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ANDALUSI ARABIC AND MALTESE:
A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

1. Introduction

1.1. Preamble

Unlike Andalusi Arabic which became extinct during the early seventeenth century, the Arabic element in the Maltese language has remarkably withstood and survived, virtually in total linguistic isolation from the rest of the Arabic speaking world, a millennium of European linguistic and cultural pressures. Maltese and Andalusi Arabic share a number of linguistic traits which, at least in part, could be attributed to their exposure to the same sources of arabicization, and to their “peripherality” in relation to the other varieties of Neo-Arabic, especially the pre-Hilālī Maghribi dialects. Overwhelmed by medieval Southern European and Catholic culture, Maltese and Andalusi Arabic had to adapt to non-Arabic and non-Muslim environments. In the process, these two peripheral varieties of Arabic retained a substantial component of the Arabic linguistic heritage, but courageously ventured on evolutionary routes which, at times, alienated them from the rest of the Arabic vernaculars. Malta’s definitive take-over by European powers after the mid-13th century, coupled with its insular reality, enhancing its isolation from the rest of the Arabic speaking world, rendered Maltese impervious to further significant linguistic inputs from other dialects of Arabic. Maltese, therefore, offers the Arabic dialectologist the opportunity to consider a variety of Arabic which, to a certain extent, has remained unchanged for more than seven decades. This study, on the one hand limits itself to a preliminary survey of a number of phonological, morphological and syntactic elements shared by Andalusi and Maltese Arabic and, on the other, presents a lexical sample which, in the main, is attested only in a limited number of Arabic dialects. In some

1When discussing the differences in Andalusi Arabic (AA) and Maltese (M) stress patterns, Corriente (2005:31, fn19) pointed out to a number of linguistic features (both conservative and innovative traits) shared by AA and M. Among the conservative traits, Corriente lists the unvoiced reflexes of qāf, the preservation of the old diphthongs, the survival of a IX–XI derived verbal stem, and lexical items (such as raʾā). Among the innovations, he refers to the n- marker of the 1st pers. sing. of the imperfective, the diminutive template CuCayyaC adopted for triconsonantal masculine stems, substitution of zawāq for šnaʿ, yād ‘still, yet’, and bāṣ ‘in order to’.
cases, Andalusi Arabic and Maltese are the only vernaculars which retain certain lexical items. Moreover, a number of lexemes presented in the glossary are residues of archaic lexical usage, thus indicating remarkable diachronic continuity of old Arabic traits in these two varieties of Arabic. The idea behind this article is to highlight areas of linguistic contact between Andalusi and Maltese Arabic. The study of such peripheral areas, which are rather older than most contemporary varieties of Arabic, should contribute to shedding more light on the historical development of Arabic dialects.\(^2\)

1.2. The linguistic context

Corriente had this to say about the membership of the Andalusi dialect bundle within the western branch of Neo-Arabic:

> El haz dialectal andalusi es claramente miembro del árabe occidental ... y tiene sus más próximos parientes, como es natural, en los dialectos prehilalianos del Norte de África y Malta, sin perjuicio de ciertas afinidades con todos los dialectos de influencia sudarábica, y \( gr \), en Egipto, y los de fase antigua (Corriente 1992: 34).\(^3\)

He also attributes the evolution of Andalusi and Maltese Arabic to:

> ... early Western Arabic dialects spoken in North Africa at the beginning of the \( 8 \)th century in the case of the Iberian peninsula, and at the end of the \( 9 \)th century in the case of M[alta], without any renewed mutual contacts until the extinction of A[andalusi] A[rabic] in the \( 17 \)th century and down to this day, in the case of M[alte]. As for outside interference in both cases from the Arabic speaking Easterners or from North African dialects, it must be acknowledged that it could only have been weak for about two centuries, and almost nil henceforth (Corriente 2005: 30).\(^4\)

A millennium of contact between pre-Hilālī and Hilālī Maghribi dialects, coupled with koinizing effects and levelling forces, have resulted in the emergence of a somewhat homogeneous type of North African dialects. This process did not, in general, effect Andalusi, Sicilian and Maltese Arabic, and therefore the formal differences between North African vernaculars, on the one hand, and these three varieties, on the other, are attributable to conservatism engendered by the peripherality of the latter group.

Moreover, Corriente rightly notes that certain “very atypical” features of Maltese Arabic were “... probably shared with the other tightly connected but presently extinct

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\(^2\) The constant caveat is that such diachronic studies, very often, have no other option but to rely on contemporary sources of dialectal Arabic.

\(^3\) When referring to the parlants marocains of the first phase of arabicization, Colin (1945: 222) stated that these are “... assez analogues aux parlars arabes d’Espagne, comme aux parlars anciens de l’Algérie (Trara, Petite Kabylie), de la Tunisie (région de Kairouan), et à ceux de la Sicile et de Malte: ils’agit pour tous des parlars «pré-hilaliens».”

\(^4\) See also Vanhove (1998: 97), based on D. Cohen (1988: 106), concerning the provenance of Maltese “... d’une variété d’arabe proche des parlars des vieilles cités maghrébines de la période préhilalienne, et plus précisément des vieilles cités tunisiennes ...”
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South Italian Arabic dialects...” (Corriente 2005: 25). Indeed, the overall picture regarding the evolution and emergence of the Maltese language is bound to be incomplete without considering the impact of a hypothetical Siculo Arabic upon it. However, Siculo Arabic, in its various varieties, constitutes an insurmountable obstacle within the wider mosaic of Arabic vernaculars. Unlike Andalusi Arabic, Siculo Arabic was not the medium for poetry, prose, legal documents or personal correspondence during the Islamic and Norman periods. There is no evidence “... to support a spoken language variety as we find in Andalusi Arabic ... As a result it is problematic to find corroborating evidence of a Sicilian Arabic variety” (Agius 2007: 26). Moreover, Sicily did not produce an Aljamiado literature. To a certain extent, had it not been for Ibn MakkI’s Tatqif al-lisān, we would have known next to nothing about the linguistic scene in Sicily.6 In his study about Siculo Arabic, Agius concludes that:

... my hypothesis is that contemporary Maltese, containing a mixture of Arabic and Romance, is directly linked with the Siculo-Arabic and not with North African dialects as has been so far believed. The theory is that during the twelfth century Siculo-Christians from Sicily speaking a hybridized form of Arabic and Romance populated the Maltese islands as part of the Norman expansionist policy (Agius 1996: 432).

Although such a scenario is not to be excluded, in my opinion, our limited knowledge about a hypothetical Siculo Arabic precludes the possibility of sweeping and exclusive statements. The Islamic and Norman periods in Sicily were characterized by “... continuous immigration from North Africa and al-Andalus [into Sicily] ...” (Agius 2007: 25). Moreover, the Fatimid ascendancy in Ifriqiya during the 10th century must have served as a catalyst for more intensive contacts and human mobility between North Africa and Europe. Such developments could not have ignored the geo-strategic importance of the Maltese islands. From a linguistic point of view, the great number of iso-glosses, in all sectors of language, linking Maltese with Maghribi Arabic, make it difficult to rule out any linguistic input directly from the Maghreb. This state of affairs does not exclude the settlement of Arabic-speaking elements from Sicily in Malta during the 11th and 12th centuries. Moreover, Agius’ hypothesis, which emphasizes the

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5 In this article, Agius revisits his conclusions presented in Siculo Arabic (1996), stating that “Although I have shown how the hybridized form of Classical Arabic and dialectal features constituted a Sicilian Middle Arabic, ten years on I would like to reverse the statement and say that the 17 examples of Middle Arabic I elicited from the registers of lands and men are not representative enough to justify a variety unique to Sicilian Arabic. This is because ... the scribes may not have been native to the island. “Siculo Arabic” remains, therefore, speculative ...” (p. 27). Agius concludes his article by suggesting a reevaluation of the original documents consulted by Cusa and Amari with a view to re-examining the data “... as many of the words that have come down to us in print may have been misread, distorted, mis-applied or copied incorrectly.” (p. 33).

6 Ibn MakkI’s Tatqif al-lisān is quite informative with regards to the consonantal system of varieties of Arabic spoken in 12th century Sicily, as well as about nominal plural morphology. It is, however, lacking, or completely silent, when it comes to other linguistic aspects, such as the vocalic system, stress, and syntax. See Agius (1996, 2007: 26).
Siculo-Christian element, tends to overlook the Muslim element in Malta, which constituted an overwhelming majority till as late as AD 1240. When discussing the degree of kinship between Andalusi Arabic and Maltese, Corriente concludes that the former is "... most of the time more conservative than Maltese and that it often exhibits some affinity with the linguistic situation of Southern Arabia" (Corriente 2005: 30). This comes as no surprise since the Yemenite component constituted the majority of the early Muslim settlement in al-Andalus. The glossary below makes reference to a number of Yemeni cognates in Andalusi and Maltese Arabic. Moreover, South Arabian culture has made itself felt in a number of loanwords which found their way in Old Arabic (Zammit 2009). The following are some other Arabian and Yemeni cognates in Maltese, attesting, to a certain extent, to the remarkable diachronic depth of the Maltese language:

\[\text{sfnl} (\text{pl. sawnfl}), \text{M (xini, xwieni) \text{\textquoteleft\text{galley\textquoteright}} (Smith 2008: 156), gandal \text{\textquoteleft\text{stones\textquoteright}}, \text{M \text{\textquoteright\text{\textquoteleft\text{as hard as stone (of unripe fruits, vegetables\textquoteright}} (Aquílina 1987: 377); saw\u0141\i \text{\textquoteleft\text{good, proper\textquoteright}} (Watson, al-'Amri 2000: 301), M \text{\textquoteright\text{\textquoteleft\text{correctly, properly\textquoteright}} (Aquílina 1987: 1301).\]

1.3. The historical context

The historical contexts within which Andalusi Arabic and Maltese developed present a number of common features. The histories of the two linguistic varieties might be summarized in the following table. Sicily has been included because, like Malta, it made part of the south-western Ibero-Muslim sphere. Malta's history has always been closely bound to that of the bigger neighbouring island, just 90 kilometres to the north. Moreover, Sicily was an important source of diffusion of Arabic into the Maltese islands and a destination for immigrants from North Africa and al-Andalus (Agius 2007: 25).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Muslim Period</th>
<th>Post-Muslim Period</th>
<th>Modern Times</th>
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<tr>
<td>Andalusi Arabic</td>
<td>711-1492</td>
<td>1492-1610</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maltese</td>
<td>870-1090</td>
<td>1090-1250</td>
<td>till the present day</td>
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<tr>
<td>Siculo Arabic</td>
<td>827-1090</td>
<td>1090-1282</td>
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7 According to the census of 1240 by Gilberto Abbate, the number of Muslim, Christian and Jewish families on Malta and on its sister island, Gozo, was as follows: Malta: 681 Muslim, 47 Christian, 25 Jewish families; Gozo: 155 Muslim, 203 Christian, 8 Jewish families. Even earlier than this, in 1175, bishop Burchard of Strassburg, visiting Malta on his way to Egypt, wrote that Malta was an island inhabited by Saracens (See Dalli (2006: 107, 93).

8 This lexeme is also attested in Maghribi gandal 'pierre' (Beaussier 1958: 160) and Egyptian gandal 'boulder' (Badawi, Hinds 1986: 175).

9 Sicily's ports, especially those of Palermo, Messina and Trapani, which were described by the Andalusi traveller Ibn Jubayr, were the emporia of the Mediterranean (Agius 2007: 29).
Unlike the well-documented "Arabic experience" in al-Andalus, which spread over 900 years, very little is known about the Muslim period in the Maltese islands, apart from Muslim accounts of the Arabo-Berber assault on Byzantine Malta of AD 870, originating in Sicily. According to al-Ḥimyarī's account, after the Muslim conquest of AD 870 Malta remained a hirba geyr āhila, 'an uninhabited ruin', and was colonized by Muslims from Sicily, and their slaves, as late as AH 440 (AD 1048–49) (Brincat 1991). No doubt, al-Ḥimyarī's prose does not lack an element of literary hyperbole aimed at underlining the definitive Muslim victory in Malta, a trait which is not uncommon in medieval historiography. Recently, the Maltese historian Charles Dalli has voiced his reserves as to the accuracy of the al-Ḥimyarī account. He stated that:

Clearly one should not take al-Ḥimyarī's statement that the island of Malta was left 'an uninhabited ruin' at face value. It seems unwise to hold, simply on the strength of a late medieval compiler's presumed knowledge of lost sources, that four centuries earlier the Muslims conquered Malta and then depopulated it (Dalli 2006: 58).

Dalli argues, rather convincingly, that the Byzantines "... would have exploited the Muslim withdrawal to re-establish a base on Malta" (Dalli 2006: 57). Moreover, the establishment of Fatimid al-Mahdiyya, in Ifrīqiya, enhancing Malta's strategic and maritime importance, must have been a good justification for the Muslims to maintain a garrison on Malta. In an attempt to meet al-Ḥimyarī half-way, Dalli states that there is nothing in the Arab historian's account which excludes the existence of a Muslim-controlled citadel on Malta after 870, a fact which is also corroborated on archaeological grounds. Moreover, one can accept al-Ḥimyarī's statement concerning the Muslim colonization of Malta during the early 11th century (Dalli 2006: 59).

Recently, the Maltese scholars Fiorini (a historian) and Vella (a classicist) have put forward their own hypothesis about the situation in 12th century Malta (Fiorini, Vella 2006). Their findings are based on a 14th century manuscript containing a Greek poem of more than 4,000 iambic trimeters, found at the Biblioteca Nacional, in Madrid. The unknown Italo-Byzantine poet wrote his long poem during the mid-12th century, at the time of his exile on Melitogaudos, i.e. Gozo, the second island of the Maltese archipelago. The poem is one long plea to George of Antioch, vizier of Sicily and admiral of the fleet, to intervene with King Roger of Sicily, who had ordered his exile for some crime which the poet ignored. The poet makes reference to a Norman expedition against "... Melitogaudos, the country of Hagar..." in the year 1127. Reference is also made to a Christian community, headed by a bishop, on Gozo at this time. This led Fiorini and

10 Among the Arab historians and geographers who wrote about the Muslim conquest of Malta, one could mention Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Atir, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Bakrī, al-Qazwīnī and al-Ḥimyarī. As yet, nothing is known from Byzantine sources.

11 Al-Ḥimyarī's work is called Kitāb al-rawd al-miṭār fi ḥabar al-aqṭār.

12 Dalli (p. 66) does not exclude the possibility that the new settlers on Malta might have been fleeing from the incursions into North Africa of the nomadic Banū Hilīl.
Vella to conclude that "... a bishop was in these islands at least from the time of Count Roger I ..." (Fiorini, Vella 2006: 166). Moreover, they put forward the hypothesis that the depopulation mentioned by al-Ḥimyarī was restricted to Malta, whereas Christians were allowed to live on Gozo as jizya-paying dhimmi (Fiorini, Vella 2006: 167).

During the post-Muslim phase, characterized by the hegemony of Norman and other European ruling dynasties, the majority of the inhabitants of the Maltese archipelago were Muslim, until King Frederick II of Hohenstaufen decreed their expulsion, from 1224 to 1246 (Dalli 2006: 115). The following seven centuries witnessed the emergence of the Maltese language, a phenomenon which was not paralleled neither in Spain nor in Sicily.

