

15th Conference of the International Association of Arabic Dialectology

Booklet of Abstracts

**21-24 May 2024, Valletta Campus,
L-Università ta' Malta**



**L-Università
ta' Malta**

AIDA Board of Directors

CURRENT EXECUTIVE BOARD OF AIDA

- George Grigore (University of Bucharest, Romania) – president
- Karima Ziamari (Moulay Ismail University, Meknes, Morocco) – vice-president
- Christophe Pereira (INALCO, Paris, France) – vice-president
- Bettina Leitner (University of Vienna, Austria) – general secretary
- Simone Bettega (University of Turin, Italy) – treasurer

AIDA2024 Organisation Committee

- Ray Fabri
- Michael Spagnol
- Kurstin Gatt
- Raffaello Bezzina
- Michela Vella

AIDA2024 Scientific Committee

- Jorge Aguadé (Spain)
- Muntasir al-Hamad (Qatar)
- Enam al-Wer (United Kingdom)
- Werner Arnold (Germany)
- Alexandrine Barontini (France)
- Reem Bassiouney (Egypt)
- Adam Benkato (USA)
- Laila Ben Salah (Morocco)
- Gabriel Bițună (Romania)
- Kristen Brustad (USA)
- Dominique Caubet (France)
- Julien Dufour (France)
- Marie-Aimée Germanos (France)
- Bruno Herin (Belgium / France)
- Stefano Manfredi (Italy / France)
- Catherine Miller (France)
- Giuliano Mion (Italy)
- Stephan Procházka (Austria)
- Gabriel Rosenbaum (Israel)
- Catherine Taine-Cheikh (France)
- Manfred Woidich (The Netherlands)
- Mimouna Zitouni (Algeria)

Table of Contents

DAY 1

[Lior Laks & Reem Abu Shah](#)

[Nina van Kampen](#)

[Montaser Motia Ujvari](#)

[Stanley Kochem](#)

[Christopher Lucas & Michael Spagnol](#)

[Mark Daniel Shockley](#)

[Maris Camilleri & Ali Idrissi](#)

[Issam Marjani & Paola Esposito](#)

[Mohamed Naji](#)

[Jacopo Falchetta](#)

[Montserrat Benítez Fernández](#)

[Massinissa Garaoun & Christophe Pereira](#)

[Catherine Taine-Cheikh](#)

[Naime Eltagouri](#)

[Thomas Stolz & Nataliya Levkovich](#)

[Slavomír Čéplö](#)

[Maike Vorholt](#)

[Faruk Akkus](#)

[Luca D'Anna](#)

[Eduardo Balbo](#)

[Esma Larbi, Adam Pospíšil & Ouafae Adardor](#)

[Mahmut Ağbaht](#)

[Simone Bettiga](#)

[Dominique Caubet](#)

[Paolo Della Putta, Fabio Gasparini & Eugenio Gorla](#)

[Aldo Nicosia](#)

[Kristen Brustad, Ana Iriarte-Diez, Jason Schroeffer, Corinne Stokes, Phillip Stokes, Mike Turner & Estefania Valenzuela-Mochon](#)

[Amir Al-Kathiri](#)

[Maryam Salim Bayshak Almarashda](#)

[Jiří Milička](#)

[Islam Youssef](#)

[Maciej Klimiuk](#)

[Márton Iványi](#)

DAY 2

[Cristina La Rosa](#)

[Sirine Houij](#)

[Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun](#)

[Daniela Rodica Firanescu](#)

[Juliette Michaud](#)
[Natalie Smrekar](#)
[George Grigore](#)
[Mourad Yelles](#)
[Omar Salem](#)
[Assaf Bar-Moshe](#)
[Wiktor Gebski](#)
[Michela Vella](#)
[Andrei A. Avram](#)
[Sara Court, Andrea D. Sims & Micha Elsner](#)
[Faruk Akkus & Abbas Benmamoun](#)
[Nino Ejibadze](#)
[Margherita Pallottino](#)
[Antonella Torzullo](#)
[Najla Kalach](#)
[Maria Rebecca Zarb](#)
[Abdullah Alfaifi & Stuart Davis](#)
[Jumanah Abusulaiman](#)
[Farouk Bouhadiba](#)
[Stephan Procházka](#)
[Ikram Moufid](#)
[Terlan Djavadova](#)
[Alexandrine Barontini & Karima Ziamari](#)
[Aicha Rahmouni & Ángeles Vicente](#)
[Khalsa Al-Aghbari](#)
[Maxime Tabet](#)
[Suaad Ambu Saidi](#)
[Claudia Laaber](#)
[Ana Iriarte Díez](#)
[Slavomír Čéplö, Stefano Manfredi](#)

DAY 3

[Manwel Mifsud](#)
[Ray Fabri](#)
[Bruno Herin & Martin Zammit](#)
[Bettina Leitner](#)
[Jérôme Lentin](#)
[Amina Naciri-Azzouz](#)
[Ahmed Salem Ould Mohamed Baba](#)
[Mike Turner](#)
[Henri Bensaria, Bruno Hérin & Igor Younes](#)
[Faisal Mohammed Aljabrey](#)
[Adam Pospíšil](#)

[Carmen Berlinches Ramos](#)
[David Wilmsen](#)
[Letizia Lombezzi](#)
[Alessia D'Accardio Berlinguer](#)
[Marta Sala](#)
[Jairo Guerrero](#)
[Peter Hallman](#)
[Dennis Arndt & Maria Persson](#)
[Jason Schroepfer](#)

DAY 4

[Letizia Cerqueglini](#)
[Esther Ravier](#)
[Valentina Serreli](#)
[Liesbeth Zack & Wendy Doyon](#)
[Volkan Bozkurt](#)
[Hana El Shazli](#)
[Giacomo Iazzetta](#)
[Zviad Tskhvediani](#)
[Mona Farrag Attwa](#)
[Kirsty Azzopardi](#)
[Dwayne Ellul](#)
[Aozan Hussien](#)
[Shabo Talay](#)
[Miriam Al Tawil](#)
[Yaşar Acat](#)
[Ahmet Abdülhadioğlu](#)
[Rana Almbark, Leah Sternefeld, Christopher Lucas, George Brown & Sam Hellmuth](#)
[Thomas Leddy-Cecere](#)
[Muntasir Al-Hamad](#)
[Khatuna Tumanishvili](#)
[Ali Benli](#)

POSTER SESSION

[Rogério Caetano](#)
[Yamina Leila Moussaoui](#)
[Amel Issa](#)
[Bochra Kouraichi & Yosra Ouertani](#)
[Charif Ismaili Alaoui](#)
[Ledi Jalagonia](#)
[Eva Gurgenishvili](#)
[Carolina Zucchi](#)
[Boukezzoula Nadjat](#)
[Abderrahim Chenine](#)

[Abrighach Rajaa](#)

[Benmoftah Najah & Marwa Benshenshin](#)

DAY 1

Competing patterns of loanwords adaptation: Morphological and periphrastic formation in Palestinian Arabic

This study examines the competition between morphological and periphrastic forms of possession and dual of Palestinian Arabic (PA) loanwords:

(1) tiftaḥi **il-watsab tabaḥoh** ... bitku:ni mraqbe **watsab-oh**

‘open his WhatsApp... and you follow his WhatsApp’

(<https://www.facebook.com/admitNajah/posts/3056471841080120>)

(2) aḥmelak **layk-e:n**

‘I will give you two likes’ (<https://ask.fm/Elmado/answers/61212134252>)

(3) ma fi: ḥilla **itnen layk:at**

‘there are only two likes’ (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FQND7X6-JKw>)

‘WhatsApp’ has two possession forms (1): periphrastic, using *tabaḥoh*, and morphological, using a suffix. Similarly, the dual of ‘like’ is based on *-e:n* suffixation (2) or using *itnen* ‘two’ before the plural *layk-a:t* (3). Many dialects demonstrate variation in possession and dual formation (Blanc 1970, Owens 2002, Sayahi 2015, Poplack et al. 2015, among others). While ‘WhatsApp’ and ‘like’ demonstrate variation, some loanwords tend to take one pattern. We show that this is predicated by morpho-phonological constraints. We discuss three constraints.

Number of syllables. PA nouns are typically monosyllabic/disyllabic.

Monosyllabic/disyllabic loanwords can be partially perceived as native, and therefore are integrated easily and take suffixes. Longer words are treated as foreign and are more likely to take periphrastic patterns, e.g. *il-instagram btaḥtak* /**instagram-ak* ‘your Instagram’.

Compounds. The tendency to opt for periphrastic patterns is more dominant in loan compounds, e.g. *bleystor* ‘Playstore’. Lexical compounds are relatively unproductive in PA. As a result, loan compounds are perceived as more non-native.

Vowel-ending words. Words ending with vowels other than *a* are relatively rare in PA, and attaching suffixes either requires phonological alternations or results in a marked structure. For example, attaching *-ak* to *biano* renders V-deletion or *h*-insertion (**biano-k/bian-ak/biano-hak*) to avoid the *oa* sequence (**biano-ak*). This renders morphological complexity and speakers select periphrastic patterns (*il-biano btaḥtak*).

The study adds to previous studies that examine the competition between morphological and periphrastic formation in general and offers criteria that play a role in selecting either pattern.

3PL pronominal suffix variation among Palestinian speakers in Beirut

This paper explores 3_{PL} pronominal suffix variation among Palestinian speakers in Beirut, investigating internal and external factors and dialect contact influences. The data, collected between 2018 and 2022, include 762 tokens from 24 speakers across different age groups, residing inside and outside Palestinian refugee camps and originating from different localities in historical Palestine – mostly but not exclusively from the North.

Previous studies on Palestinian and Beirut Arabic have identified 3_{PL} pronominal suffix variations. In Northern Palestinian Arabic (NPA), both urban and rural varieties feature *–(h)un* and *–(h)in* without gender distinction. In urban Central Palestinian Arabic (CPA), *–(h)um* is used for 3_{PLM+F}, while in rural and Bedouin type CPA, *–(h)um* or *–(h)im* is used for 3_{PLM} and *–(h)in* for 3_{PLF}. Beirut Arabic (BA) features only *–(h)un* and lacks 3_{PL} gender distinction (Behnstedt and Kleinberger 2019, Bergsträsser 1915, Geva-Kleinberger 2003, Naim 2011, Palva 1984).

Only *–(h)un* and *–(h)in* remain in our data, aligning with NPA and BA forms and showing prevalence of features present in the majority background dialect or the dialect of the ‘new’ locality.

The distribution between both variants appears unaffected by internal factors, such as phonological environments or the gender of the referent. The absence of gender distinction supports the well-documented trend of leveling out the most localized and marked features (Trudgill 2004:89-93), in this case favoring urban features over rural and Bedouin ones. The data suggest a strong influence of the place of residence, with non-Beirut variant *–(h)in* nearly absent among non-camp residents but prevalent in camp dwellers’ speech across ages and genders.

The near absence of non-Beirut *–(h)in* in favor of *–(h)un* among non-camp residents suggests the potential influence of BA on Palestinians’ speech in Beirut, especially those with looser ties to the Palestinian community. However, considering *–(h)un* being a feature of both BA and NPA, the impact of additional social factors warrants exploration.

Acoustic analysis of the effect of emphasis spread on vowels in Palestinian Arabic

This paper investigates the effect of emphasis spread and its directionality on Palestinian Arabic (PA) vowels. The acoustic correlates of eight PA, namely, /i/, /i:/, /e:/, /a/, /a:/ /u/, and /u:/ when adjacent to emphatic sounds were investigated. Read speech data consisting of target words containing PA vowels in three contexts were collected from six speakers: surrounded by non-emphatic consonants, followed by the emphatic alveolar stop /t^ɕ/ and preceded by the same stop. Qualitative analysis of the formant structure, F1 and F2, confirms that there is a significant effect of emphasis spread on the quality of PA vowels causing them to become more backed, and some vowels, namely, /i/, /i:/, /u/, and /e:/ become lowered. It was found /a, /a:/, /i/, and /u/ are the most affected vowels by emphasis spread. Furthermore, differences caused by the directionality of emphasis spread were found for /i/ and /u/, which tend to be lower and backed when the spread is leftward, and for /u:/, which tends to be even more backed when the spread is rightward.

Keywords: Palestinian Arabic, emphasis spread, vowel quality, formants

Tracing back the migration of the *Rašāyda* in Sudan – a phonological approach

Originally from Central Naǧd, the *Rašāyda* arrived to Sudan in the mid and late 19th century (Young 1996). Meanwhile it remains unclear whether they traveled to Sudan via the Sinai and the Nile Valley or southwards and via the Red Sea, recent fieldwork (WIBARAB, University of Vienna, in Saudi-Arabia, Kuwait and Sudan 2022-23) has shown that the *Rašāyda* migrated to Sudan together with other tribes and ethnic groups they shared lands with or that they encountered along the way. Thus, in the current Sudanese context, the designation *Rašāyda* has to be seen as an umbrella term for several Peninsular tribes that migrated to Sudan at the same time.

Despite the tribal heterogeneity, the state of the art (fieldworks conducted by Stephan Reichmuth in Eastern Sudan (1974) and Khartoum (1978) and WIBARAB fieldwork in Shendi (2023)) presents a strikingly homogeneous linguistic uniformity. The phoneme inventory of the *Rašāyda* in Sudan reveals phonemes and realizations that are unique to the region, notably the reflexes of *ǧ, *k and *q. Whilst some reflexes have Peninsular or Southern Arabian character, namely the palatal affrication of *k as in *čalām* (**kalām*, ‘speech’) or the palatal affrication of *q as in *jibīlə~ǧibīlə* (**qabīla*, ‘tribe’), other phonemes and phenomena remain rather atypical, notably the retroflex/palatal *r* as a reflex of *ǧ as in *řīt* (**ǧiʔtu*, *ǧiʔta*, ‘I/you came’), or the affrication of *d/t* instead of *k* as in *ǧakātir* (**dakātir*, ‘doctors’) or *čikallim* (**itkallim*!, ‘speak!’).

The aim of the paper is thus to intend to trace back the alleged migration route(s) of the *Rašāyda* through Egypt and/or Southern Arabia by comparing phonemic inventories in contact areas such as Saudi-Arabia (Ingham 1994), Egypt (Behnstedt&Woidich 1978/82, B&W 1985), Yemen (Behnstedt 2017) and Sudan (Bergman 2002, Reichmuth 1983), and recreating phonological changes.

References

- Behnstedt, Peter (2017): *Dialect Atlas of North Yemen and Adjacent Areas*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Behnstedt, Peter; Woidich, Manfred (1978/82): „Anmerkungen zum Dialekt der Rašāyda-Beduinen in Duhūs/Dakhla (Ägypten)“. Fieldwork. Unpublished.
- Behnstedt, Peter; Woidich, Manfred (1985): *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte. 2, Dialektatlas von Ägypten*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Bergman, Elizabeth. M. (2002): *Spoken Sudanese Arabic: grammar, dialogues and glossary*. Springfield: Dunwoody Press.
- Ingham, Bruce (1994): *Najdi Arabic. Central Arabian*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Reichmuth, Stephan (1983): *Der arabische Dialekt der Šukriyya im Ostsudan*. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Young, William C. (1996): *The Rashaayda Bedouin. Arab Pastoralists of Eastern Sudan*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

The evolution of vowel sequences in Form I verbs from Arabic to Maltese

Generally speaking, studies of Maltese make three observations on the vowel sequences of Form 1 verbs, focusing overwhelmingly on sound verbs (CvCvC).

First, there are six sequences in the perfect, as shown in the table below.

Sound CvCvC		
<i>a-a</i>	<i>ħarab</i>	to escape
<i>a-e</i>	<i>qaleb</i>	to turn
<i>e-a</i>	<i>feraħ</i>	to rejoice
<i>o-o</i>	<i>ħolom</i>	to dream
<i>i-e</i>	<i>żifen</i>	to dance
<i>e-e</i>	<i>qered</i>	to destroy

Second, in the imperfect, some vowel patterns remain unchanged (*ħarab*, *jaħrab* ‘to escape’), while others change (*naxar*, *jonxor* ‘to hang washing’). The range of vowel sequences is greater in the imperfect, with sequences such as *i-o* (*daħħal*, *jidħħol* ‘enter’) and *i-a* (*feraħ*, *jifraħ* ‘rejoice’), which are not available in the perfect (cf. Aquilina 1959: 254–255; Brame 1972; Puech 1978; Hume 1991, 1996).

Third, some studies observe that vowel quality may be conditioned by the adjacent root consonants (cf. Sutcliffe 1936: 71–74; Cremona 1973: 45; van Putten 2020: 83–85). Hoberman (2007: 268) observes, for example, that the sequences *a-e*, *e-e*, and *e-a* in Form I “occur only in the neighborhood of the gutturals *għ*, *ħ*, *h*, *q*”, while the *o-o* sequence “occurs almost exclusively with gutturals.”

Extending this earlier work, the present paper offers a comprehensive systematisation of the patterns of vowel correspondences in Maltese perfect and imperfect sound Form 1 verbs of all types, based on an exhaustive list drawn from Aquilina’s (1987) dictionary. In addition, building on the initial work by van Putten (2020), it traces the phonological and analogical evolution of this system from that of earlier Arabic (as analysed by Guerssel & Lowenstamm 1996), through analysis of a database consisting of the aforementioned list of Maltese verbs, together with their cognates in Classical, Tunis, and Cairo Arabic.

The vowels of Ru'ūs al-Ġibāl Arabic

Ru'ūs al-Ġibāl Arabic ("RJA"; also called Musandam Arabic or Šihḥī Arabic) exhibits pervasive vowel raising of historical *ā towards either front /ē/~/ey/ or back /ō/~/ow/. Despite recent advances, the causal mechanisms behind various reflexes of historical *ā remain elusive. The process is lexically determined, and /ē/~/ō/ alternations are rare, i.e. 'ēdam~'ōdam 'Adam (prophet)'. This study seeks to show, with new data from Ras Al Khaimah Emirate, U.A.E., how these reflexes of *ā are determined.

Examples of modern /ā/ < *ā are more numerous than in previous data, including one minimal pair contrasting /ā/ with /ō/, ḥōrr 'hot (weather)' vs. ḥārr 'hot (person)'; and one near-minimal pair contrasting /ā/ with /ē/, midār 'clay' vs. midēriḥ 'piece of clay'.

Word-final *ā, *ā', and *ay are usually neutralized to high /ī/, e.g. -hī 'her', 'išṭī 'winter', mašī 'he went', etc.

Phonological environment has limited relevance for reflexes of word-medial *ā. The vowel is lexically determined in some morphemes (e.g., f.pl. -ōt < *-āt; act.pcp. CeyCaC < *CāCiC, ḥeydam 'serving'), but not others. Bernabela (2011) has already shown that consonant environment is weak as a determining factor, e.g. duwwōr 'roundabout' vs. duweyrī 'round'. Evidence is similarly inconclusive concerning i-umlaut, e.g. dareyyiṣ 'windows', tēwilōt 'tables', biškōriḥ 'maid'.

Another type of 'imālah, hollow-root 'imālah, is somewhat more predictable. In hollow-root 'imālah, the perfect stem vowel of hollow-root verbs is determined, not by surrounding consonants, but by the second stem vowel; in other words, we observe *CāC > CēC where the 1sg.perf. form is *CiCCu, as in ḥēf 'he was afraid', yēb 'he brought', but *CāC > CōC where the 1sg.perf. form is *CuCCu, as in rōḥ 'he went', tō 'he wanted' (cf. Cl. tā 'he wanted').

The use of vowel ablaut as an exponent in verbal stems as manifest across different Arabic varieties and Maltese

One of the hallmarks of Arabic morphology is vowel ablaut. We here examine this morphological characteristic as an exponent of various morphosyntactic and morphosemantic features. A case in point is the **a - i** vocalic polarity found in Standard Arabic (StA) forms (F) 2/3/4/8/10 and which realizes ASPECT and VOICE values (Ratcliffe, 1998). While much has been said about this polarity, the fact that F7 only partially participates in this polarity and that F5 and F6 do not participate in this polarity at all has been barely explored, let alone explained. Moreover, while individual dialectal descriptions abound, a comparative morphological analysis of vocalic polarity within the inflectional verbal paradigms across derivationally-related forms is yet to be offered.

The data in (1) from Iraqi (Erwin, 2004) and Tunisian (Chekili, 1982) highlights an important split between some Western Arabic (WAr) dialects and their Eastern (EAr) counterparts, which, to the best of our knowledge, has not been pointed out.

(1)	Iraqi			Tunisian		
	PFV.3SGM	IPFV.3SGM		PFV.3SGM	IPFV.3SGM	
F2	xalla	y-xalli	‘let’	qarra	y-qarri	‘teach’
F3	ra:wa	y-ra:wi	‘show’	la:qa	y-la:qi	‘meet’
F7	n-qira	y(i)-n-qiri	‘be read’	t-qra	y(ə)-t-qra	‘be read’
F8	x<t>-iba	y-x<t>ibi	‘hide o.self’	š<t>ha	y(ə)-š<t>hi	‘fancy s.th’

This split concerns the very morphology of F7 itself, including the stem-vowel’s form and function. While EAr shows the same pattern as StA, the pattern of F7 in WAr differs, suggesting a later development. What is more, the **a - i** polarity in the IPFV forms in WAr across the various templatic forms expresses what seems to be a [+/- INTRANSITIVE] morphological exponent. This feature redundantly enhances the function of the templatic changes that characterise verb-forms across the different verb measures. This same polarity along with the identified function manifests itself elsewhere in the WAr grammar, where it correlates with the intransitive/transitive readings of labile verbs, e.g., Moroccan F1 -*tfa* ‘turn off (intr.)’ – -*tfi* ‘turn off’ (tr.). Parallels between this phenomenon and apophonic passive vestiges in EAr dialects will be made.

References

- Chekili, F. (1982). *The morphology of the Arabic dialect of Tunis*. PhD thesis, University of London.
- Erwin, W. M. (2004). *A short reference grammar of Iraqi Arabic*. Georgetown University Press, Georgetown.
- Ratcliffe, R. R. (1998). *The broken plural problem in Arabic and comparative Semitic: allomorphy and analogy in non-concatenative morphology*, volume 168. John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.

Variétés 'robi autour de Fez : Šrārda, Šžə', Wlād Bū'bīd et Sūq Lhmīs Sīdi 'Abd I-Žīlī

Parmi les dialectes du Maroc, les variétés dialectales 'robi sont les moins décrites. Cette étude, basée sur un corpus de données recueillis *in loco*, porte sur l'analyse de quatre variétés rurales jamais étudiées auparavant et situées au Nord du Maroc dans la région de Fez : Šrārda, Šžə', Wlād Bū'bīd et Sūq Lhmīs Sīdi 'Abd I-Žīlī. Le but est de présenter les traits linguistiques principaux de ces variétés, par une analyse comparée des données ainsi qu'un aperçu des liens et des différences linguistiques avec les autres variétés 'robi du Maroc déjà connues.

Bibliographie

- AGUADÉ, Jorge & ELYAACOUBI, Mohammad. 1995. *El dialecto árabe de Skūra (Marruecos)*. Madrid, CSIC.
- AGUADÉ, Jorge. 1998. « Un dialecte maŕqilien : le parler des Zŕr au Maroc ». In : Jordi Aguadé, Patrice Cressier & Ángeles Vicente (eds.). *Peuplement et arabisation au Maghreb Occidental. Dialectologie et histoire*. Zaragoza, Universidad de Zaragoza, pp. 141-150.
- AGUADÉ, Jorge. 2003. « Notes on the Arabic dialect of Casablanca (Morocco) ». In : Ignacio Ferrando Frutos & Juan José Sánchez Sandoval (eds.). *AIDA. 5th Conference Proceedings*. Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, pp. 301-308.
- CAUBET, Dominique. 1993. *L'arabe marocain*. (II voll.). Louvain, Peeters.
- HEATH, Jeffrey. 2002. *Jewish and Muslim Dialects of Moroccan Arabic*. London, Routledge.
- EL YAACOUBI, Mohammad. 1998. « A propos de la classification des dialectes du Sud du Maroc : l'exemple de Skūra ». In : Jordi Aguadé, Patrice Cressier & Ángeles Vicente (eds.). *Peuplement et arabisation au Maghreb Occidental. Dialectologie et histoire*. Zaragoza, Universidad de Zaragoza, pp. 151-156.
- LOUBIGNAC, Victorien. 1952. *Textes Arabes des Zaër. Transcription, Traduction, Notes et Lexique par Victorien Loubignac*. Paris, Librairie orientale et américaine.
- MARÇAIS, Philippe. 1977. *Esquisse grammaticale de l'arabe maghrébin*. Paris, Maisonneuve.
- MARJANI, Issam. 2019a. « Le Dialecte Arabe de Rḥāmna (Maroc) ». *Al-Andalus* 26 (3): 1–14.
- MARJANI, Issam. 2019b. « Nouvelles Variétés ŕrobi du Maroc: Dukkāla, Ḥmar, Rḥamna et Qalŕat s-Srāġna. Aperçu Préliminaire ». In: Guram Chikovani & Zviad Tskhvediani (eds.). *AIDA. 13th Conference Proceedings*. Kutaisi, Akaki Tsereteli State University, pp. 193–199.
- MOSCOSO, Francisco. 1999. « Estudio lingüístico de un dialecto árabe hilalí del Sūs (Marruecos) ». *EDNA* 4, pp. 25-54.
- TAINÉ-CHEIKH, Catherine. 2017. « La classification des parlers bédouins du Maghreb : revisiter le classement traditionnel ». In: Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (ed.). *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends - Recent Developments - Diachronic Aspects*. Zaragoza, Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, pp. 15–42.

إبهام صيغة البناء للمجهول في الدارجة المغربية

تعكس البنيات التركيبية للغة العربية تداخلا بين أنسقة مجموعة من اللغات من أهمها الأمازيغية والعربية الفصحى وبطبيعة الحال بعض اللغات اللاتينية التي تواجدت دياكرونيا في محيط الدارجة المغربية وتفاعلت معها كالفرنسية والإسبانية. غير أن الدارجة المغربية تختلف كثيرا في نفس الوقت عن هذه اللغات، وخاصة من حيث النسق الصوتي والتركيب. وسنخصص هنا اختلاف الدارجة المغربية مع هذه اللغات في ظاهرة البناء للمجهول. فا إذا كانت هاته اللغات السابقة الذكر تميز بين الصيغ الصرف تركيبية للبناء للمجهول والصيغ الصرف تركيبية للمطاوعة، أو ما يعرف بالمضدات السببية anti-causatives، فإن الدارجة المغربية لها صرفة واحدة تعبر بها في نفس الوقت على صيغة البناء للمجهول وصيغة المطاوعة، كما هو الحال في البنيتين التاليتين:

1- الضو تقطع. (قُطِع التيار الكهربائي، انقطع التيار الكهربائي)

2- الطبسيل تهرس (كُسِر الصحن، انكسر الصحن)

يطرح غياب صرفة خاصة بالبناء للمجهول في الدارجة المغربية نوعا من الإبهام في تأويل جمل مثل (1) و(2). فالتاء تشغل في هاتين البنيتين كصفة للبناء للمجهول والمطاوعة في نفس الوقت. وهاتان الجملتان تحتلان قراءة المبني للمجهول وقراءة المطاوعة. ومما يزيد الأمر تعقيدا هو أن تراكيب البناء للمجهول في العربية كلها تدخل في باب المبني لا يبرز فيها الموضوع الخارجي بصفة نهائية، كما هو الحال في المركب الحرفي، short passive للمجهول القصير. في اللغة الإنجليزية « by X » في الفرنسية أو « par X »

سنقدم في هذه الورقة تحليلا للبناء للمجهول في الدارجة. ونفسر كيف تشغل نفس الصرفة، التاء، كصفة لظاهرتين تركيبيتين مختلفتين. سنقترح بنية تركيبية واحدة تشغل فيها هذه الصرفة، التاء، تارة كصفة للبناء للمجهول وتارة كصفة للمطاوعة. ثم سنعمم تحليلنا على لغات طبيعية أخرى تعبر كذلك على البناء للمجهول والمطاوعة بصرفة واحدة، مثل اللغة اليونانية وكذلك الألبانية. وبرز هذا التعميم أهمية تحليلنا من ناحية التركيب المقارن.

Finding *darija*: what is (not) standard according to Moroccan urban speakers

While “standard dialect” is clearly an oxymoron, the word “standard” has frequently been employed to refer to a set of norms which Arabic dialect speakers progressively recognise as more prestigious and to which, by consequence, they accommodate their actual language use (e.g. “Standard Gulf Arabic”, Ingham 1986: 282; “standard Egyptian Arabic”, Woidich 2007: 679). By this definition, what is “standard” and what is not only depends on laypeople’s and/or scholars’ perception.

This paper explores the linguistic perceptions of sound engineers, voice actors/actresses and translators working at a studio in Casablanca, Morocco, which is specialised in voice-over translation in colloquial Moroccan Arabic (*dārīẓa*). Through the scientific observation of the dubbing work, several types of linguistic choices made in the editing of the translated dialogues (all of Turkish soap-operas) were noted and classified according to their function. This was done with the support of the sound engineers, who explained the motivations lying behind these choices. In addition, interviews were carried out with the studio personnel in order to understand which criteria were followed in the management of linguistic variation in Moroccan Arabic. General indications on language are provided by the client (the national TV station 2M) and are thus to be equally followed by every professional. However, since, in practice, choices often have to be made between single linguistic features or formulations, diverging ideas regarding what is “good” or “appropriate” *dārīẓa* (in general or for the purpose of composing TV dialogues) continuously emerge among the co-workers. This depends in part on the individual’s sociolinguistic representations and stereotypes, which came to the fore through the interviewees’ justification for their linguistic work as well as their stances towards the final result. On the basis of these data, the present paper will attempt at defining linguistically what is “normal” Moroccan Arabic for the dubbing professionals by identifying “deviant” or socially/geographically “marked” features. This will be discussed on the background of the literature on Moroccan Arabic dialectology. The implications of the existence of diverging opinions will also be analysed in the framework of theories of language standardisation, particularly from the perspectives of language selection, codification and elaboration (Haugen 1966).

References

- Haugen, Einar. 1966. Dialect, language, nation. *American Anthropologist*, 68(4), 922–935.
- Ingham, Bruce. 1986. Notes on the Dialect of the Āl Murra of Eastern and Southern Arabia. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, vol. 49, no. 2, 271–291.
- Irvine, Judith T. 2001. ‘Style’ as distinctiveness: the culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation. In Eckert, P. and Rickford, J. R. (eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 21–43.
- Miller, Catherine. 2012. Mexicans speaking in Dārīja (Moroccan Arabic): Media, urbanization, and language changes in Morocco. In Bassiouney, R. and Katz, G. (eds.), *Arabic language and linguistics*. Washington & DC: Georgetown University Press, 169–188.
- Woidich, Manfred. 2007. Everything you always wanted to know about ‘āl, yi’ūl ‘to say’ in Egyptian Arabic. *Approaches to Arabic Linguistics*. Brill, 675–700.

La variété montagnarde de Ghzaoua, une esquisse grammaticale

La variété arabe de la tribu de Ghzaoua -avec celles de Bni Issef, Bni Zkar, Beni Mestara, Rhouna, Ahl Serif et Ahl Sarsar- est, selon Behnstedt & Woidich (2010), une des plus méconnues de la région Jbala au Nord du Maroc. Malgré les efforts que les chercheurs ont consacré à remplir cette lacune scientifique (sur Rhouna et Beni Mestara : El Khomsi 2020 ; sur Mokrisset : Malki 2017 ; sur des aspects sociolinguistiques de Ghzaoua Benítez Fernández 2022 et à paraître), les études disponibles restent encore très faibles.

À partir de données obtenues lors de l'analyse des enregistrements d'enquêtes semi-dirigés -réalisés dans les communes de Fifi, Beni Faghloom et Mokrisset-, je vais présenter les traits phonétiques et morphosyntaxiques les plus saillants du parler de Ghzaoua. Puis, tenant compte des avancées récentes de la recherche (Vicente, Caubet & Naciri-Azzouz 2017), je vais également comparer les données identifiant cette variété à ceux d'autres variétés pré-hilaliennes en général et jbala en particulier. Ainsi, avec cette communication je poursuis deux objectifs : d'un côté, je compte élaborer une esquisse grammaticale du parler arabe de Ghzaoua, qui complètera notre vision des variétés de Jbala et d'un autre côté, je vais contribuer au débat de la classification des variétés pré-hilaliennes faite par Colin en 1945.

Références

- Behnstedt, P. Woidich, M. 2010. *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. Band I: Mensch, Natur, Fauna, Flora*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Benítez Fernández, M. 2022. "Variation linguistique dans le parler d'Ouezzane : entre attrition et urbanisation" *Studies on Arabic Dialectology and Sociolinguistics. Proceedings of the 13th International conference of AIDA. June 10-13, 2019*. G. Chikovani & Z. Tskhvediani (eds.). Kutaisi: Akaki Tsereteli State University, 320-329.
- Colin, G.S. 1945. "Le milieu indigène au Maroc: les parlers arabes", *Initiation au Maroc*. Rabat: École du Livre, 219-244.
- El Khomsi, R. 2020. *Étude des particularités linguistiques du parler jebli de la région d'Ouezzane : interaction des variables linguistiques et sociales*. Thèse de doctorat non publié. Université Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah, Fès. Maroc.
- Malki, M. 2017. « Quelques traits linguistiques du parler de Mokrisset (Province de Ouezzane) ». *La région du Nord-Ouest marocain : Parlers et pratiques sociales et culturelles*, Á. Vicente, D. Caubet & A. Naciri-Azzouz (eds.). Zaragoza : Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 143-154.
- Vicente, Á., Caubet, D. & Naciri-Azzouz, A. (eds.) 2017. *La région du Nord-Ouest marocain : Parlers et pratiques sociales et culturelles*. Zaragoza : Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza.

Remarques sur l'arabe de femmes de Gaberoun (Libye)

Gaberoun est le nom d'une oasis située dans le Sud-Ouest de la Libye, dans la région du Fezzan. Autour du lac Gaberoun vivait une communauté qui s'est adaptée à un biotope difficile, dont les membres consomment un petit crustacé rougeâtre qui vit dans les eaux saumâtres, appelé *wdūd*. Depuis les années 1970 et jusqu'aux années 1990, toute la communauté a été déplacée par les autorités libyennes vers de nouveaux villages, sur la route principale. Ces déplacements ont mis en danger sa culture, son identité et sa langue.

En 2021, un épisode de l'émission *Kunūz Fazzān* (Trésors du Fezzan) leur a été consacré et d'anciens habitants du village lacustre ont été interviewés. Particulièrement intéressants sont les témoignages de deux femmes âgées qui racontent (pendant environ 30 minutes) leur vie avant le départ de l'oasis. Ces témoignages révèlent notamment les différences entre le parler particulier des femmes âgées et celui des hommes.

Le terrain libyen étant actuellement inaccessible, nous décrivons le parler de ces deux femmes, afin de renseigner une variété d'arabe libyen jamais décrite, mais aussi pour en savoir un peu plus sur cette communauté et son mode de vie, ainsi que sur les langues en contact dans le désert du sud-ouest libyen.

Le but de notre communication est de présenter quelques caractéristiques phonétiques, telles que l'affrication [t^s] et [t^h] de *t ; la palatalisation de *k en [c] puis en [c^ɣ] et de [g] en [ɟ] puis en [ɟ^ɣ] ; la coronalisation de [k] en [t^ɕ] ; la fricatisation de [g] en [ɟ] ; l'articulation éjective [k'] de *g ; etc. Il s'agit aussi de décrire des caractéristiques morphosyntaxiques, telles que l'annexion directe et indirecte ; les accords des verbes, des pronoms et des démonstratifs au féminin pluriel ; les valeurs du préverbe *b-* ; les phrases conditionnelles ; etc. Enfin, nous commenterons des items lexicaux – dont des emprunts au berbère, au kanuri ou au haoussa – qui désignent leur environnement et leur mode de vie particulier.

Origine et développements comparés de la 'IX-XI' forme $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ en arabe maghrébin

L'arabe littéral a deux formes dérivées exprimant couleurs et défauts, la IX^e à C₃ redoublée et la XI^e à C₃ redoublée et voyelle \bar{a} après C₂. Selon Wright (1896: 44–45), certains grammairiens considèrent que IX exprime “permanent colours or qualities” et XI “those are transitory or mutable”; d'autres, que XI exprime “a higher degree of the quality than IX”; d'autres, enfin, que IX et XI sont sémantiquement équivalentes.

La forme IX à C₃ redoublée, qui est attestée dans les parlers orientaux, y reste rare, comme les formes IX et XI en arabe classique. En revanche la forme $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ (sans C₃ redoublée), qui est signalée dans l'ensemble des parlers maghrébins —de la Libye au Maroc et de Malte à la Mauritanie—, a connu un certain développement.

