Carmen Berlinches Ramos
Jairo Guerrero
Montserrat Benítez Fernández
(eds.)

AIDA Granada: A Pomegranate of Arabic Varieties

Colección ESTUDIOS DE DIALECTOLOGÍA ÁRABE
Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza

Colección Estudios de Dialectología Árabe

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To Federico Corriente, Peter Behnstedt and Rudolf de Jong

14th Edition of AIDA
A Conference to Be Remembered

C. BERLINCHES RAMOS / J. GUERRERO / M. BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ
UCM / AMU-IREMAM, CNRS / EEA, CSIC

The International Association of Arabic Dialectology (AIDA) was founded in 1992 through the collaborative efforts of a distinguished group of researchers dedicated to advancing studies on spoken Arabic varieties. In pursuit of this objective, an inaugural meeting was convened at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (Paris) in 1993. Since its establishment, AIDA has emerged as the leading global association in the realm of Arabic dialectology, providing a platform for scholars worldwide specializing in both Arabic dialectology and sociolinguistics. Through biennial conferences held in diverse locations, this association fosters opportunities for scholars to convene, exchange ideas, and engage in discourse surrounding their research interests.

At the 13th conference's General Assembly convened at Akaki Tsereteli State University (Kutaisi, Georgia) in 2019, AIDA members made the decision to hold the 14th AIDA conference in Granada in 2021. Regrettably, constraints stemming from the COVID-19 pandemic, which required the postponement of this scientific event due to hindrances in large gatherings and international travel, finally led to the conference's rescheduling. Ultimately, the conference took place from June 27th to July 1st, 2022, hosted at the Faculty of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Granada (UGR). We are grateful for the support extended by the faculty, the Section of Arabic Studies (UGR), the Vice-Presidency of Research and Transfer (UGR), the School of Arabic Studies (EEA, CSIC), and the research projects FFI2017-87533-P/AEI-FEDER (EEA, CSIC), PID2019-107217GB-I00/AEI-FEDER (University of Zaragoza), and ILINKB20056 (EEA, CSIC).

We extend our heartfelt gratitude to María Ángeles Navarro (UGR), Cristina Holgado (UGR), and Rafael Reyna (EEA, CSIC), without whose dedication the organization of the conference would have been impossible.

One hundred and twenty researchers attended the ninety presentations offered during the conference. Additionally, the AIDA General Assembly provided an opportunity to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the association and to honor the memories of two excellent and beloved dialectologists, Federico Corriente and Peter Behnstedt, who passed away in 2020 and 2021, respectively.

This volume, organized alphabetically, comprises 37 presentations from the 14th AIDA conference. The authors have revised their work, which has been reviewed to ensure suitability for publication as chapters. This selection of papers covers the Arabic-speaking world from East to West, and from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives (E. Larbi, F.B. Francisco). Scholars have delved into both theoretical (S. Procházka) and empirical realms, exploring topics such as the analysis of linguistic traits within cultural expressions (E. De Blasio, N. Fottouh & B. Horvat, A.S. Ould Mohamed Baba). Additionally, they have contributed to the description of previously unidentified linguistic varieties (J. Aguadé & A. Salim, A. Bar-Moshe, L. Ben Salah, M. Benítez Fernández, A. Torzullo). Their investigations have spanned phonological (A. Avram, V. Bozkurt, I. Youssef), morphological (G. Biţună, A. Boucherit, M. Garaoun, D. Wilmsen & F. Al Muhairi), morpho-syntactic (M. Afkir, G. Chikovani, G. Grigore, A. Iriarte Díez, E. Ravier, A. Sigourou), and semantic aspects (L. Lombezzi, C. Taine-Cheikh); The exploration of sociolinguistic phenomena (L. Cerqueglini, J. Falchetta, J. Guerrero, I. Moufid, A. Naddari, L. Zack, K. Ziamari, D. Caubet & C. Miller); Arabic in contact with other languages (H. El Shazli, V. Engler, E. Gutova); and innovative teaching methodologies (N. Ejibadze).

As organizers – with Á. Vicente (UZ), M.Á. Navarro (UGR), and A.S. Ould Mohamed Baba (UCM) – the 14th AIDA conference will always hold a special place in our memories. As editors, we hope that the edition of this volume also leaves a memorable impression on you.

Carmen, Jairo and Montse
Granada, February 23th, 2024

14ème édition de l'AIDA
Une conférence mémorable

C. BERLINCHES RAMOS / J. GUERRERO / M. BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ
UCM / AMU-IREMAM, CNRS / EEA, CSIC

L'Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe (AIDA) a vu le jour en 1992, grâce à l'initiative d'un groupe de prestigieux.euses chercheurs.e.s qui ont eu l'idée de développer les études concernant les parlers arabes. À cette fin, une première rencontre a été organisée à l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (Paris) en 1993. Depuis, l'AIDA est devenue l'association internationale leader dans le domaine de la dialectologie arabe, se transformant dans un forum ouvert aux chercheur.e.s du monde entier qui s'intéressent à toutes les questions liées aussi bien à la dialectologie qu'à la sociolinguistique arabes. Elle permet de nous rencontrer et débattre de nos intérêts de recherche dans des colloques itinérants, ayant une périodicité approximative de deux ans.