Sicily and Malta underwent the same historical evolution from the Norman conquest, in 1090, up to their take-over by the Aragonese, in the wake of the Sicilian Vespers of 1282. For almost 250 years, Malta under Aragonese rule was "... an eastern frontier and naval base, as well as an intersection of commercial exchange between the western and eastern Mediterranean" (Freiler 1994–95: 3). Apart from the military and economic interests enhanced by the Maltese islands' geo-strategic importance, the Aragonese-Maltese experience involved also what Freiler calls "... a special cultural relationship borne out by artistic implications" (Freiler 1994–95: 3–4). This special cultural relationship must have had linguistic implications of some form or another, given the common Maghribi Arabic element of the Morisco subjects of the Iberian peninsula and that of the inhabitants of the Maltese islands. Apart from the presence of Andalusi Moriscos across North Africa, historical records confirm their presence in many other areas of the Mediterranean, including Malta. An area of activity involving Moriscos was international spying. In 1565, the year of the Ottomans' Great Siege against Malta, a Morisco underwent torture at the hands of the Inquisition and revealed that, in case of an Ottoman victory, a number of Moors would have taken over the main ports along the Granadine coastline. In fact, the Ottomans had sent to Malta a number of Morisco spies to collect information about the Spanish naval strength in the Mediterranean (Freiler 1994–95: 8–9). Why recruiting Morisco spies? Was it because they could easily infiltrate the Maltese because they spoke a variety of Arabic which was close to the Maltese vernacular? A direct reference to Moriscos in Malta comes from the crypto-Muslim ʿAlī b. Ḥāfṣ ʿAbd al-Gādir (1569–1570). In his Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā l-qawm al-kāfīrīn, written around 1640, he states that the Andalusi doctor ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Yūsuf had told

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13 He states that a number of these Muslims were deported to Lucera (Italy), others ended up in European slave markets, and others still reached Ḥaḍid Ifriqiya.
14 The immediate artistic implications are to be found, in particular, in architecture and painting.
15 During the mid-fifteenth century Sidi Galip Ripolli, a Moor from Valencia, had settled in Alexandria and traded regularly with the Knights of St. John in Rhodes. His trade representative on Rhodes was another Morisco from Valencia called Ibrahim. In 1453, Sidi Galip Ripolli also mediated, on behalf of Grand Master Jean de Lastic, the release of five members of the Order held captive in Tripoli and other parts of North Africa (Tsirpanlis 1995: 682, 683, 692, 723, 758).
16 The earliest reference we know of, till now, to a lingua maltensi comes from a notarial deed of 1436.
17 His full name is ʿAlī b. Ḥāfṣ b. ʿAbd al-Faqīh Ḥāfṣ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq ʿAbd al-Ḥādī, also known by his Spanish surname Bejarano. See Wiegers (1992).
him that there were 5,500 Muslims in Malta, of whom fifty hailed from al-Andalus.\textsuperscript{18} Some of these must have been slaves of the Order of St John in Malta.\textsuperscript{19}

Surprisingly, the affairs of tiny Malta were not unknown among the Moriscos in Spain. Philip II’s "prematica" of 1566, prohibiting the use of Arabic, prompted the "memoria" of the Granadine Morisco knight Francisco Nuñez Muley, in which he argued that Malta, given as a fief to the Order of St John, still belonged to the kingdom of Aragon, and yet, Arabic was still in use, even among the Maltese nobility. What Nuñez Muley wrote about the linguistic predicament of the Moriscos in Spain, and the situation in Malta is, indeed, very revealing:

... esto es muy notorio, dize mas cerca ques la ysla de malta donde ay los catolicos cristianos hijos de algo anti mesmo hablan aravigo ... y escriyen aravigo la que toca a la santa fe cristiana y la demas de cristianos ... [regarding the Moriscos] creo que dizen las misas en muchas partes susodichas como en esta ysla [i.e. in Malta] en aravigo en no saben hablar ni escrivir castellano los unos ni los otros (Freller 1994-1995: 6-7).

Nuñez Muley’s reference to the Christian Maltese speaking and writing Arabic is re-echoed by the scholar and traveller Luis del Marmol Carvajal: "Los Egypcios, Surianos, Malteses, y otras gentes Christianas, en Arabigo hablan, leen, y escriven, y son Christians como nosotros..."\textsuperscript{20}

Finally, Freller also refers to a case of successful integration of an erstwhile Morisco family within Spanish nobility, namely the Venegas de Cordoba family. One of its members, Juan, was instrumental in the revival of the Pauline cult centred around the St. Paul’s cave at Rabat, Malta, earning him the appellation Fra Giovanni della Grotta di San Paolo. However, Freller points out that such examples of integration were actually exceptions to the general rule (Freller 1994–95: 5). Much work remains to be done, or rather, it has not yet even started, at the Maltese Notarial Archives, in Valletta, and at the Mdina Cathedral Archives, which includes the Inquisition Archive. Such a research effort is bound to reveal much more data about Morisco-Maltese interactions during the Aragonese and post-Aragonese periods.\textsuperscript{21}

Andalusi Arabic and Maltese, but also Siculo Arabic, have interacted very dynamically with the Romance element. Both were Arabic vernaculars spoken by Muslim and Christian speakers, both developed in the Mediterranean region, and both played, and in the case of Maltese, still plays, the role of cultural vehicles. Anssens-Lestienne quotes Garcia Gomez who had this to say about Andalusi Arabic:

Heureusement éloigné du doctrinaire "dirigisme d’État" de la langue classique, c’était un parler libre, qui s’introduisait où il pouvait, s’alimentait où il trouvait de la nourriture, importait et exportait avec le

\textsuperscript{19} Other Andalusi slaves were held captive in Sicily, Sardinia and Livorno.
\textsuperscript{20} From Carvajal’s Historia de rebellion y castigo del los moriscos de rey nos Granada (Malaga, 1600), quoted by Freller (1994–95: 7).
\textsuperscript{21} Records of the Sicilian Santo Offizio confirm that till the year 1639, out of a total of 763 Inquisition processes, 63 involved Moriscos. See Cardaillac (1980: 266).
libéralisme économique le plus décontracté... Il avait les fenêtres de toutes parts ouvertes à tout pollen fécondateur... (Anssens-Lestienne 1983: 13).22

This statement may also apply to the Maltese language, whose ability to survive eight centuries of foreign linguistic hegemony is, in part, attributable to its distance and blissful isolation from the islands’ centres of power, clinging obstinately to the mouths of the inhabitants of the rural and coastal areas of the Maltese islands.

Luckily for Arabic dialectology, Andalusi Arabic is the oldest extensively documented Arabic dialect. Even though the same cannot be stated about Maltese, the earliest linguistic evidence, harking back to the late 15th century, precedes the documentation of most Arabic dialects. Moreover, both varieties witnessed varying degrees of linguistic separation from the Arabic-speaking world — relative separation in the case of Andalusi Arabic, and almost total separation in the case of Maltese. Nevertheless, Andalusi Arabic and Maltese do differ on two significant points: a. the patterns of diffusion and, b. their continuity in time. Whereas, on the one hand, the diffusion of Arabic into the Iberian peninsula is reasonably well-documented, with ample historical evidence about the various ethnic groups responsible for the spread of varieties of Arabic, on the other hand, medieval historiography has not been at all generous concerning the diffusion patterns of Arabic into the Maltese archipelago. This has left linguists of Maltese no other option but to postulate possible diffusion scenarios based on a minimum of historical data, as seen above. As regards continuity in time, Andalusi Arabic ceased to be spoken by early 17th century, but the influence of Andalusi refugees was brought to bear throughout North Africa, resulting in Andalusi Arabic having a “... profundo impacto sobre los dialectos norte-africanos” (Corriente 1992: 35).23 Even prior to this Andalusi contribution, the initial arabicization of northern Morocco had been “... effectuée en partie grâce à des apports venus directement d’Espagne ...” (Colin 1945: 222). On the other hand, Maltese is still a dynamic medium of expression in Malta, acquiring, in 2004, the status of an official language within the European Union.24

A study of Corriente’s A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle (1977) reveals a number of linguistic features which are reflected in the Maltese language with a high degree of proximity.25 What follows is a concise review of the salient phonological, morphological and syntactic isoglosses linking the two dialects of Arabic. Section 5 is dedicated to a glossary of eighty-three Andalusi and Maltese Arabic lexical items and their cognates in other dialects of Arabic. This section underscores the high level of lexical concordance characterizing Andalusi Arabic and Maltese.

23 See also Harvey (1971: 81).
24 According to section 5 of the Maltese Constitution, Maltese is the national language of the Republic of Malta, and is its official language together with English.
25 Other sources used in this section are Ferrando (1998) and Corriente (1987, 2006).
2. Phonology

2.1. Dissimilation of OA /ɡ̻/ > /d̪/

The dissimilation of the OA voiced alveopalatal affricate into the voiced dental stop occurs in the environment of /ʃ/. This is illustrated by lexeme n. 31 in the glossary below. This phenomenon is also attested in Siculo Arabic dašš < OA ǧašš ‘wheat coarsely ground and cooked in a pot with meat and dates’ (Agius 1996: 172).

2.2. Develarization of /ʃ/ and its merger with /s/.

This is attested in both Andalusi Arabic and in Maltese. One of the most characteristic features of Maltese phonology is the fusion of the OA emphatic segments with their non-emphatic equivalents. Thus, M /ʃ/ reflects OA /ʃ/ and /ʃ/. In AA, šar ‘to become’ and sār ‘to go’ are sometimes confused (cp. M šar ‘to become’). Other examples of develarization in AA are: fursa ‘opportunity’, siqilliyya ‘Sicily’, sahn ‘court (of a house)’, where the develarized spirants correspond to the velarized alveolar unvoiced spirant in OA (Corriente 1977: 50).

2.3. OA /y/ > AA and M /w/.

Corriente attributes the above feature to South Arabian influence on AA. Hence, AA ērhuin pl. aārīguin ‘naked, bare’ (Corriente 1997: 352). This is reflected in M ǧharwien, pl. gheriewen (phonetically [arw:n, pl. eri:wen]).

2.4. Retention of short vowels in unstressed syllables.

Data from Andalusi shows a high degree of vocalic retention in unstressed environments. In the Judaeo-Arabic of Sicily, and in Maltese, OA short vowels in open syllables are also attested (Grand’Henry 1994: 285). This situation is not reflected among the Maghreb dialects where the displacement of the stress to the last syllable led, sometime during the 14th century, to the elision of short vowels in open syllables (Grand’Henry 1994: 285).

26 Unless otherwise indicated, the lexical data for AA and M has been culled from Corriente’s A dictionary of Andalusi Arabic 1997 and Aquilina’s Maltese English dictionary 1987–90.

27 See also sahra ‘a rock’ in Ferrando (1998: 49).

28 Attested in Ayala (1566: 13).

29 As far as stress is concerned, Corriente states the following: “...stressed vowels in open or final syllables were felt as “marked” in a special way and represented by matres lectionis, regardless of the presence or absence in such positions of phonemic length ...” (Corriente 1977: 60).
In modern Maltese, the retention or loss of OA short vowels is very often conditioned by the presence or absence of historically back and emphatic consonants (see Borg 1978: 64–7). However, linguistic data from the Cantilena, the earliest record in Maltese (mid-15th c.), up till as late as the end of the 18th century, shows that, very often, OA short vowels, often re-interpreted as /i/, are retained in unstressed syllables, whereas they would be elided in modern usage. The following are some examples from the Cantilena and from a sermon delivered in 1791 (Vella 2006: 224–9):

- Cantilena: zimen, M <zmien> ‘time’; mirammiti, M <mrammti> ‘my wall / house’ (cp. Sic nuramma ‘wall’) (Aquillina 1990: 864); miken, M <mkien> ‘place, location’; mihallimin, M <mghallmin> ‘workmen’;
- Sermon: chitiep, M <ktieb> ‘book’; chibar, M <kbar> ‘big’ (pl.); rigilu, M <riglu> ‘his leg’; hilejac, M <hlejjaq> ‘creatures’; ingimaitu, M <ingmajtu> ‘you have assembled’; chinisia, M <knisja> (cp. Sic kinisia, chinisia).

At times, some of the short vowels in such unstressed syllables function as disjunctive vowels opening up consonant clusters, as in the following examples from the Cantilena: l1lehandihe, M <rnagnandha> ‘it does not have’;31 rimitine, M <rmietni> ‘it has thrown me’; biddilihe, M <biddillha> lit. ‘change for it’; and the following from the abovementioned sermon: iheddidu, M <jheddu> ‘they threaten’; giranet, M <granet> ‘days’ (< It. giornata).

2.5. The ’imāla

Andalusi Arabic displays conditioned first and second degree ’imāla.32 In Maltese, examples of first degree ’imāla are attested in the aforementioned earliest Maltese document, the Cantilena, as well as in some dialectal varieties of Maltese. In Standard Maltese second degree ’imāla /ii/, as the reflex of OA /ā/, has become phonemicized and is reproduced by the digraph ⟨ie⟩ in Maltese orthography. The following are a few examples of second degree ’imāla quoted by Corriente, and their corresponding reflexes in Maltese: AA kiri ‘rent’, M ⟨kiri⟩ ‘renting’; AA šarī ‘purchase’, M ⟨xiri⟩ ‘purchasing’; AA bib and M ⟨bieb⟩ ‘door’;33 AA khn and M ⟨kien⟩ ‘was’; AA adoquin ‘paving stone’, M ⟨dikkiena⟩ ‘a sort of stone pavement’; AA sinia and M ⟨sienja⟩ ‘noria’; AA salima ‘salvation’, M ⟨sliema⟩ ‘safety, peace’; AA jīl and M ⟨giek⟩ ‘it came to you’ (Corriente 1977: 24, fn 6).

30 Borg also lists a number of eastern dialects which retain OA /a/ but elide /i/ and /u/, and other dialects, mainly North African, which elide all short vowels in unstressed syllables.
32 This vowel, resulting from the merger of /a/ and /i/, is called “archiphoneme Ā” by Corriente. For a treatment of the imāla, see Corriente (1977: 22–5) and Borg (1978: 151–75). For the imāla ā>e in Siculo Arabic (e.g. chasena < OA hozāna), see Agius (1996: 338). Exceptions to the phonological conditions preventing the fronting and raising of OA /ā/ are not lacking in both AA and M. Hence, AA cedria and M csidrijja ‘waistcoat’ < OA sādriya. (See Corriente 1977: 25).
33 The Maltese digraph ie is monophthongal in Standard Maltese, but diphthongal in a number of Maltese rural varieties.
2.6 Preservation of Old Arabic diphthongs

Andalusi Arabic, being one of the most conservative branches of Neo-Arabic, preserves Old Arabic lawl and layl (Corriente 1977: 29, 2006: 103). Similarly, Maltese displays seven primary and secondary diphthongs reflecting the two diphthongs, /u/ and /i/ of OA. Hence:

- AA /staw/, M ʃawd ‘pond, pool’; AA /mawg/, M ʃewg ‘waves’;
- AA /sayf/, M ʃaf ‘summer’; AA /kayl/, M ʃejl ‘measure’.