Dans une intervention à Bayreuth (avril 2013) et un article récent très documenté (à paraître), Lameen Souag attribuait la forme et le développement de $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ au contact avec les langues berbères. Contestant cette hypothèse (sur la base, en particulier, des données du berbère), je reviendrai sur la thèse –traditionnelle– selon laquelle $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ s'expliquerait par une évolution interne à l'arabe, les caractéristiques de la forme XI de l'arabe littéral étant à même d'éclairer aussi bien la forme de $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ (par dégémination de C₃) que son sémantisme (celui de couleurs ou qualités –spécifiquement– transitoires).

En me basant notamment sur le dépouillement de huit dictionnaires (Aquilina; Beaussier; Boris; Colin; Destaing; Madouni-La Peyre; Marçais & Guiga; Taine-Cheikh), j'ai effectué un vaste relevé des formes $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ attestées. Comparant les résultats obtenus d'un parler à un autre, j'ai noté de nombreuses convergences qui seront examinées et discutées. Quelques cas particuliers seront abordés, telle la possibilité (assez rare) qu'il y ait synonymie d'une forme $C_1C_2\bar{a}C_3$ avec une autre forme verbale.

Caractéristiques du langage des enfants arabes libyens

Suite à notre étude doctorale faite sur les chaînes de coréférence chez des enfants libyens, nous avons commencé à nous intéresser au style narratif et au langage des enfants et à leur acquisition de langue.

Cette présente communication a comme objectif de décrire le langage des enfants libyens sur un point linguistique et pragmatique. Notre corpus comprend 35 enfants dont l'âge est de 5 à 14 ans. Nous effectuons une analyse des occurrences à l'aide du logiciel ANALEC.

Sur le plan pragmatique, les résultats montrent que les enfants emploient un grand nombre de connecteurs comme (bædha, bædyn, šwy). Les marqueurs d'hésitation et d'exclamation chez les jeunes enfants libyens peuvent aussi diversifier.

Du point de vue lexique, les résultats montrent que malgré la dominance de l'anglais comme deuxième langue en Libye, l'italien qui depuis 60 ans n'a aucun statut officiel dans le système éducatif libyen actuel, occupe toujours une place non négligeable dans le quotidien des jeunes enfants libyens, les emprunts de ce dernier n'ont pas d'équivalent en arabe libyen. L'utilisation des mots comme (bicicletta, bambola, gelato) sont très fréquents.

Références

D'Anna, L. (2018). Phonetical and morphological remarks on the adaptation of Italian loanwords in Libyan Arabic. *Arabic in Contact*, pp 172-187.

Salazar-Orvig, A. (2014). « Quand l'enfant s'approprie les formes de la langue dans le dialogue », *Science humaines*, 4 (n°258), p. 55.

Karmiloff, K. Karmiloff-Smith, A. (2003). *Comment les enfants entrent dans le langage. Un nouveau regard sur les théories et les pratiques d'acquisition du langage*. Edition Retz-Paris.

Hickmann, M. (2000). Le développement de l'organisation discursive, in M. Kail et M Fyol (Eds.). *L'acquisition du langage*. Paris, PUF. 2. *Le langage en développement au-delà de trois ans* : 83-115.

Oblique objects in Maltese

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) mention several prepositions as markers of objects other than (in)direct objects. The “other” objects are potential obliques (Croft 2022). In contrast to the object marker *li* (Fabri 1993), obliques are still understudied. Aquilina (1976) discusses only prepositional verbs. Since obliques resemble adjuncts on the surface, problems arise for quantitative accounts exclusively using the *Korpus Malti 3.0*. There is variation in the domain of (oblique) object marking as in (a)–(c) where *induna* ‘realize’ either takes an object asyndetically (infrequent) or chooses a preposition with *bi* ‘with’ being the major option.

- (a) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news269]
qallu li l-poplu Malti induna Ø dan
 say:IO:3SG.M that DEF-people Maltese realize Ø DEM:M:PROX
 ‘[...] he said to him that the Maltese people realized this.’
- (b) [Korpus Malti 3.0; news150506]
Id-differenza malajr induna [biha]_{pp}
 DEF-difference quickly realize [with:3SG.F]
 ‘As to the difference, he realized [it] quickly [...].’
- (c) [Korpus Malti 3.0; culture1203]
mhux kulhadd jinduna [dwar l-implikazzjonijiet]_{pp}
 NEG:3SG.M:NEG everybody 3SG.M.IPFV:realize [about DEF-implication:PL]
 ‘[...] not everybody realizes [the implications] [...].’

Our study reveals that *bi* ‘with’ displays the highest degree of grammaticalization as oblique marker whereas other prepositions lag behind so that their supposed status as oblique markers remains questionable.

Abbreviations

DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, F = feminine, IPFV = imperfective, IO = indirect object, M = masculine, NEG = negation, PL = plural, PROX = proximate, SG = singular

References

- Aquilina, Joseph. 1976. Prepositional verbs in Maltese. In Joseph Aquilina (ed.), *Maltese Linguistic Surveys*. 67–80. Malta: The University of Malta.
- Borg, Albert & Marie Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997. *Maltese*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Croft, William. 2022. *Morphosyntax. Constructions of the world’s languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fabri, Ray. 1993. *Kongruenz und die Grammatik des Maltesischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Oblique subjects in Maltese

In Maltese, as in most Arabic dialects, the subject is typically morphologically encoded by means of verbal affixes, i.e. the affixes of the prefixal conjugation (imperfect) and the suffixal conjugation (perfect). There is, however, a class of verbs and verb-like words where the subject is encoded using suffixed pronouns which typically encode objects. This class includes pseudo-verbs, as in (1) (Peterson 2006), and experiencer verbs (2) (Haspelmath and Caruana 2000).

- (1) *L- għada ma jkollniex skola.*
 DEF tomorrow NEG 3SGM.IMPF-have-IOBJ.1PL-NEG school

“Tomorrow, we don’t have class.”

[BCv3: 2011 Trevor Żahra - Ħolm tal-Milied]

- (2) *Dan il- pajjiż jistħoqqlu ħafna aħjar.*
 this.M DEF country 3SGM.IMPF-deserve-IOBJ.3SG.M much better

“This country deserves much better.”

[BCv3: l-orizzont.100920]

These – and a few other – phenomena fall under the general rubric of oblique (non-canonically marked) subjects (Aikhenvald et al. 2001). In this paper, we aim to provide a unified account of oblique subjects in Maltese. To do so, we first re-evaluate previous analyses of pseudoverbs and expand the list of known Maltese experiencer verbs (and similar constructions) threefold. We then use that list (and the new items in particular) to shed light on the grammaticalization processes involved in the expansion of this category of verbs. In addition to that, we also study the semantic and functional typology of experiencer verbs (Friedman and Joseph 2018). And finally, we examine Maltese oblique subject constructions as a contact phenomenon by noting parallels (or lack thereof) in related varieties (i.e. North African Arabic) and neighboring varieties of Romance (cf. Cruschina 2011: 49-50).

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y., R.M.W. Dixon, and Masayuki Onishi, eds. 2001. *Non-Canonical Marking of Subjects and Objects*. Vol. 46. Typological Studies in Language. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.46>.
- Cruschina, Silvio. 2011. *Discourse-Related Features and Functional Projections*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

- Friedman, Victor A., and Brian D. Joseph. 2018. "Chapter 2. Non-Nominative and Depersonalized Subjects in the Balkans: Areality vs. Genealogy." In *Non-Canonically Case-Marked Subjects*, edited by Jóhanna Barðdal, Na'ama Pat-El, and Stephen Mark Carey, 200:23–54. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.200.02fri>.
- Haspelmath, Martin, and Sandro Caruana. 2000. "Subject Diffuseness in Maltese: On Some Subject Properties of Experiential Verbs." *Folia Linguistica* 34 (3–4). <https://doi.org/10.1515/flin.2000.34.3-4.245>.
- Peterson, John. 2009. "'Pseudo-Verbs': An Analysis of Non-Verbal (Co-)Predication in Maltese." In *Introducing Maltese Linguistics*, edited by Bernard Comrie, Ray Fabri, Elizabeth Hume, Manwel Mifsud, Thomas Stolz, and Martine Vanhove, 113:181–204. Studies in Language Companion Series. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.113.13pet>

Exploring factors influencing coordination: frequency, length, and origin of Maltese prepositions

In Maltese, a preposition can either be used in front of each complement, as in (1), or just in front of the first one, as in (2), in coordinating constructions involving identical prepositions (EQUI-P-deletion, cf. [Stolz and Ahrens 2017](#); [Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander 1997](#): 87).

(1) one preposition

[**apparti** kotba u affarijiet oħra tal-iskola]_{coco}
 [apart_from book:PL and matter:PL other of:DEF-school]
 ‘[**apart from** books and other supplies for school]’ [Korpus
 Malti 3.0, news20212]

(2) two prepositions

[**wara** l-istudji u **wara** x-xogħol]_{coco}
 [after DEF-studies and after DEF-work]
 ‘[**after** studies and **after** work]’
 [Korpus Malti 3.0, news59491]

Besides differences in meaning, several factors have been considered to influence this structural variation or even block deletion entirely (grammaticalization, cf. [Haspelmath 2007](#); bound pronouns, fused articles, cf. [Stolz and Ahrens 2017](#)).

In this exploratory study, I focus on three factors that are closely related to each other and have not yet been considered to account for this variation: token frequency, phonological length, and origin. I propose a continuum for coordination. Borrowed prepositions that are mostly low-frequency and phonologically longer tend to be on the one end while high-frequency and shorter prepositions of Semitic origin will be located on the other end.



Maltese has experienced extensive language contact with Italian, Sicilian, and English (cf. [Lucas and Čéplö 2020](#)). This led to a substantial number of Maltese prepositions being borrowed (cf. [Vorholt in press](#)). Previous research shows that borrowed prepositions are not expected to occupy core meanings and consequently also have lower token frequencies (cf. Thomason 2001: 71; Matras 2011: 214; Haspelmath 2009: 36). This is also mostly the case in

Maltese (cf. [Vorholt in press](#)). A connection between frequency and length (cf. [Zipf 1949](#)) for Maltese prepositions has been analysed in [Vorholt \(2022\)](#).

Relying on data from the *Korpus Malti 3.0* ([Gatt and Čéplö 2013](#)), a possible connection between the above-mentioned factors and a preposition's behaviour in coordination is analysed. First results show a weak positive correlation between deletion rate and length and a negative correlation with token frequency.

Abbreviations

DEF = definite, PL = plural

References

- Borg, Albert and Marie Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997. *Maltese*. London: Routledge.
- Gatt, Albert and Slavomír Čéplö. 2013. Digital corpora and other electronic resources for Maltese. In Andrew Hardie and Robbie Love (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference on Corpus Linguistics*. Lancaster: UCREL, 96–97.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2007. Coordination. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume 2: Complex constructions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–51.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2009. Lexical borrowing: Concepts and issues. In Martin Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor (eds.), *Loanwords in the world's languages. A comparative handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 35–54.
- Lucas, Christopher and Slavomír Čéplö. 2020. Maltese. In Christopher Lucas and Stefano Manfredi (eds.), *Arabic and contact-induced change*. Berlin: Language Science Press, 265–302.
- Matras, Yaron. 2011. Universals of structural borrowing. In Peter Siemund (ed.), *Linguistic universals and language variation*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton (Trends in linguistics Studies and monographs, 231), 204–234.
- Stolz, Thomas and Carolin Ahrens. 2017. On prepositional ellipsis and the factors which block its application in Maltese. In Benjamin Saade and Mauro Tosco (eds.), *Advances in Maltese linguistics*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 121–147.
- Thomason, Sarah G. 2001. *Language Contact*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Vorholt, Maïke. 2022. Can frequency predict length? A crosslinguistic investigation of Zipf's law for European adpositions. In Przemysław Turek and Julia Nintemann (eds.), *Maltese: Contemporary changes and historical innovations*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton: 197–228.
- Vorholt, Maïke. in press. The relevance of origin. Exploring the connection between the origin and frequency of Maltese prepositions. In Nataliya Levkovich (ed.), *Diversity in Contact*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Zipf, George Kingsley. 1949. *Human behavior and the principle of least effort. An introduction to human ecology*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley

Causatives in Sason Arabic and the role of language contact

This paper provides a detailed descriptive investigation of both lexical and productive causatives in Sason Arabic (SA), in terms of the verb-types allowed, how the causee is introduced and the role of language contact. The examination reveals that SA has four ways of expressing causatives, two of which are via morphological processes, i.e. ablaut and gemination, and the other two being periphrastic causatives embedded under the verbs ‘give’ and ‘do/make’, which highlight the role of language contact with Northern Kurdish (and the local Armenian variety which has both types of periphrastic causatives as well, with *tvec* ‘give’ and *stipec* ‘make’).

Ablaut and gemination strategies are found in other Arabic varieties as well (Kurylowicz 1957; Benmamoun 1991; Hallman 2006, i.a.) Consider *lāke tal-e* “The stain came out” vs *tel-tu lāke* “I took out the stain” as an illustration for ablaut.

The ‘give’-causatives, shown in (1), are calqued on the Kurdish periphrastic causative, which uses the verb *bîdîn* ‘give’, (2). I investigate the effect of language contact in other parts of SA; for example, the introduction of infinitives into the SA grammar. The two verbs however differ in some respects: whereas ‘give’ functions like a light verb in Kurdish, it was borrowed into SA more like a lexical verb, as such it can be passivized in SA, but not in Kurmanji. The study provides evidence for a rare *degrammaticalization* process (Norde 2010) in language contact, which involves creation of lexical material out of functional material.

- (1) imm-a (mîša fatma) ši adîd-u addil.
mother-her to fatma food gave-it.m fix.inf
‘Her mother had Fatma cook the food.’

(Lit: The food, her mother gave it to Fatma to fixing) (Sason Arabic)

- (2) mî piskilet do çekîr-in-e.
I.obl bicycle gave repair-infl-obl
‘I had the bicycle repaired’

(Lit: I gave the bicycle to repairing) (Kurmanji Kurdish)

In ‘make’-causatives, the verb ‘make’ embeds a full clause, (3).

- (3) bûşra (mîša) kemal sa-tte f-iyu le ya-gez hadiya.
Büşra to Kemal made-3f in-him him 3m-buy present
‘Büşra made Kemal buy a present.’

Archaic first-layer traits in Libyan Judeo-Arabic

In recent years, the study of lesser-known varieties of Tunisian Arabic, such as Sfaxi Arabic (Zammit 2013; Sellami 2019), has drawn attention to archaic traits found in first-layer (or pre-Hilali) varieties of Maghrebi Arabic, on both the phonological and morphological level. These traits are not only found in Tunisian Arabic, but also in Moroccan and Algerian dialects (Guerrero 2021).

The present paper is based on a thorough study of Libyan Judeo-Arabic dialects of both the coastal and mountain type (D'Anna 2021) and shows the existence of so-far non described archaic traits at both the phonological and morphological level. Such traits are exceedingly rare in other Maghrebi varieties, but have parallels in Maltese and also in extinct varieties of Maghrebi Arabic, such as Siculo-Arabic and Andalusí Arabic. Outside of Northern Africa, parallels are found especially in the Delta area of Egypt, which has often been described as a transitional area between Mashreqí and Maghrebi dialects. The existence of such isoglosses, finally, leads us to reevaluate the question of the Levantine traits in Maltese (Borg 1996), by considering all these traits as ultimately Levantine as far as their origin is concerned, but attested in more archaic varieties of Maghrebi Arabic and in transitional areas.

References

- Borg, Alexander. 1996. On Some Levantine Linguistic Traits in Maltese. *Israel Oriental Studies. Studies in Modern Semitic Languages*.
- D'Anna, Luca. 2021. Judeo-Arabic, Hilali Invaders and the Linguistic History of Libya. In G. Abete, G. Milano & R. Sornicola (eds.), *Dialettologia e storia: problemi e prospettive*, 97–111. Palermo: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani.
- Guerrero, Jairo. 2021. On Interdental Fricatives in the First-Layer Dialects of Maghrebi Arabic. *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 13. 288–308.
- Sellami, Zeineb. 2019. The Dialect of Sfax (Tunisia). In Catherine Miller, Alexandrine Barontini, Marie-Aimée Germanos, Jairo Guerrero & Christophe Pereira (eds.), *Studies on Arabic Dialectology and Sociolinguistics Proceedings of the 12th International Conference of AIDA held in Marseille from May 30th to June 2nd 2017*, 254–276. Aix-en-Provence: Institut de recherches et d'études sur les mondes arabes et musulmans.
- Zammit, Martin R. 2013. The Sfaxi (Tunisian) element in Maltese. In Albert Borg, Sandro Caruana & Alexandra Vella (eds.), *Perspectives on Maltese Linguistics*, 23–44. München: Akademie Verlag. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1524/9783050065144.23>.

A preliminary grammatical sketch and classification of Nabeul Judeo-Arabic (Tunisia)

The *ANU Museum of the Jewish People* reports that the Jewish community of Nabeul (Tunisia) could have counted more than 1,000 souls at the wake of the Tunisian independence (1956), which were reduced to 115 in 1976 due to their migration to France and Israel. This community was extremely influenced from the ones of Tunis and Djerba, whereas the former also heavily influenced it from a linguistic point of view (Taïeb 2010) (although the *nābli* conservative variety would have been found in women speech). In the past decades, Arabic dialectology scholars started to focus on Judeo-Arabic varieties given their conservative traits if compared to the respective Muslim varieties. However, they keep on being extremely understudied, in particular Tunisian dialects and more specifically those of the Cap Bon peninsula, even in their Muslim counterparts (Maamouri 1967; Dallaji 2016: 151-152). A few descriptive notes on the Muslim variety of Nabeul have been given by Dallaji (2016), in which she mentions a marked idiolectal variation and that the traditional dialect seems to be restricted to the periphery or to the surrounding towns. Thus, the study of the respective Judeo-Arabic variety may give us diachronical insights on a possible ancient core, given not only the absence of a proper Jewish neighbourhood that could have resulted in a strong influence by the Muslim variety – as it was the case of Benghazi Judeo-Arabic (D’Anna, *forthcoming*) –, but also its partial maintenance in migratory settings. The corpus hereby employed is composed by first- and second-hand data collected through interviews, whereas the latter are provided by the project *leshon ha-bayit* and recorded in 1993, 1996, and 2020. This paper aims at shedding light on a still unknown linguistic variety through providing a brief grammatical sketch, a classification of its main traits, and a description of contact phenomena due to contact with Hebrew as a dominant language in Israel. The significance of this description is relevant as far as discussions regarding typology of North-African bedouin and sedentarian dialects of Arabic, endangered languages documentation, and description of contact scenarios in migratory settings are concerned.

References

- Dallaji, Ines (2016). “Grammatical and Lexical Notes on the Arabic Dialect of Nabeul (Northern Tunisia)”. *AIDA-10*: 151-162.
- D’Anna, Luca (*forthcoming*). “On the Nature of Benghazi Judeo-Arabic”.
- Maamouri, Mohamed (1967). *The Phonology of Tunisian Arabic*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.

‘Again’-constructions across Arabic dialects

This paper presents a cross-dialectal comparison of a complex predicate type, namely that formed with the verb meaning ‘return’ and a lexical verb X, yielding the meaning of ‘doing X again’, as in (1-4). This construction is found in most Arabic varieties and has been described to different degrees in individual descriptive works (i.e. Cowell 1964, Wallace 2004, Woidich 2006) and treatises of complex predication (Vanhove et al. 2009, Taine-Cheikh 2022). In our paper we provide a detailed analysis of its behavior in several Arabic varieties (Syrian, Egyptian, Iraqi, Moroccan and Algerian) based on authentic data, and carry out a comparison in terms of their morphosyntactic characteristics and semantic and pragmatic properties. Our analysis shows that while the basic shape of this structure is the same across the examined varieties, it can differ in a range of subtle features both formally and functionally. In particular we focus on the flexibility of forms of both the ‘repeat’ verb and the lexical verb, including the dependency between them (as well as their order, which can also be reversed, as in (2) and (4)), and the possibility that the slot of the lexical verb is occupied by a predicate not agreeing with the subject of the ‘return’ verb, as in (4). We also test the option of causativizing the construction, which is possible i.e. in Palestinian Arabic (3), and examine the lexical variation of the very ‘return’ verb (also within the individual varieties (as demonstrated in (3), which features both *radd* and *riḡi*) as well as its possible grammaticalisation to an adverb. As for the semantics and pragmatics, we show that in many varieties the construction have acquired functions beyond the mere expression of ‘again’.

(1) Algerian Arabic

ʃāwəd ʒa ət-tīr
 repeat.PF.3SG come.PF.3SG DEF-bird
 ‘The bird came once again.’

(2) Syrian Arabic

w ʔiza ma fihim-ti ʕalī-ya raddēti, rʒaʕi sʕal-i
 and if neg understand on-1sg return.pf-2sg.f return.imp-2sg.f
 ‘And if you don’t understand something (from me), ask me again.’

(3) Palestinian Arabic

id-duktūr rağğāʿ-ni ā-ḥud id-dawa.

def-doctor return.caus.pf.3sg.m 1sg-take.ipf def-drug

‘The doctor made me take the medicine again.’

(4) Syrian Arabic

ṣār ʿand-i wağʿ rās rġi-ʿ-ət.

become.PF.3SG.M at-1SG ache head return.PF-1SG

‘I got a headache again.’

References

Cowell, Mark. 1964. *A reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Erwin, Wallace M. 2004. *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C.

Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 2022. From embedded propositions to complex predicates. The contribution of Arabic dialects to syntactic typology. *STUF - Language Typology and Universals*. Exploring typological variation across varieties of Arabic, 75 (4), pp.643-684.

Martine Vanhove et al. 2009. The Grammaticalisation of Modal Auxiliaries in Maltese and Arabic Vernaculars of the Mediterranean Area, in *Modals in the Languages of Europe*, éd. par Björn Hansen et Ferdinand De Haan, Mouton de Gruyter, 325-62.

Woidich, Manfred. 2006. *Das Kairenisch-Arabische: Eine Grammatik*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Band 22. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.

New Findings on Pausal Phenomena: A Major Revision of Processes in Pausal Forms

Pausal forms are variant forms of words found in speech, which involve changes in final syllables. They usually occur at the end of a sentence or major phrase or a pause or stop in the speech flow (*waqf*) (Zuniga 2015; Hoberman 2002). These changes involve various phonological processes. However, existing literature on the studies of pausal forms in Arabic dialects are generally limited to introducing the phonetic outcomes of the pausal forms in the variety they deal with.

Retsö was first to propose a classification of pausal processes found in modern Arabic dialects, where he defines eight types (1994, 101-103): 1) Lengthening of short vowels 2) Lowering of long high vowels which affects final CVVC, 3) Diphthongisation which affects final CV and CVVC, 4) Closing with *h* which affects final CV, 5) Glottalisation which affects final CV and CVVC, 6) Nasalisation which affects final CV, 7) Detonalisation (devoicing) which affects both final consonants and vowels, and 8) Anaptyxis which affects final VCC. Regarding (1), lengthening is not restricted to vowels, but it can also affect word-final consonants. It should also be noted that unlike what Retsö has implied, some processes are not necessarily restricted to a particular syllable type. Furthermore, Retsö's classification (1994) was not based on all available dialect documentations: some documentations have been missed, e.g., ez-Zrēriyye (Aro 1978 & 1979). Later documentations, e.g., Latakia (Klimiuk 2011), the Arabic dialect of Šēxtōba (northern Lebanon) (Ağbaht forthcoming), have furthermore allowed us to identify new processes. In Šēxtōba, for instance, the pausal phenomena effect not only vowels and consonants, but also original diphthongs. Moreover, this variety has pause-conditioned morphophonological alternations in 2cpl and 3cpl suffix, and for Pattern I Imperfect verbs. Thus, for a more comprehensive and updated classification new processes also need to be added, such as, centralisation, triphthongisation, deletion, emphasisation, palatalisation, fricativisation or plosivisation.

This study aims at introducing several new processes of pausal forms based on a recent case study, and providing a major revision to Retsö's classification of pausal forms.

Key words: Pausal forms, Levantine Arabic dialects

Bibliography

Ağbaht (forthcoming). *The Arabic Dialect of Šēxtōba/Shaykh Taba (northern Lebanon) in its Regional context*. Ongoing PhD project (planned defense date: December 2023). Uppsala University.

Aro, Jussi. 1978. "Der südlibanesische Dialekt von Ez-Zrēriyye, 1. Texte." *Acta Orientalia* 39: 31–134.

Aro, Jussi. 1979. "Der südlibanesische Dialekt von Ez-Zrēriyye, 2. Grammatik." *Acta Orientalia* 40: 27–71.

Hoberman, Robert D. 2008. "Pausal Forms." In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich, and Andrzej Zaborski, III:564–70. Leiden - Boston: Brill.

Klimiuk, Maciej. 2011. "Arabski dialekt Latakii (Syria). Fonologia i morfologia." Doctoral dissertation, Warsaw: University of Warsaw.

Retsö, Jan. 1994. "The Treatment of Final Syllables in the Classical Arabic Metres: The Linguistic Background." In *Arabic Prosody and Its Applications in Muslim Poetry*, edited by Lars Johanson and Bo Utas, 5:99–106. Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul.

Zuniga, Emilie. 2015. "An Instrumental Study of Pausal Vowels in Il-Ġillī Arabic (Southern Turkey)." Doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.

Non-temporal uses of the “future” in spoken Arabic: a preliminary survey

Studies on the use of so-called “future markers” (FM) in Arabic are not abundant, but include, among others, the excellent work by Taine-Cheikh (2004). While the latter approaches the question from a mainly diachronic perspective, the scope of the present investigation is a purely synchronical and typologically-oriented description of the various FM that are in use across the Arabic-speaking world (for Arabic, see also Mion 2017 on Tunisian and Persson 2008 on Gulf Arabic; for a cross-linguistic approach to the subject, see, among others, Ultan, 1978, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994, and Van der Auwera and Plungian, 1998). Given the great variety of attested forms and functions, this presentation must necessarily be limited to the analysis of a few specific dialectal areas and a few, typologically relevant uses of the FM. In particular, we will focus on the varieties of Arabic spoken in Morocco, Egypt and the Gulf (including Oman), and on two uncommon functions that occur in some or all of these regions, namely: A) the formulation of hypotheses and B) the expression of the habitual past. These are illustrated in examples (1) and (2), respectively:

1) Dhofar (Davey 2016: 253)

bā-yī-kūn *y-ʕrāf* *aḥsan min-nī*
FUT-3MS-be 3MS-know better than-me
“Perhaps he knows better than me”.

2) Omani Sharqiyah (Bettega and Leitner, forthcoming)

bā-t-ṣēd *yumkin* *sāʕt-ēn* *talāṭ* *sāʕ-āt* *tā-stuwi*
FUT-2SG.M-fish.IPFV perhaps hour-DUAL three hour-PL.F 3SG.F-become.IPFV
stīma *šāḥn-e*
boat loaded.AP-F
“(In the past) you’d fish perhaps two, three hours, and the boat was full”.

The linguistic materials used for the analysis will partially rely on secondary sources; however, given that the existing descriptions of TMA systems in spoken Arabic often lack the necessary level of detail, ample use will be made of examples elicited by the author with the help of native speakers of the different varieties under investigation.

References

Bybee, Joan L., Perkins, Revere D. and Pagliuca, William (1994), *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mion, Giuliano (2017), ‘À propos du futur à Tunis’, in Ritt-Benmimoun, Veronika (ed.), *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends, Recent Developments, Diachronic Aspects*, Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, pp. 205-17

Persson, Maria (2008), ‘The role of the *b*-prefix in Gulf Arabic dialects as a marker of future, intent and/or irrealis’, in *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 8 (4), pp. 26–52.

Taine-Cheikh, Catherine (2004), 'Le(s) futur(s) en arabe. Réflexions pour une typologie', in *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí* 8, pp. 215-238.

Ulan, Russell (1978), 'The Nature of Future Tenses', in Greenberg, Joseph H. (ed.), *Universals of Human Language*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 83-123.

Van der Auwera, Johan and Plungian, Vladimir A. (1998), 'Modality's semantic map', in *Linguistic Typology* 2, pp. 79-124.

Pantelleria, a sociolinguistic enquiry going back into history

It is important to realize that Arabic was spoken in Pantelleria for probably as much as 800 to 900 years. In the absence of written documents or other clues, testimonies by travellers over the centuries (12th to 19th c., in Arabic, Latin, Italian, French and English) give us information about the languages, dress, customs and agriculture on the island.

Unlike Sicily -to which it is administratively attached- Pantescans still spoke Arabic long after the 13th c., just like in Malta, and even after the inhabitants had abandoned Islam (probably from 1492 onwards, when Christianisation was imposed by the Aragonese King).

From a sociolinguistic point of view, it seems that since the 12th c., there was a cohabitation of Pantiscu Arabic spoken by vast majority of the population who were peasants, and the castle and the small city around it, where the authorities and the military (30 families at most in the 15th c.) spoke the successive Romance languages of rulers (Catalan, Genoese, Aragonese, Italian...). The island was also massively used to intern convicts across the centuries.

While Maltese survived and developed and became a language of Europe, Pantiscu Arabic probably died out at the end of the 18th c. or the beginning of the 19th c., according to travellers' texts and started evolving towards its very peculiar Modern Romance dialetto.

To have an idea of Pantiscu Arabic, we can also rely on its very original contemporary *dialetto* to which it is "impossible to attribute a precise place within the framework of the Sicilian dialects" according to Tropea (1975) who did a thorough description of it.

We will also rely on Maltese, since at the end of the 17th c., Maltese and Pantiscu were very close, according to former slave Jean Bonnet in 1670 who states that "on parle la même langue à Malte et à la Pantallarie" and thorough comparative studies were carried out, by Joseph Brincat and G. Tropea in particular.

References

- Brincat Joseph. 1977. Malta e Pantelleria : alla ricerca di un sostratto comune, in *Journal of Maltese Studies*, n° 11, Malta University Press, Malta, p. 42-54.
- Galland Antoine, Langlès Louis-Mathieu (ed.). 1810. *Relation de l'esclavage, d'un marchand, de la ville de Cassi ; à Tunis*. Rédigée par Antoine Galland, membre de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, publiée d'après le manuscrit du rédacteur. Paris : Jourdain.
- Tropea, Giovanni. 1975. Per una monografia sul dialetto dell'isola di Pantelleria. In Manlio Cortelazzo (ed.) *La Ricerca Dialettale* , vol. 1, Pisa: Pacini, 223-277.

Multilingual practices in the Arabic-speaking community of Turin

The aim of this paper is to provide a preliminary investigation on the multilingual practices of the Arabic speaking community in Turin, focussing both on code-switching as an interactional practice (Auer 1999, 2014) and on code-mixing (Muysken 2000, 2013; Deuchar et al. 2007) patterns. The community is dialectologically composite and includes both 1st generation migrants who were born in an Arabic-speaking country – mostly Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt –, and 2nd generation individuals who use an Arabic dialect as a heritage language.

We analyse data from two different research projects: *ParlaTo* and *Con Parole Mie*. The first (Cerruti & Ballarè 2020) is a multilingual oral corpus of interviews which represents the languages spoken in the city of Turin; the latter is an educational project (Andorno & Sordella 2021) that focusses on bilingual interaction between migrant students and their families when cooperating in a practical task such as school homework.

A preliminary analysis reveals that code-switching is a preferred option especially in practical tasks, and often reflects individual preferences and degrees of linguistic competence in Arabic and Italian. Code-mixing, on the other hand, allows us to identify potentially emerging patterns in the accommodation of Italian lexical material. When Arabic is the matrix language of the utterance, insertion (Muysken 2000) often requires ad hoc integration strategies especially for verbs, given the typological distance between the two languages. The following example features all these phenomena:

- (1) *i nomadi, huma haduk che: si spostano semp- beh*
det.mpl nomads 3mpl those.m comp refl move.ind:3mpl hes dm
si spostano l=ši bla:sa l=ši bla:sa e: huma
refl move.ind:3mpl to=indef place to=indef place con 3mpl
si spostavano perché caccīw animali
refl move.ind:3mpl because hunt\pfv:3mpl animals

‘The nomads, they are those who move always- well, they move from place to place and they would move because they hunted animals’

In our contribution we will provide a qualitative and quantitative description of these phenomena in our two corpora, thereby contributing to the understanding of the dynamics in which Arabic as a heritage language in Italy is involved.

References

- Andorno C. e Sordella S. (2021), Promuovere un’educazione plurilingue parlando a casa di cose di scuola: esiti da una ricerca-azione. In S. Caruana, K. Chircop, P. Gauci e M. Pace (a cura di), «SAIL», Vol. 18, Venezia, Edizioni Ca’ Foscari.
- Auer, Peter. 1999. From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 3(4), 309–332.

- Auer, Peter. 2014. Language mixing and language fusion: When bilingual talk becomes monolingual. In J. Besters-Dilger, C. Dermarkar, S. Pfänder, & A. Rabus (Eds.), *Congruence in Contact-Induced Language Change* (pp. 294–334). Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Cerruti, Massimo & Silvia Ballarè. 2020. ParlaTO: Corpus del parlato di Torino. *Bollettino dell'Atlante Linguistico Italiano* 44: 171-196.
- Deuchar, M., Muysken, P., & Wang, S.-L. (2007). *Structured Variation in Codeswitching: Towards an Empirically Based Typology of Bilingual Speech Patterns*. 44.
<https://doi.org/10.2167/beb445.0>
- Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual Speech. A Typology of Code-Mixing*. Cambridge University Press.
- Muysken, P. (2013). Language contact outcomes as the result of bilingual optimization strategies. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 16(4), 709–730.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728912000727>

Notes around the Southeastern Sicilian Phonetic Connection with Maltese Language

A number of studies deals with the origins of Maltese loanwords and loan phonology and morphology (Aquilina 1959; Borg 1996; Brincat 2011), some others analyze loanwords quantitatively (Fenech 1978).

Among the borrowings from Sicilian dialects I intend to focus my attention on the resolution of both Latin /pl/ and /kl/ clusters as /č/ as it is the case in the Southeastern Sicilian (SES) dialects (Ruffino 1997:367). To quote just a few examples:

[čavetta] , ‘little key’; SES [čavi], diminutive of It. *chiave*’.

[čar] , ‘clear’, SES [čaru], It. *chiaro*.

[čomb], ‘lead’, SES [čummu], It. *piombo*.

[nuččali], ‘glasses’, SES [uččali], It. *Occhiali*.

I argue that this phonological phenomenon (palatalization of the occlusive velar followed by vowel “i”) is to be linked with the wave of exchanges and migration since and from the Southeastern part of Sicily, that is the closest one to Malta.

Prof. Arnold Cassola has published a lot of researches about migration from Malta and Gozo to this area (Pachino, Vittoria and Scoglitti, among other ones), from the 17th till mid-19th century.

It’s likely that this frequent human exchange has exerted a strong influence on the loanwords featuring this specific phonological phenomenon. I try to trace the semantical areas of these loanwords.

Bibliography

Aliffi, Silvio; Cassola, Arnold. 2013. *Malta-Pachino. Ritorno alle origini*, Siracusa, Morrone.

Aquilina, Joseph. 1959. *The Structure of Maltese: a Study in Mixed Grammar and Vocabulary*. Malta: The Royal University of Malta.

Aquilina, Joseph. 1987–1990. *Maltese-English Dictionary*, 2 vol., Malta: Midsea Books.

Borg, Albert. 1996. “On Some Mediterranean Influences on the Lexicon of Maltese”, in J. Lüdtke (ed.), *Romanica Arabica. Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*, pp. 129-150. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Brincat, Joseph. 2011. *Maltese and Other Languages. A Linguistic History of Malta*. Malta: Midsea books.

Cassola, Arnold. 2018. *I Maltesi di Vittoria e Scoglitti (1628-1846)*, Siracusa, Morrone.

Fenech, Edward. 1978. *Contemporary journalistic Maltese*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Mortillaro, Vincenzo. 1853. *Nuovo Dizzionario Siciliano-Italiano*. Palermo: Stamperia di Pietro Pensante.

Ruffino, Giovanni. 1997. “Sicily”, in *The dialects of Italy*, Martin Maiden and Mair Parry (eds.), 367-375. London: Routledge

Ouafae ADARDOR (doctorante dir. par Alexandrine Barontini et Christophe Pereira, INALCO

Kristen Brustad, Ana Iriarte-Diez, Jason Schroepfer, Corinne Stokes, Phillip Stokes, Mike Turner & Estefania Valenzuela-Mochon

Panel Abstract: A New Grammatical Framework for Arabic Across Varieties

This panel presents aspects of a new grammar of Arabic across spoken, written, and formal varieties (*A Grammar of Arabic*, currently in press). The framework offered is internally comparative, putting varieties of Arabic in conversation with each other. It is framed structurally and functionally, presenting new theoretical frameworks for many structures. The panel will consist of five short papers, each one 10-15 minutes in length, in order to leave plenty of time for questions and discussion.

