnè sous-standard transrégionale." In: *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of L'Association Internationale pour la Dialectologie Arabe, held at Trinity Hall in the University of Cambridge, 10-14 September 1995*. Cambridge: University Publications Centre, pp. 133-139.
- Spiro, S. 1895. *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- Spitta, Wilhelm. 1880. *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Tantāwī, Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-. 1848. *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire = Aḥsan al-nuxab fī ma’rifat lisān al-‘arab*. Leipzig: Guillaume Vogel Fils.
- Woidich, Manfred. 1995. "Das Kairenische im 19. JH.: Gedanken zu Tantāwī's *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*". In: *Dialectologia Arabica: a Collection of Articles in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Heikki Palva*. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, pp. 271-287.
- Zack, Liesbeth. 2009. *Egyptian Arabic in the seventeenth century: a study and edition of Yūsuf al-Mağribī's 'Daf' al-iṣr 'an kalām ahl Miṣr'*. PhD thesis University of Amsterdam. Utrecht: LOT.

## **Conditional Clauses in the Spoken Arabic of Basrah, Iraq**

**Daniel ZAMFIROPOL**

University of Bucharest - [zamfiropol@yahoo.com](mailto:zamfiropol@yahoo.com)

I perform the analysis on a corpus of data consisting mainly of recordings of real-life conversations observed directly in Basrah and recordings of "on-demand" enunciations.

The theoretical framework in which I have constructed my article is that proposed by George Grigore in „2008: 63-77 George Grigore: “Conditional Structures in Baghdadi Arabic” and „Conditional Structures in Mardini Arabic”, Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik (Eds: Werner Arnold and Otto Jastrow) no. 49-20. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 2008: 63-77, as well as by other scholars.

The purpose of this article is to highlight the system governing the formation of the conditional clauses in Basrah Arabic, including the choice of tenses, the choice of a particular conditional particle (i.e. *in*, *lō*, *čān*, *idā* = "if") over another and the order of protasis and apodosis in the conditional construction.

The article is organized upon the north-south dichotomy and will underline the demarcation lines between the Arabic of Baghdad and the Arabic variety from Basrah.

### **Structure of the paper**

a. Sentence order in the conditional structure of the following type: "If protasis, then apodosis" with its exceptions and explanations for these instances.

e. g. *Lō sāmi<sup>c</sup> ‘ahčaytī, čān mā sārat <sup>c</sup>inda mašākil abad* (If he had listened to my words, he would not have had any problems whatsoever).

Versus the stressed instance:

*‘Uhud mafātiḥ l-bēt wiyyāk, ida trūḥ bāčir* (Take the house keys with you, if you leave tomorrow).

b. Markers of the conditional: *ida*, *in*, *lō*, *čān*, each with their connotations of: real, likely, potential and unreal situations.

c. Verbal forms used in the conditional structures: forms with suffixes and forms with prefixes, including the extra particles like *rāh* expressing future and *da* expressing present continuous.

d. Syntactic analysis of conditional occurrences:

Examples of phrase corpus to be analyzed and included in the article:

1. *Ida tidfa<sup>c</sup> lī mīt dūlār abīlak an-nargīla* (If you pay me one hundred dollars, I will sell you the waterpipe).

2. *El(lī) mā yaštaġul, mā yākul* (If one does not work, he does not eat).

3. *Lō adrī bīk marīd, čān raġāet bis-sura* (If I had known you were sick, I would have come sooner).

## Conjugueur automatique de verbes tunisiens

**Asma ZAMITI**

ERTIM – Équipe de Recherche en Textes, Informatique, Multilinguisme (EA2520)

LACNAD – Langues et Cultures du Nord de l'Afrique et Diasporas (EA4092)

INALCO – Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (Paris)

[zamiti.asma@gmail.com](mailto:zamiti.asma@gmail.com)

Dans le domaine du Traitement Automatique des Langues (TAL), les ressources et les outils consacrés à l'arabe standard ou MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) sont nombreux. Une richesse dont ne jouissent pas les dialectes arabes. En effet, en leur qualité de variantes dialectales ces langues natives sont étudiées par rapport aux normes linguistiques du MSA. Les rares tentatives en TAL de leur appliquer les ressources et les outils du MSA n'ont pas été concluantes en raison des différences fondamentales qu'il y a entre ces langues dans leur diversité et le MSA. D'une part, elles ne sont pas étudiées individuellement mais comme un sous ensemble indissociable. D'autre part, leurs caractéristiques propres sont traitées comme des exceptions ou des irrégularités du fait de l'oralité, à corriger pour se rapprocher du modèle originel qu'est le MSA. Être assimilées à l'arabe maintient donc paradoxalement ces langues dans cet état de sous-dotations.