Diphthongs are also attested in a number of urban Maghribi vernaculars: Muslim female dialects of Tunis and Mahdiyya, Jews of Tunis (partially) and of Sfax, Muslims and Jews of Sousse (Vanhove 1998: 100–1), and Wlād Brāhīm. They have also been preserved in many Lebanese dialects, in Cypriot Arabic, in certain Mesopotamian and Anatolian dialects (including in Kuwait and Khuzistan), and in Yemenite (San’a’i) (Borg 1978: 75). Moreover, in Siculo Arabic, the OA diphthongs were reinterpreted as follows: OA /ay/ > Sic /ey/, /a/ and /i/; /aw/ > Sic /aw/, /ew/ and /o/ (Agius 1996: 345–8).

It is interesting to note that Andalusi Arabic and Maltese tolerate the nucleus /iw/ which is not attested in Old Arabic: e.g. AA ʃistuf ‘completion’, ʃistul ‘overpowering’; M ɜiw ‘a bend, turning of a corner’, ɜiw ‘cauterization’, ɜiw ‘a fold, pleat, crease’ (Corriente 1977: 32; Aquilina 1987: 657, 754, 1453).

As regards the secondary diphthongization of /u/ into /aw/, this is rather rare in Andalusi Arabic and Maltese. Hence: AA /lawl/ ‘pearls’, M ɜew ‘beads’ (< ɜul < OA ɜul ‘lu’); AA /teum/ (Alcalá), M ɜem ‘garlic’. Monophthongization of /aw/ > /u/ and /ay/ > /i/ in both Andalusi Arabic and Maltese is not very common: AA ʃunibar, M ɜunb ‘pine-tree’; AA ‘alik, M ɜhalik ‘for you’; AA ʃif (Alcalá quif), M ʃif ‘how’.

2.7. Assimilation

Andalusi and Maltese Arabic display cases of contiguous assimilation. Thus: AA /nathɔl/ M ʃiθul ‘I shall enter’ < * /nadhul < OA ‘adhaul (Corriente 1977: 68); AA and M /maθa/ < *ma ‘ ‘hā < OA ma ‘a-hā ‘with her’ (Corriente 1977: 68); AA /gug/ (Alcalá guèch) and M /wiθu/ ‘face’ < OA waθ ‘(Corriente 1977: 70). Moreover, dissimilation in a sequence of identical vowels is not uncommon in both varieties. Thus: AA

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34 In Maltese, the first element of the diphthongal nucleus depends on the consonantal environment: /aw/ and /ay/ are conditioned by historically back consonants, emphatic consonants and /l/, whereas /ew/ and /ey/, with the raising of the first element of the diphthongal nucleus, are attested in other environments.

35 This is also attested in Tunisian tawm (Cohen 1975: 71). According to Corriente (1977: 29), this results from hypercorrection caused by awareness of substandard monophthongization of /aw/ > /o/. Moreover, he attributes this feature to influence from Southern Arabian (1987: 95).

36 Note also M ʃum ‘i.e. /yum/ < OA yam ‘a day’. Cp. Syriac ʃum (indefinite) ‘a day’ (Payne Smith 190).

37 Not so in Mor. ʃeθul ‘ (Colin 2031).
M <niṣrānī> 'Christian'; AA diğāga, M <tiğiega> 'hen' <OA dağāga; AA and M <mida> 'dew' <OA nada” (Corriente 1977: 69); AA zirāfa and M <zerafa> 'giraffe' <OA zarāfa (Corriente 1977: 71).38

2.8. Final clusters

Andalusi and Maltese Arabic open final clusters of obstruents followed by sonorants by inserting a disjunctive vowel which is invariably [a] in AA, whereas it may be [a], [e], or [o] in M.39 Thus: AA nah[a]l and M <nahāb> 'bees' <OA nahl; AA riğ[a]l and M <riğēb> 'foot' <OA riğl; AA ġub[a]n and M <ġobon> 'cheese' <OA ġubn (Corriente 1977: 72).40 This phonological feature is attested in a number of Eastern dialects, such as Levantine, Iraqi and East Arabian. In Maghribi dialects, the disjunctive vowel became stressed, yielding such forms like Mor. rīgāl, and ġban.41

2.9. Adoption of Romance consonantal segments

The Romance substrates and adstrates inevitably affected the consonantal repertoire of both Andalusi and Maltese Arabic, resulting in the adoption of consonantal segments foreign to OA, as in the case of /p, c, g/ in AA, and /p, v, c, g/ in M.42

3. Morphology

3.1. {la2a3 > 1a23}

Andalusi and Maltese Arabic display occasional elision of the final vowel in words of the OA and NA pattern {1a2a3}. Thus: AA tarf 'side' and M (tārīf 'extremity; extreme end or point' < īrāf; AA wazāga and M <wīzgha> 'gecko' < wazaga.43 According to Corriente, it cannot be ascertained whether such items reflect the original dialects introduced in Spain by the Arab conquerors, or else cases of hypercorrections which sought to restore the penultimate stress at a time when ultima stress had become standard (see Corriente 1977: 7).

38 The lexeme in Maltese refers to a common Maltese surname.
39 [a] and [u] are attested in non-standard varieties of Maltese.
40 See also AA and M lexical item ra(g)h in the glossary section of this paper.
41 See Colin. This is the result of stress shift: e.g. riğēb > riğvl > rīgvl > rīgāl.
42 Harvey (1971: 96–97), discussing the “wholesale replacement of the Semitic pattern of sounds” in the Arabic dialect of Valencia of 1595, states that “... the phonological system of late Valencian Arabic had been invaded and largely taken over by the phonological system of Romance. There are indications that almost all the distinctive phonological features of Arabic had been eliminated or were under threat of elimination.”
43 Note also AA and M (badwād) 'peasant' (< badawl) in the glossary section of this paper.
3.2. Metanalysis of the \textit{lām} of the definite article

This feature is attested in both Andalusi and Maltese Arabic. Item 76 in the glossary below treats the lexeme \textit{labbār}. Other examples of metanalysis in Maltese are \textit{labra} ‘needle’, \textit{ilm} ‘water’, \textit{diżar} ‘bed sheet’, \textit{Lhudi} ‘a Jew’, etc.

3.3. The matrix \{1a22ā3i\}

The intensive agentive participle matrix \{1a22ā3i\}, which replaces \{1a22ā3\}, is one of the morphological influences exerted by South Arabian upon Andalusi Arabic (Corriente 1987: 100). This feature is also attested in Maltese and is reflected in such lexemes like: \textit{habrieki} ‘diligent, industrious’, \textit{kelliem} ‘speaker; spokesman’, \textit{fettieh} ‘bountiful’.

These forms alternate with \textit{habriek}, \textit{kelliem} and \textit{fettieh} without significant semantic distinction.

3.4. The Diminutive matrix \{CuCāyCaC(a)\}

Apart for the very common Andalusi, Maghribi, Sicilian and Maltese Arabic diminutive matrix \{C(v)CvyyvC\}, Andalusi also displays the above matrix for adjectives of the type \textit{kabīr} and \textit{‘ahmar} (e.g. \textit{cubāybar} ‘slightly big’) (Corriente 1977: 94). In Maltese, this matrix is probably only attested in \textit{ckejken} ‘little, small, young’. This lexeme, which is not attested in Andalusi Arabic, has its cognate in Algerian \textit{šikón} ‘petit enfant, marmot’ (Beaussier 1958: 238). This is most probably a reflex of the diminutive of Spanish \textit{chico} > \textit{chiqueño}.

3.5. The Dual

Recourse to the dual morpheme \textit{-āy(n)} or \textit{-in} in Andalusi Arabic, and \textit{-ejn} in Maltese is not very widespread. It is very often reserved to some parts of the body and to weights and measures (Colin 1960: 518). Otherwise, both varieties resort to the analytical expression of the dual, i.e. \textit{zawg} + plural. Moreover, the tendency in both Granadan (as reflected in the \textit{Vocabulista}) and colloquial Maltese to elide the final \textit{n} of the dual, e.g. AA \textit{saharay} and M \textit{sarey} ‘two months’ < OA \textit{šahrayn}, should also be noted (see Colin 1960: 517). Both AA and M sometimes resort to the pseudo-dual to express the plural: AA \textit{‘aynikum}, M \textit{ghajnejkom} ‘your eyes’; AA \textit{al-ḥatān lahā udānay} ‘walls have ears’.

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44 This lexeme reflects the Muslim attribute \textit{faṭāh} with the same meaning. This word is a vestige from Malta’s Muslim past.
45 This is also the case in Siculo Arabic: \textit{zawg ahǧār} ‘two stones’ (Agius 1996: 402). This syntagm is also attested in Eastern Arabic, but forms of OA \textit{‘imayn} are used, and not \textit{zawg}. 

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3.6. Shorter pronominal forms hu ‘he’ and hi ‘she’

Apart from Andalusi and Maltese Arabic, these shorter forms of the Old and Neo-Arabic independent pronouns huwa and kiya are also attested in Tunis Arabic, in Aleppo hu, hát, hi, hî and in Cypriot Arabic o and e, used as copula (Corriente 1977: 97; Barthélemy 874, 878; Borg 2004 256, 257). Beyond the domain of Arabic, one does come across such short pronominal forms in Epigraphic South Arabian, Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician and Ugaritic (Zammit 2002: 422).

3.7. The masculine plural morpheme

In Andalusi Arabic the masculine plural morpheme is also applied to feminine nouns, adjectives and participles: e.g. AA sg. çoquia pl. çoquin ‘market women’; bauiBa pl. baubin and baubit ‘janitress’; hamriya pl. hamriyyin ‘brunettes’; rakibin ‘riding’; malbusin ‘wearing’ (Corriente 1977: 90). In Maltese, this is the rule in the case of feminine adjectives and participles. Thus <bniet twal> ‘tall girls’, <nisa biziin> ‘diligent women’, <tfajliet rikbin> ‘riding young women’. Corriente points out to a similar situation in Moroccan, quoting rjal miśqëll and i'ljG miSçqëll ‘stingy men / women’ (Corriente 1977: 90, fn 131).

3.8. The Elative

Although the elative matrix {aI2a3} was productive in Andalusi Arabic, and is still relatively so in Maltese, nevertheless analytical idioms are not uncommon in both varieties, and tend to supersede the synthetic elative. Thus: AA ġolì aktár (Alcalà) and M ġholi aktar ‘more expensive’, and AA aktar akhál ‘darker’ and M (iktar ikhál) ‘more blue’. Moreover, both varieties display the form ahyar (M ġhajar) ‘better’ and azyad / aziéd (M iżjed) ‘more’. The former harks back to OA huwa hayri / ahyar mink ‘he is better than you’ (Hava 1964: 191), whereas the latter reflects OA aızwad ‘plus’ and is attested in both eastern and western dialects of Arabic.

46 The short forms in Maltese are free variants of huwa and hija.
47 In Maltese, the elative matrix is {v12v3}, thus allowing various vocalic combinations.
48 Corriente EALL 108. In Maltese, aktar / iktar gholi and aktar / iktar ikhál are also possible.
49 Corriente DAA 170, 239. The elative aḥjar in Maltese is phonetically transcribed aḥyär; AA displays the substantive aḥyar ‘good, benevolent’, pl. of hayir.
50 Dozy 611, attested in Bocthor’s Dictionnaire français-arabe, 3rd ed. 1864.
3.9 Elision of final $d$ of the OA verb ‘ahad

Both Andalusi and Maltese Arabic share forms of the verb ‘ahad in which the final segment $d$ is elided. Such forms are also attested in the dialect of Tunis. Thus: AA tah(h)u, M <tiehu>, Tun tāhu ‘you take’; AA yahhu, M <jiehu>, Tun yāhu ‘he takes’; AA hū, M <hu>, Tun ḥū impv. ‘Take!’ (Corriente 1997: 6, Singer 1984: 353). 51

4. Syntax

4.1. The Nominal Phrase:

Andalusi and Maltese Arabic allow a type of definite qualifying relation which contravenes OA syntax, obviously due to interference from Romance. Hence: AA al-‘aṣr kalimāt, M <i-ghaxar kmandamenti> ‘the ten commandments’; AA al-mee mouāreq, M <i-lilha mbierek> ‘the holy water’ (Corriente 1977: 122); al-madkār yahūd, M <i-lilm-imsenni Lhudi> ‘to the mentioned Jew’ (Ferrando 1998: 40). 52 Moreover, this syntagm applies to the ordinal numbers: AA al-sābi’ yawm, M <is-seba’ jum> ‘the seventh day’ (Corriente 1977: 123). Sometimes, both varieties omit the definite article in the head qualifying noun phrases, e.g. AA riḥā al-jidid ‘the new mill’, M <rahal il-ġdid> ‘the new village’. 53

4.2. Lexicalization of compound nouns

Cases of lexicalization of compound nouns are not uncommon in both Andalusi and Maltese Arabic. Thus: AA b-al-burg ḥamām allarjī fīh ‘with the pigeon house which is in it’. This may be compared with M <i-l-bandiera bin-nofs qaman ‘the flag with the crescent’ (lit. ‘with the half moon’), and <i-tan-nofs qamar> lit. ‘of the crescent’, i.e. ‘the Muslims’. Other examples: AA al-ḥabb al-mulūk ‘the cherries’ and M <i-il-kelb il-bahān> ‘the shark’.

4.3. Agreement

Andalusi and Maltese Arabic nouns suffixed with the dual morpheme ayn / ejn agree with plural verbs and adjectives: AA ‘aynīn zorq (Alcala), M <ghajnejn žoroq> ‘blue eyes’; AA idayh al-milāḥ, M <idejih is-sbieh> ‘his beautiful hands’ (Corriente 1977: 130).

51 In Maltese, the final $d$ is elided in: a. the 3rd pers ms of the perfect, thus hā, b. in the singular persons of the imperfect, and c. in the singular form of the imperative. This is also reflected in Tunisian, with the exception of a. above.
52 Note also: al-musammiyya al-talāja danānīr, M <i-imsemmija liet dinari> ‘the said three dinars’ (Corriente 1977: 124).
53 Corriente EALL: 109. For a detailed treatment of such noun phrases see Borg 1987.
4.4. Object marker li-

This is a regular feature of Andalusi and Maltese Arabic, shared by other Arabic dialects, especially Levantine ones. Apart from Romance substratal and adstratal influences, particularly in both Andalusi and Maltese Arabic, Syriac influence cannot be excluded. Thus: AA teqcī lal 'erhuēn, M ti̱bbes ill-ghawwen ‘you shall cover the naked’.54

4.5. The syntax of 'ād

a. The adverbial particle 'ād, expressing concepts of ‘yet’ and ‘still’, is shared by Andalusi and Maltese Arabic, but also by Bahraini and Yemeni.55 Thus:

AA 'ād mā 'il sabab,56 M ʾghad ghandi mezz ‘I still have some means’;
AA 'ād lam nīsabba’, M ʾghadni ma xbaļt ‘I am not yet satiated’;
AA wa- 'ād lam tara šī, M 'u ghand ma rajt xejm ‘you have not seen anything yet’;
AA 'ādūh lam yanzal, M ʾghadu ma nīzil ‘He has not yet alighted’;
Bah mā adrī 'ād miš ‘I don’t know whether there is still any left’ (Holes 2001: 367);
Yem 'ādakum ġuhhāl ‘you are still young’, and
Yem 'ād fil-ġușn ūll there is dew on the branch yet’ (Piamenta 1990: 344).57

Reflexes of this feature are attested in a number of Semitic languages, namely in Hebrew, Phoenician, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac and Ge‘ez. Thus:

Heb wa-ābrāhām 'ōd-emnu 'ōmed ‘and Abraham, he was still standing’ (BDB: 728);
Ph w'-m ‘wd hms ‘and if there is yet vinegar’ (Hoftijzer, Jongeling: 832);
BAram 'ād miltā bafum maɪlkh ‘the word was still in the king’s mouth’ (BDB: 1105);
Syc 'ad hū mamallel ‘while he was speaking’ (Payne Smith: 400);
Ge ‘ādi-hu ‘he still’ (cp. M ʾghadu ‘id.’) (Leslau CDG 55–6).