Paper # 1: Continua and binaries: Linking prescriptive rules to attested patterns

Mike Turner

A core theoretical issue in *A Grammar of Arabic* is how to treat both standardized and unstandardized (spoken or otherwise) varieties within a shared grammatical framework when, on the surface, they often have divergent patterns. Unstandardized varieties are often framed as “breaking” the prescriptive rules of the *fuṣḥā*, but we tend toward a view that the prescriptive rules of standard language are instead distilled from core grammatical principles shared by the dialects. Using examples from the nominal morphosyntax of spoken dialects—namely, the expression of definiteness and the realization of agreement—we explore how grammatical features that are best understood as continua are, in standard varieties, reduced to binaries. This principle allows us to see typical prescriptions of the *fuṣḥā* such as the “non-human plural agreement rule” as attempts to operationalize more broadly shared patterns (here, a tendency for groups acting in unison with little agency to take collective agreement, whether human or not).

Paper # 2: Assertiveness and non-assertiveness in mood marking across Arabic varieties

Estefania Valenzuela-Mochón

This paper presents a new framework for analyzing mood across Arabic varieties, including dialects and pre-modern written Arabic. It proposes that the varieties that grammaticalize mood on the imperfective verb do so to mark stances of assertion. In languages with mood systems, the notion of assertion has been used to explain the modal distinction between the indicative (assertive) and subjunctive (non-assertive). While the indicative mood is generally considered to be the unmarked or neutral verbal modal form, here we argue that, in some varieties of Arabic, the indicative operates as a marked modal form that allows Arabic speakers/writers to express a wide range of assertive modalities.

Paper # 3: Modal expression in dialects that do not mark mood

Corinne Stokes

Paper # 2 presents the assertiveness/non-assertiveness framework that we argue is widely applicable across varieties. However, in Gulf Arabic varieties, the b- prefix signals future and/or intention but not other assertive functions of indicative mood, because there is no grammatically marked assertive/non-assertive contrast in these dialects. This suggests that modality may be primarily expressed through non-morphological means. This paper suggests how we can take the framework of mood presented in the *Grammar* and adjust or expand it with corpus-based research on lexical means of assertion and non-assertion

(UAEU Corpus of Emirati Arabic, the NYUAD Qumar Corpus, and the NYUAD Spoken Khaleej Corpus).

Paper # 4: Word order variation across varieties

Ana Iriarte Díez

Sentence-level word order in the natural language of spoken varieties is difficult to analyze in formal terms beyond saying that it shows wide-ranging variation. In information-pragmatic terms, however, it is possible to identify pragmatic functions of different orders that appear to hold across varieties. This paper presents the *Grammar's* definitions of topic and focus, and presents their functions that appear to be widely shared among varieties with comparative examples.

Paper # 5: ʔafʕal-faʕlā-fuʕl ~ fiʕl pattern as sensory perceptions

Jason Shroepfer

Morphological patterns (*awzān*) have been explored in depth in this grammar. As one example, this paper proposes an expanded meaning for the ʔafʕal-faʕlā-fuʕl ~ fiʕl pattern with reference to Nabati poetry from the Najd. This pattern is usually typed as the pattern of colors and physical defects, and has also been identified to convey textures or behaviors by some scholars. It is proposed here that the pattern can better be seen as encoding noticeable sensory perceptions. While classical dictionaries have examples of this pattern, it is difficult to find living use of it beyond a few common colors and physical descriptions. However, Nabati poetry from the Najd (published by Paul Korpershoek) furnishes examples of this broader semantic field.

قراءات وإضافات على الدراسات الغربية للهجة البريمي

تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى عرض بعض الخصائص الصوتية والصرفية والمعجمية للهجة البريمي، منطلقة من قراءة الدراسات التي تناولت هذه اللهجة بعدّها لهجة تجمع في خصائصها بين اللهجات العمانية البدوية ولهجات الخليج، بعد أن صنّفها جونستون على أنها لهجة ذات خصائص متوافقة مع لهجات الخليج في عام 1967م

وتنطلق الدراسة الحالية من فرضية أن المحكية المنطوقة في البريمي تشكّل مجموعة لهجية واحدة كبيرة، ومع ذلك فإن الدراسة ترصد اختلافات لغوية بين لهجات هذه المجموعة باختلاف الطبيعة الجغرافية للبريمي. وقد جمعت المادة اللغوية لهذه الدراسة من زيارات ميدانية قام بها الباحث إلى مناطق محافظة البريمي في الفترة بين عامي 2018 و2019

وتقارن هذه الدراسة الخصائص اللغوية للهجة البريمي مع نتائج الدراسات السابقة في اللهجة نفسها؛ لمعرفة أوجه الاتفاق والاختلاف، ورصد صور التغييرات اللغوية المهمة خلال عقود زمنية مختلفة، مع الأخذ في الاعتبار سعي الدراسة الحالية إلى محاولة جمع المادة اللغوية الممثلة من مناطق البريمي المختلفة

وتكشف نتائج الدراسة الحالية أن هناك اختلافات لغوية بين لهجات محافظة البريمي، وأن تفسير بعض هذه الاختلافات لا يعود بالضرورة إلى التطور التاريخي للهجة خلال العقود السابقة، بقدر ما يشير إلى اختلافات لهجية باختلاف الجغرافيا والتركيبة الاجتماعية لمناطق البريمي المختلفة، وأنه من غير الدقة الحكم باختفاء الخصائص اللغوية التي رصدت في أوائل الدراسات للهجة البريمي كما يجزم بذلك بعض الدارسين، وأن بعض الأحكام التي أثبتتها تلك الدراسات راجعة إلى عدم فهم الباحثين لجغرافيا البريمي وتكويناتها الاجتماعية، ومن ثم فإن الرواة المختارين لم يكونوا ممثلين بدقة للمجموعة اللهجية في البريمي.

المراجع

- حماد، أحمد عبدالرحمن. (1986). الخصائص الصوتية في لهجة الإمارات العربية: دراسة لغوية ميدانية. الإسكندرية: دار المعرفة الجامعية.
- الصيغ، عبد العزيز سعيد. (نوفمبر، 2013). ظواهر صوتية في العامية العمانية. مجلة الأندلس للعلوم الاجتماعية والتطبيقية، 5 (10)، ص 238-287
- الكثيري، عامر آزاد. (2021). الصوامت الانفجارية في اللهجات واللغات العامية العمانية المعاصرة. مسقط: جامعة (السلطان قابوس). (أطروحة دكتوراة غير منشورة)
- المعشني، محمد سالم. (أكتوبر - ديسمبر، 2006). القاف بين القدامى والمعاصرين: دراسة صوتية مقارنة. مجلة الدراسات اللغوية، مج8، ع4، ص 36-89
- المعشني، محمد سالم. (يوليو، 2018). اللهجات واللغات العامية العمانية المعاصرة؛ دراسة في المفاهيم والمصطلحات والأنواع. مجلة الخليل، ص 13-58
- Al-Balushi, R. (2016). Omani Arabic: More than a Dialect. *Macrolinguistics*, Vol.4, No. 4, The Learned Press.
- Brockett, A. A. (1985). The spoken Arabic of Khabura on the Batina of Oman. *Manchester: Journal of Semitic Studies, Monograph 7, University of Manchester Press.*
- Grünbichler, E. (2015). Linguistic Remarks on the Dialect of AL-Buraymi, Oman. In G. G. Bituna (Ed.), *Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide* (pp. 267-272). Bucharest: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of AIDA.
- Holes, C. (1989). Towards a dialect geography of Oman. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 52(3), pp. 446-462.

Johnstone, T. M. 1967. Eastern Arabian dialect studies. (London Oriental Series, Vol. 17.)
London: Oxford University Press.

Prochazka, T. (1988). *Saudi Arabian dialects*. Distributed by Routledge, Chapman, and Hall,
London ; New York: Kegan Paul International.

اللسان العربي القديم في شبه جزيرة مسندم وأسرار غرابته

يتميز الشريط الساحلي لجنوب وشرق الجزيرة العربية بجغرافية فريدة ليس للتنوع تضاريسه فقط وإنما لتنوع لسانه اللغوي ايضا الذي احتفظ مستوطنيه بخصائص لسان عربي قديم يبدو وكأنه قد تأخر عن اللحاق بتطور النظام اللغوي للغة العربية الفصحى (مريخ: 20,47:2000) فانفصل لسان بعض المناطق، على ما يبدو، في حقبة تاريخية عن اللهجات العربية المجاورة له في التكوين اللغوي والتي تطورت و تشكلت كانعكاس وتأثر لما طرأ على اللغة العربية الفصحى من ارتقاء وتطور.

الجغرافية اللغوية للهجات شبه جزيرة مسندم و التي هي موضوع البحث في هذه الدراسة تبرز كدليل واضح على هذا التشكل اللساني القديم. فلهجات سكانها تشكل بساطا لغويا مطرزا بلهجات ولكنا متشابهة ومتشابهة في بعض زواياها ومتغايرة في زوايا أخرى. هذا التنوع اللهجي في الصوتيات و تراكيب الكلمات يكشف بدون أدنى شك عن لسان عربي قديم إستوطن هذه الجغرافية لفترات طويلة استطاع فيها هذا اللسان الاحتفاظ بخصائصه الصوتية واللفظية وساعده في ذلك التكوين الجيولوجي المميز لجغرافية هذه المناطق.

تذكر لنا كتب التاريخ من خلال الملاحة البحرية في هذا الجزء من العالم النشاط البشري الذي اختزنته مفردات هذه اللهجة وتنوعها الصوتي هذا ما حدا بنا للكتابة عن هذا التنوع والتأثير غير أننا لا نبغى في هذه الدراسة سوى البعد اللغوي في إعداد تصور صحيح لهذا التنوع اللهجي وكشف غرابة هذا اللسان من خلال إعادة تأصيله وتقصي الفرع اللغوي الذي ينتمي إليه وبالرغم من صعوبة هذا الأمر مبدئيا فهذا التنوع ليس له نظاما كتابيا يمثلوه فهو لسان شفهي فقط وفي ظل غياب هذه الذاكرة الكتابية فإن تأصيل اللسان يعتمد بالدرجة الأولى على المقاربة اللغوية بين لهجات ولغات أخرى كان لها حظا اوفر في التدوين. وهذا ما سننتهجه في هذه الدراسة والذي أعتبره بمثابة إعادة قراءة ومراجعة لفرضيات ظلت سائدة لفترة طويلة من الزمن فمثلا المقاربة في النظام الصوتي لكشف غرابة خصائص اللسان كحرف العين في اللغة العربية يماثله شفاهة في لهجات الشحوح صوت الهمزة فإسم (علي) يلفظه المتحدث في لهجات مسندم (ألي). ومن السمات البارزة أيضا لهذه اللهجات هو دمج وتغليب بعض الأصوات على الأخرى مثلا صوت التاء يغلب على صوت الناء فالعدد ثلاثة ينطق ثلونه في هذه اللهجات..

المراجع

1. مريخ، عادل محاد (2000) العربية القديمة ولهجاتها. المجمع اللغوي أبوظبي.
2. الزعبي، أمانة (2013) اللهجة التدمرية القديمة . هيئة أبوظبي للسياحة والثقافة
3. المعشني، محمد سالم (2003) لسان ظفار الحميري المعاصر دراسة معجمية مقارنة. جامعة السلطان قابوس : مركز الدراسات العمانية. مسقط. سلطنة عمان
4. الشحري، علي أحمد (2000) لغة عاد. صلالة ظفار، سلطنة عمان.

Deep Dive into the Habibi Corpus

Corpus studies of Arabic dialects often encounter a scarcity of material. Thus, it was surprising that when the *Habibi – a multi dialect multi national Arabic song lyrics corpus* (El-Haj 2020) surfaced a few years ago, it did not immediately attract a plethora of researchers eager to mine its riches. Almost all references to this corpus are mundane studies that attempt to exploit it as a source of training data for automatic dialect identification. Yet, this corpus offers a unique insight into Arabic dialects as captured in song lyrics in all their colours and shapes, providing a glimpse into the cultural differences, which are intrinsically tied to these dialects.

Given the size of this collection (30,000 Arabic song lyrics by artists from 18 countries, spanning 6 dialectal groups), this study does not dissect the texts song-by-song. Instead, we employ a quantitative approach. This paper analyses the lyrics using white-box methods: Principal Component Analysis and Random Forests. For analysis, we utilize features not only based on lexicon, sub-word units, and phrases but also those related to poetics, such as rhyme schemes, verse length, lexical diversity, and more. Our exploration aims to discern not only which features pertain to which dialect, but also which features are distinctive in shaping individual poetic styles.

El-Haj, M. (2020, May). Habibi-a multi dialect multi national Arabic song lyrics corpus. In *Proceedings of the Twelfth Language Resources and Evaluation Conference* (pp. 1318-1326).

Marginal emphatic consonants in Arabic dialects: Phonemes or not?

This paper examines the status of the so-called ‘secondary emphatics’ in Arabic dialects, consonants considered to be contrastive, but marginal, phonemes in much of the Arabic dialectology research. Descriptions include consonants with a range of places of articulation, e.g. labial /b, m, f/, coronal /r, l, n/, and velar /k, x/ (Davis 2009). When these segments are attested in stems without the primary emphatics /t, d, s, z, ʔ/, they seem to trigger a limited emphasis spread (pharyngealization) effect, backing a neighbouring short/long low vowel /a/ to [ɑ]. This fact, besides their statistical rarity, has sparked a debate on their phonemic status.

An investigation of native and borrowed words with marginal emphatics across Arabic varieties reveals two significant generalizations. The first is that only /r/ and /l/ enjoy a phonemic status in certain dialects, based on evidence from phonological behavior and (near-)minimal pairs. Maghrebi and Egyptian dialects, for example, admittedly have an emphatic /r/ versus a plain /r/, while many Levantine dialects have emphatic /r/ as their sole rhotic phoneme (Youssef 2019). Emphatic /l/ exhibits phonemic behavior in Mesopotamian (Youssef 2023) and various Bedouin, Gulf, and Yemeni dialects (Qafisheh 1977, Rosenhouse 2006). The second observation is that the remaining consonants, including /ʔ/ in other dialects, have a very low functional load such that it is questionable they can be learned as contrastive phonemes.

A more economical alternative, favored from an acquisition perspective, is that learners treat these cases as evidence of a phonemic split in the low vowels, namely /a/ versus /ɑ/ (see also Ferguson 1956, Ghazeli 1977). Under this view, the traditional marginal emphatics are inherently plain consonants that become targets of emphasis spread, triggered by this new /ɑ(:)/ phoneme. Representationally, this emphatic low vowel, together with the primary emphatic consonants, is characterized by a vocalic place [dorsal] feature.

Differentiation of Gozitan dialects and their classification(s) within the group

The dialects spoken on Gozo are traditionally classified as rural dialects of the Maltese language. Hans Stumme (1904) refers to them as ‘*Ishmam-Dialekte*’, whose characteristic feature is the shift of the vowel *ā to o/u (*tafxīm/ʔišmām*). Undoubtedly, this is the common feature of all Gozitan dialects (typical also of some Maltese dialects). On the other hand, there are also significant differences between Gozitan dialects, which encourage discussion on further classifications within the dialect group and delimitation of possible subgroups. However, what phonological or morphological categories should be taken into account to distinguish subgroups among the dialects of Gozo?

To conduct the analysis, I use data collected exclusively during fieldwork in each dialect (17 areas/locality) based on sources such as recordings of spoken texts (narratives and dialogues) and language questionnaires. Based on that, I extract selected differences between the dialects in terms of phonology and morphology, which then serve as a criterion for distinguishing preliminary classifications within the Gozitan dialect group. In addition, I attempt to briefly justify the selection of individual differences included in the study, and I assign characteristic features to the identified subgroups. The presentation, however, becomes first and foremost a proposal for further discussion in this area among Arabic dialectologists and Maltese language researchers.

The research results presented are of particular importance for the protection and preservation of the linguistic heritage of the Maltese archipelago, where dialects are still a unique part of the linguistic landscape, reflecting the local and cultural contexts of the two islands and constituting the linguistic and cultural identity of the communities living there.

Keywords: dialectology, Gozo, Malta, dialect classification, Maltese language

Bibliography

- Agius, Dionisius A. 1992. ‘Morphological Alternatives in the Gozitan Dialects of Maltese’. *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques. Nouvelle série* 4: 111–61.
- Aquilina, Joseph, and B. S. J. Isserlin. 1981. *A Survey of Contemporary Dialectal Maltese. Volume I: Gozo*. Leeds: B. S. J. Isserlin.
- Farrugia, Ruben. 2021. ‘The Acoustic Vowel Space of Gozitan Naduri and Sannati Dialects’. In *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology: Fieldwork—Community—Change*, edited by Maciej Klimiuk, 197–211. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing.
- Ilg, Berta, and Hans Stumme. 1909. *Maltesische Volkslieder im Urtext mit deutscher Übersetzung*. Leipziger semitistische Studien 3,6. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Klimiuk, Maciej. 2021. ‘Language Questionnaire for Gozo, Malta’. *Folia Orientalia* 58: 111–89. <https://doi.org/10.24425/for.2021.142214>.
- Klimiuk, Maciej. 2022. ‘Vowel Length in Maltese Dialects of Gozo’. In *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology: Fieldwork—Community—Change*, edited by Maciej Klimiuk, 213–27. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.17885/heup.859.c13962>.
- Klimiuk, Maciej, and Ruben Farrugia. 2022. ‘A Text in the Maltese Dialect of Sannat (Gozo) with Grammatical Remarks’. In *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology*:

- Fieldwork—Community—Change*, edited by Maciej Klimiuk, 381–96. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.859.c13975>.
- Klimiuk, Maciej, and Maria Lipnicka. 2019. 'Dialectology in Practice: Notes from Fieldwork in Gozo'. In *Arabic Dialectology: Methodology and Field Research*, edited by Werner Arnold and Maciej Klimiuk, 23–32. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Klimiuk, Maciej, and Maria Lipnicka. 2022a. 'Fishing and Cyclone Cutting: A Text from the Area of Għasri within the Dialect Continuum of Gozo (Malta)'. *Mediterranean Language Review* 29: 19–52.
- Klimiuk, Maciej, and Maria Lipnicka. 2022b. 'The Gozitan Dialect of Xewkija: Three Recorded Dialogues and Some Preliminary Remarks'. *The Israel Oriental Studies Annual* 22: 145–77. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004526792_008.
- Lipnicka, Maria. 2022. 'Pausal Diphthongisation in Gozitan Dialects Compared to Zahlé, Lebanon'. In *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology: Fieldwork—Community—Change*, edited by Maciej Klimiuk, 229–41. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.859.c13963>.
- Puech, Gilbert. 1994. *Ethnotextes maltais*. Studia Melitensia 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schabert, Peter. 1976. *Laut- und Formenlehre des Maltesischen anhand zweier Mundarten*. Erlanger Studien 16. Erlangen: Verlag Palm & Enke.
- Stumme, Hans. 1904. *Maltesische Studien. Eine Sammlung prosaischer und poetischer Texte in maltesischer Sprache nebst Erläuterungen*. Leipziger semitistische Studien 1,4. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

Ya3ne vs. Mela: DMs in certain Arabic and Maltese vernaculars

My research provides both a theoretical framework and qualitative research using computer-aided analysis to identify main forms and functions of discourse markers (DMs) of Damascene Arabic (DA) vernacular and Maltese (M).

From a functional point of view (cf. Jaradat 2021), hypothetically, both DA and M share interpersonal, referential, structural and cognitive (cf. Maschler 1998) categories. At the same time, while a quantitative advantage of structural and cognitive markers can be attributed to DA, M rather prefers referential ones.

In the context of grammatical categories i.e. parts of speech (POS), while the dominance of conjunctive adverbs in M can be assumed (mela, issa), DA rather leans toward "non-adverbial" conjunctive interjections such as ya3ne (derived from an active indicative verb) and 2no (an invariable form of SA conjunction 2nna) (cf. Habib 2021). Still, M's ta' interjection is a parallel in terms of being derived from a verb.

In both cases, response particles, such as M: mhux hekk? and DA: ma hayk?, are widely used. In addition, usage of other interjections from diverse semantic etymologies, such as M: Fheqq or DA: lak, shismo can also be detected. This presentation also intends to explore whether or not given DMs perform similar functions and occupy the same semantic fields as their hypothetical equivalents.

References

- Habib, R. (2021) The use of the discourse markers yaʕni and ʔinnu: 'I mean' in Syrian Arabic, *Journal of Pragmatics*, Volume 178, 245-257.
- Jaradat, A. (2021) Grammaticalization of discourse markers: views from Jordanian Arabic, Heliyon, Volume 7, Issue 7.
- Maschler, Y. (1998). Rotsè lishmoa kéta?'wanna hear something weird/funny [lit.'a segment']?': The discourse markers segmenting Israeli Hebrew talk-in-interaction. *Discourse markers: Description and theory*, 13-60.

DAY 2

On the trail of Tunisian Arabic between the 17th and 18th centuries:

Mixed Elements in 'Middle' Texts

While studies on the Arabic spoken in Tunisia in the present day are prolific, the same cannot be said for medieval and modern Tunisian. Knowledge of the latter is only possible through the examination of 'middle' texts, composed in that variety of written language known as Middle Arabic. If some systematic studies of Mashriq Middle Arabic are available (consider, for instance, Lentin 1999), on the other hand, Maghrebi Arabic deserves to be investigated in depth. Indeed, many texts remain unpublished or unstudied, although some interest has been shown, for example, in medieval Moroccan (Turner 2022), and extinct varieties such as Andalusí Arabic (Corriente, Pereira, Vicente 2015) and Sicilian Arabic (La Rosa 2019) are now fairly well known. Faced with a well-established tradition of linguistic studies on Middle Arabic and mixed varieties (suffice it to think of the work of AIMA), the description of Tunisian Arabic in medieval and modern times would be useful not only from a synchronic point of view, but also and above all from a historical perspective, that is, aimed at dating the genesis of some linguistic phenomena still attested today and identifying others that may have disappeared. It would also help to add a valuable tile to the complex linguistic mosaic constituted by medieval and modern Maghrebi dialects and to highlight possible common features shared by them, peculiarities of Tunisian Arabic and possible isoglosses shared with other varieties in the region.

In this paper, I will provide a preliminary linguistic analysis of some Tunisian texts that are not strictly literary, but rather para-literary, and are more likely to present mixed elements and a "mixed" language. I will examine, in particular, some historical texts, composed between the 17th and 18th centuries, in order to present an initial description of the language of these works.

Keywords: Tunisian Arabic, Middle Arabic, Mixed varieties, para-literary texts, Historical Dialectology

Rāhu En Arabe Tunisien: De La Grammaticalisation À La Lexicalisation

La grammaticalisation du verbe *ra'ā*¹ "voir" (√r'y), issu de l'arabe standard, sous la forme conjuguée à l'impératif avec la P2 du masculin : *ra* "vois", en particule a fait l'objet de nombreuses études, dans différentes variétés dialectales de l'arabe (cf. Caubet 1992 pour l'arabe marocain). En effet, celle-ci participe, entre autres², de la prédication existentielle, pouvant de ce fait rendre compte des constructions copulatives en français. Toutefois, la lexicalisation subie dans un second temps par cette particule, laquelle s'est figée sous la forme déclinée à la P3 du masculin : *rāhu*, n'a, à notre connaissance, du moins pour ce qui est de l'arabe tunisien, fait l'objet d'aucune étude.

Ainsi, nous proposons de retracer le chemin parcouru par cette particule, dont l'affiliation à une catégorie grammaticale n'est pas sans poser problème, étant donné que, fonctionnant en tant qu'auxiliaire, celle-ci subit le même traitement que les particules, c'est-à-dire qu'elle se décline par adjonction des pronoms enclitiques objets et non des pronoms enclitiques sujets, ce qui atteste d'une première phase de grammaticalisation de la lexie, et explique son rattachement à la catégorie des particules. Cet exposé sera ponctué d'exemples tirés d'un corpus oral fermé, constitué de transcriptions d'épisodes de deux séries en arabe tunisien, produites entre les années 1960 et les années 2010 par la télévision nationale. L'intérêt de ce corpus réside dans le fait qu'il nous permet de mener une étude en micro-diachronie, nous permettant d'observer l'évolution de l'usage de cette particule.

En effet, outre son usage dans des constructions prédicatives existentielles, nous notons l'usage d'une forme invariable *rāhu*, que nous avons choisi de traduire par la locution prépositionnelle "Pour ta gouverne", soit à l'attaque, soit à la fin d'un énoncé, comme le montrent les exemples (1) et (2), tirés de notre corpus d'étude.

(1)	<i>rāhu</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>t-ḡammaq</i>	<i>l-'īn-īn</i>	<i>t-a'mel</i>	<i>un</i>
	<i>ra:hu</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>tYammaq</i>	<i>lʕi:ni:n</i>	<i>taʕmel</i>	<i>ē</i>
	pour ta gouverne	part.=quand	inacc.P2- assombrir	art.déf.-œil-Pl	faire	art.indéf.
	rouge	à	lèvre-s	nude		
	<i>kuʒ</i>	a	<i>levʕ</i>	<i>nju:d</i>		
	rouge	prép.	Lèvre-Pl	adj.		
	« Si tu veux maquiller les yeux avec une couleur sombre, il faut mettre un rouge à lèvres nude ».					

¹ Notons que ce verbe existe en arabe tunisien sous la forme *rā*, *yrā* "voir", conservant, dans les contextes où il est utilisé en tant que verbe, son sémantisme initial.

² D'autres valeurs, telles que celles développées dans l'article de Caubet (1992), existent en arabe tunisien également.

(2)	samaḥ-na samahna excuser.imp.P2- pr.enclitique.P4	madame mada:m terme d'adresse	c'est se présentatif	juste zyst adv.	notre not dét.poss.P4	cuisine kūzin cuisine
	interne ēteɛn adj.	rāhu ra:hu pour ta gouverne				
	« Excuse-nous madame, c'est juste notre cuisine interne ».					

Bibliographie

CAUBET, Dominique, « Deixis, aspect et modalité : les particules hā- et rā- en arabe marocain » dans MOREL, Mary-Annick ; DANON-BOILEAU, Laurent (éds), *La deixis : colloque en Sorbonne, 8-9 juin 1990*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1992, 139-149.

CHATAR-MOUMNI, Nizha, « Les unités hūwa et rā sont-elles des copules en arabe marocain ? », *La linguistique*, 39, 2003, 87-96.

COHEN, David, *Le parler arabe des juifs de Tunis. Tome II : Étude linguistique*, Paris, Mouton, 1975.

HEINE, Bernd ; KUTEVA, Tania, « Contact and Grammaticalization », dans HICKEY, Raymond (éd.), *The Handbook of Language Contact*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, 86-105.

HEINE, Bernd ; NARROG, Heiko, « Grammaticalization », dans LEDGEWAY, Adam ; ROBERTS, Ian (éds), *The Cambridge Handbook of Historical Syntax*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017, 7-27.

HOUJ, Sirine, *Étude de l'évolution de l'usage des emprunts au français dans le dialecte tunisien*, Mémoire de Master, Paris, Sorbonne Université – Faculté des Lettres, 2020.

LECOLLE, Michelle, « Changement dans le lexique – changement du lexique : lexicalisation, figement, catachrèse », *Cahiers de praxématique*, 46, 2006, 23-42.

LEHMANN, Christian, *Thoughts on grammaticalization*, 2^e édition, Arbeitspapiere des Seminars für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Erfurt, n°9, 2002.

MARÇAIS, Philippe, *Esquisse grammaticale de l'arabe maghrébin*, Paris, La librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1977.

PREVOST, Sophie, « Grammaticalisation, lexicalisation et dégrammaticalisation : des relations complexes », *Cahiers de praxématique*, 46, 2006, 121-139.

SINGER, Hans-Rudolf, *Grammatik der arabischen Mundart der Medina von Tunis*, Berlin ; New-York, De Gruyter, 1984.

Intra-Bedouin Isoglosses in Tunisia: old ones revisited and new ones proposed

In his 1950 publication *Initiation à la Tunisie* Marçais presented a number of isoglosses for Tunisian dialects - isoglosses separating sedentary dialects from Bedouin ones and isoglosses separating two large blocks of Bedouin dialects in Tunisia, the H- (Hilāl) and the S- (Sulaym) dialects (see also Ritt-Benmimoun 2014). Many further studies were based on his distinction without seriously challenging them (see Benkato 2019). Marçais himself, however, stated that all the inner regions of Tunisia, where H-dialects are supposed to be spoken, were a *terra incognita* (in his words a *terra ignota*) and that a huge text corpus and systematic questionnaires were needed to bring light to the varieties spoken in these regions. 70 years later we have systematic questionnaires for seven governorates recorded in various fieldwork campaigns within our TUNOCENT-project,^{3*} and we are establishing a text corpus based on recordings of free speech. As this project concentrates on a region where exclusively Bedouin-type dialects are supposed to be spoken we will concentrate on the isoglosses separating H- from S-dialects. We will, first, briefly show the validity of a selection of Marçais' isoglosses for our data (including phonological, morphological and lexical variables). As some of these have turned out to be rather invalid, there is definitely an urgent need to expand the isoglosses presented by Marçais. Thus, in a second step we will suggest some new isoglosses and test their validity for Marçais' distinction. Among them are: (A) in morphology: (1) the form of the negative copula (*mišni* vs. *mānīš*), (2) interrogatives, (3) future markers, (4) indirect object suffixes (-*illi*, -*layya*, -*li*), (5) polar question markers; (B) in syntax: the copula *yḍāl* (in various forms) vs. *yabda*; *Ḥād* vs. *ywalli*; (C) in lexis: e.g. *aṛṛāḥ* vs. *tḥāla* vs. *tḥa*; adverbs extended with -*tīya* and -*kīya*: *tawwitīya*, *tammikīya*. In a third step we will investigate whether some of the old and the new isoglosses form bundles on the basis of which the internal classification of Tunisian Bedouin-type dialects can be re-considered and the role these dialects have within the Maghrebi dialects be determined.

References

- Benkato, Adam. 2019. "From Medieval Tribes to Modern Dialects: On the Afterlives of Colonial Knowledge in Arabic Dialectology." *Philological Encounters* 4, 2-25.
- Marçais, William. 1950. "Les parlers arabes." In A. Basset (ed.), *Initiation à la Tunisie*. Paris, 195-219.
- Ritt-Benmimoun, Veronika. 2014. "The Tunisian Hilāl and Sulaym Dialects: A Preliminary Comparative Study." In O. Durand, A.D. Langone & G. Mion (eds.), *Alf lahğā wa lahğā. Proceedings of the 9th Aida Conference*. Wien-Münster, 351-359.

^{3*} "Tunisia's Linguistic *terra incognita*: An Investigation into the Arabic Varieties of Northwestern and Central Tunisia" (TUNOCENT) funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), project number P 31647-G.

Daniela Rodica Firanescu

Ana miš raḍyāne wala hāga! - Širti tehki sūri mət³lna, šū mā-lik raḍyāne?!

Code-Switching and Choice between Syrian and Egyptian, outside Little Damascus (Cairo)

This article researches the alternance, in conversation, of two colloquial varieties of Arabic – Syrian and Egyptian – in areas of Cairo situated *outside* of “Little Damascus” (Cairo). It should be considered in relation to previous articles (Firanescu: 2021, 2022, 2024 - in print), in which we have taken an attentive look at the mixing of the two dialects *inside* this area, the analysis leading to the general conclusion that the Syrian refugees’ usage of Egyptian dialect, mixed with Syrian, within “Little Damascus” (Cairo) – an area where the Syrians’ business (especially in the food industry) is flourishing – was a spontaneously created “lect”, an instance of convergence, meant to ensure the social inclusion of Syrians in the Egyptian environment.

In the present article, we switch the investigation from that business area to various places in Cairo (Cairo’s streets, neighborhoods, social networking with Cairenes, etc.), aiming at observing the encounters of the two codes in a rather neuter socio-linguistic context that is not related to the success of the Syrian refugees’ business (a constraint that may influence or determine the goal-oriented code choice and the construction of a “lect”), but favors a more free, unselfconscious code-switching or choice. The corpus consists of videos posted online, filmed between 2016-2022. The contextual analysis of the code-switching (or simply code choice) by the interlocutors points to some significant conclusions, the main inference being that the Syrian dialect, due to the living together of Egyptians and Syrians for over a decade, has become understood and integrated by Egyptians to a larger extent than possibly expected. Sociolinguistic aspects involved (including the performance of humor), and their implications, are discussed.

“-šō ‘am bətsawo? - ‘am-nihko”. A case study on Syro-Moroccan code-mixing and linguistic accommodation strategies in Brussels

Keywords: *code-switching, code-mixing, Moroccan dialect, Syrian dialect, linguistic accommodation, Brussels context*

Belgium, like many other (European) countries, now counts thousands of Syrian refugees in its population (23,500 as of 2019 according to CBAI).⁴ This new community of Arabic-speaking immigrants has been in contact with the longer-established one of Moroccan origin, especially in Brussels where they represent 1/5th of the population (according to data from the Museum of Migration⁵). In their process of accommodating to the new country and managing everyday life, many Syrians have thus come in contact with Moroccan dialect (here regarded as one linguistic variety although not disregarding their actual plurality).

Along the lines of former studies that focused on inter-dialectal interactions between Arabic speakers outside of the Arab world, such as in the U.K. (Abu-Haidar 1994), in the U.S. (Chakrani 2015), or in France and Denmark (Haslé et al. 2019), this study uses data collected in Brussels in July 2023 to explore the linguistic phenomena arising from such contact.

The data consist of a 4-hour recording of an informal conversation involving a Syrian mother, her elder daughter and their Moroccan neighbour. Several instances of code-mixing were noted in the Syrian participants' speech, at all phonological, morpho-syntactical and lexicon levels, as well as hybrid forms and code-switching towards MSA.

This descriptive and preliminary study is designed as an exploratory step before initiating a PhD project looking into community interpreters' (lay and professional) strategies for coping with Arabic variation in their practice.

References

Abu-Haidar, F. (1994). Cross-dialectal interaction: Examples from three Arabic speech communities in the UK, *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20 (1/2). 215-228.

Chakrani, B. (2015). Arabic interdialectal encounters: Investigating the influence of attitudes on language accommodation. *Language & Communication*, 41. 17-27.

Haslé J., van Kampen, N., Germanos, M.-A., Barontini, A. (2019) Notes sur l'accommodation linguistique entre arabophones. Proceedings of the 13th International Conference of AIDA, June 10-13 2019.

⁴ https://www.cbai.be/imag-348_septembre2019_web/

⁵

<https://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/reportages/belgique-communaute-marocaine-politique-culture-gastronomie-immigration>

Phonological Code-Switching in the Public Speeches of Hassan Nasrallah: An In-Depth Analysis of Linguistic Variation

Key words: *Political discourse analysis. Arabic phonology. Hassan Nasrallah. Code-switching. Communication strategies.*

This paper aims to analyze the phonological aspects of speeches by Hezbollah's prominent figure, Hassan Nasrallah. Matar underscores the group's skill in propagating a symbolic portrayal of its Secretary-General (2009;2), often achieved through his public orations.

In the realm of Arabic political speech analysis, code-switching's role as a communicative tool has been studied and theorized. For instance, Mazraani (2011;7) asserts the choice between standard or colloquial Arabic depends on the subject. In a crucial article, Germanos (2018) discusses code-switching in one of Nasrallah's speeches, noting the fluid use of language varieties. Building on Germanos, this paper delves into this topic, emphasizing the phonological aspects of code-switching in Nasrallah's speech, based on roughly 35 speeches.

This study explores Nasrallah's public addresses, investigating linguistic attributes, patterns, and communication tactics. The focus is on revealing how phonological code-switching contributes to his persuasion and audience engagement. By employing tools and methodologies from the fields of critical discourse analysis and sociolinguistics, the research examines both surface-level language choices and deeper socio-political meanings in Nasrallah's speeches.

Methodologically, we employ Wodak and Meyers' CDA theory of four analysis levels (2009;43) as a framework, structuring subsequent sections discussing linguistic characteristics in Nasrallah's speeches.

In conclusion, this paper significantly contributes to linguistics by elucidating the intricate use of code-switching in Nasrallah's public speeches. By exploring linguistic structures and socio-political implications, this study provides invaluable insights into the discourse of a charismatic leader and its profound impact on audience perceptions and beliefs.