Nous nous intéressons ici particulièrement au tunisien<sup>1</sup> pour lequel nous souhaitons rendre possible des applications en TAL comme une normalisation automatique de textes

<sup>1</sup>Nous choisissons ce terme en référence à l'appellation tounsi utilisée par les locuteurs natifs pour désigner leur idiome.

issus des réseaux sociaux (nous traitons dans un premier temps les textes en arabizi). En l'absence de ressources et d'outils spécifiquement développés pour cette langue, nous proposons une approche différente qui prend comme point de départ des données primaires sans chercher à établir de comparaisons avec le MSA. Nous avons ainsi développé un conjugueur automatique de verbes tunisiens basé sur un système de règles morphologiques. Nous présentons ici la méthodologie suivie pour construire ce conjugueur ainsi qu'une description détaillée des règles morphologiques sur lesquelles il se base.

**mots-clés:** traitement automatique des langues, arabe tunisien, morphologie

## **Andalusi and Maltese in Vernacular Catechisms**

**Martin R. ZAMMIT**

*University of Malta – [martin.r.zammit@um.edu.mt](mailto:martin.r.zammit@um.edu.mt)*

Andalusi Arabic and Maltese are bound by various common factors, among them, their peripheral status within the Maghrebi dialectal typology, their use by Muslim and Christian speakers, their partial documentation in Latin characters, their role as cultural vehicles, and their dynamic interaction with Romance languages within a Mediterranean backdrop. A major difference characterizing both languages has to do with their continuity in time: whereas Andalusi became extinct sometime during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Maltese, preserving its important Arabic component, is the national language of the Republic of Malta, and one of its two official languages. Since 2004, Maltese is also an official language within the European Union.

In 1492, the last Muslim kingdom, that of Granada, in Andalucia fell to the Spanish Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella. These embarked on the task of restoring Christianity to Andalucia, imposing conversion and evangelization, in Arabic, on the Muslims who chose to stay in that land. Consequently, the need arose for clerics with some basic knowledge of Arabic and for the redaction of bilingual catechisms. In 1505, Granada witnessed the publication of the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga*, the work of the Moorish convert, scholar, and monk Pedro de Alcalá. This consisted of a brief introduction to Arabic grammar, followed by a short catechism. In 1566, another catechism, that of Archbishop Martin de Ayala's *Doctrina christiana, en lengua arauiga, y castellana*, was published in Valencia. In Malta, the first bilingual (Maltese-Italian) catechism, Wzzino's *Tagħlim Nisrani*, was published in 1752. Basing itself on these three catechisms, this paper compares and contrasts salient morphological, syntactic and lexical isoglosses linking Andalusi Arabic and Maltese with a view to highlighting the linguistic relationship between them.

**Key words:** Andalusi Arabic, Maltese, Muslims' conversion to Christianity, Catechisms, Morphology, Syntax, Lexicon

## **L'homme qui a fait rire le monde: darija, religion et humour**

### **Karima ZIAMARI, Mohamed LEHDAHDA**

*GRAL, Faculté des Lettres de Meknès / LaCNAD-INALCO, Paris - Karima\_ziamari@yahoo.fr  
GRAL, Faculté des Lettres de Meknès - m.lehdahda@gmail.com*

Dans le monde musulman, certains prédicateurs connaissent un immense succès grâce à leurs stratégies de communication cherchant une certaine connivence avec l'autre à travers leurs choix linguistiques (Feu cheikh Chaaraoui en Egypte) et ajoutant un brin d'humour (Amr Khaled, Egypte). En Algérie, à titre d'exemple, l'incontournable cheikh Shemseddine est adulé par de nombreux admirateurs de par sa capacité à faire rire. Au Maroc, deux principales figures religieuses: Radouane Abdessalam et Alaoui arrivent à faire rire un auditoire de tous les âges et de tous les horizons.

Plusieurs travaux ont souligné l'importance des langues vernaculaires dans la traduction des textes sacrés ou des discours religieux. Cependant, utiliser la darija comme stratégie de communication et dans une perspective ludique ne semble pas avoir été épousé.

Il semblerait paradoxal d'associer humour à religion (Lory 2003), encore moins relier islam et langue « profane » comme la darija, « *islam et arabe sont souvent perçus comme consubstantiels* » (Miller & Haeri 2008). Pourtant, certains religieux musulmans passent non seulement par l'humour, mais surtout utilisent d'autres langues que la langue arabe, langue de la révélation et langue de Dieu (Cohen 2011).

À travers les prestations de Radouane Abdessalam et Alaoui, relayées sur les réseaux sociaux, nous chercherons à analyser comment ces derniers arrivent à désacraliser la langue. Il s'agit d'étudier leurs pratiques discursives en darija fondées sur le risible et l'humour. Nous décrirons les stratégies mises en avant alliant darija, religion et humour. Quelle darija utilisée? Quelle relation à la norme? Quels enjeux de l'humour?

#### **Bibliographie**

Cohen, Anouk, 2011, « La langue du silence dans le Maroc urbain contemporain », *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 2, 245-263.

Lory, Pierre, 2003, « Humour et religion en Islam ». *Bulletin de la Société des Amis des Sciences Religieuses*, 45-55.

Miller, Catherine et Haeri, Niloofar, 2008, « Pourquoi un numéro consacré à la question du rapport entre langues, religion et modernité dans l'espace musulman ? », *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 124.