In my opinion, the above evidence points to an archaic feature shared by various areas of Semitic, including old dialects of Arabic like Yemeni, Andalusi and Maltese Arabic, but which Arab grammarians never considered faṣīḥ.58

54 Note also the use of hypercorrect 'iλα instead of li-: yākul al-qawī minhum illa al-ḥa 'if among them, the strong eat the weak’ (Corriente 1977: 126).
55 Andalusi Arabic 'ād was also used to denote ‘even, also’, but this is not reflected in Maltese.
56 The AA examples given here are quoted from Corriente 1997.
57 See also Dañina 'ād adv. ‘encore’ (Glossaire Dañinois 2338). In both Eastern and Western Arabic dialects, 'ād is often attested in negative expressions with mà yielding the sense of ‘no longer, not any more’. Very often, Arabic dialects resort to ba'd to express the idea of ‘still, yet’. See Elihay (2004: 67), Cowell (1964: 546), Woodhead and Beene (1967: 39), Holes (2001: 46), Qafisheh (1997: 48).
58 Corriente (2005: 31, fn19) considers this an innovative trait.
b. Moreover, in Andalusi, Moroccan, Yemeni and Maltese ‘ād also denotes an action which has just happened. In Maltese <ghad> receives a pronominal suffix and is followed by kemm / kif. This syntagm is reflected in Moroccan, with or without pronominal suffix, whereas in Yemenite ‘ād is suffixed to attached pronouns, as in Maltese. Hence:

AAA hadīt yuqallī ‘ād ‘I have just heard the news’;
Mor ‘ād ŋit mn-əl-haẓz ‘j’arrive tout juste de Pèlerinage’; and
Mor dāba ‘ād kif hreẓ ‘il vient de sortir’;59 cp. M <issa ghadu kif hareg> ‘id.’
Yem ‘ādu ġer ġa ‘er ist kaum / erst gekommen’ (Behnstedt 1993: 151); cp. M <ghadu kif gie> ‘id.’

c. Andalusi, Maltese, Moroccan and Yemeni Arabic resort to ‘iid to express different nuances of futurity. In Andalusi ‘ād ‘still’ is placed in the future, in Maltese it is employed to denote the remote future, and in Moroccan it denotes ‘only’ in future time expressions. As regards Yemeni, ‘aad is a simple future particle. Probably, the latter was the origin of the specialized usages in AA and M. Thus:

AAA ‘ād ti ‘ād ‘You will still live’ and ‘ād yiḡī ‘He will still come’;
M <ghad jiḡi žmien> ‘a time will come (in the remote future)’;
Mor gddda ‘ād nmsgi ‘demain seulement je partirai’ (Colin 1345).
Yem ‘ād ‘abaddi ‘I shall start’; mā ‘ād yaʃtarī ‘whatever he will buy’ (Piamenta 1990: 345).60

4.6. Obligation

In Andalusi, obligation in the past is expressed by resorting to the verb kān and the preposition l(i) + an or Ø. Thus: kān laha an tazūr ‘she had to visit’ (Corriente 1977: 134). This is clearly reflected in the Maltese syntagm kellha żżur with identical meaning.61 In the case of the present tense, Maltese employs the preposition (ghand), hence: AA luh an ya’ī żawj daʃaj, M <ghandu jaghti żewg tiğiği> ‘he has to give two hens’. Substratal and adstratal influence of Castillian tener que + infinitive and Italian avere da + infinitive are obviously at play in such cases.

4.7 Suppression of pronoun of reference

Relative sentences in Andalusi and Maltese Arabic lack the pronoun of reference, i.e. the pronoun referring to the antecedent. Hence: AA al-fata alladī sammayt,

59 The Moroccan examples are from Colin V: 1345.
60 In Şan’āni, the future particle ‘ād is restricted to the 1st p.sg.masc. See Watson, al-’Amri (2000: 267).
61 M kellha is the result of kān > kān + laha and is phonetically transcribed [kella].
4.8 The verb kān / kIn with conditional nuances

Very often the syntactic patterns involving the verb kān in both Andalusi and Maltese Arabic contravene OA usage. This verb is frequently attested in clauses with conditional nuances. The following sentences illustrate the very close syntactic correspondence between Andalusi and Maltese Arabic. It is to be noted that, whereas in Andalusi the kIn component preceding the verb is deverbalized, in Maltese it is fully conjugated. Thus:

**Andalusi**

- **kIn-nazūrak** | wa inna-mā tamma 'ilal.
- **Kont inzūrek** | imma hemm raqunijiet.

‘I would visit you, but there are reasons (preventing it).’ (Corriente 1977: 140)

**Maltese**

- **huwwa qad kān yaği** | inna-mā hu fi qurṭuba mamlūk.
- **Huwa kien jiġi** | imma huwa Isir f’Kordoba.

‘He would come, but he is a slave in Cordoba.’ (Corriente 1977: 141)

4.9. Conditional sentences

In the formulation of conditional statements, Andalusi Arabic resorted to three adverbial conjunctions, depending on the type of conditional argument. Thus, a. in was employed in hypothetical conditions. Later, it developed into in-kān / i(n)-kān / ik-kān (Alcalá yqūn), b. īda in immediate conditions and c. law in unlikely or impossible conditions. Maltese, on the other hand, displays two conditional conjunctions: jekk introduces conditional clauses of the types a. and b. above, whereas kieku is reserved for c. It is very interesting to note that the Maltese conjunctions are derived from Neo-Arabic forms which come extremely close to Andalusi Arabic i(n)-kān / ik-kān and kīya-yakūn. Hence:

62 In Andalusi, the final n of kIn may sometimes assimilate to the prefix of the imperfective: kīta’mal.
63 The following are the conditional conjunctions in Maghribi dialects: Mor: Real ĕla (Harrel 1991: 168, 170); Unreal kān / ĕln / ukā(n) / lūkān / lū kān (Colin 1713). Ḥass: Real ĕla / ēlen; Unreal ĕlu / ēlu / ēl kān / ēlū kān (Taine-Cheikh 2004: 27, 136). Alg: Real īda / lūkān; Unreal ĕla (informant). Tun: Real īda / ĕla / kān / īda kān; Unreal lūkān (Singer 1984: 700–4); Lib: Real ĕda / kān / lūkān; Unreal lūkān (Dickinson 2004: 3).
64 Moreover, other Maltese adverbial conjunctions are: diment ‘as long as, assuming that’, minkejja li, għal kemm, allavolja meaning ‘even though’, and kemm jekk or sew jekk ‘whether’. See Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 42–4).
Andalusi Arabic and Maltese: A preliminary survey

Examples of conditional sentences:

AA in kān ḡafā min hawaytu | sa-yandam. 
M <Jekk bired min habbejt | se jindem.>
‘If the one I love is unsympathetic, he will be sorry.’ (Corriente 1977: 138)

AA al-tīgāra madmūna ik-kān iš tarbaḥ taḥṣar: 
M <Il-kummerċ garantit: jekk ma tirbahx | titlebf.>
‘Commerce is guaranteed: if you do not win, you lose.’ (Corriente 1977: 138)

AA law lam tadhul bayti | ma kān tarā hawāyiq bintī. 
M <Kieku ma dhattx f’dari | ma kontx tara hwejjeg binti>. 
‘Had you not entered my house, you would not have seen my daughter’s things.’ (Corriente 1977: 141)

AA aš-kIb-ta’mal | law kunt sultān 
M <X’kont taghmel | kieku kont sultan> 
‘what would you do, if you were a king?’ (Corriente 1977: 141)

AA law kān fal-būm hayr | mā kly-yastam ‘ala l-ṣayyād. 
M <Kieku hemm xi gid fil-kokk | ma kienx jehles mill-kaċċatur.> 
‘If there were anything good in owls, they would not be safe from hunters.’ (Corriente 1977: 138)

4.10. The optative yā ‘ala-y

The Maltese optative interjection jalla>, unlike what has been previously thought with regards to its etymon yā Allāh, might have its cognate in Andalusi Arabic yā ‘ala which expresses the optative in association with verbs in the imperfective. Thus: AA arnab takul laḥm. qaI: yā ‘ala-y bi-ḡildi kan-nahluṣ. M <Fenek, tiekol laḥam? Qal: Jalla nehles b’ḡildi>. ‘Hare, do you eat meat? — (No), would that I just could save my own skin!’ (Corriente 1977: 146, 1997: 363); AA yā ‘ala bayyā‘ addaqiq

65 The Maltese conjunction jekk calls for comparison with Jassāniyya yekān ‘if’ which is used interrogatively, either alone or with affixed pronouns. (Taine-Cheikh 2004: 136).
66 The Maltese conjunction kieku comes quite close to Mor. ku kān ‘if’ for “unreal” situations.
68 In Maltese, optative expressions may also be introduced by <manb or <mhux Ii preceding an imperfective verb.

39
ya ‘qal. M (Jalla bejjeigh id-diqq jirraguna). ‘If only the flour seller would be reasonable!’ (Corriente 1997: 363).

4.11 The reinforcer qaṭ

The reinforcement of negative, interrogative and nominal expressions with qaṭ constitutes yet another feature of Andalusi and Maltese Arabic. The following examples confirm the high degree of correspondence between the two varieties: AA lam qaṭ yaqūl, M (qatt ma ṣaḥib ‘he never says’; AA là tazāl qaṭ minnī, M (la tiṭlaq qaṭt minnī) ‘never leave me’; AA a-taẓunna annahu qaṭ lī-qalbī bi-mahlūq i’tilāq? M (Jaqaw taḥseb lī qalbi qaṭt inturbat ma’ mahluq)? ‘Do you think that my heart was ever attached to a creature?’ AA lis qaṭ mā’i šūqal, M (Qatt ma ghandi xoghol) ‘I never have work.’ (Corriente 1977: 145). Recourse to qaṭṭ to reinforce a negative statement is also attested in Aleppo, e.g. ‘ana qaṭt ma šafī hēk šī. ‘I have never seen such a thing.’ (Barthélemy 667).

4.12. Adverbs

Andalusi and Maltese Arabic share a number of interesting innovations in the formation of adverbs. AA makkār ‘at least’, and its M cognate (mqar) are discussed in the glossary section below. Moreover, both varieties share the following adverbs formed with recourse to the preposition bi: Hence: AA b-al mokbi and M (bil-mohbi) ‘hidenly’ (Corriente 1977: 149); AA b-al-ḡari ‘immediately’, M (bil-ḡri) ‘quickly, with haste’ (Corriente 1977: 150); AA f-al-bāṭil and M (fil-bāṭal) ‘vainly’ (Corriente 1977: 156).

4.13. Calques from Romance Languages

Andalusi and Maltese Arabic are replete with Romance constructions. Suffice it to give three examples which typify total syntactic and lexical correspondence between both varieties:

1. AA yeqcér aciām (Alcalá) < Cs romper el ayuno (Corriente 1977: 149), M (jikser is-sawm) < It rompere il digiuno ‘to break the fast’;
2. AA ya’mal al-mā < Cs hacer agua (Corriente 1977: 150), M (jaghem l-ilmā) < It fare acqua, ‘it has a leak’;
3. AA terec̣al ayēm al ḫudīd (Alcalá); M (hares il-ḥudūd) ‘you shall observe the Sundays.’ This feature is amplified in the following section, item 25.
5. Glossary

The main criterion behind the selection of the lexemes in this glossary has been lexical communality between Andalusi and Maltese Arabic. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the AA and M cognates share the same morphological and semantic features. Reflexes of these cognates from other areas of the contemporary Arabic dialectal domain are included, thus giving an indication of possible diffusion patterns. Needless to point out that the absence of lexical items from modern sources pertaining to contemporary Arabic dialects is not enough proof that such items did not exist in a particular dialect area or areas. The glossary aims at underscoring the great lexical affinity between Andalusi and Maltese, possibly reflecting a common source or sources of linguistic diffusion.

1. **A / Ā**: AA *a / ā* Vocative marker (Corriente 1) || OA *the alif of calling, or vocative alif*, as in *'a-zaydu 'O Zeyd'* used in calling him who is near (Lane I: 3b) || M *ā* used to call s.o. at a distance (Aquilina I: 1); Mor *ā* interjection, particule vocative servant à appeler (Colin 1: 1); Alg *ā* (Tapiéro 128); Sud vocative used by the nomads (Qasim 3).

2. **BRY**: AA *'ībryatu* 'dandruff' (1) || OA *hibriya* 'what is in the hair of the head, resembling bran; the dirt of the head, that clings to the lower part of the hair, resembling bran' (Lane II: 2875c) || M *brijā* 'dandruff' (Aquilina I: 142); Alg-Tun *habriyya* 'écailles furfuracées de la tête' (Beaussier 1016; 'id.' in Darmaun 140).

3. **GΓ**: AA *'ağgāg* 'to kindle' (4) || OA *'aggatī n-nār* 'the fire burned'; form II 'he made the fire to blaze'; also *hağgāti n-nār* 'the fire burned fiercely'; form II 'he made the fire to burn fiercely (Lane I: 22c-23a; II: 2878b) || M *heggēg* 'to blaze (fire); set ablaze, kindle (a bonfire); enthuse, encourage’ (Aquilina I: 532); Alg-Tun *ażzaż* ‘faire flamber le feu’ (Beaussier 3); Tun *hażžeż* ‘ein Feuer im Freien anzünden’ (Stumme 182); Dath *'ağg > hağg* ‘crépiter’ (Landberg Glossaire III: 2848).

4. **GŠ**: AA *ingās* 'pear' (29) || OA *'iğgās* and *'inğās* 'pear' (Lane I: 24c) || M *langas* 'pear' (Aquilina I: 725) — note the metanalysis of the *lām* of the definite article, as in Tripolitanian; Alg-Tun *anzās* ‘poire’ (Beaussier 20); Tun *anzās* (Stumme 159) ‘id.’; JTun *yanzās* (Cohen 39); Trip *anzās > lanzās* ‘pera’ (Tucci); Pal *'inğās* ‘id.’ (Elihay 231); Lev *'iğgās, nğās* ‘id.’ (Denizeau 3); Yem *inğās* ‘pirus communis; plum tree’ (Piamenta I: 14).

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69 In the case of some dialects, such as Libyan, the dearth in published lexical data precludes a clear picture of such vernaculars.

70 The Andalusi Arabic lexical data is taken from Corriente’s dictionary of Andalusi Arabic (1997). From now onwards, only the page number, in brackets, will be given next to the AA lexical item under discussion.
5. 'DN: AA addan ‘to crow (said of a rooster)’ (8); M addan ‘to crow’ (Aquilina I: 559); Mor uddan, dde ‘chanter à l’aube (coq)’ (Colin VIII: 2041); Hass addan, wedden ‘id.’ (Taine-Cheikh I: 14); Djidj yedden ‘id.’ (Marçais 1954: 195); Alg-Tun addun ‘id.’ (Beaussier 8); Eg addin ‘id.’ (Hinds & Badawi 17).