Bibliography

- Germanos, Marie-Aimée. 2018. « Fonctions de l'alternance entre arabe standard et vernaculaire libanais et connotations des deux codes dans un discours politique d'opposition », *Arabica* 65. Pp. 501-536.
- Mazraani, Nathalie. 2011. "Political Discourse and Language", in: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Managing Editors Online Edition: Lutz Edzard, Rudolf de Jong.
- Matar, Dina. 2015. "Hassan Nasrallah: The cultivation of image and language in the making of a charismatic leader", *Culture, Communication & Critique* 8, 3. Pp. 433-447.
- Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, Michael. 2009. *Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology*. In R. Wodak, & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*, London.

Animal Idioms and Proverbs Used in Baghdadi Arabic

An idiom is a 'unit' formed by a group of words, or, alternatively, it can be described as a phrase highly influenced by culture, which possesses a figurative meaning not easily deduced from its literal composition, thus transcending the meanings of its individual words. Common idioms consist of words and phrases used in a language to convey a succinct idea, primarily utilized in informal and conversational communication.

A proverb, on the other hand, is a concise, widely recognized saying offering behavioral advice or expressing a universally accepted belief.

In this paper, I will present an analysis of Baghdadi Arabic idioms and proverbs related to the animal kingdom. This analysis is based on a corpus of data I have collected during my recent visits to Iraq, complemented by dictionaries of Iraqi/Baghdadi Arabic and numerous references from the Iraqi journal *at-Turāṭ Aš-Ša'bī* (The Folk Heritage). Although this paper focuses on a relatively small inventory of idioms and proverbs, it organizes them thematically with the objective of drawing observations concerning their research methodology, both in terms of their significance and form. This includes examining the impact of rhythm and rhyme on their original form and the influence of semantic content on their structure.

Examples of idioms include: *ʿiris wāwi* (jackal wedding - signifying a chaotic situation); *liyye w lōz* ("tail [of a fat-tailed sheep] and almond" – elements of a special occasion meal, representing "a complete harmony of things" or "really good"), and more.

Examples of proverbs include: *il-bazzūne tufraḥ bi-ʿaza ahihā* ("the cat rejoices at the mourning ceremony of its family" – because it has the opportunity to eat more; illustrating "one who exploits the misfortunes of those around them"); *uḥuḍ iš-šōr min rās iṭ-ṭōr* ("take the advice from the head of the ox" – ironically suggesting caution when "considering advice from someone with limited wisdom"), among others.

The oral tradition of female quatrains.

New comparative perspectives in the Mediterranean

In 1996, an article entitled “*Les Chants de l'escarpolette au Maghreb*” appeared in the *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, published by the University of Malta. At that time, given the documentation available, our research was still focused mainly on North Africa. Nearly three decades later, it is clear that the study of the poetic repertoires of female quatrains from oral tradition requires a considerable widening of the field of research.

If the comparative approach is therefore more necessary than ever, it must necessarily concern Mediterranean societies as a whole. Furthermore, it must apply as well to corpora as to the linked poetic imaginaries, anthropological practices and symbolic issues such as they may have been constituted and evolved within communities undoubtedly sharing at least some socio-cultural characteristics.

Following the pioneering work of Mohamed El-Fassi and Jeanne Jouin (for Morocco), William Marçais and Saâdeddine Bencheneb (for Algeria), Joseph Cassar-Pullicino and Micheline Galley (for Malta), our contribution will focus on some expected poetic and anthropological convergences between the repertoires of female quatrains in North African and Maltese contexts. More specifically, it will attempt to answer some crucial questions concerning the emergence and diffusion of this type of poetic production in the Western Arabic-speaking area, the impact of diasporic phenomena on the circulation of certain cultural models, or even the transfer of functions resulting from radical historical and socio-cultural ruptures.

"Exploring Andalusí Judeo-Arabic Through Genizah Manuscripts and Epistolary Correspondence"

The main objective of this academic research is to conduct an analysis of two epistolary texts recovered from the Cairo Genizah. These epistolary documents, both dating from the 12th century, constitute a correspondence between prominent Andalusian individuals and Jewish merchants and associates located in Egypt. They form part of a larger collection of Judeo-Arabic correspondence currently under study, with the aim of identifying the distinctive linguistic traits of Andalusí Judaeo-Arabic. This endeavour significantly contributes to the field of medieval Judeo-Arabic studies and expands the pool of research materials available for the analysis of the Andalusí Arabic dialect. The term "Judeo-Arabic" refers to linguistic variants of the Arabic language used by Jewish communities, which differ in certain linguistic aspects from the Arabic used by the rest of the population. The specific linguistic characteristics vary according to historical periods and geographical contexts. It is worth noting that, according to Joshua Blau's perspective, medieval Judeo-Arabic serves as a source of information about the history and evolution of the Arabic language.

Throughout this study, we will transcribe the aforementioned epistolary documents and examine their dialectological features, elucidating their alignment with the characteristics of medieval Judeo-Arabic and Andalusí Arabic. Furthermore, this research will shed light on the socio-cultural context in which these letters were written and received. Importantly, one of the manuscripts under analysis corresponds to a letter sent by Judah ha-Levi to his friend Ḥalfon ben Netanel, a merchant from Fustāṭ, Egypt, who frequently visited al-Andalus. This specific letter addresses the involvement of various Jewish communities in Spain in the rescue of a young captive Jewish woman. Through the linguistic analysis of this manuscript, preserved in the University of Cambridge Library (Taylor-Schechter Collection), noteworthy linguistic features from the perspective of Arabic linguistics and the sociolinguistics of Jewish languages will be highlighted.

References

- Blau, Joshua. (1980). *A Grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press (2^a ed.). 1961 Jerusalem (1^a ed.)
- ; (1981). *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*. Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute (2^a ed.).
- Gallego, María Ángeles. (1997), 'Factor religioso y factor lingüístico en el judeo-árabe medieval', *Ilus. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* 2: 39-48.
- Gallego, María Ángeles (2006). *El judeo-árabe medieval. Edición, traducción y estudio lingüístico del Kitab al-taswi'a de Yonah ibn Ganah*, Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 181.

The Jewish Arabic dialects of southern Kurdistan within the Jewish *qeltu* dialects continuum

In 1978, Otto Jastrow divided the *qeltu* family of Mesopotamian Arabic into three branches: the Tigris branch, the Euphrates branch, and the Anatolian branch. Following extensive fieldwork that was conducted in the 80's and 90's among Iraqi-Kurdistan Jews who lived in Israel, Jastrow added a fourth branch to the family – the Kurdistan branch, which is comprised only of Jewish dialects. This branch was further divided into two sub-branches: the northern one and the southern one.

While Jastrow had the opportunity to encounter informants that spoke different dialects of the northern sub-branch and to describe their dialects in relative depth, his conclusions about the southern Kurdistan sub-branch were limited to a single encounter with one informant from Kirkuk. To get a clearer picture of the southern sub-branch, an effort has recently been made to conduct more fieldwork among additional speakers who immigrated to Israel from Kirkuk, as well as speakers from Khanaqin, a town on the Iraqi-Iranian boarder. The collected materials were enriched by recordings sourced online and obtained from secondary resources featuring speakers from these two dialects, as well as from Tuz Khurmatu, a small town within the region.

Through the analysis of the newly discovered material, this presentation will highlight the key grammatical characteristics of the identified dialects. We will then proceed to a comparative examination, contrasting these dialects with those of northern Kurdistan and the Jewish dialect of Baghdad. This comparative approach will provide us with initial insights into the position of the southern Kurdistan dialects within the broader continuum of Jewish *qeltu* dialects.

An Introduction to the Jewish Dialect of Ghardaïa (Saharan Algeria)

The linguistic landscape of the Mzāb region in Central-Eastern Algeria has been previously outlined for Muslim Arabic dialects through a concise grammatical sketch provided by Grand'Henry in 1976. However, little is known about the Jewish varieties of this region. During Grand'Henry's fieldwork, the speakers of these Jewish dialects had already migrated to Israel and France. This study, based on the author's original fieldwork, aims to cast light on the hitherto unstudied Jewish dialect of Ghardaïa - the capital of the Mzāb region. A total of 11 informants were interviewed during the fieldwork which was conducted in diverse locations in Israel during multiple trips between December 2022 and August 2023. The study focuses on several aspects of phonology, such as consonant inventory, diphthongs, and acoustic analysis of vowel qualities, as well as morphology, particularly verb morphology and preverbal particles. The findings suggest that Jewish Ghardaïa displays a mixture of diverse features, primarily influenced by the speaker's gender. Through linguistic analysis, an attempt is made to discern potential historical connections between this dialect and Jewish Djerba. Historical evidence, as noted by Stein, suggests that in the 14th century CE, several families from the Tunisian island of Djerba were resettled to Ghardaïa by its Ibadite leaders to partake in metalwork and jewellery crafting. Overall, the paper offers an overview of the most prominent linguistic features of the previously unknown Jewish dialect of Ghardaïa, underlying an importance of historical and socio-linguistic approaches to dialectology.

Acquiring linear and templatic plural formation systems: A focus on Maltese

In languages with inflectional number marking, the plural system is acquired early on by toddlers. Maltese, like other Semitic languages, has two types of plural formation systems: linear and templatic plurals. Linear, or concatenative, plurals are formed by attaching a suffix to the singular form (e.g., *żring* 'frog' ~ *żringġijiet* 'frogs'). Templatic, or non-concatenative, plurals are formed by nonlinear superposition arrangements of consonants and vowels (e.g., *ġeru* 'puppy' ~ *ġriewi* 'puppies'). The former are known as sound plurals and the latter as broken plurals. Maltese has 12 sound plural suffixes and 11 broken plural patterns (Nieder et al., 2020).

The present paper investigates Maltese child language acquisition of the plural. This work forms part of my ongoing doctoral research on the acquisition of Maltese morphosyntax. Eleven typically-developing Maltese-dominant children are being followed up for 2 consecutive years. The children in this longitudinal study are aged 18-36 months at the initial data collection stage and are followed up at 4/6-month intervals. Both naturalistic and controlled data are being collected during video-recorded 45-minute sessions.

In this paper, results from real-word pluralisation production tasks and nonce-word pluralisation production tasks are presented as well as instances of the sound and broken plural featured in the naturalistic data. The results are compared to those in studies on the acquisition of the plural in other Arabic varieties, namely, Jordanian Arabic (e.g., Albirini, 2015; Mashaqba et al., 2020), Palestinian Arabic (e.g., Saiegh-Haddad et al., 2012) and Kuwaiti Arabic (e.g., Abdalla et al., 2012). In this light, the developmental trajectories of the sound and broken plural are examined in order to better understand whether children follow a dual mechanism or an analogical mechanism when acquiring sound and broken plurals.

References

- Abdalla, F., Aljenaie, K., & Mahfoudhi, A. (2013). Plural noun inflection in Kuwaiti Arabic-speaking children with and without specific language impairment. *Journal of Child Language*, 40(1), 139-168. <https://10.1017/S0305000912000499>
- Albirini, A. (2015). Factors affecting the acquisition of plural morphology in Jordanian Arabic. *Journal of Child Language*, 42(4), 734-762. <https://10.1017/S0305000914000270>
- Mashaqba, B., Al-Khawaldeh, N., AlGweirien, H. & Al-Edwan, Y. (2020). Acquisition of broken plural patterns by Jordanian children. *Linguistics*, 58(4), 1009-1022. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2020-0024>
- Nieder, J., van de Vijver, R., & Mitterer, H. (2020). Knowledge of Maltese singular-plural mappings: Analogy explains it best. *Morphology*, 31(2), 147-170. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11525-020-09353-7>
- Saiegh-Haddad, E., Hadieh, A., & Ravid, D. (2012). Acquiring Noun Plurals in Palestinian Arabic: Morphology, Familiarity, and Pattern Frequency: Arabic Plural Noun Acquisition. *Language Learning*, 62(4), 1079-1109.

Secondary/auxiliary vowels in the history of Maltese

Borg (1978: 22) notes that “notarial documents from the 15th and 16th centuries containing transcriptions of Maltese place-names display the secondary vowels *a* or *i* in medial consonant clusters”. According to Borg (1978) the quality of this secondary/auxiliary vowel is phonologically conditioned, i.e. the “helping vowel [is] *a* intervening between C₂ and C₃ when either of these has the backness feature”, i.e. /x, ɣ, h, ħ, ʕ/, and *i* elsewhere. On this analysis, the secondary/auxiliary vowels exhibit complementary distribution.

The examination of records of Maltese, however, yields a more complex picture. First, Borg’s (1978) data are shown to be equally amenable to an alternative analysis, whereby the vowel preceding C₂ enforces via vowel copying the occurrence of either [a] or [ɪ] as a secondary/auxiliary vowel. Second, secondary/auxiliary vowels continue to occur relatively frequently in 17th-century records, such as archival records of the Roman Inquisition (Cassar 2005), Thezan’s *Regole per la lingua Maltese* (Cassola 1992) and Abela 1647), and isolated instances are found even in the 18th century, in e.g. *Il “Mezzo Vocabolario” Maltese-Italiano del ’700* (Cassola 1996). Finally, on the strength of the evidence provided by 17th-century records, it is shown that: (i) Maltese resorted to three secondary/auxiliary vowels – [a], [ɪ] and [o]; (ii) phonological conditioning is less strict than hitherto assumed, with [ɪ] occasionally occurring in a back environment as well; (iii) in addition to the backness feature, progressive vowel copying (Avram 2016) also played a role in determining the quality of the “secondary/auxiliary” vowel, whereby an /o/ preceding C₂ determines the selection of [o].

References

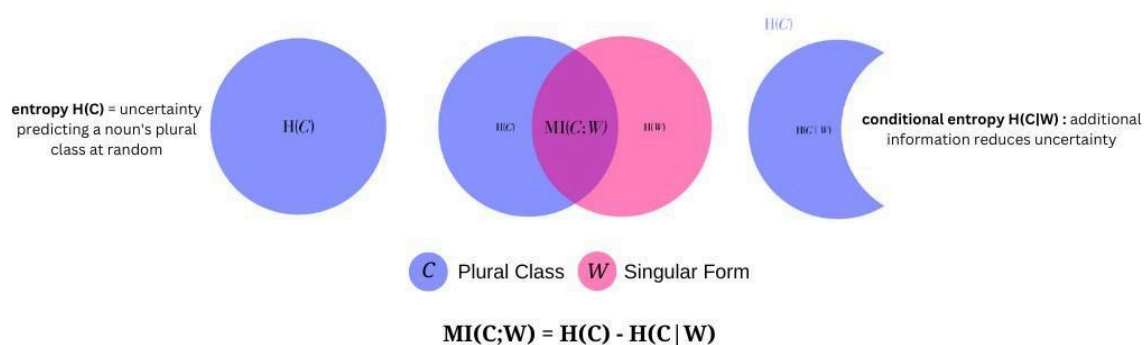
- Abela, Giovanni Francesco. 1647. *Della descrizione di Malta isola nel mare siciliano. Con le sue antichità, ed altre notizie*. Malta: Paolo Bonacota.
- Avram, Andrei A. 2016. Evidence from onomastics for the diachrony of Maltese vowels. *Mediterranean Language Review* 23: 163-176.
- Borg, Alexander. 1978. Historical aspects of auxiliary vowels in Maltese. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 70: 15-34.
- Cassar, M. 2005. *Nella lingua nostra nativa: l-użu tal-Malti fil-processi ta’ l-Inkwiżizzjoni Rumana*. *Symposia Melitensia* 2: 57-84.
- Cassola, Arnold. 1992. *The Biblioteca Vallicelliana Regole per la lingua Maltese. The Earliest Extant Grammar and Dictionary of the Maltese Language*. Valletta: Said International.
- Cassola, Arnold. 1996. *Il “Mezzo Vocabolario” Maltese-Italiano del ’700*. Valletta: Said International.

A Unified Account of Maltese Nominal Plural Inflection in Contact

Maltese morphology is often described as a hybrid system: concatenative and non-concatenative inflectional patterns are distributed across a lexicon whose etymological composition has evolved over centuries of contact with speakers of non-Semitic languages. We instead propose a unified account of the development of the Maltese system as an extension of the Paradigm Cell Filling Problem (PCFP) in theoretical morphology (Ackerman et al., 2009) using the information theoretic methods developed by Williams et al. (2020). We quantify factors proposed to shape borrowing as the outcome of analogical processes employed by multilingual individuals (e.g., Haugen, 1950) within Matras's (2009) framework of a unified multilingual repertoire.

To analyze the role of analogy, we calculate the Normalized Mutual Information (NMI) shared by the phonology, semantics, and plural inflection of Maltese nouns in a synchronic dataset (Nieder et al., 2021a,b) compiled from the Korpus Malti v. 2.0 and 3.0 (Gatt and Čéplö, 2013). We then quantify the NMI shared by a noun's etymology and plural form as a measure of the conservative forces, for example token frequency (Krause-Lerche, 2022), that may reduce a noun's likelihood of adapting new morphology during language contact. We compare our results at two levels of inflectional organization: concatenative type (affixal or templatic) and inflectional allomorph (specific suffixes and CV templates).

Our results indicate system-level phonology, semantics, and etymology are each independently predictive of Maltese plural inflection class structure across the modern lexicon. Phonology is more predictive than both semantics and etymology, and each factor is about twice as predictive of a noun's plural allomorph compared to concatenative type. Together, our results support a unified account of Maltese morphology in which speakers employ the same process, namely analogy-based comparisons over words in their lexicon, to produce concatenative or non-concatenative inflected forms for nouns of any etymological origin.



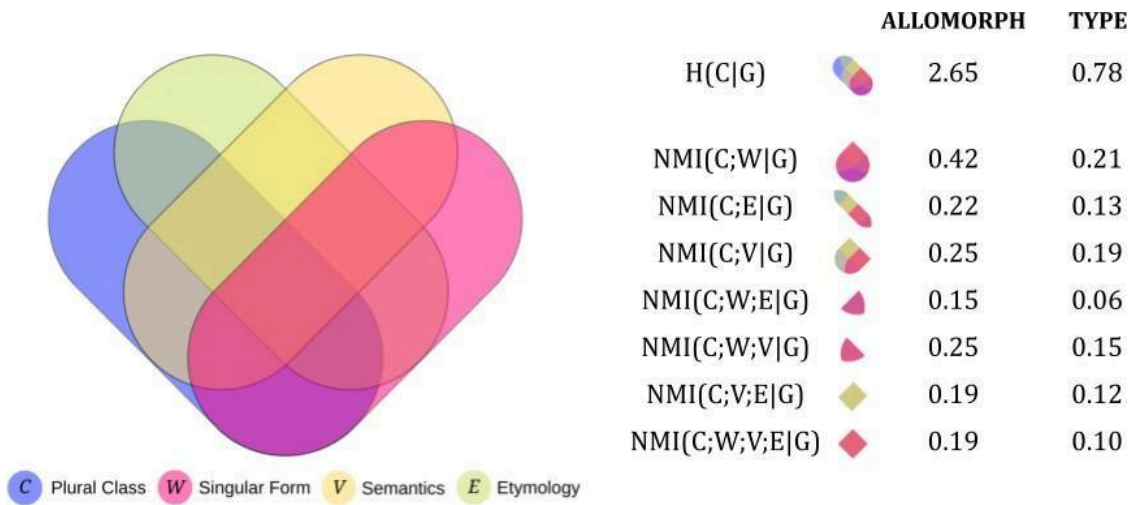


Figure 1: Normalized Mutual Information (NMI). All results are conditioned on gender, G.

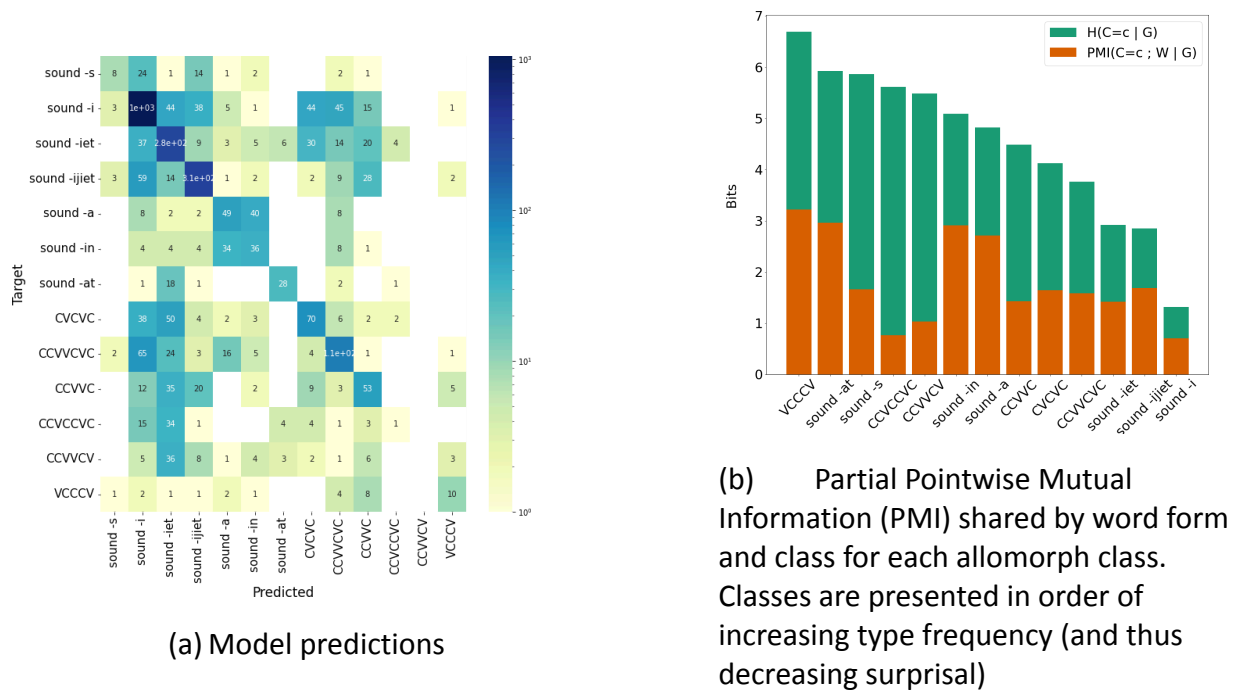


Figure 2: Predicting plural allomorph from phonological form

References

- Farrell Ackerman, James P. Blevins, and Robert Malouf. 2009. Parts and wholes: Patterns of relatedness in complex morphological systems and why they matter. In James P. Blevins and Juliette Blevins, editors, *Analogy in grammar: Form and acquisition*, pages 54–82. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Albert Gatt and Slavomír Čéplö. 2013. Digital corpora and other electronic resources for Maltese. In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Corpus Linguistics*, pages 96–97, Lancaster, UK. UCREL Lancaster.
- Einar Haugen. 1950. The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Language*, 26(2):210–231.
- Anne Krause-Lerche. 2022. Conservation in ongoing analogical change: The measurement and effect(s) of token frequency. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, 18(1):77–114.
- Yaron Matras. 2009. *Language contact*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Jessica Nieder, Fabian Tomaschek, Enum Cohrs, and Ruben van de Vijver. 2021a. Modeling Maltese noun plural classes without morphemes: Supplemental materials. Available online: <https://osf.io/pyf7b/>.
- Jessica Nieder, Ruben van de Vijver, Yu-Ying Chuang, and R. H. Baayen. 2021b. A discriminative lexicon approach to word comprehension, production and processing: Maltese plurals: Supplemental materials. Available online: <https://osf.io/rxsbu/>.
- Adina Williams, Tiago Pimentel, Hagen Blix, Arya D. McCarthy, Eleanor Chodroff, and Ryan Cotterell. 2020. Predicting declension class from form and meaning. In *Proceedings of the 58th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, pages 6682–6695, Online. Association for Computational Linguistics.

Clause Structure and the Development of the Verbal Copula in Arabic Varieties

Most Arabic varieties are known for the asymmetry between present tense and past (and future tense) sentences. Past tense sentences require a verbal copula while present tense sentences can be verbless (except in some specific contexts). The syntactic debates over the last 6 decades have mostly tried to derive the contrast by positing different phrase structures and configurations, but most of those analyses had well-known descriptive and explanatory weaknesses.

In this paper, we examine data from under-studied varieties of Arabic (some rural Palestinian Arabic and Mutki-Sason varieties), that adds more complexity to the debate and that could be taken to argue for a more uniform analysis, but that grounds the difference in the categorial requires (or features) of the present tense which can be sensitive to whether it needs to be paired with a verbal element.

Palestinian Arabic illustrates a situation in which a different verbal copula has emerged, but with no change in the categorical requirement of the present tense. While *kaan* is still widely used, *baka* is also used in some areas and has identical distribution and syntactic requirements. This is a linguistic change at the lexical/morphological level without impact on clause structure or syntactic dependencies.

- (1) Ğali {kan / baka} šaṭer
Ali was.3sg smart
'Ali was smart.' (Palestinian Arabic)

A different, and deeper, type of change is illustrated by Mutki-Sason varieties where a verbal copula is required in the present tense. Thus, Sason changed the categorial requirement of its present tense by requiring pairing with a verbal element:

- (2) a. lome raxu *(kintu)
today sick 1sg.pres
'I am sick today'
- b. sabi raxu *(ye)
boy sick cop.3sg
'The boy is sick' (Sason Arabic)

Contact is likely the main factor here, but we will show that this change has deeper syntactic implications for Sason clause structure.

(i) *itfa'al*: Old or New?

The paper deals with the issue of the dialectal derivation form *itfa'al* of passive and reflexive meaning, which is alien to the literary Arabic language. Against the background that in Arabic dialects the internal passive for verbs does not function, exactly the form *itfa'al* participates in the formation of a perfectly unified and economic system of rendering the passive meaning: from the verbs of I, II and III derivation forms, the meaning of passive or reflexive is produced through the forms *itfa'al*, II (*itfa''al*) and III (*itfā'al*); which means that from the verb of active meaning, the passive and reflexive meaning is produced by the prefix *t-* (which can be accompanied by a prothetic vowel).

One could assume that the form *itfa'al* is a dialectal variant produced by analogy with the forms V and VI. But if we take into a consideration a diachronic data, the picture turns out to be completely different. Namely, in the preclassical period the derivative system in Arabic was presented as follows:

reflexives

Initial *fa'al^a* (I) – *ta-fa'al^a* (?)for himself, *na-fa'al^a* (VII)himself

Intensive *fa''al^a* (II) – *ta-fa''al^a* (V)

Directional *fā'al^a* (III) – *ta-fā'al^a* (VI)

Causative *šafa'al^a* (IV) – *ta-šafa'al^a* (X)

The form *ta-fa'al^a* presented here was further transformed in the literary language into the form *ifta'al^a* (VIII). But the dialects preserved its original, pre-classical variant, i.e. the form *itfa'al* under our present interest.

Based on the diachronic and synchronous data, the paper will discuss the issue, which is one more clear example of the high informativeness of linguistic data of dialects in the overall linguistic picture.

Fii across Arabic varieties

The locative preposition في *fii* is universally attested across Arabic varieties, even if moving east the preposition ب *bi-* takes over, and *fii* becomes progressively less widespread (Al-Khalesi, 2006). Interestingly, the prepositional use of *fii* just mentioned is not the only one; alternative uses of *fii* have been identified in single dialects. For instance in the Levantine dialects *fii* is used in existential constructions (Jarad, 2015) or as a modal (Cowell, 1964); whereas in the North African region *fii* is an indispensable ingredient of progressive constructions (Brahim, 2007).

The existing literature gives us a partial picture of the multifunctionality of *fii* in Arabic: it tells us something about what this element can be used for in given varieties, but it does not provide any indication about the geographical distribution of these usages, nor about the possible correlations among them. The research described in this article aims at filling this gap: it surveys 11 different uses of *fii* previously described in the literature, across 12 different Arabic varieties spanning from Morocco to Iraq.

The resulting picture shows that the locative use of *fii* is never exclusive: *fii*, in fact, performs multiple functions in every variety of the study. In addition to this it shows a leopard-spot distribution of certain functions of *fii* suggesting that other forces drive the emergence of *fii* usages across varieties beside the influence of geographically proximity. The question tackled by this article, therefore, is what other forces drive the multifunctionality of *fii* and its distribution. Is the distribution of *fii* usages depending only on historical accidents, or are there reasons to believe that grammar governing principles play a role as well? The questions will be addressed by comparing the probability of the hypotheses on the basis of the data collected in the study.

Bibliography

Al-Khalesi, Y. M. (2006). *Modern Iraqi Arabic with MP3 files: A textbook*. Georgetown University Press.

Brahim, A. (2007). Le marquage « locatif » de l'objet et aspect progressif en arabe et en berbère tunisien. In *Morphosyntaxe et sémantique du verbe. Relations actiancielles, voix, aspect et statut grammatical en français et en arabe* (p. 94-105). CRISCO.

Cowell, M. W. (1964). *A reference grammar of Syrian Arabic (Based on the dialect of Damascus)*. Georgetown University Press.

Jarad, N. I. (2015). From locative to existential: The grammaticalization of “fī” in the spoken Arabic of Aleppo. *Romano-Arabica*, XV, 235-254.

Echoes of the desert: delving into the lexicon of a Bedouin Tribe in Jordan

Linguistic studies on the lexicon of Bedouin tribes in Jordan are still scarce and when available they are restricted to a list of limited lexemes (Cantineau 1937: 210-222, Palva 1976:52, Palva 1980: 135).

Drawing upon the questionnaires and word lists employed in WAD (Behnstedt & Woidich 2011, 2012, 2014, 2021) and descriptive linguistics methods (François & Ponsonnet 2013), this paper examines lexical variation within the different sub-branches of the Bani Šaxar tribe and identifies distinct words, idiomatic expressions, and linguistic peculiarities that shape the tribe's everyday communication and cultural traditions.

The corpus used for this study is based on recordings collected between 2021 and 2023 in Ruġm aš-Šāmi al-Ġarbi, Manara (al-Ġīza), Qaser ʿAmra, Muwaqqar, Umm al-Walīd (al-Ġīza), Nītl, Umm ar-Rašāš, ad-Dāmxi, al-Mšēṭba and Ruġm Fḥēd, where members from the al-Xaḍēr, al-Daraybi, al-Zeben, as-Sabīla, and Dahāmeš families were interviewed.

Since the dialect of the Bani Šaxar locates linguistically in the centre of the massive dialectal North and Northwest Arabian groups, surrounded by so-called *ygūlu*-type dialects (Herin et al. 2022: 9-10) and the dialect of ʿAmmān, comparisons with neighbouring dialects will be made in order to verify if the lexicon found is just specific to the Bani Šaxar, and thus constitutes a peculiarity of this tribe, or if it is also encountered in adjacent dialects.

Keywords: *Spoken Arabic varieties – Bedouin-type Arabic – Jordanian Arabic – Arabic Dialectology – Arabic Linguistics*

References

- Behnstedt, P., & Woidich, M. (2011). *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. I: Mensch, Natur, Fauna und Flora*. Brill.
- Behnstedt, P., & Woidich, M. (2012). *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. II: Materielle Kultur*. Brill.
- Behnstedt, P., & Woidich, M. (2014). *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. III: Verben, Adjektive, Zeit und Zahlen*. Brill.
- Behnstedt, P., & Woidich, M. (2021). *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. IV: Funktionswörter, Adverbien, Phraseologisches: Eine Auswahl*. Brill.
- Cantineau, J. (1937). Etudes sur quelques parles de nomades arabes d'Orient 2. *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 3, 119–237.
- François, A., Ponsonnet, M. (2013). Descriptive linguistics (encyclopedia entry). In Jon R. McGee and Richard L. Warms (Ed.), *Theory in Social and Cultural Anthropology: An Encyclopedia*, Vol.1, 184-187. SAGE.
- Herin, B., Younes, I., Al-Wer, E., & Al-Sirour, Y. (2022). The Classification of Bedouin Arabic: Insights from Northern Jordan. *Languages*, 7(1), 1. <https://doi.org/doi:10.3390/languages7010001>
- Palva, H. (1976). *Studies in the Arabic Dialect of the Semi-Nomadic al-ʿAğārma Tribe (al-Balqāʿ District, Jordan)*. University of Goeteburg.
- Palva, H. (1980). Characteristics of the Arab dialect of the Bani Šaxar tribe. *Orientalia Suecana*, 29, 112–139.

Najla Kalach

Investigating *lissa/issa* ‘still, yet’ in the Syrian Variety of Homs

This research focuses on the variation of the adverbial forms *lissa/issa* ‘still’ in the Syrian variety of Homs considering its impact according to three social variables, namely gender, age and education in order to examine the extent of this variation within the Homs community. The analysis follows a mixed method, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. The data analysed for the study are based on recorded interviews and personal communications with local informants taken from several fieldworks carried out between 2013 and 2023, as well as questionnaires and chats in the Facebook groups related to the city of Homs.

Key words: Syrian Arabic – Spoken Arabic – Homs – Language variation – Sociolinguistics

Common genealogy and linguistic unity? The case of the *Rašāyda* tribe in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait

The *Rašāyda* tribe, which common consensus places as being originally from northwestern Arabia, has dispersed to many regions within the Arab world from the middle of the 18th century onwards, and currently resides primarily in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea and Israel. Whilst the tribe has been the subject of multiple ethnographical studies, little attention was given to its dialect(s), save for fleeting mentions of particular features for the comparison to other dialects, such as in Johnstone (1963) in his classification of the affrication of *q and *k in the Arabian peninsula, Ingham (1979 & 1982) in his description of the dialects of the *Muṭayr* and *al-Ḍhafīr*, respectively, and Katz (1980) who presents the *Rašīdi* variety located in the Judean desert. Ingham (1986) describes the *Rašāyda* as being the ideal embodiment of a tribe whose genealogical roots have led to the preservation of its original Naǧdi-type dialect, even in the speech of members coming from the nowadays Sudanese and Kuwaiti branches. On the other hand, Rosenhouse (1984) exclusively states that the *Rašāyda* are a prime example of a tribe which has had its branches in various regions accommodate to the dialects in their respective environments.

The aim of this presentation is to present fresh phonological and morphological data collected from fieldwork (2022/3) on the dialect(s) of the *Rašāyda*, namely on the branches in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, to see whether the spatial division between the two branches has led them to alter their dialect(s) and adopt different salient features which contributed to the partitioning of the dialect into multiple varieties, or whether the tribal identity has inhibited linguistic change. Data from the *Rašāyda* in Sudan (fieldwork 2023), Israel (Katz 1980) and Egypt (Behnstedt & Woidich, unpublished) shall be used complementarily to test the relation between genealogy and linguistic unity.

Bibliography

Ingham, B. (1986). Notes on the Dialect of the Āl Murra of Eastern and Southern Arabia. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 49(2), 271–291.

Ingham, B. (1982). Notes on the Dialect of the Ḍhafīr of North-Eastern Arabia. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 45(2), 245–259.

Ingham, B. (1979). Notes on the Dialect of the Muṭair of Eastern Arabia. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, 2, 23–35.

Johnstone, T. M. (1963). The Affrication of "kaf" and "gaf" in the Arabic Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 8, 210–226.

Katz, Y. (1980). The Dialect of Rashaida in the Judea Desert. In Judith Rosenhouse (Ed.), *Texts in the Dialects of Bedouins in Israel* (50–82). University of Haifa.

Rosenhouse, J. (1984). *The Bedouin Arabic dialects: General problems and a close analysis of North Israel Bedouin dialects*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Word Stress in Faifi Arabic: An Archaic Pattern

Word stress in Arabic dialects is typically weight-sensitive determined from the end of the word (Watson, 2011). For example, Classical Arabic is believed to have a stress pattern where primary stress fell on the rightmost heavy syllable, or else the initial syllable by default. Similar rules exist in many contemporary dialects, though with variation in words ending in a sequence of light syllables. Mention of dialects that favor initial stress is rare. Two pertinent cases are San'ani Arabic where post-pausal word-stress is initial regardless of the weight of subsequent syllables (Watson, 2002:117) and other older Yemeni varieties reported to have initial stress with fluctuation (Naïm-Sanbar, 1994).

This paper describes word stress in Faifi Arabic (FA), an isolated dialect of southwestern Saudi Arabia. Unlike most Arabic dialects, FA predominantly exhibits word-initial stress (e.g. ['ʕa.la] 'above', ['ja.guum] 'he stands up', ['na.baʃ.ja] 'you searched', ['ʃi.lii.hu] 'eat_{-IMP.S.FM} it_{-S.MS}'), ['ra.sam.naa.him] 'we drew them_{-MS}'). However, there is some deviation. In words of four or more syllables beginning with an initial [Ca] syllable, stress falls on the second syllable if it has a long vowel ([ma.'ʃaa.jix.him] 'their_{-MS}. sheiks') or is CVCC ([na.'ʃart.bi.hin.na] 'I took them_{-FM} out', cf. ['na.sax.tim.him] 'you_{-MS} PL. copied them_{-MS}'; ['sa.ma.kat.hin.na] 'their_{-FEM} fish'). Another exception concerns initial [ʔVC] syllables, where stress falls on the second syllable, even if light [ʔag.'ba.lu] 'they_{-MS} came back', cf. ['laħ.fa.tu] 'they_{-MS} gathered'. Stress fluctuation occurs in words greater than three syllables when the second and/or third syllables have long vowels; for example, [saj.jaa.raat.hin.na] 'their_{-FM} cars' can have stress on any of the first three syllables.