## **Clausal Annexes in the Arabic Dialect of Yāfa (Jaffa)**

### **Amal ZU'BI**

*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem - amal.zubi@mail.huji.ac.il*

In what follows we study the clausal annexes in the colloquial Arabic dialect spoken in Yāfa (YF), in northern Israel, by its local inhabitants, both Muslims and Christians. In YF, the adverbs and adverbial annexion phrases fit the Standard Arabic (SA). As in SA,

the annex in YF also can be clausal. As we will see, the clausal annexes can occur with temporal annexion heads. In YF locative and causal annexion heads also occur. The demonstratives in YF appear only with definite nouns and cannot appear with indefinite ones. Adverbial annexion phrases can be considered as indefinite, but they can also be considered as definite since they are attached to a pronoun suffix. A prepositional annexed term can be followed by a clausal annex in which the subject is a pronoun in the speech of Muslims and of old Christians. In YF it is interesting that a pronominal subject of a clausal annex is attached to the preceding annexed term. An independent pronoun may follow the pronominal subject that has been attached to the annexed term in the speech of Muslims and Christians. In addition, the clausal annex can occur with *ma* in YF. In this case, *ma* follows the annexed term, when the annex is verbal. *Ma* may either precede or follow the subject, when the clausal annex consists of a subject-verbal predicate. In YF, the annexed term can also be followed by an annex which consists of a verbal predicate with no subject. The predicate in the annex can be a noun, an adjective, an active participle or passive participle. The preceding structure occurs with Muslims and old Christians.

الرابطة الدولية لدراسة اللهجات /  
International Association of Arabic Dialectology /  
– is an association of researchers in Arabic dialects, from all over the world.  
– العربية

**AIDA** was founded in 1993, in Paris, at the initiative of a group of prestigious Arabists, with the aim to encourage and promote the study of Arabic dialects.

**AIDA** is nowadays the leading international association in this field of research and it has become a center that joins scholars from all over the world who are interested in any aspect of Arabic dialectology, including dialects which have not been described yet, dialectal geography, specific aspects of phonology, morphology and syntax, code-switching, koiné language, pidgin, creole, the lexicon of Arabic dialects, dialectal atlases, comparative and diachronic studies, sociolinguistics, teaching of Arabic dialects, and so on.

**AIDA** organizes conferences every two years, hosted by well-known universities from all around the world.

Aida's activities can also be followed on its facebook group at :<https://www.facebook.com/groups/792649064183347/>

#### **First Executive Board (1993-2004):**

- Dominique Caubet (France) – president
- Abderrahim Youssi (Morocco) – vice-president
- Bruce Ingham (Great Britain) – vice-president
- Manwel Mifsud (Malta) – secretary
- Peter Behnstedt (Germany) – vice-secretary
- Martine Vanhove (France) – treasurer

#### **Second Executive Board (2004-2015):**

- Stephan Procházka (Austria) – president
- Abderrahim Youssi (2004-2013) / Karima Ziamari (2013-2015) (Morocco) – vice-president
- Rudolf de Jong (Netherlands) – general secretary
- Ángeles Vicente (Spain) – treasurer

#### **Current Executive Board of AIDA (May 28, 2015):**

- George Grigore (University of Bucharest, Romania) – president
- Karima Ziamari (Moulay Ismail University, Meknes, Morocco) – vice-president
- Kristen Brustad (University of Texas at Austin, USA) – vice-president
- Liesbeth Zack (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands) – general secretary
- Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (University of Vienna, Austria) – treasurer

#### **AIDA 13 organizing Committee**

<http://atsu.edu.ge/aida13kutaisi/>

**Guram Chikovani** (Free University of Tbilisi)

**Zviad Tskhvediani** (ATSU)

**Nino Ejibadze** (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University)

**Murman Kutelia** (G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Ilia State University)

**Lela Avaliani** (ATSU)

**Leila Kvelidze** (ATSU)

**Sopio Imedadze** (ATSU)

**Vakhtang Tevdoradze** (ATSU)

**Salome Lagadze** (ATSU)

**Diana Mosesvili** (ATSU)

**Nino Jikia** (ATSU)

**Mariam Mikautadze** (ATSU)

#### **Scientific Committee :**

**Aziza Boucherit** (Univ Paris-Descartes, France)

**Kristen Brustad** (University of Texas at Austin, USA)

**Dominique Caubet** (INALCO, Paris, France)

**Guram Chikovani** (Free University of Tbilisi, Georgia)

**Daniela Firantescu** (Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada)

**George Grigore** (University of Bucharest, Romania)

**Muntasir Al-Hamad** (Qatar University, Doha, Qatar)

**Jérôme Lentini** (INALCO, Paris, France)

**Giuliano Mion** (University of Cagliari, Italy)

**Catherine Miller** (Aix-Marseille University, Marseille, France)

**Christophe Pereira** (INALCO, Paris, France)

**Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun** (University of Vienna, Austria)

**Catherine Taine Cheikh** (LACITO, Paris, France)

**Angeles Vicente** (University of Saragoza, Spain)

**Liesbeth Zack** (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

**Karima Ziamari** (Moulay Ismail University, Meknes, Morocco)