7. 'RNČ: AA āranğ, lārnğ ‘oranges’ (12, 479); M ‘dār (AA ‘dār ‘oranges’ (Aquilina I: 731); Mor lärānţ ‘oranges amères, bigarades’ (Colin VII: 1774); JAlg arānţ (M. Cohen 344); Tun ‘aranţ ‘oranţ à fruits amers, bigaradier’ (Beaussier 9); Eg lār ‘Seville oranges’ (Hinds, Badawi 785); Lev nārānţ, nārēnţ ‘orange amère’ (Denizeau SIS).

8. 'ZR: AA izar, yzar ‘bed sheet’ (12) || OA ‘izar ‘drap de lit’ (Dozy I: 19b) || M ‘izar ‘sheet (of a bed)’ (Aquilina I: 754);71 Mor ēzar ‘drap de lit’ (Colin VIII: 2097); Alg izar ‘id.’ (Darmaun 144); JTun izar ‘id.’ (Cohen 185); Yem izre ‘id.’ (Piamenta 1990: 7).

9. 'KL: AA akal ‘to itch (of the skin)’ (23) || OA ‘akala ‘to itch’ (Lane I: 71c) || M ‘kēl ‘to itch, feel irritation in skin’ (Aquilina I: 649); Mor kla ‘démanger’ (Colin I: 19); Alg-Tun kla ‘id.’ (Beaussier 13); Lib kla ‘id.’ (Curotti 292); Eg ‘akal ‘id.’ (Hinds, Badawi 29); Sud akal ‘id.’ (Roth-Laly 1: 29).

10. 'NDR: AA andar ‘threshing floor’ (524) || OA ‘andar / baydar ‘a place in which wheat or grain is trodden out’ ... in the dial. of the people of Syria (Lane II: 2781b) || M ‘andar ‘threshing floor’ (Aquilina I: 28); Mor nādar ‘aire à dépiquer’ (Colin VIII: 1963); Alg-Tun andar ‘aire, meule’; Tun mandara ‘aire’ (Beaussier 966).

11. 'YY: AA ayya, ayyā ‘come on’ (23) || OA ‘ayā vocative particle ... used in calling him who is near and him who is distant (Lane I: 135b) || M ‘ejja ‘come!’ (Aquilina: 272); Sic ‘ayya ‘hurry up’ (Agius 220); Alg-Tun ‘ayyā (pl. ‘ayyān) ‘Viens! Venez!’ (Beaussier 25), cp. M ‘ejjew ‘id.’; Alg ayya ‘allons’ (Tapiéro 129; also Darmaun 140).

12. BDW (I): AA hadā, yabdā li‘ and badā lī ‘to change one’s mind’ (41) || OA badā lāhu ‘an opinion presented itself ... to his mind ... different from his first opinion, so that

71 See lexeme 76 below.
it turned him therefrom' and 

bādi‘ī bādā‘ ‘my opinion changed from what it was’ (Lane I: 170) || M ṣeda l- i impers. vb. ‘to change one’s mind, or opinion; to regret having done something’ (Aquilina I: 94).

13. BDW (II): AA badwī ‘peasant’ (41) || OA badawi ‘agriculture, paysan, viallageois’ attested in Idrīsī’s description of Africa and Spain (Dozy I: 59b); ‘rusticus’ in the Vocabulary || M bīdwi ‘peasant, countryman, farmer, tiller of the land’ (Aquilina I, 117); Mor bādi‘ ‘campagnard’ (Colin I: 59); Hass bedewi ‘id.’ (apart from meaning ‘bédouin, nomade’) (Taine-Cheikh I: 67); Alg-Tun bādā‘ ‘id.’ (Beaussier 38); bādiya ‘campagne’ (Darman 135) || cp. Ye m bādiya ‘village, remote village; country; plain land, low country’ (Piamonta 23).

14. BRH: AA bārah, fil- ‘in the open air’ (44) || OA bārāh ‘a wide, or spacious, tract of land’ (Lane I: 182a) || M berāh ‘open space; open air’; fil-berāh ‘openly, publicly’ (Aquilina I: 104); Hass bārāh ‘espace nu, cour’ (Taine-Cheikh I: 73); Eg bārah ‘spaciousness, vastness’ (Hinds, Badawi 62); Sud bārah ‘open country’ (Roth-Laly I: 46); Gulf bārāha ‘open space or alley between homes’ used as a playground (Qafisheh 36) as well as for socializing and talking (Holes 35).

15. BRQ: AA barraq ‘to open (one’s eyes widely and look at)’ (47) || OA barraqa bi-‘aynayahi ‘he glistened with his eyes by reason of looking hard, or intently; he opened his eyes wide, and looked sharply, or intently’ (Lane I: 191b) || M berraq ‘to open (one’s eyes) wide’ (Aquilina I: 104); Mor bərraq ‘faire les gros yeux à’ (Colin I: 72); Alg-Tun ق بحر ‘regarder fixement, en écarguant les yeux’ (Beaussier 45), Tun (Sfax) barraq ‘aynayh ‘id.’ (Zwārī, Sharafi 53); Dath barraq ‘regarder fixement, avoir l’oeil au guet, épier’ (Landberg Glossaire I: 160).

16. BRK: AA burāka pl. burak ‘wild or domestic duck’ (48) || OA burka, buraka pl. burak ‘a certain aquatic bird ... the former applied in Barbary ... to a duck’ (Lane I: 194a) || M borka ‘wild duck, mallard’ (Aquilina I: 137); Mor brōk, bōrk ‘canards’ (Colin I: 75); Tun brak ‘id.’ (Beaussier 47); Lev børke ‘oiseau aquatique’ (Denizeau 28).

17. BRWQ: AA bīrwāq ‘asphodel’ (50) || OA barwāq ‘asphodel’ (Lane I: 191b) || M berwīq ‘asphodel’ (Aquilina I: 108); Sic bīrwāq ‘id.’ (Agius 205); Mor bərwāq ‘asphodèle’ (Colin I: 81); Hass bérwāg ‘id.’ (Taine-Cheikh I: 91); Alg-Tun barwāq ‘id.’ (Beaussier 46); Lev barwēq ‘id.’ (Denizeau 30).

18. PS*: AA bazwa ‘hernia’ (51); Corriente considers this lexeme a loan from Heb. pswā dākkāh ‘unfit for marriage on account of having one or both testicles crushed’. According to Corriente, this word was transmitted to Andalusi Arabic through Hispanic Romance || M bażwa ‘hernia, rupture’ (Aquilina I: 91).
19. **TRY**: AA *tara* ‘earth, ground’ (84) || OA *tara* ‘moist earth; the earth’ (Lane I: 336a) || M *tira* ‘moisture under the surface of the soil’ (Aquilina II: 1449); **Hass** *tara* ‘sable mouillé, frais, humide’ (Taine-Cheikh II: 272); **Alg-Tun** *tara* ‘humidité du sol; terre, poussière, surface du sol’ (Beaussier 120); **Sud** *taryan* ‘damp’; **Chad** *tara* ‘flood, inundate, overflow’ (Roth-Laly 1: 72); **Lev** *tare* ‘humidité du sol’ (Barthelemy 84); *tare* ‘terreau’ (Denizeau 62); **Yem** *tara* ‘to soften, soak’ (Piamenta 56).

20. **GRBN**: AA *girbina* ‘a variety of camel’s hay’ (92) || OA *gulubbān, gulabān, gulbān* ‘a pulse ... grain or seed ... a common kind of vetch’ (Lane I: 440b) || M *gulbiena, gilbiena* ‘vetch (plant of the pea family), (Aquilina I: 414); *girbiena* is also current in Maltese; **Mor** *žalbān* ‘pois, petit pois, gesses’ (Colin II: 243).

21. **GFN**: AA *gafan* ‘ship’ (98); M *gifem* ‘vessel, galleon, ship, battle-ship’ (Aquilina I: 403); **Alg-Tun** *zafn* ‘grand navire, vaisseau’ (Beaussier 148) || cp. OA *gafna* ‘a bowl of the kind called *qas’a’ (Lane I: 434c); **Mor** *žefna* pl. *žfani, žfen* ‘auge de bois, rectangulaire, en forme de tronce de pyramide renversée ... dans laquelle on lave le linge’ (Colin II: 241), and Lev. *žafane* ‘tronc d’arbre’ (Barthélemy 115).

22. **GLWZ**: AA *gillawz* ‘hazelnut’ (101); M *gelawz* ‘common hazel-nuts’ (Aquilina I, 384); Sic *galluzz* ‘hazel-nut’ (Agius 219).

23. **GWLQ**: AA *gawlaq, gawlaq* pl. *gawliq, gawliq* ‘knapsack’ (109) || OA *gwāliq, gwālaq* pl. *gwāliq, gwāliq* ‘a sack’ (Lane I: 445b); Syc *agwāliq / gwāliq, JArâm gū’alqā / gulqā, Mand gwālaq ‘id.’ (Borg 2004: 191) || M *gwewlaq, gwielaq* ‘wicker basket, panier’ (Aquilina I: 393); **Tun** *zwilqā* pl. *zwāliq ‘carner, carnassière, gibecière’ (Beaussier 152); **CyAr** *zválek* pl. *zválek* ‘large sack’ (Borg 2004: 191); **Anat** *zwālaq ‘Sack’* (Vocke, Waldner 94); **Yem** *gawlaq* ‘bag with two pouches’ (Piamenta 78 derives it from Persian).

24. **HBB**: AA *hubbi / māhabbā fi* ‘for the sake of’ (Corrente 112) || OA *min habūbi / khibābi / hubābi* ‘on account of the love of thee’ (Lane I: 496, quoting a verse by Abū l-‘Aṭā as-Sindī: *fa-wallāhi mā ‘adī wa-‘inmi la-ṣādiq – a-dā ‘um arānī min hubūbīk ‘am sihr’ ‘And by God, I know not (and indeed I am speaking truth) whether disease have befallen me in consequence of love of thee, or enchantment’ || M *mhabba fi* ‘for the sake of, due to, because of’ (Aquilina I: 467); **Leb** *mḥābbe* ‘pour l’amour de’ (Feghali and Feghali 1977:189, fn3); cp. Gr χάρω τινος ‘in anyone’s favour, for his sake’; Lat *gratia, causa* ‘for the sake of’ (Liddel, Scott 883).

25. **HRS**: AA *theherečal ayém al huddūd* ‘you shall observe the Sundays’ (121); this is obviously a calque of Sp *observar* ‘to keep, follow, abide by’; M *hares* ‘to observe, keep’, hence *hares il-hadd, jum il-Mulej ‘keep Sunday as the day of the Lord’ (Aquilina I: 507), echoing the Romance calque above. Moreover, Maltese, apart from retaining the
III verbal form *hares* / [ḥāres] ‘to protect, watch over, guard, etc.’ < OA *ḥarasahu* ‘he guarded him’ (Lane II: 546), has also neutralized the meaning of ‘watching’ in a protective sense to unmarked ‘watching, looking; looking about oneself’. The sense of ‘looking’ is attested in Chad *haras be ‘eyn al fasala* ‘to frown’ (Roth-Laly II: 114) which literally seems to mean ‘he looked with the bad eye’. In the rest of the Arabic dialects this root morpheme, as well as *ḥ-r-z*, with voicing of the third radical, are associated with ‘defending, guarding, watching, protecting’.

26. **Hzz**: AA *ḥazzāza, ḥazzīza* ‘tetter’ (124) || OA *ḥazāz* ‘scurf of the head’, *ḥazāza* ‘a particle, or flake, thereof’ (Lane I: 558c); *ḥaṣāz, ḥazzāz* / ḥargest ‘crasse de la tête, dartres’ (Dozy 280) || M *ḥẓieža* ‘ringworm, tetter’ (Aquilina I: 556); Mor *ḥaż* ‘plaques d’eczéma, dartres’ (Colin II: 315); Alg-Tun *ḥaża* ‘dartre, eczéma’ (Beaussier 198), Tun (Sfax) *ḥezza* ‘dartre, eczéma’ (Beaussier 198), JTun *ḥezza* ‘dartre’ (Cohen Parler 157); Lev *ḥażāza* ‘dartre’ (Denizeau 107); Leb *ḥazzāza* ‘a skin disease causing hair to fall’ (my translation). Frayha (34) derives it from Syc *ḥaẓīţā* ‘scab, ringworm; lichen’ (Payne Smith 136) || cp. Yem *ḥazzāz* ‘heatburn’ (Piamenta I, 92).

27. **Hll**: AA *ḥallāl* pl. -m ‘thief’ (136); M *ḥalliel* ‘thief, robber’ (Aquilina I: 488) || cp. JJerAr *ḥallal* < Hebr *ḥilil* ‘to desecrate’, bi-*ḥallil iš-šabbāt* ‘he desecrates (breaks) Sabbath’ (Piamenta 2000: 203). This evidence from JJerAr might offer the semantic connection between ‘stealing’ and ‘desecration’ of private property through unauthorized access, with the intention to steal. Moreover, in Biblical Hebrew, *ḥilil* denotes ‘to defile, pollute (sexually, ceremonially, or the Name of God); to violate the honour, a covenant or treat (a vineyard) as common’ (BDB 320). Could the origins of *ḥallāl* be found in Jewish quarters in Spain, as in the case of *bazwa* above? An alternative, and perhaps an easier etymology is to be found in the literal meaning of the word *ḥallāl*, namely ‘a person who opens (doors, windows, etc. with the intention to steal)’ < OA *ḥalla* ‘he untied, or undid, or opened’ (Lane I: 619a,b). Cp OA *taḥallala* ‘to penetrate in’ (Hava 178); Heb *ḥālal* ‘to bore, pierce’; Aram *ḥalāl* ‘to hollow out’ (BDB 319); Syc *ḥāll* ‘to enter into a hollow’ (Payne Smith 142); cp. also Tun (Tozeur) *ḥallēla* ‘cache-cache’ (Saada 1984: 105); among the Marazig ‘jeu de cache-cache; le cercle dans lequel les jouers poursuivis sont à l’abri’ (Boris 1958: 124).

28. **Hm**: AA *ḥamā* ‘sludge’ (137) || OA *ḥamā*, *ḥama* ‘lack mud; black fetid mud (Lane I: 638c) || M *ḥama* ‘mire, slime’ (Aquilina I: 489); Sic *camia* ‘fetore di fango, limarra, terra fangosa’; *ḥamā* ‘fango nelle strade’ (Caracausi 71); Gulf *ḥīmā* ‘stinky dark brown mud’ (Qafisheh 162); Dath *ḥamā* ‘vase noire du puits’ (Landberg Glossaire I, 479).

29. **Hb**: AA *ḥaba* ‘to hide or conceal’; pass. part. *muhbī* (148) || OA *ḥaba* ‘a he hid, or concealed’ (Lane I: 692c) || M *ḥeba* ‘to hide, conceal’; pass. part. *mohbi* (Aquilina I: 529); Sic Ibn Makki *ḥabat* ‘I hid s.th. (Agius 165); Wadday *ḥabā* ‘cacher’ (Roth-Laly 2: 135); Anat *mohbi* ‘versteckt’ (Voecke, Waldner 133); Yem *ḥabā* ‘to hide o.s.’
(Piamenta 118). In most non-peripheral Arabic dialects this verb is expressed in reflexes of the second verbal derived form *habba*.