After detailing the FA stress pattern with its preference for word-initial stress, we posit that initial stress reflects an archaic pattern still maintained in the post-pausal word-initial stress of San'ani Arabic, the initial stress mentioned in Yemeni varieties, and the proposed default initial stress of Classical Arabic.

References

- Naïm-Sanbar, Samia (1994) Contribution à l'étude de l'accent yéménite: Le parler des femmes de l'ancienne generation, *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 27, 67-89.
- Watson, J.C. E. (2002) *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Watson, J.C. E. (2011) Word stress in Arabic. In M. van Oostendorp, C. Ewen, E. Hume, and K. Rice (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Phonology*, Vol. V (pp. 2990-3019), Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

The Interaction between a Necessity Modal *Laazim* and Aspect in Makkan Arabic

This paper investigates how a necessity modal *laazim* interacts with aspect in Makkan Arabic, yielding various interpretations of the modal, which are demonstrated in the examples below. The modal embeds a proposition with aspectual morphology.

Interactions between modality and aspect have been previously addressed in the literature (e.g. Bhatt, 2006; Condoravdi, 2002; Hacquard 2006; Rullmann et al, 2008). In this paper, I add novel empirical findings and provide a formal semantic account relative to the structural height between *laazim* and aspect inspired by Cinque (1999) and Hacquard (2006).

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) | laazim tifiṭ | l-fiizaam dafieen | |
| | Laazim you.SG.M.put.on.IMPFV. the-seat.belt now | | |
| | 'You must put on the seat belt now.' | | (Deontic Reading) |
| (2) | Laazim tiduga.ha. | marra laḍeeḍa | |
| | Laazim you.SG.M.taste.IMPFV.it.F. very yummy | | |
| | 'You must taste it. It's very yummy.' | | (Preferential Reading) |
| (3) | Laazim rabaṭ | l-fiizaam | |
| | Laazim put.on.3.SG.M.PRFV. the-seat.belt | | |
| | 'He must have put on the seat belt.' | | (Epistemic Possibility) |
| (4) | Kaan laazim tirbuṭ | l-fiizaam | |
| | Kaan.3.SG.M. laazim put.on.you.SG.M.IMPFV. the-seat.belt | | |
| | 'You should (ought to) have put on the seat belt.' | | (Counterfactual Reading) |

This phenomenon gives rise to these questions: (1) Is there a single lexical entry for *laazim* with various interpretations or multiple lexical entries? (2) Is the modal force *specified* or *variable*?

Building on Kratzer's modal framework (1977), I compute *laazim* with a unified universal quantification force across all interpretations. Considering aspect, I apply the structural height framework— by Cinque (1999) and later by Haquard (2006). The position of aspect relative to *laazim* will determine its interpretation. There is one single lexical entry for *laazim* that has various interpretations, but it can have an epistemic or a circumstantial background depending on the aspectual morpheme of the embedded proposition.

References

- [1] Bhatt, R. (2006). *Covert modality in non-finite contexts*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- [2] Cinque, G. 1999, *Adverbs and functional heads: Across-linguistic perspective*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- [3] Condoravdi, C. (2002). Temporal interpretation of modals: Modals for the present and for the past. *The construction of meaning*, 5987.
- [4] Hacquard, V. (2006). *Aspects of modality*. [Doctoral Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology].
- [5] Kratzer, A. (1977). What 'must' and 'can' must and can mean. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 1(3):337-355.
- [6] Rullmann, H., Matthewson, L. and Davis, H. (2008). Modals as distributive indefinites. *Natural Language Semantics*, 16:317-357.

Reflections on the Mother Tongue, School Tongue Issue in Algeria Today

On the basis of Fishman's Theoretical Paradigm (1991), we shall first discuss his three value positions for the case of the so-called minority native languages in Algeria and how they may be incorporated in a global language teaching program in Algeria. We shall then move on to his scale (continuum) on language loss, language maintenance and language renewal with illustrating examples taken from the Algerian context. This will lead us to touch on cases of successful experiments on language renewal and maintenance (French in Quebec and Catalan in Spain) and what conclusions may be drawn from these experiments.

The second part of our talk relates to a brief pedagogical survey on how to operate for a smooth transition from the mother tongue to the school tongue, what methods or approaches suit best the teaching of the mother tongue and the school tongue (Immersion Programs, The Natural Approach, Applied Literacy Programs, The Berlitz Method, ...).

We shall end up our talk on how one may reshuffle the current issues on the "Arabic-only" movement and the abrupt transition from mother tongue to school tongue in use today by opting for teaching programs that involve pre-school language acquisition and in-school language acquisition grammars, and thus pave the way to effective language teaching programs and living curricula and pedagogies such as language nests, intergenerational continuity, communication and identity teaching programs, which result in better language teaching models that make language policies become reality.

Raising of medial short *a

Types, distribution and implications for the classification of Arabic dialects

The raising of medial *a to *i* or *u* is a phonological phenomenon which is attested in different degrees for a large number of spoken Arabic varieties. Although abundant data on specific dialects are available in grammatical descriptions, no attempts have yet been made to study this phenomenon from a comparative perspective (in contrast to the so-called *imāla* which is conditioned by different factors and which will not be treated in this paper). The entry on ‘Vowel raising’ in the *EALL* only deals with the raising of final *-a of the feminine ending (Barkat 2009). Therefore, addressing this gap in the literature, the present study intends to cover all instances where medial *a has been shifted to *i* / *u* / *ə* (and in some dialects subsequently elided). It will also discuss and analyse both the possible triggers of the raising and the constraints which block it.

Besides well-known cases such as the very common raising of *a in the *CaCīC pattern which is clearly an assimilation phenomenon triggered by the following long *ī* (and where the high vowel *i* is often dropped according to the high vowel elision rule, e.g. Damascus *kbīr* ‘big’), the numerous cases of vowel raising in patterns where *a is followed by another *a*/*ā* will be analysed. For this purpose, subcategories of this phenomenon, which can be regarded as prototypical types where the raising occurs, will be established on the basis of stress patterns and the role of other vowels in the same word.

These include: **(1)** unstressed *a in open syllables, e.g. Šāwi Bedouin Arabic: **zamān* > *zimān* ‘time’, **ġamāʕa* > *ġimāʕa* ‘group’, **maṣāri* > *məṣāri* ‘money’, **dabāyih* > *dibāyih* ‘sacrificial animals’, **ṭamānīn* > *ṭimānīn* ‘80’; *šabābīṭ* > *šəbābīṭ* ‘fishes’; **(2)** unstressed *a in closed syllables, e.g. Cilicia: **naġġār* > *niġġār* ‘carpenter’, **sawwāyt* > *suwwayt* ‘you made’, **ʕaṭšān* > *ʕitšān* ‘thirsty’, **taʕmīr* > *tiʕmīr* ‘construction’; **(3)** stressed *a in open syllables, e.g. Šāwi: **kātab* > *kītab* ‘he wrote’, **bāṣal* > *būṣal* ‘onions’; **(4)** stressed *a in closed syllables, e.g. Karantina/Beirut: **mádrasa* > *mīdrasa* ‘school’. A special case is **(5)** raising which goes hand in hand with resyllabification, e.g. Šāwi: **raqaba* > *rguba* ‘neck’, **ġanamī* > *qnimi* ‘my sheep’.

On the basis of the geographical distribution of the different categories (considering also constraints), a classification will be established, in order to shed light onto the question of which role the raising of medial *a plays for the delineation of bedouin and sedentary-type dialects.

References

Barkat, Melissa. 2009. ‘Vowel Raising’. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Kees Versteegh, 4:678–82. Leiden: Brill.

Younes, Igor. 2018. ‘Raising and the *gahawa*-Syndrome, between Inheritance and Innovation’. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 67: 5–11.

De l'insulte animalière aux allusions scatologiques dans les réseaux sociaux marocains

Les réseaux sociaux sont transformés en des sites où le déploiement du lexique animalier ainsi que scatologique est une réalité indiscutable. Cependant, peu de travaux ont été dédiés à la question (El Maarouf : 2016).

Il sera question de montrer comment les excréments et les métaphores animalières qui jouent sur l'effacement de l'altérité sont déployés pour produire l'image de l'abjection sociale présente en ligne. La notion de la politesse et de l'impolitesse (Culpeper : 2011), particulièrement dans le milieu numérique où les normes sociales et linguistiques sont en mouvance, prend une place très importante dans le cadre de cette analyse.

Notre analyse porte sur un corpus produit en arabe marocain tiré de notre travail de thèse comportant des commentaires collectés sur le réseau social Instagram (2020). Comme nous allons voir, l'image animalière est utilisée dans nos insultes à l'exemple du «kəlb : chien» et de «ḥmāṛ : âne» qui sont des constantes de l'insulte en arabe marocain et ce, pour refléter toutes sortes de défauts et de comportements humains malsains. Notre corpus souligne notamment que l'insulte scatologique (xṛa : merde) est employée pour ternir la «face» (Goffman : 1973) de la personne cible à l'image de certaines «célébrités» médiatiques en s'exerçant sur le mode de la condamnation jusqu'à prendre un air de rire et d'ironie. Cela est conditionné par le contexte d'énonciation, par les stéréotypes coutumiers et les normes sociales.

Références

Culpeper, J. 2011. Impoliteness: Using language to cause offence. Cambridge University Press.

El Maarouf, D. 2016. "Po(o)pular culture : measuring the 'shit' in Moroccan music festivals", *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 28 (3).

Goffman, E. 1973. La mise en scène de la vie quotidienne. Editions de minuit.

Labialization and Assimilation in Rural Dialects of Morocco: A Focus on Šawiya and Zġir Regions

This paper explores phonological phenomena in the rural dialects of Morocco, specifically in the Šawiya and Zġir regions, with dual objectives: describing assimilation and labialisation in these dialects and investigating their potential as distinguishing criteria for classifying Moroccan Arabic (MA).

The aim is not only to shed light on these phenomena, but also to compare them with surrounding varieties displaying similar phenomena (Marjani 2019; Brigui 2015; Francisco 2019). Notably, previous research on assimilation processes in MA is lacking, although an entry in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* addresses labialisation in MA (Caubet 2007). Additionally, Boudlal (1998) offers a diachronic analysis of labialisation in MA. Thus, this paper ventures into unexplored territory, focusing on the phonological processes in the regions of Šawiya and Zġir.

The initial section analyses phonological assimilations in both regions, contrasting them with other varieties; e.g.: l + t > tt: *gūtt* 'I said'; n + t > tt: *kūtti* 'you were', to name but a few. The subsequent section explores labialisation, investigating its occurrence and effects within the phonological system of these dialects; e.g.: *mm^{wi}* 'my mother'; *hakk^{wa}* 'this'; and so forth. This analysis is again compared to other dialects to gain deeper insights into the unique features of Šawiya and Zġir phonology.

The empirical findings from the previous sections are then contextualized within the broader framework of MA, in terms of whether these phonological criteria can serve as distinctive markers for classifying MA varieties. The research conducted so far indicates that the rural dialects of the Atlantic Plain exhibit a distinct phonological continuum, characterized by various assimilations and labialisation phenomena not found in the koiné(s) or northern dialects of Morocco. This investigation aims to shed light on the dialectal diversity within Morocco and to identify potential distinguishing features that set dialects apart.

References

- Boudlal, Abdelaziz. 1998. „A diachronic analysis of labialization in Moroccan Arabic“. *Langues et Littératures* 16: 45–60.
- Brigui, Fouad. 2015. „Parlers arabes hilaliens du Nord-Ouest de Fès : Chraga, Hramssa et Ouled Aissa“. In *Actes de la Journée d'études. Linguistique de terrain: Description de faits et présentation de modèles*. Fes.
- Caubet, Dominique. 2007. „Labiovelarization“. In *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 2:621–23. Leiden: Brill.
- Francisco, Felipe Benjamin. 2019. „Preliminary Notes on the Arabic Dialect of the Chiadma (North of Essaouira)“. In *Studies on Arabic Dialectology and Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference of AIDA held in Marseille from May 30th to June 2nd 2017*, ed. by Catherine Miller et al. Livres de l'IREMAM. Aix-en-Provence: IREMAM. <http://books.openedition.org/iremam/3878>.
- Marjani, Issam. 2019. „Le Dialecte Arabe de Rġāmna (Maroc)“. *Al-Andalus* 26 (3): 1–14.

Du marquage régional à la construction sociale:

La variation linguistique en arabe marocain au prisme de l'indexicalité

Cette communication a pour but d'articuler les perspectives dialectologiques et sociolinguistiques et s'intéresse à la variation linguistique. A partir d'un corpus de conversations et d'entretiens recueillis entre 2010 et 2019, dans différentes villes marocaines, nous comptons interroger le lien entre variation et indexicalité.

Dans ces deux perspectives dialectologiques et sociolinguistique, nous soulignerons que les locuteurs sont des acteurs de la variation composant avec les ressources linguistiques et sociales, s'y adaptant, les rejetant, etc (Eckert 2012). Ainsi, les marqueurs et les valeurs et significations associées à ceux-ci ne sont pas immuables, au contraire ils changent et se modifient continuellement (Eckert 2012). Ces valeurs et significations renforcent des idéologies, des représentations et des stéréotypes. Notre objectif sera également d'aborder quelques points de variation en termes d'indexicalité (Silverstein 2003), d'iconisation et rhématisation (Irvine and Gal 2000; Gal 2013).

Nous nous intéresserons à quelques traits émergeant des pratiques sociales et/ou mis en avant par les locuteurs et nous les replacerons dans d'autres contextes, dans leur dimension locale comme marqueurs de variation régionale. Cette démarche vise à explorer la complexité de la variation et de ses marqueurs.

Références

- Eckert P. 2012. Three Waves of Variation Study: The Emergence of Meaning in the Study of Sociolinguistic Variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol. 41. 87-100.
- Gal S. 2013. Tastes of Talk: Qualia and the moral flavor of signs. *Anthropological Theory* 13(1/2). 31-48.
- Irvine J. T. & Gal S. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press. 35-84.
- Silverstein M. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication* 23. 193-229.

Une approche ethnolinguistique et lexicologique du discours et des manifestations littéraires orales des femmes de Jbala (nord-ouest du Maroc)

Les changements socio-économiques qui ont lieu dans le nord-ouest marocain ont eu comme conséquence la disparition progressive d'un patrimoine culturel dont la littérature orale produite par les femmes fait partie.

Par ailleurs, du point de vue linguistique, de nombreuses études ont montré que les variétés arabes parlées dans les différentes sociétés arabophones sont soumises à des processus de nivellement et d'accommodement linguistique qui aboutissent à l'élimination des traits linguistiques les plus locaux normalement stigmatisés par le reste de la société.

L'intention de notre travail est d'analyser un échantillon de données tant linguistiques que littéraires fournies par les femmes d'une zone rurale marocaine avant leur disparition due à l'avancée de la modernité, d'une part, et au nivellement linguistique, d'autre part.

La région de Jbala se caractérise par son conservatisme à bien des égards, tant dans les variétés linguistiques qui y sont parlées que dans le mode de vie ou l'habillement de ses femmes (Vicente, Caubet, Naciri-Azzuz 2017). Les différentes langues qui ont servi de substrat et d'adstratum ont donné lieu à l'existence d'un lexique particulier de la région qui n'a pas été étudié à ce jour.

Dans ce travail, nous travaillons à partir d'un corpus de narrations, de conversations et de chansons recueillis sur place auprès d'informatrices pour analyser le lexique lié à la vie des femmes dans ce contexte particulier. Il s'appuiera sur des données empiriques collectées sur place dans un village rural de la région de Jbala, connu sous le nom de Bū-Ḥalla, situé dans le Haut Lāxmās, province de Chaouen.

Certains travaux antérieurs sur cette partie de Jbala ont collecté des données analysées à partir d'une approche anthropologique (González-Vázquez 2015); d'autres ont étudié la poésie orale féminine de la région d'un point de vue cognitif (Gintsburg 2014, Gintsburg 2019). Notre intention est de fournir une analyse lexicologique pour montrer comment les variétés moins exposées au nivellement linguistique du fait du contact avec des variétés plus prestigieuses présentent un lexique particulier qui nous fournit de nombreuses informations, tant diachroniques sur l'évolution de la langue arabe dans la région qu'ethnographiques sur sa littérature orale.

Bibliographie

González-Vázquez, Araceli, 2015. *Mujeres, islam y alteridades en el norte de Marruecos*. Edicions Bellaterra, Barcelona.

Gintsburg, Sarali 2014. *Formulaicity in Jbala Poetry*. Tilburg, Tilburg University.

Gintsburg, Sarali, 2019. "A Cognitive Approach to Traditional Oral Poetry: Frames and Scripts in the Jebli Ayyu", *Al-Andalus-Magreb*, 26, 1-23.

Vicente, Ángeles, Caubet, Dominique, Naciri-Azzuz, Amina, 2017. *La région du Nord-Ouest marocain : Parlers et pratiques sociales et culturelles*. Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, Zaragoza.

Linguistic Innovations in the Speech of Contemporary Omani Youths

This study highlights commonly used linguistic innovations in the daily discourse of contemporary Omani youths, explains their source, analyzes their linguistic features and explores their sociocultural functions. In this study, more than 140 linguistic innovations were collected, transcribed and analyzed linguistically. It is observed that innovations exhibit sound substitution, shift in meaning, ellipsis and other morpho-phonological alternations. Ten focus groups were also formed to identify and discuss the sociocultural aspects of innovations. Furthermore, a survey listing 60 common linguistic innovations was distributed to 60 university students who were asked to identify whether each innovation is likely to be used by males or females. The study identifies three prominent sociocultural functions for innovations: solidarity, power and reminiscence of old Omani dialect. Linguistic innovations, once attributed to economy of effort (Anderson, 1989), is observed to form a community of practice in Oman, characterized by creativity and humor.

Reference

Anderson, Henning. (1989). Understanding linguistic innovations. In L. E. Breivik and E. Håkon Jahr (eds.), *Language change: contributions to the study of its causes*, pp. 5–28. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Salient morphological and phonological features of šihḥī arabic (oman)

The aim of this study consists of a linguistic description of some unique and sparsely described features in šihḥī arabic giving an in-depth analysis of the changes induced by linguistic contact. Šihḥī is a little-documented arabic variety that has been classified in the Gulf dialects group and is mainly spoken in the Omani peninsula of Musandam by 30,000

speakers. The main goal of this work is to provide a phonological and grammatical focus on some salient features in šihḥī as retroflexed and spirantized allophones and a morphosyntactic feature that isn't shared with other arabic varieties : post-negation particle -lu / -lō. As a

secondary goal, this work will investigate on how linguistic contact affects these features by provoking a dialectal levelling. Šihḥī arabic is indeed both in contact with other gulf arabic varieties and an indo-iranian endangered language, namely, the kumzari language.

Hypotheses have been brought on MSA language inherited common features between šihḥī and kumzari (Bernabela, 2011; Anonby, Bettega & Procházka, 2022). This latter point will be investigated with new data that tends to confirm hypotheses and adds further details on these phenomenas. Our analysis is based on free speech and elision data collected during fieldwork

in the northern part of the peninsula in 2023. This work is part of a phd thesis that has started in October 2022 at INaLCO - Paris, which aims at a complete linguistic description of this

variety with the supervision of Dr. Bruno Herin (Cermom - INaLCO) and Dr. Stefano Manfredi (SeDyL - CNRS - IRD).

Keywords: Gulf dialects, omani dialects, Musandam, interdialectal contact, gulf arabic, phonology, morphology, field linguistics.

Bibliography

Anonby E., Bettega S., Procházka S. 2022, Demonstratives in Musandam Arabic: Distinctive Archaisms and Innovations

Bernabela R. 2011, A Phonology and Morphology Sketch of the Šihḥī Arabic Dialect of əlĠēdih, Musandam (Oman) (master thesis).

Bettega S., Gasparini F. 2022, A Musandam Arabic text from Lima (Oman)

Holes C. 2016, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia, Vol. III_ Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style. 51_3-Brill

Holes C. 1989, Towards a dialect geography of Oman in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London ,Vol. 52, No. 3 (1989), pp. 446-462 - Cambridge University Press.

Jayakar, A. S. G. 1902, The Shahee dialect of Arabic. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society IX:246-277.

Matras, Y. 2009, *Language contact*, Cambridge Textbooks in linguistics

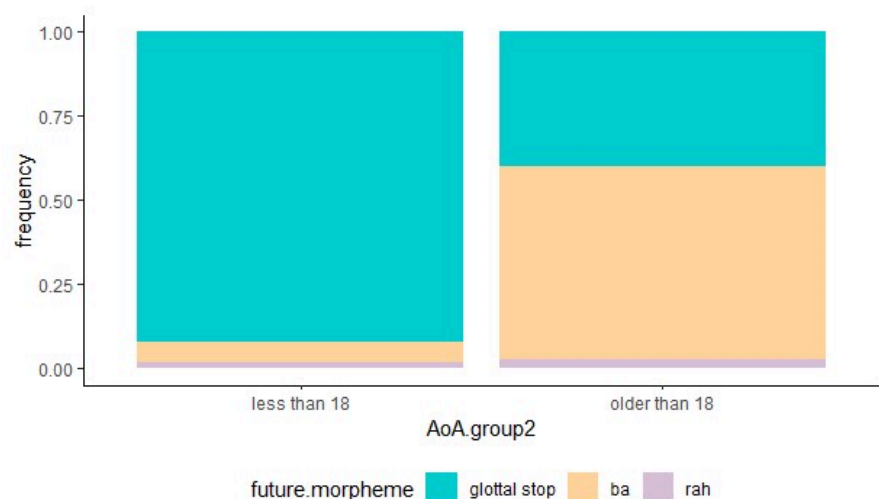
Van der Wal Anonby C. 2015, *A grammar of Kumzari: a mixed Perso-Arabian language of Oman*. PhD Dissertation, Leiden: Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL)

Morphosyntactic Variation in Arabic: The Future Morpheme in Nizwa Dialect

This paper examines contact-induced change in the use of the future marker in Nizwa Arabic in Oman. It focuses on the speech of migrants to the capital Muscat to interpret the role of mobility, intelligibility and speakers' ideologies and contact patterns in dialect change.

Future is marked with the idiosyncratic variant [ʔa-] in Nizwa dialect, while the prefix [ba-] is used in Muscat (Glover 1988) and /raħ/ is making its way into the dialects of young Omanis (Persson 2008). Data is collected from 38 speakers using sociolinguistic interviews and a map task. Statistical analysis using R shows that the migrants tend to decrease their use of the glottal stop in favor of the incoming variants, which are used with a rate of 53% (N=1550). Gender and grammatical subject are insignificant predictors for this change ($p>0.05$). Contrarily, significant effects are linked to speakers' age, age of arrival and length of residence in Muscat as well as speech style and the linguistic factors of animacy of the subject and proximity in the future ($p<0.05$). A higher use of the incoming variants is associated with middle-aged speakers, higher age of arrival and increased length of residence. The incoming variants also prevail in contexts of casual speech, human subjects and far or conditional events.

This dialect levelling is triggered by speakers' desire to achieve intelligibility and their belief that their dialect may be misunderstood. Miscommunication may arise since [ʔa-] also serves as the first-person. prefix in Arabic, which would indicate an event is habitual rather than future. Additionally, this dialect change is motivated by the expansion of speakers' social networks (Milroy 2003), especially those with increased age and age of arrival as they are involved in educational and workplace settings, which intensify inter-dialectal contact.



Bedouins in Beirut: Language ideologies among the *ʿArab il-Maslax* community

Karantina, a neighborhood in Beirut, has a diverse population resulting from migration movements especially driven by conflicts in the surrounding regions. Part of its inhabitants self-identifies as *ʿArab il-Maslax* (the Arabs of the Slaughterhouse), because of their nomadic ancestors who settled in Karantina in the 18th century and worked in Beirut's municipal slaughterhouse. Starting with the civil war, this community has endured significant tragedies, including a massacre orchestrated by Christian militias, leading to substantial casualties and widespread displacement (Lteif 2022: 9-10). Nowadays the community resides in Naameh and Khalde (20 and 15 km south of Beirut) and a part returned to Karantina in the 1990s after the war. Karantina is relatively isolated within Beirut due to the presence of highways. The district is primarily recognized for housing a hospital and a nightclub on its outskirts, but a lack of awareness persists among individuals in Beirut regarding the community's history and Bedouin origin.

Regarding the dialect(s) spoken in Karantina, Iriarte Díez (2023) points out that the speech of older generations still contains multiple features that are traditionally considered Bedouin-type Arabic. However, due to the neighborhood's location within the capital and increasing mobility, these features are diminishing in usage and familiarity. This study explores (linguistic) ideologies held by members of *ʿArab il-Maslax* in their socio-historic, cultural, and political context and how members of the community describe the linguistic situation to shed light on how these ideologies might influence speaking behaviors and therefore serve as a driving force for linguistic change. The underlying data was collected in two fieldwork campaigns in 2022 and 2023 conducted with my colleague Ana Iriarte Díez within the framework of the ERC-funded project WIBARAB⁶.

Bibliography

- Iriarte Díez, Ana. 2023, June 07-09. Bedouins in Beirut: Preliminary remarks on the Arabic dialect(s) spoken by *ʿArab il-Maslax* in Karantina. Conference talk held at the WIBARAB symposium: Vienna.
- Lteif, Diala. 2022. One Hundred Years of Refuge: Migrants and the Making of Karantina, Beirut (1918-2018). Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Department of Geography and Planning: University of Toronto.

⁶ „What is Bedouin-type Arabic?” (PI: Stephan Procházka)

A Sociolinguistic study of the Arabic spoken by *ʕArab il-Maslax* in Karantina (Beirut)

The name *ʕArab il-Maslax* (Arabs of the Slaughterhouse) refers to a mixed group of different Sunni formerly nomadic tribes originally residing in the neighborhood of Karantina (Beirut), where they presumably decided to settle following the construction of the Beirut's Municipal Slaughterhouse in 1890 by the Ottomans (Shareef 1998). Since the 1920s, the neighborhood of Karantina has received a constant influx of refugees fleeing from the many conflicts the area has witnessed in the last century —i.e. Armenians, Kurdish, Palestinians, and Syrians— as well as communities fleeing economic adversity —e.g. migrants from south Lebanon and the Bekaa valley, Egypt, Ethiopia, etc. (Lteif 2022). In 1976, as a result of the civil war in Lebanon, the Karantina massacre forced *ʕArab il-Maslax* to leave Karantina and settle in different locations around Lebanon and abroad. It was not until 1992-1995 that some of these communities' families started to return to Karantina.

The extraordinarily diverse and complex nature of this community and their neighborhood have shaped very diversely the socio-economic, ideological and mobility profiles of its different members, especially across generations. Drawing on data collected from two fieldwork campaigns (2022 and 2023)⁷ as well as on the resulting description of the preliminary grammatical remarks of the Arabic variety spoken by members of *ʕArab il-Maslax* (Iriarte Díez 2023), I have identified a range of phonological, morphological, and syntactic variables that are illustrative of the linguistic change taking place across generations of this community.

Throughout four texts from four different generations, this study does not only shed light on the different variants used by each age group, but also intends to provide plausible explanations to their occurrence as a result of dialect mixing by means of an exhaustive comparative analysis of linguistic data from other relevant Arabic varieties of the area.

⁷ These campaigns were conducted within the framework of the ERC-funded project *WIBARAB: What is Bedouin-type Arabic?* Led by Prof. Stephan Procházka of the University of Vienna.

Towards a phylogenetic classification of Arabic dialects: A pilot project

In Arabic historical dialectology, the origin of Arabic dialects is a hotly debated topic (see e.g. Al-Jallad and Vollandt 2020 or most recently - and controversially - Owens 2023). The same is largely not the case for the spread and differentiation of these dialects: geographical classification, social group classification and religious classification are still the most prevalent modes of grouping Arabic dialects together. These classifications make tacit - or even explicit - claims about the diachronic relationship of these varieties. They do so by accepting traditional historical or scholarly narratives that conflate population movements with diffusion of language change and variation (so even Jastrow 2002, see Benkato 2019 for a criticism of such approaches) and/or by appealing to concepts like linguistic archaicity or conservativeness (see Magidow 2021 for an analysis). Such approaches to the history of Arabic dialects have rightly been criticized and alternative ways of studying the spread and diffusion of Arabic have been proposed (Magidow 2021).

This paper aims to continue such efforts by establishing a phylogenetic classification of Arabic dialects. More specifically, we present the results of a pilot project to model the spread and differentiation of Arabic dialects using the methods of computational phylogenetics (Bowerman 2018) on the list of functional words from Behnstedt and Woidich 2021 to classify the relationship and the distance between contemporary Arabic dialects. We use both the more traditional tree-based approaches (employing algorithms such as neighbor-joining network or NeighborNets), as well as Bayesian phylogenetic models (Greenhill and Gray 2012). In addition to those, we also use the more recent wave-based approaches (François 2014), particularly agent-based models (Hartmann 2023). The data on the spread and differentiation of Arabic dialects these models provide is compared with traditional accounts and used to propose alternatives to them.

References

- Al-Jallad, Ahmad, and Ronny Vollandt. 2020. *The Damascus Psalm Fragment: Middle Arabic and the Legacy of Old Higazi*. Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Near East 2. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Behnstedt, Peter, and Manfred Woidich. 2021. *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. Band IV: Funktionswörter, Adverbien, Phraseologisches: eine Auswahl*. Handbook of Oriental Studies Section 1, The Near and Middle East, vol. 100,4. Leiden: Brill.
- Benkato, Adam. 2019. "From Medieval Tribes to Modern Dialects: On the Afterlives of Colonial Knowledge in Arabic Dialectology." *Philological Encounters* 4 (1–2): 2–25. <https://doi.org/10.1163/24519197-12340061>.
- Bowerman, Claire. 2018. "Computational Phylogenetics." *Annual Review of Linguistics* 4 (1): 281–96. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-linguistics-011516-034142>.
- François, Alexandre. 2014. "Trees, Waves and Linkages." In *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, edited by Claire Bowerman and Bethwyn Evans, 161–89. London/New York: Routledge.
- Greenhill, Simon J., and Russell D. Gray. 2012. "Basic Vocabulary and Bayesian Phylolinguistics: Issues of Understanding and Representation." *Diachronica* 29 (4): 523–37. <https://doi.org/10.1075/dia.29.4.05gre>.

- Hartmann, Frederik. 2023. *Germanic Phylogeny*. Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics 51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jastrow, Otto. 2002. "Arabic Dialectology: The State of the Art." In *Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the 21st Century*, edited by Shlomo Izre'el. Israel Oriental Studies 20. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Magidow, Alexander. 2021. "The Old and the New: Considerations in Arabic Historical Dialectology." *Languages* 6 (4): 163. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages6040163>.
- Owens, Jonathan. 2023. *Arabic and the Case against Linearity in Historical Linguistics*. Oxford Studies in Diachronic & Historical Linguistics. New York: Oxford University Press.

DAY 3

DISTURBING OLD BALANCES AND ESTABLISHING NEW ONES:

an impact assessment of Romance loan words on some schemata of Arabic Maltese morphology

It is generally believed that, in the formative stages of Maltese, its inflexible Arabic morphology dictated the channels of integration for successive waves of Romance loans integrated into it. Most studies dealing with this contact have concentrated on aspects of substrate interference of this kind. However, the importance rightly given to this type of influence risks giving the impression that the Arabic morphological structure of the language was impervious to the influence of Romance.

This paper chooses to observe this contact from the opposite viewpoint and to suggest that the sustained contact with Romance over a long period of time has cut deep inroads into the native morphology and has itself become an active agent in the formation of Maltese. Even while being remoulded and integrated into the different canonical schemes of Arabic Maltese, Romance and English accretions disturbed and altered long-established balances which Maltese had hitherto shared with other Arabic dialects and were cumulatively responsible for important changes and choices within the Arabic constituent of Maltese, thus rendering the language more and more idiosyncratic.

The paper will first briefly illustrate a number of such changes within Arabic Maltese allegedly resulting from such superstratal interference, most of which can be set against the background of the general shift of Maltese from a root to a stem morphology, and will then proceed to examine a couple of these choices in greater detail. Some of these changes are:

- the constant search of a stable stem in different conjugational paradigms
- the promotion of the conjugation of weak-final verbs as the main, and the only productive, paradigm of Modern Maltese
- the unusual increase of quadriliteral verbs
- the promotion of some morphological structures (e.g. plural forms, verbal themes) and the resulting loss of others
- the unusual increase of *faʕʕala* verbs with a denominative meaning

Resultative secondary predication in Maltese

Secondary predication, which includes mainly depictive (1) and resultative (2) constructions, has not been explored in any detail in Maltese (see Fabri 1993, Fabri 2023, Mifsud 2014 and Muscat 1921 for some discussion).

1. Kiel il-laħħam nej
 eat.SGM.PERF DEF-meat.SGM raw.SGM
 ‘He ate the meat raw.’

2. Żeba’ l-ħajt aħdar
 paint.SGM.PERF DEF-wall.SGM green.SGM
 ‘He painted the wall green.’

According to Rothstein (2006: 210), a resultative construction ‘attributes a property to its subject which holds of that subject at the point that the event denoted by the matrix verb ends or culminates.’ The secondary predicate thus predicates a property of the object (*ħajt* in (2)) of the main predicate (*Żeba’* in (2)) that is the result of the event denoted by the main predicate (thus, green is the result if the painting event).

In this presentation, I will present a detailed examination of the resultative secondary predicate construction in Maltese, exploring its semantics and morpho-syntax. For example, there are restrictions on what can serve as a possible predicate (generally an adjective/adjective phrase) in a resultative construction as (4), which is possible in English but not in Maltese, shows.

4. *Sa jistad-u l-ibħr-a vojt-a
 FUT fish-3PL.IMPERF.SBJ DEF-sea-PL empty-PL
 ‘They will fish the seas empty.’

Other questions concern the role of grammatical agreement, verbal cliticisation (bound pronouns) and constituent order in such constructions. For example, the order in (5a) is unacceptable while (5b), with the pronominal clitic *-u*, is acceptable.

- 5a) *Żebgħ-at aħdar il-ħajt
 paint.3SGF.PERF.SBJ green.SGM DEF-wall.SGM

- b) Żebgħ-at-u aħdar il-ħajt
 paint-3SGF.PERF.SBJ-3SGM.OBJ green.SGM DEF-wall.SGM
 ‘She painted the wall green.’

Finally, I will also discuss how the Maltese resultative construction compares to that in other languages, in particular other Arabic varieties.

References

- Fabri, R. (1993) *Kongruenz und die Grammatik des Maltesischen* (Agreement and the Grammar of Maltese. Tübingen: Niemeyer
- Fabri, R. (2023) Secondary predication in Maltese: Depictives. Talk delivered at the 10th Għilm Conference in Bremen, Germany.
- Mifsud, J. (2014) *Il-funzjoni avverbjali fil-Malti*. B.A. thesis, University of Malta.
- Muscat, D. (2021) *Il-Funzjoni Avverbjali ta’ Forom Aġġettivali*. B.A. thesis, University of Malta.
- Rothstein, S. (2006) Secondary Predication. In Everaert, M. & van Riemsdijk, H. (2006) (eds) *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, Volume I. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd

Further notes on the dialect of Mellieħa (Malta)

The linguistic profile of the Maltese islands during the twentieth century has been influenced by wide-reaching demographic, social and cultural developments. Consequently, the longstanding urban vs. rural dialectal dichotomy, resulting from centuries of social adherence to one's native town or village, has been somewhat eroded. Although de-dialectalisation is underway in Malta, with standard Maltese being the target, and despite the break in intergenerational transmission of the local varieties, non-standard varieties of Maltese are still very much alive in some areas of the archipelago (i.e. Gozo). The goal of this paper is to present the most salient features of the dialect of Mellieħa, the northernmost town of Malta, and until recently, a predominantly rural region. Although some of these features are not unknown in other dialects of Maltese, the Mellieħi dialect has not received much attention in the scholarly community. The dataset on which the present study draws consists of family recordings, focusing on the speech of elderly non-mobile speakers. Non-standard features found in Mellieħi include backing and rounding of /ā/, numerous allophones of */i:/ and */u:/, vowel harmony and various assimilation processes. The most unexpected feature, however, was found in the speech of some informants which exhibited a creaky voice or vowel laryngealisation as a trace of etymological */ġ/: [nɪfæ:lʊ] < *nixagħlu* 'we light'.

Bibliography

- Azzopardi-Alexander, Marie. 2011. The vowel systems of Xlukkajr and Naduri. In *Variation and Change*, 233-253. De Gruyter
- Azzopardi-Alexander, Marie & Borg, Albert. 1997. *Maltese*. Routledge.
- Borg, Alexander (1977). Reflexes of pausal forms in Maltese rural dialects. *Israel Oriental Studies* (7), 211-225.
- Camilleri, Antoinette & Vanhove, Martine. 1994. A Phonetic and Phonological Description of the Maltese Dialect of Mġarr (Malta). *Zeitschrift Für Arabische Linguistik*, (28), 87-110.
- Elizabeth Hume, Jenifer Venditti, Alexandra Vella & Samantha Gett. 2009. Vowel duration and Maltese 'għ'. In Comrie B. et al, *Introducing Maltese Linguistics*. John Benjamins, 15-46.
- Puech, Gilbert. 1994. *Ethnotextes maltais*. Harrassowitz.

The Rise of Arabic Discourse Markers in Spoken Arabic

This paper will be the first comparative analysis of the grammaticalization and pragmaticalization of spoken Arabic discourse markers (DMs). The four DMs chosen for this preliminary analysis derive from two semantic origins or roots: *ʕād* and *ʕūd* (√ʕwd ‘to repeat, return’), and *ra* and *tara* (√rʔy ‘to see’).

Despite the numerous works on DMs in general linguistics published over the past decades, comparably little has been said on Arabic DMs. The few contributions on Arabic DMs that have been published so far mostly concentrate on one DM and its pragmatic functions in a specific dialect (e.g. Klimiuk 2017; Leitner 2019; Mughazy 2003). In fact, only very few studies include a prosodic analysis (e.g. Owens and Rockwood 2008) or analyze DMs’ diachronic development (e.g. Germanos 2010; Jaradat 2021; Taine-Cheikh 2013), and we still lack studies that might yield a general definition of what Arabic DMs are and how and from what sources they can develop.

The methodology applied for this study combines a literature review on existing studies on the mentioned DMs (Brockett 1985; El Zarka 2012; Klimiuk 2017; Procházka and Dallaji 2019; Taine-Cheikh 2013) and a corpus study based on my own data from Oman and Khuzestan.

This paper is innovative regarding several aspects: First, it not only analyzes and compares the discourse-organizing and/or pragmatic functions of previously unstudied DMs (such as *ʕūd*), but also investigates the potential evolution of these DMs in the light of grammaticalization and pragmaticalization theories (cf. Heine et al. 2021: 11-24 for an overview) based on synchronic evidence. Secondly, the present study intends to shed some light onto two general questions, namely whether DMs that derive from the same source roots share pragmatic properties and, more generally, what could be a basic definition for Arabic DMs.

Keywords: discourse markers; pragmatic markers; grammaticalization; Spoken Arabic; corpus study

References

- Brockett, A. A. 1985. *The Spoken Arabic of Khābūra on the Bāṭina of Oman*. Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 7. Manchester.
- El Zarka, Dina. 2012. “One *ra* – Many Meanings. Syntax, Semantics and Prosody of the Moroccan Modal Particle *ra* and Its Egyptian Arabic Counterparts.” *STUF Language Typology and Universals* 65 (4): 412–31.
- Germanos, Marie-Aimée. 2010. “From Complementizer to Discourse Marker: The Functions of *ʔanno* in Lebanese Arabic.” In *Information Structure in Spoken Arabic*, edited by Jonathan Owens and Alaa Elgibali, 145–64. Routledge Arabic Linguistics Series. London & New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Heine, Bernd, Gunther Kaltenböck, Tania Kuteva, and Haiping Long, eds. 2021. *The Rise of Discourse Markers*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Jaradat, Abdulazeez. 2021. “Grammaticalization of Discourse Markers: Views from Jordanian Arabic.” *Heliyon* 7 (7): 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e07632>.

Klimiuk, Maciej. 2017. "The Particle Ra- in Libyan Arabic Dialects (with Emphasis on the Arabic Dialect of Msallāta)." In *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends – Recent Developments – Diachronic Aspects*, edited by Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun, 371–86. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza.

Leitner, Bettina. 2019. "Khuzestan Arabic and the Discourse Particle Ča." In , edited by Catherine Miller, Alexandrine Barontini, Marie-Aimée Germanos, Jairo Guerrero, and Christophe Pereira. Livres de l'IREMAM. Aix-en-Provence: IREMAM.
<http://books.openedition.org/iremam/3878>.

Mughazy, Mustafa A. 2003. "Discourse Particles Revisited: The Case of Wallahi in Egyptian Arabic." In *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XV: Papers from the Fifteenth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics, Salt Lake City 2001*, edited by Dilworth B. Parkinson and Samira Farwaneh, 3–17. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Owens, Jonathan, and Trent Rockwood. 2008. "Yaġni: What It (Really) Means." In *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XXI*, edited by Dilworth B. Parkinson, 83–113. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. DOI: 10.1075/cilt.301.07owe.

Procházka, Stephan, and Ines Dallaji. 2019. "A Functional Analysis of the Particle Rā- in the Arabic Dialect of Tunis." *Zeitschrift Für Arabische Linguistik*, no. 70: 44.
<https://doi.org/10.13173/zeitarabling.70.0044>.

Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 2013. "Grammaticalized Uses of the Verb Rā(a) in Arabic: A Maghrebian Specificity?" In *African Arabic : Approaches to Dialectology*, edited by Mena Lafkioui, 121–60. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Présentatif ? Subordonnant ~ complémenteur ?

Réflexions sur ʔənn-(o) à partir des dialectes du Bilād al-Šām et de quelques autres

ʔənn-o (avec ses variantes) est généralement présenté, pour les dialectes du Šām, comme un subordonnant. Mais, à quelques exceptions près (Bloch 1986 ; voir pour l'égyptien *enn-* Mejdell 2006), son emploi n'a guère été étudié en détail.

L'usage réel, comme les textes dialectaux publiés, montrent que ʔənn-o est d'un emploi relativement rare (parfois même quasiment absent), et qu'il n'apparaît le plus souvent (de façon rarement obligatoire) que dans des contextes syntaxiques précis (e.g. avec des verbes du dire, de perception ou de cognition).

On constate aussi que ʔənn-o fonctionne plutôt comme un présentatif de phrase ou de proposition (dans les dialectes bédouins sous la forme *wənn-o*), ce qui permet de rendre compte de certains emplois qui demeureraient sinon inexpliqués.

On se demandera quels sont les facteurs qui déterminent la présence ou l'absence de ʔənn-o, si les emplois de complémenteur ne sont pas une extension de ceux de présentatif (cf. Germanos 2009) et si ʔənn-o n'est pas, de ce fait, à mettre en relation avec l'ancien ʔinna (et non avec ʔan(na) comme communément admis). ʔinna a une histoire encore discutée (Bravmann 1977, Bloch 1986, Owens 2013), susceptible d'éclairer celle du dialectal ʔənn-o.

Références

- Bloch, A, *Die Hypotaxe im Damaszenisch-Arabischen mit Vergleichen zur Hypotaxe im Klassisch-Arabischen*, Wiesbaden, 1965. (Chap. II, p. 45-68).
- Bloch, A., *Studies in Arabic Syntax and Semantics*, Wiesbaden, 1986. (Chapter V, p. 102-136).
- Bravmann, M., *Studies in Semitic philology*, Leiden, 1977. (Chap. 27, p. 25 suiv.).
- Germanos, M.-A., "From Complementizer to Discourse Marker: the functions of ʔənn-o in Lebanese Arabic", dans J. Owens et A. Elgibali (éds), *Information Structure in Spoken Arabic*, Londres/New York, 2009, p. 145-164.
- Mejdell, G., *Mixed Styles in Spoken Arabic in Egypt- Somewhere between Order and Chaos*, Leiden, 2006. (Chap. 3, p. 91-174).
- Owens, J., "The Historical Linguistics of the Intrusive *-n in Arabic and West Semitic", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133/2, 2013, p. 217-248.

Une approche sociolinguistique des marqueurs pragmatiques en arabe ḥassāniyya : variation et fonctions

Nouakchott, avec une population de plus d'un million d'habitants, est une ville hétérogène, multilingue et multiethnique qui reflète la diversité de la Mauritanie (cf. Choplin 2009). Dans ce contexte, l'arabe ḥassāniyya est devenu l'une des langues véhiculaires les plus couramment utilisées dans la capitale mauritanienne dans une variété de contextes.

Cette communication présente une étude portant sur les marqueurs pragmatiques en arabe ḥassāniyya, en utilisant une approche sociolinguistique et pragmatique basée sur un corpus recueilli à Nouakchott, au sein des contextes multilingues, auprès de jeunes Mauritanien.e.s âgé.e.s de 18 à 30 ans. L'étude vise à examiner les fonctions des marqueurs les plus couramment utilisés dans le corpus (Fraser 1999, 2021), tout en analysant leurs usages, en tenant compte des variables sociales (Eckert 2016, Sankoff *et al.* 1997).

Bibliographie

Eckert, Penelope. 2012. "Three Waves of Variation Study: The Emergence of Meaning in the Study of Sociolinguistic Variation". *Annual Review of Anthoropology* 41: 87-100.

Fraser, Bruce. 2021. "An introduction to discourse markers". Dans J. César Félix- Brasdefer & Rachel Shively (eds.), *New Directions in Second Language Pragmatics*: 314-335. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Sankoff, Gillian, Thibault, Pierrette, Nagy, Naomi, Blondeau, Helene, Fonollosa, Marie Odile & Gagnon, Lucie. 1997. "Variation in the use of discourse markers in a language contact situation", *Language Variation and Change* 9: 191-217.

Les cahiers de l'Abbé Boilat (1843) : les premiers textes écrits en Ḥassāniyya

L'absence de documents écrits anciens dans le dialecte ḥassāniyya a jusqu'à présent empêché d'aborder l'histoire du dialecte, mais au cours de la dernière décennie, des documents datant du XIXe siècle ont été découverts ce qui pourrait nous éclairer sur le dialecte de l'époque. Ces textes, que l'on peut considérer pour l'instant comme les premiers textes écrits dans le dialecte ḥassāniyya, ont été obtenus grâce au travail de l'abbé franco-sénégalais David Boilat. L'Abbé Boilat (1814-1901), grâce à son intérêt pour le dialecte ḥassāniyya, a réussi à faire écrire par un/des ḥassānophone(s) trois recueils de textes (dont deux sont en ḥassāniyya) dans le but, semble-t-il, d'obtenir des matériaux qui faciliteraient la communication entre les commerçants français basés à Saint-Louis du Sénégal et les autochtones mauritaniens. Ces trois cahiers ont été remis par le Gouverneur du Sénégal à la Société de Géographie de France qui les a conservés.

Dans cette comunicación, nous présenterons un bref aperçu historique sur la personne qui a obtenu ces matériaux, c'est-à-dire l'abbé Boilat ; nous examinerons ces débuts de l'écriture dialectale en ḥassāniyya : les aspects phonétiques qui peuvent être déduits de l'écriture des textes et la manière dont le scribe a surmonté la difficulté de mise par écrit de ces textes dialectaux.

Une fois ces aspects introductifs terminés, nous nous concentrerons sur les aspects linguistiques, notamment la morphologie et le lexique.

En guise de conclusion et à titre d'illustration, un échantillon de textes du deuxième cahier de Boilat, jusqu'à présent inédit, sera analysé et traduit.

Mots clés: Écriture des dialectes arabes. Premiers textes écrits en dialecte ḥassāniyya. Dialecte ḥassāniyya.

Moroccan Arabic prose writing in the late 18th Century: Lālla Fāṭna's account of her captivity in Malta

This paper serves as an introduction to a source for the historical study of Moroccan Arabic from the National Historic Archive (AHN) in Madrid: two letters, composed in 1798, by a Moroccan woman calling herself Lālla Fāṭna (LF). Held captive in Malta, LF addresses her letters to the Moroccan Sultan Moulay Slimane, whom she tells of her plight and implores to rescue her. As a record of the harsh reality of captivity in the 18th-century Mediterranean, the letters have attracted attention from historians (e.g., Matar 2020), but they also hold value for dialectologists as a rare example of prose writing in Moroccan Arabic at the end of the early modern period, being contemporary with Dombay's 1800 *Grammatica Linguae Mauro-Arabicae* that launched the systematic study of the dialect.

The letters are unmistakably written in a Moroccan dialect, ignoring all but a few classical orthographic conventions, and probably speak to LF knowing only the basics of literacy. Many long and final vowels are omitted entirely (حبل *ḥābla* 'pregnant', تبقى *təbqa* 'she remains', امتع *mtāʿ*), showing an ad hoc spelling system, but the interdental ڨ and ڨ are where etymologically expected and were thus perhaps present in LF's spoken variety. Many morphosyntactic features of note are present, including a genitive particle متاع *mtāʿ* (to the exclusion of *d* ~ *dyāl*), a relative particle الى *lli* (to the exclusion of *ddi*), a purposive باش *bāš*, a presentative راه *rāh*, a postposed negator شـ *-š*, and the conspicuous absence of a preverbal particle *kā-* or *tā-*. Lexical items of interest include verbs such as صاب *šāb* 'to find', بعث *bəʿθ* 'to send', قعد *qəʿəd* 'to stay' and nouns such as دويّا *dwāya* 'smoking pipe', جوف *žūf* 'stomach', مصلح *mṣəlḥa* 'broom'.

Although LF does not state where in Morocco she is from, it may be possible to match such features to a general region, further shining light on this simultaneously tragic and intriguing example of linguistic and cultural contact in the Mediterranean over two centuries ago.

Ancrage local et diffusion suprarégionale: négation et différentialité à Dayr əl-ʿAḥmar (Liban)

Dayr əl-ʿAḥmar est une bourgade libanaise située au nord de la plaine de la Békaa, sur les contreforts est de la chaîne du Mont Liban. Elle constitue le pendant oriental de *Bṣarre* qui est située sur l'autre versant de la montagne, au fond de la vallée de la *Qādīšā*.

Ces deux localités partagent des liens claniques, culturels, religieux et linguistiques évidents si bien qu'il est nécessaire de les considérer comme faisant partie d'un ensemble cohérent.

Parmi les discriminants qui caractérisent le parler de *Dayr əl-ʿAḥmar*, il est pertinent de mentionner deux variables qui illustrent chacune un type différent de diffusion des innovations linguistiques.

Dans un premier temps, il convient d'observer le morphème *-š* suffixé à la forme verbale pour marquer la négation comme exemplifié en (1). Ce trait n'existe pas à *Bṣarre* alors que ces deux variantes dialectales sont similaires sur la plupart des autres plans.

- | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| (1) ma | byistaržə-š | ifuṭ | əḍ-ḍabaʿ |
| | NEGoser.INACC.3ms-NEG | entrer.SUBJ.3ms | ART-hyène |
| | L'hyène n'ose pas rentrer. | | |

Ce morphème est par contre communément employé dans les variétés de la Békaa. On suppose donc une influence aréale de ces parlers pour expliquer la présence de ce trait à *Dayr əl-ʿAḥmar*.

En second lieu, on remarque à *Dayr əl-ʿAḥmar*, comme à *Bṣarre*, que cette variété ne maintient pas la voyelle /a/ inaccentuée en syllabe ouverte : *malḥame* > *malḥme* > *malaḥme*.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| (2) u-fāṭḥīn | malaḥme |
| CONJ-ouvrir.PA.pl | boucherie |
| Et ils ont ouvert une boucherie. | |

Ce discriminant a été mis en exergue par Henri Fleisch (1974) qui appelait non-différentiel tout parler qui ne maintient pas la voyelle /a/ inaccentuée en syllabe ouverte et différentiel le contraire. Les parlers de cette région semblent être non-différentiels de nature ; or on constate chez certains locuteurs des cas de différentialité comme en témoigne l'exemple ci-dessous.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| (3) byiflaḥo | b-ət-traktoṛāt |
| labourer.INACC.3pl | PREP-ART-tracteurs |
| Ils labourent avec les tracteurs. | |

On présume une influence de la variété haute en cours actuellement au Liban qui est résolument différentielle.

On constate donc deux innovations dans la variante de *Dayr əl-ʿAḥmar* qui procèdent de deux types différents de diffusion. Nous nous proposons d'analyser ces deux modes de diffusion dans le but d'observer les dynamiques qui sont à l'œuvre dans ce parler.

Bibliographie

- Abu-Haidar, Farida. 1979. *A Study of the Spoken Arabic of Baskinta*, Leiden, Londres : Brill.
- Arnold, Werner. 1998. *Die arabischen Dialekte Antiochiens*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- El-Hajjé, Hassan. 1954. *Le parler arabe de Tripoli (Liban)*, Paris : Librairie C. Klincksieck
- Fleisch, Henri. 1974. *Études d'arabe dialectal*. Beyrouth : Dar el-Machreq Éditeurs.
- Feghali, Michel. 1919. *Le parler arabe de Kfar 'Abīda. Essai linguistique sur la phonétique et la morphologie d'un parler arabe moderne*, Paris : Ernest Leroux.

Assessing the crossdialectal distribution of the *la* conditional and its further development

la (and its phonological varieties) across the different Arabic dialects is mostly known for its complementiser function, introducing the protasis of real (i.e., possible) conditional clauses. In some dialects, it is the sole identifier of the structure, i.e., no other complementiser takes on that role. This is true of Moroccan (e.g., Marçais (1977), Caubet (2005), Agaudé (2003), Boubekri (2019)). In other dialects, as in Najdi (Ingham, 1991) and Bedouin Hijazi, it can alternate with other functional elements. Still, in other dialects, e.g., in Tunisian (Dallaji et al., 2018), Libyan (Pereira, 2019), Palestinian (Cerqueghlini, 2020) and Syrian (Jalonen, 2017) no reference is made to the existence of *la*.

This study concentrates on observations not previously mentioned elsewhere, including the morphosyntactic contrasts that condition *la*-introduced protases between Najdi and Bedouin Hijazi and the striking parallel between Anatolian Arabic (e.g., Mardini (Grigore, 2008) and Siirt (Bițună, 2015)) and Maltese, in which variety, no reference to any *la* subordinating/complementiser functions is available at all.

Apart from being a comparative endeavour that intends to encompass as much dialectal variation as possible, this study additionally aims to assess the development of *la* within related semantic (and syntactic) realms, unravelling connections not previously made. Such observations would be impossible to make from e.g., reference to Baghdadi Arabic, where *lō* appears to have opaquely fused both the semantic functions of conditional *la* and *law*, which range from real to unreal conditions (cf. Grigore, 2005). Synchronically, however, in Saudi and Maghrebi dialects alike, *la* (but not *law*) has additionally evolved a more generalised temporal semantic function similar to ‘when(ever)’, void of any conditional meaning; a development which still needs to be carefully mapped out. Once again, it will here be shown how this progression (even if obscured by additional internal developments) is present in varieties as far afield as those in Antolia and Maltes.

References

- Boubekri, A. (2019). Conditionals in Moroccan Arabic. *Journal of Universal Language*, 20(1), 1-38.
- Cerqueghlini, L. (2020). Dialectal conditional clauses in Academic Arabic in Israel. In G. Grigore & L. Sitaru (Eds.) *Romano-Arabica XX: Trends and Developments in Today's Arabic* (pp. 125-134). Bucharest: Editura Universității din București.
- Dallaji, I., & Gabsi, I., & Procházka, S. (2018). Conditional clauses in the Arabic dialect of Tunis. *Linguistic dynamics in the Greater Tunis Area: a corpus-based approach (TUNICO)*. <https://vicav.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/docs/TUNICO-conditionals-11-9-2018.pdf>
- Grigore, G. (2008). Conditional structures in Mardini Arabic. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, 49, 63-77.
- Ingham, B. (1991). Subordinate clauses of time and condition in Bedouin Dialects. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African studies*. 54(1), 42-62.
- Marçais, Philippe (1977). *Esquisse Grammaticale de l'Arabe Maghrébin*. Paris, Maisonneuves.

A hidden pseudocoordination structure in Levantine Arabic

This paper presents an analysis of a set of constructions found in several Levantine varieties of Arabic, in which a perfect verb serves semantically a subordinate function, as shown in (1-3) for Palestinian Arabic. While subordinate usage of the perfect has been described in the literature (e.g. Brustad (2000), Wilmsen (2015)), the constructions targeted in this paper are special in the sense that they formally appear as pairs of coordinated clauses, but semantically the relation between them is ambiguous – while in certain contexts they can indeed be interpreted as coordinated clauses, in others the second clause is semantically subordinated. One might argue that it is merely an idiomatic usage limited to a small set of situations, like the most typical in (1), but I argue that based on an investigation of the range of the phenomenon with native consultants and on natural data, one should describe it as a pseudocoordinated grammatical construction (see Ross (2021)) with a particular function in terms of information structure, which otherwise would be rendered by syntactic means of subordination but here is allowed to be formally unmarked (the reason for the necessity of the subordinative interpretation is the fact that in contexts where the event expressed by the second clause is topicalised, the coordinative interpretation would not fit, just as the translation by a coordinative structure in (1-3) would not fit in English). I believe that however marginal the phenomenon may be, it contributes importantly also to the typological picture of colloquial Arabic syntax and semantics.

- (1) ʔakal-ət w-žī-t.
 eat.PF-1SG and-come.PF-1SG
 ‘I ate before coming.’ [or ‘I ate and came.’]
- (2) naššaf-t-hen w-libis-t-hen
 dry.PF-1SG-3PL.OBJ and-wear.PF-1SG-3PL.OBJ
 ‘I dried them (clothes) before taking them on.’ [or ‘I ate and came.’]
- (3) masah-t-u w-qaʿad-ət
 wipe.PF-1SG-3SG.M.OBJ and-sit.PF-1SG
 ‘I wiped it (the chair) before sitting down.’ [or ‘I wiped it and sat down.’]

References

- Brustad, Kristen. 2000. *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic: A Comparative Study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti Dialects*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Ross, Daniel. 2021. Pseudocoordination, Serial Verb Constructions and Multi-Verb Predicates: The relationship between form and structure (v1.0 (Original version, as deposited with university for degree)) [Zenodo]. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5546426>
- Wilmsen, D. 2015. Perfect Modality: Auxiliary Verbs and Finite Subordinates in Levantine (and other) Arabics. *Al-ʿArabiyya*, 48, 157–174. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44654043>

Analyzing conversation topics among Damascene males and females

It is an established fact that men and women communicate differently. Among these differences, men have a greater tendency to assertively proclaim and reaffirm facts and opinions, while women view communicative exchange as a means of strengthening relationships with their interlocutors (Lozano 1995). Furthermore, women openly express their emotions and foster closeness through intimate self-disclosure, whereas men tend to avoid high levels of intimacy and acknowledge warmth and friendship through joking and laughter (Aries 1976). Additionally, each gender exhibits a preference for certain conversation topics: women tend to enjoy talking about friends and family, including partners and children, while men often engage in conversations about business, sports and leisure (Deakings 1989).

In this context, the following presentation examines the most recurrent conversation topics among men and women from Damascus. Furthermore, it compares similar topics discussed by both genders to identify any similarities or differences in terms of stylistic and discursive aspects, such as: verbosity, questioning patterns, reported speech, politeness, assertiveness, expressivity, and personal involvement. Finally, an exploration is made to determine if age plays a significant role in relation to this issue.

The study is based on a corpus of texts collected from 65 male and female Damascene informants in the cities of Damascus and Beirut (2007-2009 and 2022), representing different ages ranges and social classes.

Inverted pronominal circumstantial clauses in Maltese and Northern Levantine Arabic

Although Maltese is classed as a North African dialect of Arabic, it is known to exhibit “curious similarities with the Eastern dialects.” One of those, is the inverted pronominal circumstantial (*ḥāl*) clause. The usual Arabic configuration is CONJ + PRO (1), but northern Levantine - especially Lebanese - Arabic (2) and Maltese (3) reverse that order: PRO + CONJ:

(1) Jordanian Arabic

في سيارات ما بتحترم وجود مشاه بالشارع وبتكون مسرعه كثير وهي ماشيه

<i>fī</i>	<i>sayyārāt</i>	...	<i>bi-t-kūn</i>	<i>musriḥ</i>	<i>kitīr</i>	<i>wə</i>	<i>hiyyə</i>	<i>māšyə</i>
EXIST	cars		HAB-3FS-be.IPFV	speeding	ADJ	CON	PRO.3FS	going

‘There are cars ... that are speeding very much while they are driving.’

(2) Lebanese Arabic

في ناس كثير عم تموت هي وعم تقطع الطريق

<i>fī</i>	<i>nās</i>	<i>kitīr</i>	<i>ḥam</i>	<i>ti-mūt</i>	<i>hiyyə</i>	<i>wə</i>	<i>ḥam</i>	<i>ti-ṭaḥ</i>	<i>iṭ-ṭarīḥ</i>
EXIST	people	ADJ	PROG	3FS-die.IPFV	PRO	CON	PROG	3FS-CROSS.IPFV	DET-road

‘There are many people die while they are crossing the road.’

(3) Maltese

<i>tfarrket</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ddur</i>	<i>bil-karozza</i>	<i>f'</i>	<i>roundabout</i>
shatter.PFV.3FS	PRO	CONJ	3FS.circle.IPFV	in.the-car	PREP	

‘She crashed while she was circling a roundabout in the car.’

Inverted pronominal circumstantial clauses are absent in the Jordanian and Palestinian Arabic text files of a corpus of Levantine Arabic, the shami-corpus (the source of examples [1] and [2]), but they occur regularly although not exclusively in the Syrian file, and they are the usual configuration in the Lebanese file. Other Lebanese textual sources and gleanings from a nine-year residence in Beirut corroborate this. The inverted pronominal circumstantial clause is thus another of the isoglosses distinguishing northern from southern Levantine Arabic. In the Korpus Malti (the source of example [3]), it is the exclusive form. This, in turn, holds implications for reconstructing the Arabic sources of the Maltese language and for fixing a latest date for its emergence in northern Levantine Arabic.

Nautical Terms: Gulf Arabics compared

Etymologies, developments and history of nautical terms have been widely investigated, in particular for the Mediterranean area, because of their importance for the material culture and the so-called civilizations of the sea. For the same reasons, but shifting the focus from the Mediterranean to the Gulf, nautical terms reveal their nature as cultural specific items. In fact, the comparison of Gulf Arabics shows differences in naming or translating specific entries, as well as in pronunciation and phonetics. It is not always possible to inscribe lexical entries into standard morphological patterns, for a number of reasons: dialectal varieties are at stake, words are in use only in their singular or plural form, the inventory of templates adopted do not always find its counterpart in standard Arabic, and this is especially true for the names of (so many) tools or instruments, with many differences from country to country, although belonging to the same Gulf macro-region. Vocabulary shows that *muʿarrab*, *muwallad*, *aʿjamī*, and *ʿammī* entries are present, but what factors were at stake in creating or translating such words? Tentatively, a selection of Gulf nautical terms will be analyzed and classified, according to the following phenomena:

- preservation, if no equivalent was present in the target culture;
- explicitation or addition, if a semantic supplement is required in the target language;
- deletion, if necessary for cultural reasons or differences;
- generalization, if needed for standardizing and easing a procedure or a concept;
- localization, for the sake of effectiveness in a precise context;
- transformation, if more mechanisms of the above mentioned took place together;
- creation, for non-existing terms.

In carrying out this analysis, the comparison takes place focusing on materials collected from previous studies, recent publications, and terms personally verified over the period 2022-(2024), as practitioner in translation employed in shipyards.

Šūf, rīt kīma talqa hādāya?

Lexical and functional categories of verbs of sight in Kairouani Arabic

The number of verbs used for describing the perceptual experience of sight varies widely across languages (Viberg 1983). For instance, English distinguishes ‘see’ from ‘look at’ or ‘watch to’ among its most common verbs of sight. Concerning spoken Maghrebi Arabic, *ra*, and *šāf* are the most widespread. Although Ferguson (1959: 66) stated that *ra* appears in Arabic dialects only in derivative forms and presentatives while *šāf* is the ordinary verb used, their distribution – at least in Northern Africa – is more complex. Indeed, research shows that some Maghrebi dialects alternate the use of *ra* and *šāf* (Kaye 1986; Sellami 2019), and others almost exclusively use *ra* (D’Anna forthcoming). Although some studies (Kaye 1986; Bloch 1993; Taine-Cheikh 2017) have already approached certain aspects related to *ra* and *šāf* in Northern Africa, no in-depth analysis has so far investigated the lexical and functional distribution of these two verbs in the region. Furthermore, the other verbs used to express the experience of sight are even less investigated.

Based on my corpus of data recorded in Kairouan in 2022, this presentation aims to shed light on the lexical, grammatical, and functional categories of the four main verbs of sight found in the Tunisian Arabic spoken in Kairouan. In particular, the verbs presented and analyzed in this study will be *ra*, *šāf*, *ǧzur*, and *tfarraḡ ʕla*. First, I will illustrate the lexical use of the four verbs drawn from my corpus. Secondly, I will especially focus on the distribution of the verbs *ra* and *šāf* and their grammatical and functional categories. The main results of this research show that, in most cases, the semantic, grammatical, and functional categories analyzed are complementary and cannot be overlapped.

References

- Bloch, Ariel A. 1993. ‘Verbs of Topographical Elevation: The Case of Šāf “To See” in Colloquial Arabic’. *Zeitschrift Für Arabische Linguistik*, no. 25: 100–107.
- D’Anna, Luca. forthcoming. *An Anthology of Libyan Judeo-Arabic*.
- Ferguson, Charles. 1959. ‘The Arabic Koine’. In *Structuralist Studies in Arabic Linguistics. Charles A. Ferguson’s Papers, 1954-1994*, edited by Kirk R. Belnap and Niloofar Haeri, 50–69. *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics*. Leiden - New York - Köln: Brill.
- Kaye, Alan S. 1986. ‘The Fergusonian Impact’. In *In Honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday. Volume 1: From Phonology to Society. Volume 2: Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language*, edited by Joshua A. Fishman, 211–22. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Sellami, Zeineb. 2019. ‘The Dialect of Sfax (Tunisia)’. In *Studies on Arabic Dialectology and Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference of AIDA Held in Marseille from May 30th to June 2nd 2017*, edited by Alexandrine Barontini, Marie-Aimée Germanos, Jairo Guerrero, Christophe Pereira, and Catherine Miller, 254–65. *Livres de l’IREMAM*. Aix-en-Provence: Institut de recherches et d’études sur les mondes arabes et musulmans.
- Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 2017. ‘La Classification Des Parlers Bédouins Du Maghreb: Revisiter Le Classement Traditionnel’. In *Tunisian and Libyan Dialects: Common*

Trends - Recent Developments - Diachronic Aspects, edited by Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun, 15–43. Estudios de Dialectología Árabe 13. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza.

Viberg, Åke. 1983. 'The Verbs of Perception: A Typological Study' 21 (1): 123–62.

The preverbs *bāš*, *taw* and *qrīb* in Tunisian Arabic: a corpus-based study

The present work aims to explore the functions of the preverbs *bāš*, *taw* and *qrīb* in a selection of literary texts from the Tunisian Dialect Corpus (McNeil & Miled 2010-2023). Preverbs often precede a verb in *muḍāriʿ* to express futurity: while *bāš* usually stands for a narrative future, *qrīb* and *taw* are used for imminent future, involving respectively a constatation of the speaker or his intention to make an action (Mion 2017: 209-211). Furthermore, *bāš* and *qrīb* can follow an auxiliary verb and express futurity relative to the time referred to by the auxiliary (Belazi 1993: 21; Panasci 2021: 428). In the present corpus-based research, additional functions for the analysed preverbs have been found. Firstly, the preverb *qrīb* can introduce a verb in *muḍāriʿ* or the compound *bāš* plus verb in *muḍāriʿ*, standing in both cases for an action that is or was about to take place either at the speech time or before that. *Qrīb* has also been found followed by *lā* plus verb in *māḍī* to express an action that was about to take place in the past, but ultimately didn't transpire. On the other hand, *taw* and *bāš* are always followed by a verb in *muḍāriʿ*. *Bāš* occurs as well preceded by *kān*, introducing conditions in if clauses, while both *bāš* and *taw* can be used after the compound *kān* plus verb, to express a consequence. Eventually, no occurrences of *taw* and *qrīb* have been found in questions and negations, and *qrīb* has never been used, in the analysed data, with time markers.

Keywords: *Tunisian Arabic, future tense, preverbs, corpus-based, Arabic dialect, Tunisian literature.*

Bibliography

Belazi, N. 1993. *Semantics and pragmatics of the Tunisian tenses and aspects*. [Doctoral dissertation Cornell University].

McNeil, K. & Miled F. 2010-2023. *Tunisian Arabic Corpus (TAC)*: 1,088,614 words. Available online at <http://www.tunisiya.org>. Accessed on July 20, 2023.

Mion, G. 2017. "À propos du futur à Tunis", Ritt-Benmimoun, V. (ed.) *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects. Common trends–Recent Developments–Diachronic Aspects*. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza. 205-217.

Panasci, L. 2021. *Studi lessicali sull'arabo di Tunisia* (Voll. III) [Doctoral dissertation Università Sapienza di Roma].

“Preliminary remarks on some of the Arabic dialects of the Cape Bon peninsula (northeastern Tunisia)”

Despite its close proximity to the capital Tunis, the Arabic varieties spoken across the Cape Bon peninsula have so far attracted very little scholarly attention (Singer 1984, Dallaji 2016). The same holds true for the mixed dialects which, according to our data, spread south of Hammamet, just on the south-eastern periphery of the Cape Bon peninsula. Exceptions to this lack of data are the dialects of Korba (Walters 1989, 1992) and Nabeul, a first-layer variety which is documented by Dallaji (2016) and, to a lesser extent, Maamouri (1967), Saadi (2014), and Gibson (1998). The present paper provides first-hand data on some of the Arabic varieties spoken in the eastern part of the Cape Bon peninsula (north-eastern Tunisia). Data were gathered through audio recordings, dialectological questionnaires and participant observation during the author’s fieldwork in Tunisia in June 2023. Survey points included a total of six localities: Manzil Tamim, Kelibia, El Haouaria, El Handaria, Bouficha and Selloum. The first three are located within the Cape Bon peninsula itself, whereas the other three lie on its south-eastern fringe. A preliminary analysis of the collected corpus yielded interesting results regarding the nature of the dialects under study. On the one hand, our findings confirm that, alongside sedentary vernaculars, Bedouin-type varieties are also spoken in the Cape Bon Peninsula (Skik 2000). On the other hand, they point to the existence of transitional dialects in the coastal plain south of Hammamet.

References

- DALLAJI, I. 2016. “Grammatical and Lexical Notes on the Arabic Dialect of Nabeul (Northern Tunisia)”, in M.F. Al-Hamad, R. Ahmed & H.I. Aloui (eds.) *Lisan Al-Arab: Studies in Contemporary Arabic Dialects. Proceedings of the 10th International Conference of AIDA. Qatar University 2013*. Vienna, LIT Verlag, pp. 151-162.
- GIBSON, M. L. 1998. *Dialect Contact in Tunisian Arabic: Sociolinguistic and Structural Aspects*. PhD thesis. Reading, University of Reading.
- MAAMOURI, M. 1967. *The Phonology of Tunisian Arabic*. Ph.D. dissertation. Cornell University.
- SAADI, S. 2014. *Regional Effects on the Intonation Patterns of Three Different Groups of Tunisian EFL Learners*. MA dissertation. Tunis, La Manouba University.
- SINGER, H.-R. 1984. *Grammatik der arabischen Mundart der Medina von Tunis*. Berlin, De Gruyter.
- SKIK, H. 2000. “La prononciation de qâf arabe en Tunisie”, in M. Mifsud (ed.) *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of AIDA*. Malta, University of Malta Press, pp. 131-136.
- Walters, S. K. 1989. *Social Change and Linguistic Variation in Korba, a small Tunisian Town*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Texas at Austin.
- Walters, S. K. 1992. “A Sociolinguistic Description of (u:) in Korba Arabic: Defining Linguistic Variables in Contact Situations and Relic Areas”, in E. Broselow, M. Eid & J. McCarthy (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics IV: Papers from the fourth annual symposium on Arabic linguistics*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins, pp. 181-217.