30. **HLT**: **AA** *hallat bāλāt* ‘confusedly’ (63); **M** *hallata ballata* ‘pell-mell, in disorder’ (Aquilina I: 483); **Mor** *hallat žallāt* ‘x est un trublion, un faiseur d’embrouilles, un chambardeur’ (Colin II: 465); **Tun** (Sfax) *bīlta balta* in the proverb: *al-frāda *bōda wil-hilta balta wil-ğarab ya’di*, meaning ‘Living on one’s own is a pious deed, (but) mixing (indiscriminately) with others (suffering from mange leads to) mange becoming contagious.’ (Zwārī, Sharafi 232); **Pal** *hālī mālī, bīlī bīlī* ‘confusément, pêle-mêle’ (Denizeau 11: 465); **SouthAr** *hulayṭ mulāyṭ* ‘all mixed together’, attested in Ibn al-Muğāwir’s *Tārīḥ al-mustahasir*, a thirteenth century account of a journey in southern Arabia written in Middle Arabic (Smith 2008: 107).

31. **DSY**: **AA** *iddassā* ‘to burp’ (179) || **OA** *tagassa’a* ‘he eructed, or belched’ (Lane I: 426b) > *tadassā* by dissimilation of /g/ in the environment of /l/ || **M** *iddixxa* ‘tc belch’ (Aquilina I: 253); **Hass** *eddass *‘id.’ (Taine-Cheikh III: 632); **Sud** *iddasā* ‘id.’ (Roth-Laly II: 162); **Lev** *eddassā* ‘id.’ (Barthélémy 240).

32. **DG/S**: **AA** *dugayyas* ‘boat’ (180); Corriente derives this word from a possible diminutive of the Greek adjective *ταὐχός* — *ταυχία* νης / τρυψες ‘fast sailing boats’ || **M** *dghajsa* ‘boat’ (Aquilina I: 256), reflected faithfully in **Tun** (Sfax) *dgīsa*, which was a type of sailing boat for commercial purposes, linking Sfax with other ports in the eastern Mediterranean (Zwārī, Sharafi 259).72

33. **DMDM**: **AA** *damdam* ‘to destroy’ (183) || **OA** *damma* and *damdama* ‘he crushed, destroyed’ (Lane I: 910b)73 || **M** In my idiolect *damdam* may have the active sense ‘to destroy’, or it can be used passively: *rasi ddammet / mdamdma bl-ugīgh* ‘I have a splitting headache’ (Aquilina 198); **Tun** (Sfax) *mdamdam* ‘to feel pain all over one s body after some tiring job, or after a bout of cold’ (Zwārī, Sharafi 264). || Cp. also **M** ‘tc boom, resound’ (Aquilina I: 198); Eg ‘patting down, flattening; muttering, mumbling’ (Hinds, Badawl 302); **Lev** ‘singing quietly to oneself; grumbling’ (Elihay 98; Denizeau 177; Barthélémy 249); **Leb** ‘thunderclapping’ (Frayha 58).

34. **R’Y**: **AA** *rā* ‘to see’ (197) || **OA** *ra’ā* ‘he saw’ (Lane I: 998b) || **M** *ra* ‘to see’ (Aquilina II: 1165); **Tch-Sud** *ra* — *yara* ‘voir’ (Roth-Laly II: 181); **Anat** (Jewish dialect of Arbil) *arā* — *yari* ‘sehen’ (Vocke & Waldner 172); **Dath** *ra* ‘to see’ (Borg 2004: 242); **Yem** *ra* — *yirā* ‘to see’ (Piamenta 171); “Ce verbe رأى est assez courant dans notre dialecte” (Landberg Glossaire II: 1046) || In the following dialects, reflexes of the verb *ra’ā* are only used in frozen contexts, or limited to the perfect tense: **Mor** *ra* often used

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72 Cp. Gulf *duğşas* pl. *duğşân* ‘dolphin’ (Qafisheh 222).
73 The verb *damdama* ‘to destroy’ is also attested in the Qur’an 91: 14.
with another verb e.g. mā ʂəftə, mā ṭəto 'je ne l’ai ni vu, ni apercu’, and only in a limited number of expressions, especially with the negative (Colin III: 587); Alg-Tun in the frozen context: ma ʂəfi mə rət 'je n’ai rien vu’ (Beaussier 373); JTun ra (rət, rəyt, rəyt, rəw, rəytu, rəynə), even though forms of the verb ṣəf are more common in the 3 p.sg and pl. (Cohen 106); Lib rə ‘to see’ (very rare in the imperfect tense) (Curotti 355); Eg ra’a ‘to see in a dream or vision’ and in frozen contexts: la ʂəfi wələ ən rə ʃətu ‘I didn’t see hair nor hide of him’ (Hinds, Badawi 321); BahArnə ra’a (only in the perfect tense) (Holes 195); CypAr ra in the perfect tense only (Borg 2004: 241–2).

35. RB': AA raba‘ ‘real estate, lands’ (199) || OA rab ‘champ, pièce de terre labourable’ (Dozy I, 503) || M raba‘ ‘fields, country, farmland’ (Aquilina II: 1168); Sic rab ‘‘terra’ (Caracausi 314); Mor riba‘ (n. pl.) ‘propriétés immobilières’ (Colin III: 595) and ʃəbə ‘(n. pl.) ‘vastes étendues herbeuses et verdoyantes’ (Colin III: 597) || cp. OA rab ‘‘a place where people remain, abide, or dwell, in the [season called] rabi’; a place of alighting, or abode’ (Lane f: 1016c); cp. also Alg-Tun rab ‘‘demeure, habitation’ (Beaussier 378); Lev reb’e ‘sol qui conserve de l’humidité en été’ (Denizeau 190); EArab raba‘, rabi‘ ‘any community, group, gang, crew; village ; creation’ (Holes 197), and Dath rab ‘‘campement; le monde qui y habite’ (Landberg Glossaire II: 1086).

36. RBY: AA tarbiya, pl. tarəbi, dim tarəybiya ‘a child’ (200) || OA tarbiya ‘infant’ quoted by Dozy from ‘Antar’s story, in which the protagonist addresses a slave saying: waylak waladu z-zinə wa-tarbiyatu l’-amati l-lahynə ‘Woe to you child of fornication and infant of the stinking (or uncircumcised) maidservant’ (Supplément 506); Akk tarbitu ‘rearling, child placed for rearing, offspring’ (CAD vol. 18: 223) || M tarbijia, pl. trabi‘ ‘baby, a suckling child’; dim trajbiya ‘a small child, infant’ (Aquilina II: 1170–1); Mor trəbya, dim trəbi ‘bébé, nourrisson, poupon (de l’un ou de l’autre sexe)’ (Colin III: 599).

37. RHL: AA rahal pl. ərhəl ‘camp; ranch; village’ (204) || OA rahl ‘a place to which a man betakes himself, or repairs, for lodging ... in a region, district, or tract, of the cities, towns, or villages, and of cultivated land’ (Lane I: 1054a) || M rahal ‘village’ (Aquilina II: 1177); Sic rahl ‘casale’ (Caracausi 79) || cp. Lib rahəl ‘semi-nomade; chi non compie spostamenti periodici’ (Curotti 360).

38. RĠB: AA raqba ‘covetousness’ (212) || OA ragiba ‘he desired a thing ... vehemently, eagerly, greedily, very greedily, with avidity, excessively, or culpably; he coveted a thing, longed for it, or lusted after it’ (Lane I: 1110b) || M ṣeţbaa ‘greed, avarice, very strong desire’ (Aquilina II: 1206); Alg-Tun (in the south) ragəb ‘être avare’, raggəb ‘avare, cupide’ (Beaussier 403); Chad ragib ‘greedy’ (Roth-Laly II: 191).

74 In ṭarəh al-mustabγir the expression ar-rab’ al-maskūn is Ibn al-Muγawir’s favourite expression for ‘inhabited earth’ (Smith 2008: 57).

75 My translation.
39. RWI: AA rih 'rheumatism',76 rih al-mayd 'le vertige'77 || OA rih 'rheumatism' (Hava 1964: 277);78 'flatus, flatuosity, flatulence' (Lane I: 1181a);79 The word rih carries the sense of a 'fit' which is then often qualified by the part of the body hit by it. || M rih 'cold, chill' (Aquilina II: 1218); rih ta' 'puplesia' 'a slight attack of apoplexy / a stroke' (Aquilina II: 1219); Mor fih rih 'X est exposé à des crises d'épilepsie' (Colin III: 686); Alg-Tun rih 'pleurésie' (Beaussier 419); Chad rih 'fit, hysterics' (Roth-Laly II: 200); Lev rih 'rhumatisme' considéré comme produit par un coup d'air froid (Barthélemy 303); Ir rih 'gas (on the stomach) and fatig rih 'hernia' (Woodhead 199); unmarked sense in EA Arab rih 'pain' (Holes 216); Yem riyāḥ 'cold, rheumatism' (Piamenta I: 191) || cp. Eg 'alēh rih or maryūḥ 'he is possessed by an evil spirit' (Spyro 212).

40. ZGG: AA zagg 'to bolt out' (226) || OA zaggā 'he ran ... throwing out his legs' (Lane I: 1215b) || M zeggā 'to flit, flit about (fish in the sea, bees, etc.), slip away, run away like lightning' (Aquilina II: 1604-1605) || Anat zagg — yawgā 'werfen, wegwerfen, treiben, ausschlagen (Pflanzen, Bäume)' (Vocke, Waldner 188); Chad zagg 'to cast, throw' (Roth-Laly II: 206).

41. ZFN: AA zafan 'to dance'; zafla 'a dance'; zaffān 'a dancer' (231) || OA zafana 'he danced' (Lane I: 1237c) || M zifān; zifna; zeffīm 'to dance; dance; dancer' (Aquilina II: 1618); Mor only zaffān 'saltimbancé, baladin rural, ambulant, qui chante et danse en agitant ses manches (Colin III: 722); EA Arab zafan 'to dance' (poetical); zāfīn 'dancer' (Holes 222); Darī zafan 'danser' (Landberg Glossaire III: 1843) || cp. Alg-Tun zaffān 'jouer de tambour' (Beaussier 436).

42. ZMM: AA zamm, pass. pt. mazmūm 'to sustain, support; sustained, supported' (233) || OA zamma 'he tied, or bound' (Lane I: 1248a) || M zamm, mizmūm 'to sustained' (Aquilina II: 1594).

43. SGR: AA sigar 'trees' (244); M sigar 'trees' (Aquilina II: 1312); Alg (Tlemcen and Cherchell) sajra 'arbre' (Beaussier 461); Tun (Tozeur) sezra (Saada 1981: 65); Pal sajgar 'id.' (Elihay 465); Lev (Palmyra) sajgar 'id.' (Barthélemy 335) < OA sajar 'trees' (Lane II: 1507).

76 Information supplied by Prof. Alexander Borg.
77 This is culled from The Travels of the Andalusi (Valencian) geographer and traveller Ibn Jubair (1145-1217) (Dozy 1991: 566). See lexeme mayd below.
78 Marked as Syrian Arabic.
79 Dozy (566) lists the following diseases headed by the word rih: rih as-sabal 'certaine maladie des yeux', ar-rih al-asfar 'choiera', ar-riyāḥ as-sawādāwīya 'vapeurs, maladie des nerfs, mélancolie', apart from the following medical conditions which he quotes from Muḥiḥ al-Muḥiḥ: rih as-sawka, rih al-bawisīr, rih al-kīlā, rih ar-raḥm, riyāḥ al-afīsa and ar-rih al-galīza.

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44. SFNG: AA ṣfandja ‘a kind of fritter’ (15); M ṣfandja ‘battered fish portions fried in oil’ (Aquilina II: 1304); Sic sfingga, sfincia ‘id.’ prob. < Lat. spongia (Caracausi 314); Mor ṣfanţ ‘beignet (de pâte, frit dans l’huile)’ (Colin IV: 819); Alg ṣfandž ‘id.’ (Tapiéro 143); Alg-Tun ḳenfa (coll. sfenţ) ‘id.’ (Curotti 368).

45. SFNRY: AA ṣfannyja ‘carrot’ (15); M (ṣunnarija, ṣfennarija) ‘carrot’ (Aquilina II: 1637); Mor ṣfannyja ‘carotte sauvage’ (Colin IV: 819); Tun ṣjannyja ‘id.’ (Beaussier 477); Lib ṣenarrya ‘id.’ (Curotti 368); Trip ṣennarya ‘id.’ (informant).

46. SLWR: AA ṣawwar ‘eel’ (258); M ẓalur ‘common eel’ (Aquilina II: 1260); Sic Ibn MakkI saUawr ‘a type of river fish with a cat’s head’ (< OA jillawr) (Agius 188); Lev ẓalur ‘silur, poisson du lac d’Antioche, de l’Oronte’ (Barthelemy 355).

47. SMR: AA musmār ‘furuncle’ (261) || OA Dozy I: 683 ‘id.’ || M ẓusman ‘boil’ (Aquilina II: 1264); JerAr ‘corn (of the foot)’ (Piament Jewish 214).

48. ŠHM: AA ẓahmat al-ard ‘earthworm’ (276) || OA ẓahmatu l-ʿard ‘a certain white worm; long worms, found in moist earth’ (Lane II: 1513c) || M ẓahmet al-art ‘ocellated skink’ (Aquilina II: 1540); Alg-Tun ẓahmat al-ard ‘espèce de lézard’ (Beaussier 515).

49. ŠR: AA šaʿrā pl. šaʿārī ‘(place full of) cistus’; Alcalá ḥāāra pl. -āt ‘cistus; bush, brushwood’ (283) || OA ẓaʿra ‘plants and trees’ (Lane II: 1560a); šaʿrā, šaʿrā ‘bois, lieu planté d’arbres’ (Dozy I: 763a); šaʿār ‘dense and tangled trees; vegetation, arbour’, and šaʿrā ‘covered with plants (earth)’ (Hava 367); ‘scrub country’ (Wehr 553b) || M ẓaghra ‘large open plain; rocky fields/land with very little soil; wasteland’ (Aquilina II: 1546, 1100); Sic xara ‘terreno di macchia fitta; terreno pietroso non coltivabile’ (Caracausi 391); Yem šaʿrā (pl. šaʿārī) ‘untilled lands’ (Piament 257).

50. ŠLQ: AA ẓalahq (Vocabulista) ‘wind from the sea’, xulūq (Alcalá) ‘South Eastern wind’ (289) || Sp Ja loophole; Port xaroco; Cat xaloc; ancProv exalot, eissalot; ancFr siloc; midFr scloque; It scirocco; ancIt scirocco, sirocco, silocco; Sic xilocco, sciluccu ‘vento caldo, che spira fra mezzodi e levante’ (Caracausi 396); Corriente (289) derives it from <Lat salum < Gr σάλος ‘deep sea’ with the addition of the pejorative Romance suffix {-ok}, whereas Caracausi (ib. 396) traces this lexeme in Ar ẓalahq šūlūq (šulūk or šulūq ‘id.’, “... qui semble une altération de šargī...” (Dozy I: 783) || M ẓalokk ‘the S-E wind’ (Aquilina II: 1580); Mor šlāq ‘vent du sud-est’ (Colin IV: 979); Alg-Tun šlāq ‘vent du sud-est’ (Beaussier 538); Lev šlāq ‘vent brûlant qui en Syrie moyenne souffle du Sud’; Barthélemy compares it with Syriac ṣlaq — nešlāq ‘cuire, chauffer’ (405); Syr šlāq < šūlūq ‘scirocco’ (Hava 375).