Quantificational adjectives in Syrian Arabic

This talk seeks to explain differences between the quantificational adjectives *ktīr* ‘much/many’ and *ʔalīl* ‘little/few’ in Syrian Arabic, on the basis of their distribution in the >500,000 word ‘Shami’ corpus of that dialect. While *ʔalīl* only occurs as a post-modifier (that is, it follows its modifyee, as in *laḥazāt ʔalīl-e* ‘moments few-PL’), *ktīr* may occur as either a pre- (*ktīr mwaʔif* ‘many occasions’) or post-modifier (*furaṣ ktīr-a* ‘opportunities many-PL’). While *ʔalīl* must agree with its modifyee, *ktīr* agrees only optionally, and then only as a post-modifier, like *ʔalīl*. Further, *ktīr* may be separated from its modifyee under circumstances that I describe in more detail in the talk, as in *as-sama kānit ktīr fī-ha nuṣūm*, literally ‘the sky were many in-it stars’, a behavior not attested, nor deemed grammatical, for *ʔalīl*. These distributional differences correlate with a striking difference in productivity: *ktīr* occurs 3,026 times in the corpus but *ʔalīl* only 54 times. This is unlikely to be entirely due to a lack of ‘demand’ for *ʔalīl*, since semantically similar *fwajj* ‘a few/a little’ occurs 1048 times. Revealingly, though, there are only 35 instances of **agreeing** *ktīr*, roughly on par with the prevalence of *ʔalīl*. This suggests that the Standard Arabic pattern for quantificational adjectives, in which they are agreeing post-modifiers like other adjectives, is moribund in Syrian Arabic for both *ktīr* and *ʔalīl*. However, *ktīr* has acquired a new role in Syrian as a kind of adverbial element whose distribution is more flexible than the Standard Arabic cognate and which does not support agreement. The differences between *ʔalīl* and *ktīr* in Syrian Arabic are therefore an epiphenomenon of the near total loss of quantificational adjectives per se, together with the unrelated reanalysis of *ktīr* as an adverbial element.

Fronted circumstantial clauses in Syrian Arabic revisited

In Persson 2015a (pp. 96-103) we discussed fronted circumstantial clauses in Damascene Arabic; a construction suggested by Kaye & Rosenhouse (1997) to be especially common in colloquial Arabic (cf. Blau, 1960; Rosenhouse, 1978).

We now revisit this construction, using more data and comparing the dialect of Damascus with central and northern Syrian Arabic (cf. Behnstedt, 2011). We now include data from Hama and Aleppo, (f. ex. Behnstedt, 1989; Jastrow & Kazzarah, 1980; Lewin, 1966) and recently published data from Damascus (f. ex. Berlinches Ramos, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017; Klimiuk, 2022) with reference to recent descriptions (Aldoukhi et al., 2014, 2016). The result is a considerably fuller picture of the fronted circumstantial clause in Syrian Arabic.

Three areas, noted in the literature as interesting for comparison, are in focus:

a) Fronted subjects

Brustad 2000 (pp. 340-342) noted a variation in circumstantial clauses, viz. fronted subjects occurring regularly only in Syrian Arabic: “*ʔənt əw-rāyeḥ xədni*” (Cowell, 2005, p. 582). According to Grotzfeld (1965, p. 101), this construction is rare in Damascus but popular - “sehr beliebt” - in other varieties of Syrian Arabic. The study confirms variations between the areas surveyed.

b) Nouns introducing the clause

Bloch found only pronouns to introduce our construction in his sources of Damascene Arabic but mentioned nouns to occur in other varieties of Levantine Arabic (1965, p. 72f.). Bloch’s statement has been questioned by Persson (2015). Our present data illustrate the need for further discussion and clarification of terminology.

c) Frame-setting function of the clause

Finally, to follow up on (Persson, 2015), we discuss variations in the *function* of the fronted circumstantial clause (cf. Brustad, 2000, p. 341). Persson’s earlier investigations suggest that a temporal function is especially strong in Damascus Arabic. By comparing with data from Hama and Aleppo we arrive at a broader picture.

References

- Aldoukhi, R., Procházka, S., Telič, A., & Grigoryan, N. (2014). *Lehrbuch des Syrisch-Arabischen 2, Damaszenisch für Fortgeschrittene*. (1. Aufl.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Aldoukhi, R., Procházka, S., Telič, A., & Grigoryan, N. (2016). *Lehrbuch des Syrisch-Arabischen 1 Praxisnaher Einstieg in den Dialekt von Damaskus*. (2. Auflage 2016). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Behnstedt, P. (1989). Christlich-Aleppinische Texte. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*(20), 43-96.
- Behnstedt, P. (2011). Syria. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Brill.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-arabic-language-and-linguistics/syria-EALL_COM_0330

- Berlinches Ramos, C. (2011). Dos textos en árabe dialectal de Damasco. *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 22(0), 127-136.
- Berlinches Ramos, C. (2013). Texts Related to Cooking in the Arabic Dialect of Damascus. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 103, 25-48.
- Berlinches Ramos, C. (2014). Textos dialectales sobre la ciudad de Damasco. *Romano-Arabica*, 14, 33-57.
- Berlinches Ramos, C. (2016). *El dialecto árabe de Damasco (Siria): estudio gramatical y textos*. Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza.
- Berlinches Ramos, C. (2017). Kəll səne w ʔəntu sālmīn! Five Dialectal Texts About Muslim Religious Feasts in Damascus. *Mediterranean Language Review*, 24, 175-186.
- Blau, J. (1960). *Syntax des palästinensischen Bauerndialekts von Bīr-Zeṭ, auf Grund der "Volkserzählungen aus Palästina" von Hans Schmidt und Paul Kahle*. Vlg für Orientkunde.
- Bloch, A. (1965). *Die Hypotaxe im Damaszenisch-Arabischen: mit Vergleichen zur Hypotaxe im Klassisch-Arabischen*. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsvlg. F. Steiner.
- Brustad, K. E. (2000). *The syntax of spoken Arabic: a comparative study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti dialects*. Georgetown University Press.
- Cowell, M. W. (2005). *A reference grammar of Syrian Arabic : based on the dialect of Damascus*. Georgetown University Press.
- Grotzfeld, H. (1965). *Syrisch-arabische Grammatik: (Dialekt von Damaskus)*. Harrassowitz.
- Jastrow, O., & Kazzarah, S. (1980). Erinnerungen an die Osmanenzeit Aleppinische Texte I. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*(5), 93-117.
- Kaye, A. S., & Rosenhouse, J. (1997). Arabic Dialects and Maltese. In R. Hetzron (Ed.), *The Semitic languages* (pp. 263-311). Routledge.
- Klimiuk, M. (2022). Living in Bab Tuma: Two Texts in Damascene Arabic. In: M. Klimiuk (Ed.), *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology: Fieldwork—Community—Change* (pp. 303-313) Heidelberg University Publishing.
- Lewin, B. (1966). *Arabische Texte im Dialekt von Hama: mit Einleitung und Glossar*. Steiner.
- Persson, M. (2015). Non-main Clause Combining in Damascene Arabic: A scale of markedness. In B. Isaksson & M. Persson (Eds.), *Clause Combining in Semitic. The Circumstantial Clause and Beyond* (Vol. 96, pp. 55-121). Harrassowitz.
- Rosenhouse, J. (1978). Circumstantial Clauses in some Arabic Dialects. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft : ZDMG Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz*, 128(2), 226-237.

Negotiating Identity in an Egyptian Provincial Capital

This paper posits important Cairene controlled industries that often revolve around the High Dam continue to leave an mark on southern Egyptian society as well as some pronunciation choices. The Kima fertilizer company, agriculture, and other local industries are linked to the High Dam, yet they are often perceived to be controlled by Cairenes. The local prestige variants of Old Arabic *ǧīm* just north of Aswan in southern Egypt are attested as [ʒ, dʒ, and g] (see Behstedt and Woidich 1985 maps 12-14). However, the national supra-local Cairene pronunciation is [g]. Speakers indicate based on metalinguistic commentary and previous research that variation may cluster by self-ascribed speaker ethnicity and sex (see Miller 1998). The researcher draws on a corpus of interviews to fit a mixed-effects model to analyze the variation of *ǧīm*. It is found the Ṣaʿāyda and Nubians choose distinct combinations of regional pronunciations. Different pronunciation patterns of local variants are found for genders of both ethnic groups. All speakers also use significant proportions of the supra-local Cairene [g] pronunciation even though the majority of all speakers in this study express some level of disapproval towards Cairene Arabic. Although this dialect is not a creole or pidgin, its complex and contradictory linguistic behavior can be interpreted as certain acts of identity (following the framework of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). Pronunciation may vary if groups want to express solidarity to local identities or if they want access to resources perceived to be controlled by Cairenes.

References

- Behnstedt, P. and M. Woidich. (1985). Die Ägyptisch-Arabischen Dialekte. *Beihefte Zum Tübinger Atlas Des Vorderen Orients*. Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften. Wiesbaden, Germany: L. Reichert. Vol. 2.
- Le Page R. B. A. Tabouret-Keller Andrée. (1985). *Acts of identity : creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, C. (1998). Pour une étude du contact dialectal en zone urbaine : Le Caire. *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Linguists*. Oxford, England: Permagon. Paper 0106.

DAY 4

Spatial Frames of Reference in Deaf and Hearing Traditional Negev Arabic Speakers

Ten hearing Traditional Negev Arabic speakers (TNA) and ten speakers of the same language with profound, prelingual, neurosensory deafness (DTNA) were individually tested on representations of spatial, static, projective relations on the horizontal plane, i.e., frames of reference (FoRs) and related prepositions. FoRs are coordinate systems projected onto spatial arrays to locate any object (Figure, F) in relation to another object (Ground, G). FoRs can be object-centered, based on inherent facets of G; ego-centered, based on the coordinates projected by the speaker; or geocentric, based on external coordinates such as cardinal directions. TNA is a cluster of closely related tribal dialects of Bedouin Ḥijāzi Arabic spoken in the Negev region (southern Israel) by women and men over age 75 without formal education. In childhood, DTNA speakers received domestic training in Negev Bedouin tribal sign language and lip reading. Four DTNA informants received basic training in Israeli Sign Language. I tested whether and how the use of signing—based on the iconic, visual-motor channel—influences DTNA spatial semantic conceptualization compared to TNA. The stimuli consisted of twenty spatial arrays of two toy objects (FG). F was a ping-pong ball. Ten Gs were selected according to different functional and geometric properties. FG arrays were arranged one after the other on a table before the informants. Two arrays were tested for each G. Informants were asked in their language, ‘Where is the ball in relation to G?’ for each array, where G was the noun of the G-object. The maximum response time was five seconds. Despite strong similarities with TNA, the dominant iconic, visual-motor channel used for signing affects DTNA spatial conceptualization, leading to the development of ego-centered right/left distinctions—due to the use of hands for both action and speech—and a pervasive codification of directionality and motion in describing static scenes.

ʔallak in Cairene Arabic:

Questions on pronoun reference and pragmatics

As in many dialects, we find in Cairene Arabic a verb *ʔallak*, literally “he told you”, where subject and object persons do not correspond to the referees, e.g.:

ṣaḥḥūna ʔallak fī maʔmuriyya

They woke us up and told us [lit. ‘you’-m.] there is a mission

Such a form is found in a variety of Arabic dialects, sometimes grammaticalized as a quotative with the meaning “supposedly”. However, in Cairene Arabic, it appears to be only partially grammaticalized, as it is used in all verbal tenses, and as with female addressee the pronoun is sometimes – but not always – feminine (*ʔallik*).

Drawing on fieldwork data I gathered in Cairo from September 2022 to January 2023 as part of my PhD research, I offer to examine this use of *ʔallak*, approaching it from two angles:

Firstly, attention will be given to systems of person reference in reported speech introduced by *ʔallak*, to understand strategies of pronoun use and identify their expressive values.

Secondly, focusing on the pronominal element, this study aims at situating the Cairene *ʔallak* in a broader typology of second person datives, distinguishing between different types depending on pronoun referees and on gender agreement patterns, among others. Indeed, although a constituent with *-l-* can be expected with the verb *ʔāl*, the phenomenon under study seems to share some characteristics with coreferential datives, as studied in Syrian Arabic by Lentin (2003) and by Al-Zahre and Boneh (2010).

Detailed contextualization of the occurrences of *ʔallak* in the corpus will also allow for preliminary observations about the pragmatic functions of the second person pronoun, to be compared with “hearer interest” (Al-Zahre and Boneh 2010) and “courtesy to the listener” (Palva 1991).

References

- AL-ZAHRE Nisrine and BONEH Nora, « Coreferential Dative Constructions in Syrian Arabic and Modern Hebrew », *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics*, 2(1), 2010, 248-282.
- LENTIN Jérôme, « Datif éthique, datif coréférentiel et voix moyenne dans les dialectes arabes du Bilād al-Šām et quelques problèmes connexes », *Cahiers de Linguistique de l'INALCO*, 5, 2003, 99-130.
- PALVA Heikki, « The form *jāk* in Bedouin narrative style », *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, 67, 1991, 55-64.

A study of the PM *ma* in Cairene Arabic

This paper is about the pragmatic marker *ma* in Cairene Arabic. Pragmatic Markers (henceforth PMs) are a large class of elements that belong to different word classes. PMs do not contribute to the propositional content of the utterance and are related to the speech situation rather than the situation which is being talked about. As such, they are “ ‘windows’ through which one can make deductions about the speaker’s attitudes and opinions” (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg 2011: 225, see also Östman 1995:100).

Consider the following examples taken from the CALLHOME Egyptian Arabic corpus, consisting of telephone conversations between native speakers of Egyptian Arabic (Gadalla et al. 1997):

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) A: <i>ḥatidfaʕi il-filūs bitaʕit il-arḍ imta?</i> | B: <i>ma dafaʕtaha</i> |
| A: When will you pay the money for the land? | B: I did pay it! |
| 2) A: <i>Lili aʕunn bitiʕraf il kumbiyūtar miš kida?</i> | B: <i>aa ma da šuylaha</i> |
| A: I think Lili can use the computer, isn’t it? | B: Yes, indeed , that’s her job |
| 3) A: <i>talāta wi tisʕīn ḥayibqa ǧalya ʔawi hina aǧla</i> | B: <i>ma baʔullak wi gumrukha ḥayibʔa ʕabʕan</i> |
| A: ninety-three would be very expensive here | B: Indeed! And its customs taxes will be more expensive of course |

In the examples above *ma* does not contribute to the truth value of the proposition but provides a comment on the message and indexes the speaker’s attitude towards it. As such, I will classify *ma* as a ‘commentary pragmatic marker’ of emphasis and evidentiality (Fraser 1996). Additionally, *ma* can also have ‘expostulation’ overtones (Hinds & Badawi 1976: 809) and may signal that the message is or shall be known by the addressee (Woidich 2006: 167). I will also identify the most frequent collocations of *ma* and discuss the specific meaning of some of them, such as *ma baʔullak* ‘indeed’ (see 3).

References

- Aijmer, K. & A-M. Simon-Vandenberg. 2011. Pragmatic Markers. In J. Zienkowski, J-O. Östman & J. Verschueren (eds) *Discursive pragmatics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing. 223-247.
- Hinds, E. & M. Badawi. 1976. *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
- Fraser, B. 1996. Pragmatic Markers. *Pragmatics* 6,2:167-190.
- Gadalla, H. et al. 1997. *CALLHOME Egyptian Arabic Transcripts LDC97T19*. Web Download. Philadelphia: Linguistic Data Consortium.
- Östman, J-O. 1995. Pragmatic particles twenty years after. In B. W.rvik, S.-K. Tanskanen & R. Hiltunen (eds.) *Organization in discourse. Proceedings from the Turku Conference*. University of Turku. 95–108.
- Woidich, M. 2006. *Das Kairenisch-Arabische. Eine Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Dig Arabic (*luġat al-ḥafā'ir*): An Egyptian idiom in Arabic field diaries from the first half of the 20th century

In 2006, a collection of Arabic field diaries documenting the archaeological work of the Harvard University-Boston Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition from 1913 to 1947 resurfaced in Quft, Upper Egypt. Having originally formed part of a bilingual field record, the corpus of 73 Arabic manuscript volumes was later separated from the larger expedition archive (and unknown to scholars) until it was offered in 2006 to the Egyptian department at the MFA, by the Dirāz family, Egyptian descendants of the original diary writers.

Documenting a thirty-year period of excavation at fifteen archaeological sites in Egypt and the Sudan, the manuscripts were collectively written by two generations of archaeological technicians known as Quftīs, who have specialized in archaeological fieldwork since the end of the nineteenth century. As documented in archaeological archives and in their own writing, the Quftīs represent a community of practice in sociolinguistic, as well as socioeconomic, terms.

These diaries are a unique primary source for historians and archaeologists, but also for linguists, because they are written in a mixture of Standard Arabic, Egyptian Arabic of Cairo, and Upper Egyptian Arabic. This paper presents two key linguistic aspects of the diaries: (1) the use of Egyptian Arabic and its Upper Egyptian dialect, and (2) the use of specialized excavation terminology. We call this mixture of idiomatic code-switching “Dig Arabic” and describe some of its best documented features. Some of the most conspicuous features, for example, are lexical items such as the expression *iššuġl kān dāyir fi* ‘work was going on in,’ and glosses with a specific archaeological meaning such as: (i) *jabal* ‘mountain’ > ‘bedrock, natural substrate below archaeological deposits;’ (ii) *ṭabx* ‘cooking’ > ‘glazed (from firing), faience;’ (iii) *qāma* ‘stature, build’ > ‘chamber (rock-cut, pillared), enclosed room;’ (iv) *sirdāb* ‘cellar, subterranean vault’ > ‘hidden statue chamber’ (first attested 1869). The paper also considers changes in terminology and writing practices during the period under investigation.

References

- Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 1994. *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte. Band 4: Glossar Arabisch-Deutsch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Der Manuelian, Peter. 2022. “The “lost” Arabic excavation diaries of the Harvard University - Boston Museum of Fine Arts expedition.” *JARCE* 58, 129-162.
- Der Manuelian, Peter. 2023. *Walking Among Pharaohs. George Reisner and the Dawn of Modern Egyptology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Doyon, Wendy. 2021. “Empire of Dust: Egyptian Archaeology and Archaeological Labor in Nineteenth-Century Egypt.” PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Zack, Liesbeth. 2019. “Historical Arabic Dialectology: Interpreting the Sources.” *Arabic Dialectology: Methodology and Field Research*. Ed. by Werner Arnold and Maciej Klimiuk. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 207-238.

The affiliation of Khamsa Arabic

In my contribution to the AIDA conference, I present initial data on the Arabic dialect of the Khamsa Arabs from Iran. These live in villages and cities in the southern Iranian province of Fârs. A small group among them is reportedly still nomadic.

It is believed that the Khamsa Arabs were settled to Fârs for political reasons to form a group of five with the Turkic and Persian-speaking nomadic tribes.

During a research stay with the Khorasan Arabs, I had the opportunity to collect first data from the Khamsa Arabs of Fârs. On the basis of this language material, it can reasonably be asserted that the dialect of the Khamsa Arabic is affiliated with the Central Asian Arabic dialects. Indeed, it shares more linguistic features with the dialects of Uzbekistan and Afghanistan than with Khorasan Arabic.

Among the contrasting features that differentiate the Arabic dialects of Central Asia the following are considered: the affrication of *q/k, the form of the pronoun of the 3rd person, the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd fem. sg., the indefinite article, the gahawa syndrome, the participle *in(n)*-forms, the 3rd masc. pl. of perfect forms.

Khamsa Arabic has developed some characteristics that are not attested in Uzbekistan, Afghanistan or Khorasan Arabic. The assumption that the original settlement area of the Khamsa Arabs was not in Fârs jibes with our data.

It is noteworthy that Khorasan Arabic shows some Bedouin traits that the “residual” Arabic dialects of Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Fârs do not share. This indicates a different settlement history for the Arabs of Khorasan as compared to the remainder of the Central Asian Arabs.

References

- Bozkurt, V. 2022. “Arabische Texte aus Südkhorasan (Iran): Arabkhane und Khalaf”, *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology: Fieldwork–Community–Change*, M. Klimiuk (ed.). Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Publishing, 255–274.
- Fischer, W. 1961. “Die Sprache der arabischen Sprachinsel in Usbekistan”, *Der Islam* 36 (3), 232–263.
- Ingham, B. 2003. “Language Survival in Isolation: the Arabic Dialect of Afghanistan”, *Proceeding of the 5th Conference of AIDA (Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe)*, I. Ferrando / J. J. Sánchez Sandoval (eds.). Cádiz, Universidad de Cádiz Servicio de Publicaciones, 21–37.
- Seeger, U. 2013. “Zum Verhältnis der zentralasiatischen arabischen Dialekte mit einem bisher unveröffentlichten Text aus Südchorasan”, *Nicht nur mit Engelszungen. Beiträge zur semitischen Dialektologie. Festschrift für Werner Arnold zum 60. Geburtstag*, R. Kutý / U. Seeger / S. Talay (eds.). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 313–322.

Giacomo Iazzetta

Language practices and language attitudes among Tunisian university students: negotiating local monoglossic ideologies from a global multilingual perspective

Language policy (LP) plays an important role through education especially in multilingual and postcolonial contexts such as Tunisia. Employing a historical-structural approach (Tollefson 1991) and ethnographic research methodology, this paper analyzes the interplay between language ideologies, language planning, and language practices. The paper analyses the ways in which the future perspectives of university students is shaped in and through LP in education in the Tunisian context. By exploring the discrepancies between language planning and language practices, the study sheds light on the situation of inequalities and opportunities that languages bring about through education in Tunisia. Through interviews with three university students, the paper illustrates the clash between static language ideologies and fluid language attitudes and practices. The findings underscore the need for greater coordination and clarity in LP to positively impact the lives and futures of Tunisian students. The paper concludes by discussing the perpetuation of postcolonial language ideologies and their influence on students' language attitudes, emphasizing the role of translanguaging as a dynamic process that transcends established boundaries. Overall, this research contributes to a comprehensive understanding of LP in Tunisia and its implications for education and social equality.

Tollefson, James. 1991. *Planning Language, Planning Inequality*. New York: Longman.

Greek discourse markers in Sanna

This presentation aims at discussing the Greek discourse markers (DM) in Cypriot Maronite Arabic (CMA), so-called Sanna. Until now, the data show several Greek words as discourse markers, such as πριν *prín* ‘before, earlier, until, since’, πάλι *pali* ‘again’ ύστερα *ístera* ‘then, after, later’. It examines how they developed in Sanna due to contact with Cypriot Greek in both a non-interactive and interactive context. This presentation is based on data collected since 2019 during several fieldworks in the village of Kormakiti and previous published corpora. First, methodological implications linked to the use of tasks to elicit discourse markers in an interactive context will be presented. Secondly, the work will focus on explaining the contextual environment where Greek discourse markers occur and illustrating it with different examples in CMA. This work will also take into consideration the implications that the Greek discourse markers have in both pragmatics, syntax, and turn-taking in spontaneous natural speech. This work constitutes a part of an ongoing study in the context of a doctoral thesis at the University of Gothenburg.

Keywords: *Language contact, discourse marker, Cypriot Maronite Arabic, turn-taking, pragmatics*

References

- Archakis, A. 2001. ‘On Discourse Markers: Evidence from Modern Greek’. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33 (8): 1235–61.
- Borg, A. 2004. *A Comparative Glossary of Cypriot Maronite Arabic (Arabic-English): With an Introductory Essay*. Brill.
- El-Shazli, H. 2020. *L’emprunt linguistique dans l’arabe chypriote*, (Unpublished master’s thesis) Inalco, Paris, France.
- El-Shazli, H. 2022. *Effets Du Contact de Langues, Entre Supplétisme et Bilinguisme: Le Cas de l’arabe Chypriote* (Unpublished master’s thesis) Inalco, Paris, France.
- Habib, R. 2021. The use of the discourse markers *yaʕni* and *ʔinnu*: ‘I mean’ in Syrian Arabic, *Journal of Pragmatics*, Volume 178, p 245-257.
- Harb, M, and al. 2022. ‘Discourse Markers within Sentence Grammar: Further Evidence from ʕaad in Jordanian Arabic’. *Ampersand* 9 (January): 100082.
- Heine, B, and al. 2021. *The Rise of Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kossmann, M. 2008. “On the Nature of Borrowing in Cypriot Arabic”. *Zeitschrift Für Arabische Linguistik* 49, 5–24.
- Roth, A. 1996. “Le parler arabe maronite de Chypre : observations à propos d’un contact linguistique pluriséculaire.”, *MOM Éditions* 25, 111-119.
- Sacks, H, and al, 1974. ‘A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation’. *Language* 50 (4): 696–735.

Arabic Dialects of Central Asia: Diphthongs and Triphthongs in Verbal Forms

Two varieties of Arabic have been used in Uzbekistan for centuries: Bukhara and Qashqa-darya dialects. These dialects have been thoroughly studied by Semitologist, acad. G. V. Tsereteli, ethnographer I. Vinikov, Prof. G. Akhvlediani, and Prof. G. Chikovani. In addition, some issues have been explored by O. Jastrow, G. W. Windfuhr, A. Zaborrski, Sh. Talay, U. Seeger and others. Currently, two major corpuses of these dialects are available.

The present paper explores the morphemes expressing the subject in II and III person plural forms of the perfect verb in Qashqa-darya dialect as spoken in Central Asia (Uzbekistan): -w, -awāt, -ō, -owāt (III person) and -tuwāt (II person). For example, in cases of triphthongization such as *katab-awāt* (III person), *katabt-uwāt* (II person). -owāt, -awāt (feminine gender) phonetic process should be treated in synchronically.

Acad. G. V. Tsereteli points out that Bukhara and Qashqa-darya Arabic dialects of Central Asia typologically belong to the group of Mesopotamian Arabic dialects.

Therefore, for the study of the history of Arabic language ancient epigraphic data of Northern Arabic as well as given relict linguistic data should be taken into consideration.

Key words: Central Asian Arabic, Diphthongs, Triphthongs, Verb

References

Chikovani, Guram. 2022. *The Arabic Dialects in Central Asia. Qashqa-darya and Bukhara Dialects*. Tbilisi: Free and Agricultural Universities Press.

Chikovani, Guram. 2012. Arabic Dialects of Central Asia: Internal Developments Tendencies of Arabic Language Material. *Folia Orientalia*. Vol. 49. 121-128

Tsereteli George V. 1970. The influence of the Tajik language on the vocalism of Central Asian Arabic Dialects. *BSOAS*. Volume 33, Issue 11. 167-170

Layers of Identity: On the way to understand the Arab voice II

The paper presents the results of the last research question of the PhD dissertation *Understanding the pan-Arab Voice* (Attwa, 2022). The preliminary results were presented in AIDA 2017 paper “On the Way to Understand the Pan-Arab Voice” (Attwa, 2019). The study takes the TV show *The Voice, or ʔaḥlā Ṣōt*, as a case study for Arabic cross-country communication. This third and last question connects the three dimensions of the study focusing on identity indexicality in a pan-Arab TV setting.

Blommaert (2010) argues that by studying mobile resources in a globalized communication setting, we are studying as well power hegemony and inequality of resources distribution that are reflected through the lens of language. With this in mind, the study conducted a data-driven quantitative and qualitative analysis to answer three questions: 1. What are the linguistic features present in *The Voice*? 2. How are these features organized in patterns and communication strategies, and why? 3. What are the identity indexicalities expressed in the show?

The study found that there are three layers of identity expression, the national, the pan-Arab, and the universal. These identity expressions are manifested using different linguistic features and strategies by media hosts and individual participants. While focusing on the third question, the presentation will show how these identity indexicalities align with the use of linguistic features discussed in the first question and the social meanings and values found in the second.

Running up that hill ... or ascending (running)?

Verbs of motion are a widely researched topic and there are numerous studies on the lexicalisation patterns of motion events in different languages. However, this seems to be a lacuna in Maltese linguistic research since no such study as yet is available for Maltese. For this reason, this study sets out to understand the syntactic encoding of motion events in Maltese, that is, finding out where Maltese fits within the Talmyian typology, which typically categorises languages as S-framing or V-framing based on the locus of Path expression.

A puzzling instance in Maltese concerns motion verbs that occur as part of a verb sequence. In such instances it is possible to have Path expressed in a verb, as is typical in V-framing languages, and Manner also expressed in a (different) verb, a tendency usually associated with S-framing languages. Although the S-framing/V-framing categorisation started off as a binary division, further research has shown that it is best regarded as a continuum. It is interesting to note that Arabic and Italian, languages with which Maltese has had considerable contact, are V-framing languages. This begs the question: is Maltese also a V-framing language or did it stray away from the tendencies of its ancestors to find its own path?

In order to answer this question, a number of participants were asked to narrate the events in Mercer Mayer's *Frog, where are you?*, that is, the frog story. The elicited data was then checked for the presence of Figure, Ground, Motion and Path – the key components of motion events identified by Talmy – as well as for Manner and Cause. Other criteria to be taken into consideration include the frequency of foregrounded and backgrounded events or parts thereof, plus-ground and minus-ground clauses as well as focus on path descriptions as opposed to setting descriptions.

Using a corpus to improve Aquilina's Maltese-English dictionary's microstructure

Over the past fifty years, corpus linguistics has played a vital role in the development and improvement of dictionaries. However, in the field of Maltese lexicography, corpus linguistics is a recent endeavour, as lexicographers rarely assert that their dictionaries are corpus-based or corpus-driven. The purpose of this paper is to identify potential applications of corpus-driven lexicography, with a focus on microstructure. Random dictionary articles covering different parts of speech from Aquilina's printed dictionary (1987-1990) will be used to describe and illustrate the architecture of its microstructure. The semantic treatment of the lemma *ħaraq* will be examined and compared with the data obtained from Korpus Malti (Maltese Corpus) v3.0. *ħaraq* is a polysemous verb for which Aquilina attributes 6 senses: 1. to burn; to set on fire 2. to scorch; to tan 3. to smoke 4. to look for something/someone in every place 5. to experience a burning sensation or pain; to be inflamed 6. to smart. A sample of 100 relevant KWIC is manually analysed in order to propose a revision of the semantic comment section, particularly the definitions or translation equivalents.

The Narrative Imperative in the Shawi Dialect of the Harran- Urfa Region

This study examines the narrative imperative in the Shawi dialect of the Harran- Urfa region; a linguistic feature that implies the use of imperatives to convey the meaning of past actions and not necessarily actual demands. This paper analyzes the complex linguistic phenomena of this feature and compares it with other Arabic dialects that have it. Based on a large corpus, this examination classifies the instances of narrative imperatives into four main groups, based on the system developed in the seminal studies of Heikki Palva (1977 and 1984), which relies mainly on the elements of repetition and syndesis, and also the effect these groups serve, whether it is a depictive, dramatic or rapid succession effect. The narrative imperatives used in the Shawi dialect are analyzed in this study through textual examples, where the shift of effect between these groups can be observed, which contributes to this dialect's unique narrative style. A comparison of this feature with other Arabic dialects, particularly Syrian Shawi, and local (Kurmanji) Kurdish dialects, is essential for this study in order to analyze and showcase both shared features and distinctive characteristics among these dialects. Within a comparative linguistic framework with other dialects, this examination contributes to a deeper understanding of the manifold uses of the narrative imperative in the Shawi dialect of Harran Urfa.

References

- Henkin, Roni. 1994. '*On the Narrative Imperative in Negev Arabic and in Russian*'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39 (2): 245–83.
- Palva, Heikki. 1977. '*The Descriptive Imperative of Narrative Style in Spoken Arabic*'. *Folia Orientalia* XVIII. 5-26
1980. '*Characteristics of the Arabic dialect of the Bani Şaxar tribe*'. *Orientalia Suecana* 29. 112-139.
1984. '*The Descriptive Imperative of Narrative Style in Spoken Arabic*'. *Studia Orientalia* 55. 3-15.
- Sowayan, Saad A. 1992. *The Arabian Oral Historical Narrative: An Ethnographic and Linguistic Analysis*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Use and function of verb modifiers in the Anatolian *qəltu*-Arabic dialect of Sine

The Arabic dialect of Sine is a Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialect spoken in the province of Diyarbakir in eastern Turkey. Today, Sine represents the only Arabic-speaking enclave in this province. The Anatolian branch of Mesopotamian Arabic is characterised by the existence of a set of verb modifiers preceding the pre- and suffix conjugation to mark different temporal categories. Based on the recent field research, this contribution will focus on analysing the use and function of verb modifiers in the dialect of Sine compared to the other known Anatolian and Mesopotamian varieties.

This talk offers new insights into the further documentation of the dialect of Sine and discusses its position within the so-called peripheral Arabic dialects based on the use of the verb modifiers.

References

- Biţună, Gabriel (2016): *Morfo-Sintaxa Dialectului Arab Nord-Mesopotamian din Siirt, Turcia*. (Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti).
- Fink, Andreas. 2017. *Der arabische Dialekt von Hasankeyf am Tigris (Osttürkei)*. (Semitica Viva 57). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hantisch, Melanie (2019): *Verbalmodifikatoren in den arabischen Dialekten. Untersuchungen zur Evolution von Aspektsystemen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Jastrow, Otto (2022): *Der arabische Dialekt der Christen von Ka' bīye (Diyarbakir)*. (Semitica Viva 60). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Talay, Shabo (2014): "The Mesopotamian-Levantine Dialect Continuum". In: T. Davidovich, A. Lahdo and T. Lindquist (eds.): *From Tur Abdin to Hadramawt. Semitic Studies, FS Bo Isaksson*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. S. 179 – 188.
- Talay, Shabo (2015): „Sine, eine neu entdeckte arabische Sprachinsel in der Provinz Diyarbakir (Osttürkei).“ in: V. Golinets, H. Jenni, H.-P. Mathys und S. Sarasin (Hg.): *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik*. (AOAT 425). Münster: Ugarit Verlag. S. 277-290.

Comparatives and Superlatives in Urfa Bedouin Arabic

The present paper aims at describing the comparative and superlative forms in the Bedouin Arabic variety spoken in Harran-Urfa (Southern Turkey), with a focus on the elative form 'axēl'. As a matter of fact, in this variety, two ways exist to express the comparative form of GOOD 'better': one is synthetic and the other is analytical. The former employs an elative lexical form, whereas the latter makes use of both Turkish and Arabic morphemes (which have been grammaticalised) followed by the adjective they modify. Our study will be divided into two parts: a morphological analysis of the lexical form of the elative and a syntactical one, which investigates the structures through which Urfa Arabic expresses comparatives and superlatives, influenced by language contact. Moreover, this paper aims at demonstrating whether there are different constructions for the absolute and relative superlative structures. What is interesting and innovative in this variety is the use of adverbial morphemes and the use of a peculiar elative form, which appear to be unusual in the eastern Arabic-speaking world and in eastern Bedouin dialects. A comparison with other varieties of Arabic, both peripheral (such as Maltese and Cypriot Arabic) and non-peripheral, that make use of similar strategies will be presented. Finally, a further comparison with western African Arabic varieties that use different morphemes deriving from the same root will be made.

On Assyrians whose native language is Arabic in Tur Abdin and its surroundings

-An Ethnolinguistic Evaluation-

Arabic, with its different dialects, is spoken by many communities with different beliefs and cultures. The speakers of this ancient language in different cities of Anatolia outside the Arab geography settled in Upper Mesopotamia in pre-Islamic times. As a result of migration movements dating back to before the Common Era, some Arab tribes permanently settled in different parts of the Euphrates Valley, preserving their way of life and language to some extent within the region's other ethnic groups up to the present day. In Islamic sources, the region located between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and called "el-Cezîre" was divided into three parts in relation to Arab tribes that settled there, and the names of the tribes were mentioned. The part where cities such as Urfa, Harran, Raqqa, and Sumaysat are located was called Diyar-ı Mudar; the part where cities such as Amed, Mardin, Mayyafarikin, and Hasankeyf are located was called Diyar-ı Bekir; and the part that included settlements such as Mosul, İdil, and Cezîretu ibn-i Ömer was called Diyar-ı Rebia.

Arabs adopted Christianity at an early stage and made significant contributions to the growth and strengthening of the Jacobite-Nestorian Churches. The Ghassanids served as "buffer states" protecting against Arab invasions in the north of Arabia, and the Lakhmids did so in the northeast, against Byzantines and Sasanians, until the fifth century. In the post-Islamic period, some Arab tribes continued to practice Christianity, including the İyad, Taghlib, Shayban, Namr, and Tay.

Today, the presence of Syriac Christians in Tur Abdin and its surroundings, whose native language is still Arabic, brings to mind the Arab Christians with deep historical roots in the region, which is associated with Eastern Christianity, dating back to pre-Islamic times. This study aims to address and evaluate Syriac-speaking Arabs such as Âzeh, Qillit, Bnébil, Lıqsôr, and Mansûriyé.

Key Words: Arabic, Syriac, Arab Christians, Tur Abdin, Mardin, İdil (Âzah), Ethnolinguistics.

الكلمات التي تعبر عن الشتم والسب والدعاء بالشر في اللهجة العربية الماردينية

مدينة ماردين هي من إحدى المدن التي يتحدث أهلها باللغة العربية في تركيا. فهي غنية بعناصر الثقافة الشفهية مثل القصص والأمثال والتهويدات والمراثي والألغاز، كما أنها غنية جداً من حيث المفردات. فمن الظواهر اللهجية التي تجعل هذه اللهجة مختلفة أنها تحتوي على كلمات كثيرة تعبر عن الشتم والسب والدعاء بالشر مثل "أنقلع" و "مُفَرَّقْ" و "زَقْنَبُوتْ" و "سَمُّ أَوْ جُجُوارِيَه" و "يَنْقَلَعْ بَزْرُكْ" و "يَبَسْ" و "عَكَمْ" إلخ...

وبالطبع فإن كل هذه العبارات التي تعبر عن الشتم والدعاء بالشر تكشف أيضاً عن حيوية هذه اللهجة وقوة التفاعل الاجتماعي بين الأفراد الناطقين بها.

في هذه الدراسة، سيتم تقييم الكلمات التي ذكرناها أعلاه وكلمات أخرى مستخدمة في اللهجة الماردينية من حيث الدلالة، وسيتم ذكر كيفية استخدام هذه الكلمات في اللغة العربية الفصحى، و توضيح بعض الكلمات التي ليس لها أصل في اللغة العربية الفصحى، وانتمائها إلى اللغات المختلفة المحكية في ماردين كاللغة السريانية والتركية والكردية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: لهجة ماردين العربية، الشتم، السب، الدعاء بالشر.

Bringing old dialectology (back) to life: the case of Syrian Arabic

We report on new work to map dialectal variation in Syrian Arabic dialects, across a set of six morphological and four phonological features. This forms part of a wider project to a) digitize key aspects of Behnstedt's (1997) *Sprachatlas von Syrien*, and b) to determine the extent to which the rich material in older works of this kind still gives an accurate picture of dialectal variation in the Syrian Arabic of today, against the background of massive displacement of speakers since 2011, and the resulting intensification of dialect contact.

We approach these questions through examination of data from the Dialect Variation in the Levant (DiVaL) corpus collected in 2021, with comparison to digitized data extracted by hand from the *Sprachatlas*. DiVaL data is drawn from participants recruited to represent key major dialect regions in Syria, alongside a smaller set of speakers from Jordan for comparison. High quality audio data was collected using remote fieldwork techniques. All Jordanian speakers and most Syrian-origin speakers were recruited in Jordan; a few Syrian-origin speakers were recruited in the UK. The corpus includes 81 Syrian speakers and 52 Jordanians.

For each variable in the DiVaL data, we present a map of the geospatial distribution of the most common variants, with comparison to the results of digitization of the equivalent analogue map in Behnstedt (1997), where one is available. The results reveal indications of potential change across the two time points in the geospatial distribution of variants for some variables, consistent with the effects either of localised contact or of diffusion across urban centres; in contrast, other variables show minimal change between the new and older maps. These results are discussed in the wider context of the study of dialect contact, language variation and change.

The PRESENTATIVE > DEMONSTRATIVE Grammaticalization Pathway across Arabic Varieties

Previous research in diachrony of Arabic varieties has noted several demonstrative series appearing to originate in earlier presentative predications: these include, among others, Classical Arabic *hāḍḍā* proximals (Magidow 2013), Cairene *dawwa* proximals/*dukha* distals (Leddy-Cecere 2021), and Tripolitanian *āhwa* proximals (Pereira 2008). This multiply attested developmental pathway has not so far been considered under a unified lens, or grounded in cross-linguistic understandings of grammaticalizing change. Extending beyond earlier accounts, I utilize synchronic and diachronic cross-dialectal comparison to show that demonstratives like these – while distinct in time, place and etymology – are plausibly analyzed as originating in parallel, topic-dislocated presentative structures of the type ‘Behold it, X!’/‘X, behold it!’ through processes of grammaticalization (desemanticization, extension and decategorialization) and rebracketing. I subsequently leverage this insight to propose a related origin of North Mesopotamian Arabic *hāk* distals in a grammaticalized dative presentative/offertive construction (‘There you go, X!’), with potential implications for the linguistic history of the Classical Arabic *ḍā(li)ka* distal series.

These findings are relevant to cross-linguistic theories of demonstrative development, insofar as they stand to modify and expand the more generally recognized PERCEPTION VERB > DEMONSTRATIVE pathway of change into which PRESENTATIVE > DEMONSTRATIVE has been subsumed by previous analysts (cf. Heine et al. 2020). I assert that the linkage between these two paths consists explicitly not in the *semantic* dimension of their respective source meanings (as per Heine), but in their sources’ shared *pragmatic* status as directive speech acts imploring an addressee to attend to a given demonstratum. In the case of the Arabic items considered, this directive nature contributes to the deictic component of an ultimate demonstrative function – the identification/demonstration to the addressee of an index – while the inherited pronominals contribute toward its classificatory component – assisting the addressee’s successful attachment of that index to a referent (cf. Nunberg 1993).

References

- Heine, B., T. Kuteva, H. Long, H. Narrog & F. Wu. (2020). “Where do demonstratives come from?”. *STUF* 73(3), 403-434.
- Leddy-Cecere, T. (2021). “Interrogating the Egypto-Sudanic Arabic connection.” *Languages* 6, 123.
- Magidow, A. (2013). *Towards a Sociohistorical Reconstruction of Pre-Islamic Arabic Dialect Diversity*. Austin: The University of Texas at Austin doctoral dissertation.
- Nunberg, G. (1993). “Indexicality and Deixis.” *Linguistics and Philosophy* 16(1), 1-43.
- Pereira, C. (2008). *Le parler arabe de Tripoli (Libye): Phonologie, morphosyntaxe et catégories grammaticales*. Paris: INALCO Doctoral dissertation.

التناول اللهجي في تعليم العربية للأعاجم في القرن السادس عشر الميلادي مخطوطة البلطي (955هـ) نموذجاً

ارتبط تعليم اللغة العربية في بعض المنهجيات بتعليم النحو العربي وما زال الأمر كذلك. ورغم أن التناولات التعليمية البيداغوجية تقليدياً امتلكتها هاجسا الضبط والتيسير "لا خطأ ولا لبس" لدورها المباشر في صَوْن اللسان العربي من اللحن ومن ثَمَّ حفظ الدين من الانحراف، بدأت منهجيات تيسير النحو خاصة مع نهايات عصر التدوين بتأثير من علوم المنطق والكلام والفقه والفلسفة، ومنه قول الجاحظ (ت. 255هـ): "أما النحو فلا تشغل قلب الصبيّ منه إلا بقدر ما يؤديه إلى السلامة من فاحش اللحن".

أما موضوع الدراسة فيما يعرض الباحث فيه النتائج الأولية للبحث في مخطوطة البلاطي [1] التي يناهز عمرها 600 عام، بحيث يعرض الباحث للمخطوطة لتكوين التصوّر الكليّ للمنهجية التي قام عليها الكتاب باعتباره كتاباً ديداكتيكياً منطلقاً من التصوّرات التي تحيط بتطوّر تدريس العربية للأعاجم، ومدى التزامه بالمستوى الفصيح من اللغة أو بالنظرية النحوية في تعليم اللغات، كما سيلتفت البحث إلى التناولات التواصلية المتبعة في الكتاب، وتخليصه من طول الشروح والاستطرادات وتعقيدات اللغة، حيث قال المؤلف صراحة: "ولا يعتبني القارئ لعدم ترتيبه هذا الكتاب وفقاً لقواعد النحو والصرف، وأنا ألقت هذا الكتاب بهذا الأسلوب لأنني رأيت طلاب العلم عاجزين عن الكلام حينما أرادوا الاتصال والكلام مع الأميين في بلاد الشام ومصر بكلمات لغوية [فصيحة]".

كما سيدرس الباحث المستويات اللغوية المقدّمة في الكتاب ومحاولة الربط في انتقال الكاتب من المستوى الفصيح إلى العامي، وحيث أن الكاتب أدخل أكثر من لهجة إلى النظام التعليمي الديداكتيكي في الكتاب تراه يراوح بين العامية الشامية والعراقية والمصرية، من النواحي التركيبية والمعجمية والصوتية ما أمكن ذلك. ومحاولة تفسير بعض هذه الظواهر.

وإن كان الكاتب قد سمح لنفسه ببعض التداخل بين المستويات اللغوية بين العامي والفصيح فإلى أي مدى انعكس ذلك على تقديم المادة البيداغوجية للمتعلم، وأثرها في فهمه ووعيه اللغوي. وكيف نأى المؤلف بنفسه عن الشواهد وعن الأمثلة النحوية المطروقة إلى نماذج تطبيقية أو أمثلة مباشرة صريحة ذات بعد تواصلية يمتزج بالعامية.

نهاية، يأمل الباحث أن تقدم دراسة هذه المخطوطة إطلالة على نوع من الجهود والتناولات في تعليم اللهجات في القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي، وخاصة في مجال تعليم اللغة العربية للأعاجم.

[1] يحقق الباحثان (منتصر الحمد وعلي بنلي) المخطوطة، وقد عرضت ابتداء في مؤتمر اللغة العربية الأول للناطقين بغيرها في جامعة قطر في مايو 2016، ثم عرض بحث لساني عن المخطوطة في مؤتمر اللهجات العربية الدولي الثاني عشر في يونيو 2017 في جامعة مرسيليا.

On the Make up of Some Levantine-Arabic Proverbs

Whenever discussion from purely sociolinguistic and ethnocultural viewpoint deals with one or another Arab ethnos, we cannot overlook the significant part of verbal supply, contained in its proverbial fonds. Arab community, institutionalized in poetic art over historical development, at present too actively striving to figurative speech. In everyday oral/written communication intensive use of figurative collocations is attested. This important peculiarity (not only from sociocultural viewpoint) is a specific characteristic of ethnopsychic aspect of Arab community.

Generally, Arabic proverbs as to their construction are in most cases very refined and impressive. As material for analysis, well-rhymed, coherent proverbs have been selected: [*tîṭi tîṭi mîṭlmā rîṭi mîṭlmā žîṭi*]; [*Isânak hânak: 'in şinto şânak, 'in hînto hânak*]; [*mîn bârrâ rĥâm wə mîn žúwwa şĥâm. etc.*]. The basis for their rhythmic structure, together with rhyme segments, is mostly created by the co-existence of certain parallel constructions (the so-called recurring "grammatical figure" and "sound figure" (J.Hopkins) and the "empty line" types and functions). On the basis of the analysis it becomes clear that the grammatical and phonological reality of given figurative expressions subconsciously participate in the formation of the idea content of a given proverb and are also reflected on the degree of impressiveness upon actualization.

Consideration also covers the general theoretical aspect of the problem. In the semantic aspect the so-called general scheme is accepted: the plot of a proverb is considered in the synthesis of three major elements: *logical, verbal and conceptual thinking*.

Based on the complex background of the above-mentioned structural and semantic components, within a concrete reality it is considered how, by means of which general and, subsequently, by which of its particular characteristic means a given proverb (generally experienced wisdom (concept) expressed figuratively) is created in the speech (language) and thought area of the existing language collective.

Proceeding from the above-mentioned, it may be noted that in the formation of minor paroemia the selection of different expressive means and their organic arrangement in the general composition is impossible to be perceived as an insignificant or a simple process. The more so that the structural-semantic organization of a particular proverb is based on individual regularities of interrelations of its constituent (formal and semantic) elements and results in very interesting, fixed, generalized models of unity of form and content.

The presented examples are obtained from the Arabic primary source, directly from Arab informants.

Key words: *Levantine-Arabic, proverb, wisdom, logical, verbal, conceptual thinking.*

References

سہام ترجمان – "یا مال الشام". دمشق. ۱۹۸۷.

Jakobson R. 1981. "Notes on the Make up of a Prover". *Selected Writings, III, Mouton Publishers*. The Hague-Paris-New-York. pp.712-714.

Krikman Ar. 1999. "Some Additional Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness of Proverb". *Proverbio. Com.* №2.

Syrian Dialect in an Arabic Teaching Manuscript from 1821: *Tarjama al-‘Aṭā’iyya* by Sayyid Atā’ullah Efendi

In current academia, there exists excessive research on modern Arabic dialects. However, it would also be a valuable contribution to examine their historical background. This paper deals with the linguistic and dialectical features of “*Tarjama al-Aṭā’iyya*” written by Sayyid Atā’ullah Efendi in July 1821 probably in Syria to teach “spoken” Arabic to Ottoman senior officers. This 60-folios length treatise, whose main language is Ottoman Turkish, consists of an introduction and three chapters, containing respectively verb conjugations, prepositions, and a vocabulary list with an Arabic monologue alongside its Turkish translation. Although the book focuses largely on teaching standard Arabic, it also demonstrates some features of Syrian dialects as follows: absence of casual endings in some examples like mā šaribtu duḥān, set of lexical items that is found in almost all dialects like jāb, šāf and rāḥ, using of some modal expressions like biddū, using of colloquial nouns like šūb (hot), adding an aspectual prefix (‘ammāl) for continuous imperfect verbs like (‘ammāl yaktub), re-analysis of reduplicated verbs as verbs with a third radical y in the second measure like hamamtu > hammaytu, absence of agreement in number between verb and agent in some examples like idā jā’ū al-a’yān ḥuḍ bi-ḥāṭirihim and using of Ottoman Turkish loanwords like efendi and ‘arzuḥāl

POSTER SESSION

Rogério Caetano

Comparing the Condition of Arabic Dialects to the Situation Experienced in the Field of Romanian Language

With some comparative charts and (re)views, I hope to give a linguistic and metalinguistic presentation, bringing a mix of perspectives and questions about the Arabic language.

In diachronical terms, as well as Bassiouney (2009) I start viewing the standard Arabic as an equivalent to classical Latin, and the national variants as the current Romance languages. In fact, some analogies between the evolution of Romance languages and those experienced today in the Arab world helps us to understand both of these realms. But which are the common and diverting factors between these two?

In a synchronical brief analysis, besides lexical and verbal variation, we can see entire expressions consolidating differently within national and subnational diglossic brands of Arabic.

In semiotical terms, I see the technical means (TV and Internet) operating as a catalyzer, both for dialectal “standardization” and for “colloquialization” of the Modern Standard Arabic.

Beyond the similarities, the constraints and possibilities that interfere with the evolution of these two language fields (Latin and Arabic) are diverse, in social, educational, political and geographical dimensions, just to name a few. Even though, it is tempting to analyze them in order to understand what may have happened to Romance Languages and what may be the future of the Arabic languages.

"Literature and Oral Tradition: Translating El Hawfi Popular Poetry of Tlemcen into English using ChatGPT - Unveiling the Magic of Tlemcenian Songs"

This study delves into the intricate process of translating El Hawfi, a captivating genre of popular poetry rooted in Tlemcen, Algeria, into English, employing the capabilities of ChatGPT. By focusing on the literature and oral tradition surrounding El Hawfi, this research aims to unveil the captivating magic of Tlemcenian songs. The cultural and historical significance of El Hawfi makes its translation a compelling endeavor, requiring an approach that preserves the essence of the original while resonating with English-speaking audiences. Through an exploration of ChatGPT's language capabilities, this study investigates the strategies employed in translating both the poetic and oral elements of El Hawfi, shedding light on the interplay between technology and tradition. The findings contribute to the understanding of cross-cultural translation dynamics, emphasizing the delicate balance between preserving cultural heritage and adapting it to a new linguistic and cultural context. By examining the transformation of El Hawfi into English, this research offers insights into the preservation and propagation of Tlemcen's cultural treasures through the power of language and AI-driven tools.

The production of the alveolar Rhotic /r/ by native and L2 speakers of Libyan Arabic

This paper reports on the acoustic correlates of the alveolar rhotic /r/ in Tripolitanian Libyan Arabic (TLA) as produced by native speakers and second language L2 speakers. While we know that Arabic language have one alveolar rhotic phoneme, we do not yet have enough information on its phonetic realisation by native and L2 speakers. The accurate phonetic and articulatory properties of rhotic sounds in Arabic have not received much investigation and still poorly understood. This study contributes to the literature on rhotics and the literature on Arabic language (and TLA) by providing a detailed investigation of the acoustic correlates of this sound while also considering its phonological status as a singleton or a geminate.

Trisyllabic minimal or near minimal words containing the alveolar rhotic /r/ in medial intervocalic position were considered. The acoustic measurements include the target segment duration and visual inspection of the spectral properties of the target segment. The acoustic data provide evidence that the /r/ in TLA have manner variation within and across speakers by both native and L2 speakers. The singleton /r/ is realised as a tap or approximant. The geminate /r/ is realised as approximant, trill or weak fricative.

Dialectal Translation in the Age of Artificial Intelligence: Advances and Challenges of Translating Culture-Specific Terms

With the rapid technological advances, the translation industry has undergone significant changes, with the widespread adoption of machine translation and post-editing practices. The ongoing debate surrounding the quality of machine translation remains unresolved, even though recent advances in artificial intelligence (AI) have introduced further complexities to the discourse. In this context, the present paper asserts that machine translation, despite its development, continues to grapple with the intricate nuances of language, highlighting the pivotal role of human translation. Arabic, as a linguistically rich and intricate language, is characterized by a variety of dialects across Arab-speaking countries and regions. This study specifically delves into the disparities between a human translation and machine translation of culture-specific terms found in the novel "My Mother's Glasses" by the Tunisian author Ezzedine Hazgui. The book is originally written in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), with occasional use of dialectal French and Arabic terms that are specific to Tunisian dialect and culture. I translated parts of the novel into English for my MA project, and I attempted to contrast my translation with that generated by Chat GPT. The data presented will encompass the different prompts used to elicit the translation by Chat GPT. The findings illustrate the persisting challenges inherent in translating certain Arabic dialects, particularly Tunisian Arabic, using automated translation. By examining these differences, this paper sheds light on the limitations of current machine translation tools when confronted with the complexities of Arabic dialects. It further underscores the role of human translators in bridging the linguistic and cultural gaps.

Représentations socio-langagières du corps sportif en arabe marocain

Dans la thèse de Doctorat intitulée *Corps et sport : Analyse des représentations corporelles en Sociolinguistique et en Gender Studies*, que je prépare sous la direction du Professeur Karima ZIAMARI, il s'agit d'analyser des représentations socio-langagières du corps sportif en arabe marocain. Comment l'individu dit-il son corps ? Comment le corps fait-il dire l'identité ? Comment les sportifs/sportives (à titre récréatif et professionnel) mettent en mots leurs représentations du corps de l'homme et de la femme pendant le sport ? Et Comment les représentations socio-langagières du corps sportif sont-elles influencées par la construction identitaire de l'homme et de la femme ? Cette communication cherche à en donner des éléments de réponse.

L'examen des données collectées lors d'entretiens individuels, au cours de *focus groups* semi-directifs et par le biais d'observations participantes dans des salles de sport de Rabat et Salé, permettra de montrer que le corps d'un(e) sportif(ve), tout comme son langage (Lakoff 1973), sont loin d'être libres : ils sont encadrés par des structures socialisantes, par une *biopolitique* genrée (Foucault 1975) et face à une *socialisation* (Durkheim 1898) basée sur des distinctions de genre qui prennent vie en arabe marocain, soit pour l'affirmation de la virilité d'un corps masculin(1), le maintien de la féminité d'un corps féminin(2), le châtement social d'un corps biologiquement masculin s'il s'oriente vers la féminité(3) ou le refus d'un corps biologiquement féminin quand il s'approprie des traits masculins(4)

(1) *həzz əl-poids, mā-l-ək r̥əb ? kūn h̥rəš !*

Soulève le poids, pourquoi tu es doux ? sois dur !

(2) *xəšš-ha təxdəm ġīr ʕla manāʕiq untāwya f-šəh̥hət-ha.*

Elle doit uniquement travailler sur des zones féminines dans son corps.

(3) *šūf, kā-yəthərrək bhāl šī-mrīwa !*

Regarde, il bouge comme une femmelette !

(4) *f-musculaton, kā-yxər̥žu lə-ktāf, lə-bnāt kā-ywəllīw m̥rəžžlīn.*

Dans la musculation, elles développent les épaules, les filles deviennent masculines.

Bibliographie

DURKHEIM Émile. 1969. *De la définition des phénomènes religieux. L'Année sociologique* 2 (1897-1898). 1-28.

FOUCAULT Michel. 2001. *Dits et écrits*. 3. Paris. Gallimard.

LAKOFF Robin. 1973. *Language and woman's place. Language in Society*. 2(1). Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 45-79.

Arabic Lexicography as a Source for Arabic Dialectology: Dialectal Lexical Units in Al-Khalil's

"Kitāb Al-'ayn"

Dialectal words preserved in the first dictionary of Arabic lexicographical tradition, Al-Khalil's "Kitāb al-'ayn" provides materials interesting both for the characteristics of old Arabic dialects and the study of modern Arabic dialects from a diachronic point of view.

The term *luġa/luġāt* in "Kitāb al-'ayn" mainly denotes 'variant(s)', and 'dialect(s)' when used with areal or tribal designations, such as Tamīm, 'azd, Huzayl, etc.

Among the features mentioned for these dialects, we can observe the following in "Kitāb al-'ayn": emphaticization (for instance, *s > ṣ*, *samḥ > ṣimāḥ* in the dialect of Tamīm), deemphatization (*ṭ > t*, *'uṣṭamma* pl. *'aṣātim* also found in the dialect of Tamīm), Assimilation (*s > z*; *saqf > zaqf* in the dialect of 'azd), synharmonism (*ṣahīd > šihīd*), Metathesis (*biṭīḥ / ṭibīḥ*), vowel variation (*a > i* *ġahaz/ġihaz*), consonant variation (*' > ḥ*; *'arjala > ḥarjala*; compare to *' > ḥ* found in modern Egyptian dialect, in women's speech – *na'am > naḥam*), transition of a geminated *y* to *ġ* (affricatization), *barniyy > barniġġ* in Rabia tribe, the *al-'aġ'aġa* phenomenon, as well as *' > w* (*taḥffīf hamza*) found in *R₁'* verbs in the Yemenite dialect; variation of the thematic vowel of the imperfective, *'araja – ya'ruju > ya'riju* in the dialect of Huzayl, etc.

Examples of inter-dialect homonymy can also be found in semantic changes. For instance, *ġunbuḥ* 'big', 'huge' in the Mudar dialect; 'small jar' in the Sawad dialect and 'louse' in the Yemenite dialect.

In addition, Al-Khalil mentions general linguistic phenomena characteristic of certain tribes, areas – disloyal attitude towards emphaticization in the Tamīm dialect; tendency to synharmonism in the Yemenite and Tamīm dialects, etc.

Furthermore, the above-mentioned cases are analyzed through some of Al-Khalil's linguistic criteria such as *qabīḥa* 'ugly', *šan'ā'* 'heinous', *luġa* 'aliyya' 'high variant', used to differentiate variants with their correctness and prestige.

النحت هي ظاهرة لغوية وتعني استخراج كلمة واحدة من كلمتين أو أكثر أو من الجملة ، أو هو أن يؤخذ من كلمتين فأكثر كلمة واحد

"أنَّ النّحت" يعتمد على كلمتين أو جملة فتنتزع من مجموع حروف كلماتها كلمة فذّة تدلّ على ماكانت عليه الجملة نفسها

وقد كانت هذه الظاهرة معروفة عند العرب قديماً ولاكنهم لم يعتنوا بها ، فالقدماء لم يستعملوا النحت بالشكل الواسع

مع بدايات القرن التاسع عشر وحتى أوائل القرن العشرين من عصر النهضة نشأ النحت في اللغة العربية استجابة لضرورة تداولية خطابية فرضتها مؤثرات اجتماعية وفكرية

النحت يُكثر استعماله في اللهجات العربية المختلفة و موضوعنا الحالي هو وصف الحالات في الظاهرة اللغوية النحت في اللهجات العربية السورية اعتمادا على اللهجات الشامية اكثر والحمصية و الادلبيية و الحلبية ايضا

و لاحظنا ان كلمات منحوتة في اللهجات العربية السورية هم كلمات الاستفهام , والأعداد العشرية من أحد عشر حتى تسعة عشر, و بعض ألفاظ أهل دمشق الخاصة بهم , كلمات لطيفة و الاخرى

.والكلمات الموجودة في هذا المقال سجلت من جميع المصادر: من السوريين و من الانترنت

هدف الموضوع : هو وصف الحالات في الظاهرة اللغوية نحت في اللهجات العربية السورية.

كلمات دالة : النحت اللغوي , اللهجات العربية السورية , نحت في اللهجات العربية السورية

An aggregate approach to understanding relationships between African Arabic dialects: Insights from dialectometry

Arabic dialects have been spoken in Africa for at least 14 centuries, starting with (or even prior to) the conquest of Egypt in 641 CE. African Arabic dialects today are spoken across a vast geographical area, making them an important facet in understanding Arabic language history. Yet, mapping the relationships between these dialects remains a complex challenge. Traditional classification methods often rely on isoglosses which do not bundle cohesively. For instance, Ḥassāniyya of Mauritania, despite being classified as bedouin, differs in several ways from features traditionally associated with other bedouin Maghrebi dialects (Taine-Cheikh 2018: 299).

To overcome the constraints of single isoglosses, I built an extensive dataset containing more than 100 comparative linguistic features from over 45 African Arabic dialects documented in published grammars. This dataset includes morphosyntactic, phonological, and phonetic features and poses questions regarding phonemic distinctions, phonetic reflexes of cognate phonemes, morphophonemes, morphosyntactic distinctions and cognation.

To analyse such a vast array of variables I used various dialectometrical methods mainly based on Goebel (1984) and the Gabmap web application (Leinonen et al. 2016) — some of which have been applied to Arabic dialects (Behnstedt and Woidich, 2005). In this talk, I will introduce the dataset and present preliminary results based on the calculation of aggregate distances between the varieties and their visualisation using cluster and multidimensional scaling maps. The results reveal that most dialects fall into three primary groups corresponding to the Egyptian, Sudanic, and Maghrebi areas, each characterised by distinct linguistic features. Interestingly, some dialects, particularly those from eastern Libya, do not align to any of these clusters. The analysis also indicates that dialectal dissimilarities increase logarithmically with geographic distance. This quantitative approach is a first step towards addressing deeper historical issues pertaining to contact, stability and innovations which have shaped Arabic dialects in Africa.

References

- Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 2005. *Arabische Dialektgeographie: Eine Einführung*. Leiden: Brill.
- Goebel, Hans. 1984. *Dialektometrische Studien: anhand italo-romanischer, rätoromanischer und galloromanischer Sprachmaterialien aus AIS und ALF*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Leinonen, Therese, Çağrı Çöltekin and John Nerbonne. 2016. "Using Gabmap". *Lingua*, 178:71–83.
- Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 2018. "Historical and Typological Approaches to Mauritanian and West Saharan Arabic", in Clive Holes (ed.), *Arabic Historical Dialectology: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Approaches*. Oxford: OUP: 293-315.

توظيف العامية بين جمالية السرد وسؤال الهوية في جملكية آرابيا لواسيني الأعرج

لئن كانت الرواية العربية منذ ظهورها تستخدم اللغة العربية الفصحى في سرد الأحداث ووصفها، كما استخدمت الحوار بين شخصياتها، فإن الكثير من الروائيين العرب أصبحوا يستخدمون العامية، واللهجات المحلية والأغاني الفلكلورية، ولعلّ هذا الأمر يعزى إلى أنّ الرواية من أكثر الأجناس الأدبية انفتاحاً على شرائح مختلفة من المجتمع، وبالتالي كلّما حاكت اللّغة التي تستخدمها هذه الطبقات الاجتماعية كلّما كانت أقرب إلى الواقعية، وهو ما سيثري لغة الرواية بحسب الكتاب، ولقد أثار استخدام العامية جدلاً واسعاً بين الكتاب والنقاد ففي الوقت الذي ذهب فريق من النقاد إلى أنّ استخدام العامية

وأنّ التعددية اللغوية وتعدّد الأصوات يسهم في بناء الخطاب الروائي ويجعل الرواية أكثر صدقاً وأقرب إلى تصوير الواقع مادامت الرواية فن يستخدم الخيال ولكنّه يعبر عن الواقع، وقد ذهب فريق منهم إلى أنّ استخدام اللغة الفصحى في الرواية أهمّ من ذلك، باعتبار الفصحى تعبر عن هوية الإنسان العربي، وهي الحامل والمعبر عن ثقافتنا العربية وتراثنا وتسهم في تعزيز أواصر القرابة بين الأقطار العربية، من هنا فإننا نسعى في مداخلتنا للبحث في الأسباب والدوافع التي دفعت بالروائيين لاستخدام العامية في نصوصهم، وما تأثير ذلك على الهوية العربية، وكيف تلقّى القارئ العربي هذه الروايات التي استخدمت العامية، وسوف نقوم في مداخلتنا بتحليل ودراسة بعض الروايات التي وظفت العامية مثل رواية جملكية آرابيا لواسيني الأعرج

دلالة تذكير المؤنث وتأنيث المذكر في لهجة ورقلة بالجنوب الشرقي الجزائري

يُعدُّ اللسان العربي بلهجاته اللسان الأول المنطوق في الجزائر، من حيث عدد متكلمييه، ومن المناطق التي يتوزع عليها هذا اللسان منطقة ورقلة التي تقع في الجنوب الشرقي من الجزائر بين الإحداثيات $31^{\circ}57'00''N$ و $5^{\circ}19'00''E$ ، وتتميز هاته المنطقة باشتغالها على جزر لسانية ثلاث، إذ تحيط مناطق حوض ورقلة (الآهلة بالعرب) بمجتمعات أمازيغية زناتية الأصول، تعايشت معها جنباً إلى جنب منذ قرون، منها جزيرتا القصر العتيق ونقوسة، وهاتان من السكان الأمازيغ ذوي الامتدادات الإفريقية، أما الجزيرة الثالثة فمن أمازيغ بني ميزاب. ذوي الامتداد التاريخي إلى الدولة الرستمية، أما باقي مناطقها فيُتَكلم فيها اللهجة العربية الصحراوية التي يميزها التنغيم الخاص بها، فضلاً عن بعض الإبدالات الصوتية مثل نطق الغين قافاً، وبعض التقليلات المكانية بين الأصوات، كوضع العين قبل الميم في "مع"، فضلاً عن الانتقاء في اختيار المفردات المعجمية للتعبير عن أشياء معينة كالأسماء للمسميات، كما أنَّ للمنطقة خصوصية دينية واجتماعية ولسانية كذلك؛ كونها تحوي مذهبيين فقهيين "الإباضي والمالكي" في مكان واحد، وهذا ما لا نجده في كثير من المناطق الجزائرية، كما أن العادات والتقاليد تختلف بين العرب والإباضية وسكان القصر العتيق مثلاً، وإن تشابهت في أمور عديدة بفعل التعايش لقرون متواصلة.

ونجد ظاهرة تأنيث المذكر وتذكير المؤنث في بعض ولايات الجزائر — الشرقية منها خاصة — مثل سكيكدة، وسوق أهراس، والطارف، وتبسة، إذ يستعمل التأنيث للمذكر والتذكير للمؤنث في الملفوظ اليومي العادي للمتكلمين بها، وهو ما يحتاج إلى دراسة سوسiolسانية قد تحتاج إلى دراسة أنثروبولوجية وتاريخية لتفسيرها؛ إلا أن ساكنة منطقة ورقلة لا تُدَكِّرُ المؤنث كما لا تؤنِّث المذكر إلا لأغراض خاصة؛ تروم هذه الورقة البحثية أن تكشف دلالات تأنيث المذكر وتذكير المؤنث في سياقات مختلفة لدى قاطني ورقلة؛ وفق مقارنة لسانية وسوسiolسانية، وتاريخية في بعض الأحيان.

وقد أخذت المدونة المدروسة من مدونة قام بجمعها باحثو "وحدة البحث اللساني وقضايا اللغة العربية في الجزائر" بورقلة التابعة "لمركز البحث العلمي والتقني لتطوير اللغة العربية" قصد إنجازهم أطلساً لسانياً لمنطقة ورقلة.

واعتمدت هذه الدراسة على المنهج الوصفي التحليلي المبني على الاستقراء أداة إجرائية مستفيدة من أداة المقارنة أحياناً، وعلى هذا الأساس بنيت الخطة على النقاط الآتية:

- تمهيد: يتناول التعريف بالمنطقة والمجتمع الورقلي وباللهجة المدروسة.

- التذكير والتأنيث ظاهرة لسانية في لهجة ورقلة

1- مظاهر التذكير

2- علامات التأنيث: "في الفعل، والاسم، والضمائر والأسماء المبهمة".

- دلالات التذكير والتأنيث في لهجة ورقلة:

1- دلالات تذكير المؤنث:

1-1- الخشونة

1-2- الصلابة

1-3- التحقير

1-4- التعظيم

1-5- مخالفة الأعراف

1-6- التحدي

1-7- الشر

2- دلالات تأنيث المذكر:

2-1- التهوين والتحقير

2-2- التعظيم

2-3- المرونة ولين الجانب.

2-4- شدة الظرف

2-5- الخروج عن الأعراف

2-6- التحدي

2-7- الخصوبة والكثرة

2-8- الشر

- **الخاتمة:** عرض النتائج

وتبدو هذه الدلالات مرتبطة بالموروث الثقافي للمنطقة وبعاداتها وتقاليدها وأعرافها، كما يتجلى أثر الدين واضحا في تلك الدلالات، إذ تأبى معتقدات ساكني المنطقة المسلمين وأعرافهم وعاداتهم وتقاليدهم الشذوذ عما جُبلوا عليه وعاشوا فيه أزمنة طويلة، كما يظهر أثر البيئة الصحراء جليا، وهذا ما ستؤكدته الدراسة.

ولم يتناه إلى علمي دراسة تناولت هذا الموضوع في لهجة ورقلة على الأقل؛ وبهذا تحقق هذه الورقة السبق في مجالها؛ ولذا أرجو أن توفق إلى ما تصبو إليه، كما أرجو أن تكون فاتحة العديد من البحوث مستقبلا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: لهجة - ورقلة - الجزائر - تذكير - مؤنث - مذكر - عربية.

Translation strategies of Moroccan Arabic proverbs across languages and dialects

Proverbs are known to be culturally loaded which makes their translation not a straightforward task. The aim of this paper is to introduce strategies of translating Moroccan Arabic (MA) proverbs into culturally unrelated languages, namely English, and culturally related varieties of Arabic. The study analyses a corpus of proverbs based on Al Attar (1982) and translation experiments with native speakers of MA and native speakers of English and varieties of Arabic spoken in the Middle East, with a focus on Iraqi Arabic.

The corpus is divided into two sets. The first includes proverbs whose dynamic translation generates substantially equivalent responses in both languages/cultures. For instance, the proverb اللي عضاته الحية، يخاف من الحبل ([lli ʕəddatu lħijja jkhaf mən lħbəl] literally translated as ‘One who got bit by the serpent is scared of the rope’) has an English dynamic equivalent: “A scalded cat fears cold water”. While the concept ‘serpent’ is substituted in English translation by ‘cat’ (a co-hyponym), it is not in Iraqi Arabic where ‘serpent’ is a familiar concept, too. The second set includes more heavily culture-specific proverbs. A case in point is: الميلود للرجال وعاشورا ما على النساء حكام ([lmilud lərrǝʒal w ʕafura ma ʕla nnsa ħkam] literally translated as “in the feast ‘Milud’ men rule and in ‘Achouraa’ women are free”). This proverb is loaded with implications deeply rooted in the local socio-cultural scene in Morocco, which makes its translation into not only English but also other Arabic varieties challenging. This is because such religious feasts do not exist in English speaking cultures and are perceived differently in Middle Eastern culture(s).

So, in light of the cultural particularity of these two types of proverbs, I will discuss how indirect translation strategies, namely compensation, modulation and transposition can provide a contextualized translation as accurately as possible both across languages and dialects.

دراسة تحليلية عن البوقالات الليبية في طرابلس

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل الدلالات اللفظية التي تستخدمها المرأة الليبية في طرابلس عندما تترنم بما يُعرف بالبوقالة. وعلى الرغم من أهمية الشعر النسوي الليبي، إلا أنه لم يحظ إلا مؤخراً ببعض الدراسات المحدودة. وبالتالي، يفتقر الباحثون إلى معرفة وفهم عميق للمخزون التراثي الأدبي النسوي في ليبيا. لهذا السبب، ستسلط هذه الورقة البحثية الضوء على هذا الموضوع لتعريفه واستكشافه. سيتم في هذه الورقة البحثية مناقشة

الأساليب البلاغية للبوقالة من زوايا متعددة، متضمنة الشكل والمضمون. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، سنقوم بتوضيح وشرح الخصائص الفريدة للبوقالة الطرابلسية والصور الجمالية التي تميزها، مثل القوافي والكلمات المميزة من لهجة طرابلس الغرب، وكيف يتلازم الشعر النسوي (البوقالة) مع الجلسات النسوية