51. ŠBH: AA šabīh pl. šibāh ‘beautiful’ (300) || OA ẓabīh ‘beautiful, comely, pretty, elegant (peculiarly in the face)’ (Lane II: 1643a) || M ẓabīh ‘beautiful, lovely, comely’
(Aquilina II: 1248); Mor šbih ‘joli, joliet’ (Colin IV: 1041); Alg-Tun šbih ‘beau, gentil’ (Beaussier 556) || cp. Eg šabūh ‘fresh and pleasant (of complexions)’; wišši šbih ‘a genial face’ (Hinds, Badawi 493); Lev wučço šabūh ‘il a un visage aimable et souriant ; sa vue dès le matin est de bon augure’ (Barthélemy 425). In Maltese, šbih collocates with a wide range of nouns, whereas it is not clear what collocative range did it have in Andalusi. In Eastern Arabic šabūh collocates mostly with ‘face, countenance’.

52. SRD: AA sarattu mina lbard ‘I was nearly frozen’ < [sarad] (248) || OA sarida ‘he, or it, was, or became, cold, or intensely cold (Lane II: 1676c) || M sired ‘to become cold’ (Aquilina II: 1321-2); Mor srad ‘devenir très froid’ (Colin IV: 795); Tun (Sfax) sirraydī ‘intense cold’; passive tiyrid ‘one’s body became cold’ (Zwārī, Sharafi 425).

53. DRY: AA darā ‘to become accustomed to’; darra ‘to accustom or get s.o. used to s.th.’; dārī ‘used to’; verbal noun darāwah (318–319) || OA darīya bihi ‘he was, or became, attached, addicted, or devoted to it ... he habituated, or accustomed himself to it’ (Lane II: 1789c) || M dara ‘to be accustomed, get used to s.th.’, darra ‘get s.o. accustomed to s.th.’, dārī ‘formerly, in the past’, < drawwa ‘habit, custom, use’ (Aquilina I: 208). The morphological and semantic correspondence between the Andalusí and Maltese forms is indeed remarkable; Mor drā (b-) ‘s’accoutumér à’; darrā (lā) ‘accoutumér, habituer, dresser qqn à qqch’; dāre (b-/lā) ‘accoutumé à’ (Colin V: 1122–3). The reflex of AA darāwah, corresponding to M < drawwa > is not attested in Colin; Alg mdārī b- ‘habitué à, accoutumé à’ (Tapiéro 139); Alg-Tun drā ‘avoir l’habitude, être habitué’ (Beaussier 591); Pai (Jerusalem) dārī ‘être habitué (à)’; darrā hālo ‘ala ‘s’habitué à’ (Barthélemy 238, 460); dārī ‘qui est habitué, accoutumé, familiarisé’ (Denizeau 319); Dath dariya ‘être habitué’; dārī ‘habitué’; darrā ‘habitué à’ (Landberg Glossaire III: 2172).

54. DNY: AA daniya ‘to become lean or emaciated’; danā(n) ‘emaciation’; danāwah ‘misery’ (321) || OA daniya ‘he was, or became, slender ... diseased, disordered, or sick ... lean, or emaciated’ (Lane II: 1807b) || M denna ‘to fester, infect (a wound)’; denī ‘fever, feeling of sickness; harm, mischief, evil’ (Aquilina I: 231); Mor dna ‘oppression, accablement’ (Colin V: 1135); Lev dana ‘faire souffrir, tourmenter, rendre malheureux’ (Barthélemy 463); danā ‘malheur’ (Denizeau 320); Sic daniyu ‘weak, faint’; dānī ‘tired of thirst’ (Piamenta 297) || cp. Eg dana ‘to wear out, exhaust (particularly of love or passion)’; dana ‘tormenting love’ (Hinds, Badawi 525).

55. TRŠ: AA attrus ‘deaf’ (328) || OA atras, ‘uprūšm’ Concerning the latter form “... Az [Abū Zayd] says, I know not whether it be Arabic or adventitious”, whereas according to al-Fayyūmi (in his Miṣbāḥ) and Ibn Durayd (in his Jamhara) the word is not genuine Arabic ...” ‘deaf’ (Lane II: 1841a); Mand trūša (Drower & Macuch 182) || M trux ‘deaf’ (Aquilina II: 1407); Sic τουρός < tūrūs < atrūš: Caracausi (p. 79) states that this metathesis “... va attribuita agli stessi Arabi di Sicilia ...” He
makes reference (fn. 230, p. 209) to the toponym ἀκπετετουρώς (i.e. ‘aq(a)bat at-turūs) ‘la salita del sordo’. Moreover, Caracausi refers to Nallino’s opinion about this lexeme, considering it a Siculo Arabic reflex of al-atriis (attested in Freytag III: 49a ‘surdus’). Caracausi refers to the use of this nickname in a Greco-Arabic “platea”, namely Βουλκόσιμι υπὸ τοῦ κοφώ = bulgasim ibn at-turūs (Cusa, S. 1868–82. I Diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia, Palermo, p. 250b), αὐτόν o ἀδελφός τοῦ = ‘alī ahū at-turūs, and o ἀδελφός του τοῦ κοφώς = at-turūs alhāhu (263a); Mor fās (f. fās, pl. fās) ‘sourd’ (Colin V: 1165) ; Alg-Tun fērūs ‘sourd’ (Beaussier 603). It is difficult to decide whether the diffusion of these cognates of putative Aramaic origin into Maghribi Arabic and Maltese is attributable to an eastern variety of Arabic or to direct Semitic, non-Arabic substratal influence.

56. ‘GΣ: AA ‘ağaztu ‘an aš-šay’ ‘I was too lazy to do that’; derived forms II ‘to make lazy’ and V ‘to idle or lounge, to become idle’; ‘ağz ‘laziness’, (345) || M qhaẓ̇a / [ass] ‘laziness’, brahim [azziin] ‘lady’ (Aquilina II: 992); Mor ‘gaz ‘devenir paresseux’; ‘gaz ‘paresse, flemme’; ‘ağzan ‘paresseux’ (Colin V: 1305–06); Alg-Tun ‘ezz ‘paresser’; ‘ażz ‘paresse, apathie, inaction, indolence, molesse’; ‘ażzan ‘apathique, indolent, paresseux, inactif’ (Beaussier 634); JTun oḏṭān ‘paresseux’ (Cohen 177); Sud ‘ağz ‘laziness’; ‘ağzan ‘lady’; Chad ‘ažiz ‘lady’ (Roth-Laly III: 300); Ir t’ağaz ‘to be unwilling, to be unable to bother, to be lazy’; ‘ağzan ‘sick and tired, fed up’; ‘ağüz ‘lady person’ (Woodhead & Beeene 302); Yem (North) ‘ažiz ‘unwilling to work’ (Piamenta 317) || cp. OA ‘ağaza ‘he lacked strength, or power, or ability; he was, or became, powerless, impotent, or unable’ (Lane II: 1960a); also Anat ‘ağaz ‘sich langweilen’; ‘ağaz ‘langweilich, Langweile’ (Vocke, Waldner 274).

57. ‘SLG: AA ‘uslūg ‘sprig, stalk’ (353) || OA ‘uslūg ‘a branch, or twig, or shoot’ (Lane II: 2047a) || M qha∫luq ‘sprig, sprout, twig; stick made of the branch of a tree’ (Aquilina II: 983); Mor ‘ašliê ‘pousse verte, tendre (et comestible au printemps) d’une plante sauvage (du type de l’asperge sauvage; tourion; toute plante sauvage dont les pousses ou les tiges vertes au printemps sont comestibles; harpe verte d’un legume qui monte en grain (Colin V: 1267); Alg-Tun ‘ašliê ‘tige, hamper d’asphodèle, chou; asperges sauvages’ (Beaussier 654), Tun (Sfax) ‘ašliê ‘a tender branch’ (Zwari, Sharafi 488).

58. ‘FS: AA ‘aʃas ‘to press’ (358) || OA ‘aʃasa ‘he compressed her’ (Lane II: 2091c) || M qhasa ‘to press’ (Aquilina II: 939); Dath ‘aʃas ‘écraser, presser’; ‘affas ‘écraser, presser avec la main’(Landberg Glossaire III: 2307) || cp. Mor ‘ʃas ‘fouler qqch. aux pieds, écraser qqch. sous ses pieds; presser du pied’ (Colin 1289); Alg-Tun ğas ‘mettre le pied sur; écraser les pieds, marcher sur; fouler, presser avec les pieds’ (Beaussier 662); Lev ‘aʃas ‘écraser d’un seul coup (un insecte, un enfant, le pied, le doigt)” (Barthélémy 537); Pal maʃas ‘foulé (raisin)” (Denizeau 357). The basic semantic differ-

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ence here seems to be between a. ‘pressing using the hands’ (AA, M and Dath), and b. ‘crushing with the feet’ (Mor, Alg-Tun and Lev).

59. GLQ: AA ḡalqa, pl. -āt ‘fenced orchard; thicket of olive trees or oaks’ (382) || OA galqa ‘enclos, jardin, entouré d’un mur’ (Dozy II 224b) || M ġhalqa ‘field, enclosure’ (Aquilina II: 954) ; Sic and Ar dialect of Pantelleria garca ‘suolo per lo più cintato’ (Caracausi 237), in addition to toponymic references with galqa, galka, γόλκας (first recorded in Palermo in 1153), calca, galcha, garka (Agius 309); Alg-Tun ṭāle ‘bouquet d’arbres’ (Beaussier 382).

60. GWG: AA gawga, pl. -āt ‘uproar, tumult’; nuqīm gawga ʿālā ‘I will raise a din’ (385) || OA gawgā ‘clamour, a confusion of cries, or shouts, or noises’ (Lane II: 2310a) || M gḥagha ‘uproar, fuss, noise, loud murmur, clamour’ (Aquilina II: 970); Mor gowwāg ‘provoquer des troubles, un soulèvement, une vaste mouvement de grève dans les basses couches populaires; troubler l’ordre public; provoquer émeute, rébellion, soulèvement’; gōga émeute, insurrection, sedition, agitation, rebellion, grève’ (Colin VI: 1409); Sud gāga ‘noise, clamour, din, disturbance (Roth-Laly III: 339); Lev gawga ‘querelle, tumulte’ (Barthelemy 587); Pal gawgālā ‘noise, shouting; rubble, mob (Elihay 145) Yem gāgah ‘shouting, commotion; tumult, confusion’ (Piamenta 362).

61. FDWS: AA fidaws ‘vermicelli’ (392); M (dewwex) ‘kind of thin pasta cut in broad ribbon-shaped slices’ (Aquilina I: 314); Mor fādāwš ‘vermicelle européen, en longs brins’ (Colin VI: 1431); Alg-Tun فداؤش ‘vermicelle’ (Beaussier 732).

62. FSKL: AA faškal ‘to confound’(400) ; M (fixkel) ‘to obstruct, hinder, impede; disturb; get s.o. mixed up, confuse s.o.’ (Aquilina I: 346); Eg faškil ‘to make s.th. go wrong, cause to fail’ (Hinds Badawi 658); Lev faškal ‘faire trébucher, faire chopper (qqn: pierr’) (Barthelemy 610); ‘disperser, éparpiller (des objets); mettre (une pièce) en désordre’(Denizeau 392); tafaškal ‘achopper, heurter de pied, faire un faux pas’; mfaškal ‘entortillé, maladroît’ (Barthelemy 610) || cp. Syr pass. part. mfaškal ‘twisted, crooked, crookshanked’ < ḟṣal ‘to twist, twine, spin’ (Payne Smith 468).

63. QBYD/D/T: AA qubbayd ‘a sweet preserve’; qubbayd ‘sweetmeat’; qubbayt ‘sweetmeat of honey divided into bars’ (411-412); M qubbajt ‘nougat’ (Aquilina II: 1163); Sic cuba-job, cubbātja, cubasta, cubβaida, cubbata (Agius 252): a sweet which, according to Caracausi (Arabismi 195) ‘... sembra di origine siriana’; JTun kubbiṭa ‘Feztroddel’ (Stumme Grammatik 178) || cp. Lev bel-qebbayd ‘(payer) comptant’ (Denizeau 405).

64. QBL: AA qbala ‘excise tax’ (413) || OA qabala ‘contrat par lequel on permet à quelqu’un d’exploiter une terre, moyennant une taxe, une redevance, que le dernier
s’engage à payez (sic) annuellement en argent ou en nature; la taxe, l’impôt, que l’on payait, en vertu de l’engagement contacté avec le trésor public’ (Dozy II: 313b) || 

M <qbiela> ‘rent of a field’ (Aquilina II: 1150); Sic cabbella, gabbella ‘tax paid to the state by the goods bought or sold; a rent of land’ (Agius 115); also cabbillotu, cabellotus ‘contractor; share cropper’ (Agius 381); cp. M gabillott ‘farmer, peasant, tenant-farmer’ (Aquilina I: 418); Lev qabālē adv. ‘à forfait’ (Barthélemy 636); Ir gbāla ‘by the job, on a job-rate’ (Woodhead, Beene 384); Yem qabālāt ‘imposts; farming of taxes’ (Piaminta 385).  

65. QRB: AA muqārib ‘bad’ (420) || OA šayʿ an muqāribun ‘a thing of a middling sort, between the good and the bad ... a cheap thing ...’ (Lane II: 2509a) || “M <muqareb> ‘too lively, naughty (children)’ (Aquilina II: 1159), hence echoing the sense of ‘bad’ (cp. English ‘bad boy / girl’ when chiding small children.”  

66. QRQ (I): AA qurq, pl. aqrāq; ‘shoe’ (424); Sp alcorque < Rabbinic qūrqā, qarqā (Corriente 2000: 61) < Syc qarqā ‘thin sandals’ (Payne Smith 521) || M <qorq> ‘brooding hen’ (Aquilina II: 1163); Alg (Djidjelli) qarq pl. qriqqa ‘vieux soulier’ (Marçais 227); Lev qriqqa ‘jamais’ (Barthélemy 652); qorq ‘poule qui couve’ (Beaussier 795); Tun (Sfax) qriqqa ‘id.’ (Zwari & Sharafi 576); Lev qriqqa ‘poule qui couve’ (Beaussier 810).  

67. QRQ (II): AA cărcīqua, coroca, pl. coroquī (Alcalá) ‘broody hen (or any other bird)’ (424); M <qroqqa> ‘brooding hen’ (Aquiųna II: 1163); Mor ǧāga qarqā ‘poule qui a cessé de pondre et cherche à couver’ (Colin VI: 1559); Alg-Tun ǧarqa ‘poule qui couve’ (Beaussier 795), Tun (Sfax) qriqqa ‘id.’ (Zwari & Sharafi 576); Lev qarqqa ‘poule qui gousse’ (Barthélemy 652); qarq ‘poule couveuse’ (Denizeau 414).  

68. QTT: AA qat, qaṭṭa ‘never’ (433) || OA qaṭṭu ‘ever, hitherto’ (Lane II: 2540a) || M <qatt> ‘never’ (Aquilina II: 1144); Sic qaṭ (Agius 152); Alg-Tun qaṭ ‘jamais’ (Beaussier 810); Sud qaṭ ‘never’ (with negative verb); Lev (Aleppo) qaṭṭ ‘jamais, point du tout’ (as in ‘ana qaṭṭ ma šoft hēk šī) (Barthélemy 667); EArab qaṭ particle used in the ‘experiential’ perfect to convey the sense of 1. ‘ever’ in interrogative sentences, and 2. ‘never’ in the negative (Holes 428-29); Dath ma qaṭṭa ‘jamais’ (Landberg Glossaire 2503) || cp. Chad (including Bornu and Nigeria) qaṭ ‘not at all’ (Roth-Laly III: 383, 401); CyAr kitš / šikitš / kuts / kutš ‘nothing, anything; at all; not a bit’ (Borg 2004: 389); Anat qaṭṭ ‘ausgenommen’ (Vocke, Waldner 341); Central Asia qaṭṭa ‘nichts’ (Borg 2004: 389).  

69. QLL: AA qull ‘hill’ (440) || OA qualla ‘the top, or highest part, of a mountain’ (Lane II: 2992b) || M qollāb ‘a hillock, knoll’ (Aquilina II: 1158); Sic cuile ‘id.’ (Agius 405); cp. Lat collis ‘id.’; Sud quilla ‘the highest part of a mountain’ (Qāsim 626); Dath quilia ‘sommet’ (Landberg Glossaire 2520) || cp. Lev quille pl. qella ‘tour fortifiée’ (Barthélemy 678).  

81 The word qabāla is also attested in Ibn al-Muğāwir’s Tāriḥ al-mustabṣir (Smith 2008: 105).
70. **QNFT**: AA *qanfat* ‘to make one’s hair stand on end’; (pt.) *mucānfat* (445); M *qanfèd; m qa n fèd* ‘to ruffle hair; ruffled (hair)’ (Aquilina II: 1120) || < OA *qunfūd* ‘hedgehog’ (Lane II: 2994a); in other dialects, the sense has to do with 1. ‘fat and round (like a hedgehog)’ (Mor), and 2. ‘becoming wizened, snuggling up’ (Alg-Tun, Eg).

71. **QFWQ**: AA *banū qa w qaw* ‘the people of Gao’ i.e. Negroes (448); M *qa w qaw, gaw gaw* ‘phantom which appears on Christmas eve’ (Aquilina II: 1145; I: 427); Lev *qāqūn* an obscure word found in children’s dialogue: *fēn ak ’ante? fāqūqūn!* ‘Where are you?’ ‘In the Qāqūn.’ (Barthélemy 689).

72. **QYR**: AA *taqāyyar* ‘to swing’ (451); M *tqajjar* ‘to get dry (wet) clothes on the washing-line, or fresh cheese on a reed hurdle’ (Aquilina II: 1107).

73. **KNN**: AA *kann* forms I and X. ‘to shelter’; *kann* n.m. ‘shelter’ (469) || OA *kinn* ‘a place of retreat, or concealment ... shelter’ (Lane II: 3003c) || M <Kenn> and form X. ‘to shelter’, also m.n.sg. ‘shelter, refuge, retreat’ (Aquilina I: 642); Alg-Tun *kann* ‘cacher quelque chose; se cacher; couvrir, envelopper; garder avec soin une jeune fille’ (Beaussier 880); Eg *kann* ‘to hide away, shut away’ (Hinds, Badawi 768); Sud *kann* ‘to protect, hide’ (Qāṣim 689); Sin Form VII ‘to be sheltered’ (Henderson Stewart 242); Yem *kann* ‘to hide o.s.; protect; find shelter (kann rāsah) from rain’; form II ‘to protect, shelter (from rain)’; form VIII *ittkan* ‘to hide o.s.’ (Piamenta II: 436); Dath form I ‘cousvnr protéger; form X ‘se mettre à l’abri’ (also Omani) (Landberg Glossaire III: 2588) || cp. Syr *kinn* ‘Hüherstand’ (Behnstedt 1997: 945).

74. **KNS**: AA *gāmā’at kanisya* ‘parish’ (102); *kanisiya, canicie* (Alcalá), and also *kanīsa* ‘church’ (469) || M <kniʃja> ‘church’ (Aquilina I: 665); Sic *kinisia, kwiœj* (Agius 318); Tun *knīšya* ‘église’ (Beaussier 882). These reflexes of OA *kanīsa* have in common the final syllable */-yal*. | cp. the following cognates ending in */-sal* or */-y⁰al*: Mor *kniša, kāniša, knīšya, knišiya* (Fez) ‘église’ (Colin VII: 1705); Lib *mēšiya* ‘chiesa, sinagoga’ (Curotti 295). In Egyptian, Levantine and Gulf Arabic the cognates display a final syllable */-sal*.

75. **LBG**: AA *labāgɡ, labaɡ, labāch* ‘south-east wind’ (474) || OA *labāɡ* ‘vent du sud-ouest’ < Gr λίψ, λβός; Lat *libis, libis* (Dozy II: 510a, 518) || Sp *lebeche* ‘south-east wind’; Cat *llebeig, llebeix; ancProV labech; ancFr lebech; It *libeccio; Sic libici* ‘nome di vento, che tira tra l’austro e il zefiro, affrico, libeccio’ (Caracausi 269; Corriente1 53) < Lat *Libyce* ‘in the Libyan manner’, Gr *λβόκος* dim. of λβόκος ‘libico, sud-occidentale’ (Caracausi 269); || M <li̇bi̇o ‘South-West (direction), South-West wind’ (Aquilina I: 734); Alg-Tun *lbāš* ‘vent du sud-ouest’ (Beaussier 891); Lib *lbēs* ‘south-west wind’.

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82 Libyan informant.
76. **LBR** (< 'BR): AA *labbār* ‘needle maker or seller’ (474) || OA *'abbār* ‘a maker of needles ... and a seller thereof’ (< 'ibra ‘a needle’ (Lane I: 6)) || M *dabbār* ‘one who makes or sells needles or pins’ (Aquilina I: 719); Mor *labbār* ‘fabriquant d’aiguilles’ (Colin VII: 1765). In these dialects, the loss of the initial *hamza* gave rise to the agglutination of the definite article.83

77. **LQS:** AA *talqīs* ‘to shave wood’; *luqša* ‘wood shaving; splint’ (483) || M *daqqa* ‘to chip, cut, break a piece of wood’; *laqqa* ‘wood chip’ (Aquilina I: 731); Marazig *lagṣa* ‘éclat, morceau (du bois, de sucre, de cervelle)’ (Boris 559) || Cp. Tun (Sfax) *laqqas* ‘to remove the flakes of a wall’, *laqsa* ‘a flake from a wall, or a piece falling from a tree’ (Zwārī & Sharafi 652); JTun *laqsa* ‘croûte’ (Cohen 150); Lev *laqqas* ‘ramasser du bois de pin (pour faire du feu)’; *liqš* ‘pin; bois rouge et résineux du cèdre et du pin’ (Denizeau 479).

78. **MRY:** AA *māra* ‘to argue, dispute’ (500) || OA *mārāh* ‘he disputed with him’ (Lane II: 3019b); M *miara* ‘to contradict’ (Aquilina II: 825–6); Tun (Sfax) *mārā* — *ymāri* ‘to compete, dispute (without envy)’ (Zwārī, Sharafi 661) || Cp. EArab *māra* ‘to quarrel with, pick a fight with’ (Holes 496).

79. **MŠM:** AA *mašmaš* ‘to suck or sip’ (503) || OA *mašša* ‘he sucked ... a bone’ (Lane II: 2716b) || M *mexmex* ‘to eat all the meat on a bone using one’s hands’ (Aquilina II: 816); Mor *mašša* ‘ronger un os’ (Colin VII: 1837); Tun (Sfax) *mašmaš* ‘id.’ (Zwārī, Sharafi 691); Lib *mašš* ‘succhiare’ (Curotti 337) || cp. Tun *mesneš* ‘knabbern’ (Stumme 180).

80. **MKR:** AA *makkār* ‘even, at least’ (507) || Sp *maguer, maguera* ‘although’; Cat *maqueri* ‘aunque’; Sic *macari, macari ddiu* excl ‘Dio il voglia’ (Aquilina II: 862); modGr μακάρι adv ‘would to God!’, μακάρι καὶ adv ‘even’ < Gr *interj.* Ο μακάριε ‘lucky you’ turned into an adverb or a conjunction in Romance || M *mqar* ‘Would to God! I wish it were so! Even, maybe’ (Aquilina ib. 862); Mor *mqār* ‘mème si...’, *mqqār d-yār* ‘pas même un’ (Colin VII: 1848) || Corriente 1997: 56 associates this lexeme with AA *maqārja* (Sp *magarza*) ‘wild camomile (matricaria chamomila)’ known for its obstetric virtues, deriving it from the Latin adv *macarice* ‘happily’ < Gr μακάριος adverbial of adj. μακάριος ‘blessed, happy’ (Liddel, Scott 484), and alluding to ‘a happy childbirth’.

81. **MMM:** AA *mimmi / m.m.mī al‘ayn* ‘apple of the eye’ (511) < Ber *mummu = m'mma*, related to *mimmī* ‘child’ in Moroccan Berber dialects; cp. Sp *niña del ojo* ‘pupil of the eye’ || M *mimmi ta’ l-ghajn* ‘pupil of the eye’ (Aquilina II: 830); Mor *mōmmom d-əl-‘ayn* ‘pupille de l’œil’ (Colin VII: 1871) || cp. OA *bu’bu* ‘pupil, apple of the eye’ (Lane I: 145a) > Eastern Ar *bubbu* (Elihay 88), JlerArabic *babbu* ‘pupil of the eye’

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83 See also n. 8 'izār above.
eye' (Piamenta Jewish 193), Syr bābbu (Stowasser, Ani 183), Ir bu’bu’ < Syc bābātā ‘pupilla (oculi); oculus’; bābūnā ‘pupilla’; IAram bābītā, babītā ‘pupil of the eye’; Heb bābat haya‘ayin ‘eyeball’ (SED I: 29).

82. MYD: AA māḏ, ymīḏ, mayd ‘to feel dizzy or giddy’ (516) || OA māda ‘he became affected with a heaving of the stomach, or a tendency to vomit, and a giddiness in the head’ (v.n. mayd, mayad) (Lane II: 2746a) || M mejib ‘dizziness, giddiness’ (Aquilina II: 863); Alg-Tun mayd ‘eblouissement, tournement de tête, vertige’ (Beaussier 954); Sud māḏ ‘to move and get into a state of unrest, be or become confounded, be in commotion’ (Qāsim 759).

83. WDF: AA waddaf ‘to sling’; wadāf n.m. ‘sling’ (566) || OA wadaf ‘sling’ (Hava 1964: 877) || Eth wadafa, waddafafa, waṣafa ‘hurl by a sling’ (Leslau 606); Akk (w)aṣpu ‘sling’ (Leslau 1987: 606); M waddab, waddaft ‘to fling’; wadab, wadaf ‘sling’ (Aquilina II: 1513); Tun wadaf ‘fronde’ (Beaussier 1063); Dath wadaf ‘fronder, lancer’ (Landberg Glossaire 2926).

Perhaps the most interesting consideration which emerges from the above glossary is the fact that nine out of a total of eighty-three lexical items are only attested in Andalusi and Maltese. Some of these items must have had reflexes in other areas of the Arabic dialect Sprachraum, and which were later superseded by other, more recent, lexemes. In the case of some lexemes, like dugayyas, damdam, raḥal and gillawz it would be more logical to presume a diffusion of Arabic data into the Maltese archipelago from closer sources, such as Tunisia and Sicily, rather than assuming direct transmission from al-Andalus. However, other items, like bazwa, ḥallāl and muqārib seem to be direct Andalusi contributions to the Maltese lexicon. In a few cases, Andalusi and Maltese lexemes have reflexes only in Sicilian and/or Tunisian. Moreover, as expected, Maghribi dialects constitute the most relevant group in relation to Andalusi and Maltese Arabic. Fifty-three AA and M lexemes have cognates in Old Arabic and in twelve cases cognates are attested across both eastern and western domains of Arabic. In eight cases, AA and M lexemes have cognates in Maghribi and Levantine dialects, and, in eight cases, in Maghribi and Arabian dialects. Leslau notes that according to Nőldeke (1910: 55), OA wadaf is a loan from Ge’ez, but Landberg (1942: 2926) disagrees.

Lexemes n. 12, 18, 25, 27, 40, 42, 65, 70, 72.

Leslau notes that according to Nőldeke (1910: 55), OA wadaf is a loan from Ge’ez, but Landberg (1942: 2926) disagrees.

Lexemes n. 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 20, 21, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 44, 45, 48, 51, 52, 55, 57, 61, 63, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82. Items 11, 35, 44, 55, 63, 74, 75 and 80 also have cognates in Sic. Items 5 and 9 are also attested in Eg, items 1, 9, 82 in Sud and item 38 in Chad.

Lexemes n. 4, 7, 19, 23, 30, 34, 39, 53, 54, 56, 60, 68. Item 68 has also cognates in Sic, items 19, 39 and 56 in Chad, items 34, 56, 60, 68 in Sud, and item 34 in Eg.

Lexemes n. 16, 17, 26, 31, 43, 50, 62, 67. Items 17 and 50 also have cognates in Sic, item 62 in Eg, and item 31 in Sud.
Sometimes, cognates are found in Arabian dialects, to the exclusion of other dialect areas. This evidence points towards the significant role played by Levantine and South Arabian groups in the arabicization of al-Andalus, especially during the early phase of the Muslim conquest. In four cases, the AA and M lexemes have cognates in Levantine, to the exclusion of other dialects. The Egyptian-Sudanese-Chadic group is also represented. Such areal distribution of cognates, across the eastern and western domains of vernacular Arabic, sheds some light on the diffusion of Neo-Arabic dialects and the preservation of archaic lexical features in such peripheral areas as Anatolia, Cyprus, Sudan-Chad, al-Andalus and Malta. The evidence adduced in this article indicates that both Andalusi as well as Maltese Arabic had access to common, and rather archaic sources of Arabic. However, they were not necessarily exposed to the same diffusion patterns, nor did they inevitably follow the same evolutionary paths. Nevertheless, in view of the role played by the Aragonese in Malta’s medieval past, and given that Andalusi Morisco elements interacted with the Maltese islands, and some even settled in these islands, one cannot exclude the eventuality that a number of Andalusi Arabic elements must have reached Malta directly through these channels. One hopes that this first survey is followed up by further research which should reveal more common features linking Andalusi Arabic and Maltese.

Bibliography


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90 Lexemes n. 3, 6, 8, 14, 15, 41, 66, 73. Items 14 and 73 have cognates in Eg and Sud.

91 Lexemes n. 28, 49, 58, 69. In one case, n. 64, cognates are attested in Lev, Ir and Yem. Items 28, 49, 64, 69 have also cognates in Sic, and item 69 in Sud.

92 Lexemes n. 24, 46, 47, 71. Item 46 has also cognates in Sic.

93 See footnotes 161–165 above.


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