Lors de l'Assemblée générale du 13ème colloque qui s'est tenu à l'Université Akaki Tsereteli (Kutaisi, Géorgie) en 2019, il a été décidé que le 14ème colloque de l'AIDA aurait lieu à Grenade en 2021. Malheureusement, des contraintes dues à la pandémie de COVID-19, qui entravaient les rassemblements et les voyages internationaux, nous ont obligés à reporter cet évènement scientifique d'une année. Le colloque a, finalement, eu lieu du 27 juin au 1er juillet 2022 à la Faculté de Traduction et d'Interprétation de l'Université de Grenade (UGR) et cela avec le concours de ladite faculté, la section d'Études Arabes (UGR), la Vice-présidence de Recherche et de Transfert (UGR), l'École d'Études Arabes (EEA, CSIC) et les projets de recherche FFI2017-87533-P/AEI-FEDER (EEA, CSIC), PID2019-107217GB-I00/AEI-FEDER (Université de Saragosse) et ILINKB20056 (EEA, CSIC). Nous voudrions remercier très fortement, pour leur

collaboration, María Ángeles Navarro (UGR), Cristina Holgado (UGR) et Rafael Reyna (EEA, CSIC) sans qui l'organisation du colloque aurait été impossible. Cent vingt chercheur.e.s ont assisté aux quatre-vingt-dix communications qui ont eu lieu tout au long du colloque et pendant l'Assemblée générale de l'AIDA, nous avons commémoré le 30ème anniversaire de l'association et rendu hommage à deux grands chercheurs Federico Corriente et Peter Behnstedt qui nous ont quittés en 2020 et 2021 respectivement.

Ce volume, organisé par ordre alphabétique, recueille une sélection de 37 communications présentées lors du 14ème colloque de l'AIDA. Elles ont été retravaillées et révisées afin de les rendre publiables sous forme de chapitre lesquels parcourent le monde arabophone de l'orient à l'occident, dans une perspective synchronique et diachronique (E. Larbi, F.B. Francisco) des variétés arabes. Plus concrètement, les chercheur.e.s se sont attardé.e.s sur des sujets de type théorique (S. Procházka) et empiriques comme l'analyse des traits linguistiques qui se manifestent dans des expressions culturelles (E. De Blasio, N. Fottouh & B. Horvat, A.S. Ould Mohamed Baba) ; la description de variétés méconnues (J. Aguadé & A. Salim, A. Bar-Moshe, L. Ben Salah, M. Benítez Fernández, A. Torzullo) ; l'étude d'aspects phonologiques (A. Avram, V. Bozkurt, I. Youssef), morphologiques (G. Biţună, A. Boucherit, M. Garaoun, D. Wilmsen & F. Al Muhairi), morpho-syntaxiques (M. Afkir, G. Chikovani, G. Grigore, A. Iriarte Díez, E. Ravier, A. Sigourou) et sémantiques (L. Lombezzi, C. Taine-Cheikh) ; l'examen des questions liées à la sociolinguistique (L. Cerqueglini, J. Falchetta, J. Guerrero, I. Moufid, A. Naddari, L. Zack, K. Ziamari, D. Caubet & C. Miller), l'arabe en contact d'autres langues (H. El Shazli, V. Engler, E. Gutova) et la didactique (N. Ejibadze).

Pour nous, en tant qu'organisateurs.rices – avec Á. Vicente (UZ), M.Á. Navarro (UGR) et A.S. Ould Mohamed Baba (UCM) – le 14ème colloque de l'AIDA restera toujours dans nos mémoires, nous espérons que l'édition de ce volume le rendra également mémorable pour vous.

Carmen, Jairo et Montse
Grenade, 23 février 2024

Mixed Arabic in Contemporary Oral Texts: Some Morpho-Syntactic Features

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Abstract

This paper investigates to what extent the different variants of Arabic used in a semi-formal style of speaking exhibit morpho-syntactic features that reflect recurrent patterns. It is a contribution to the oral manifestation of Mixed Arabic and how it is governed by structural constraints. Studies of Middle Arabic in pre-modern written texts (Blau 1977, den Heijer 2012, Tobi 2012) and of Mixed Arabic in contemporary oral texts (Blanc 1960, Badawi 1973, Bassiouney 2006, 2009, Mejdell 2006, Eid 1982, 2007, Afkir 2015, 2019, 2022) have revealed the existence of different variant forms of Arabic, including Classical Arabic (CA)/Standard Arabic (SA) forms, colloquial forms, in addition to mixed forms, referred to as intermediate or hybrid because they mix linguistic features from both CA/SA and colloquial Arabic and hence belong neither to the low variety nor to the high one. The use of different variants betokens the existence of a mixed variety that falls on an in-between space on the diglossic continuum and hence represents an important facet of the Arabic language. This paper, based on data which consists of oral texts produced in panel discussions in the Moroccan media context, is an investigation of the extent to which the choice of the different forms of Arabic in a semi-formal context follows a certain pattern of distribution. The analysis of proximal adnominal demonstratives and definite relative pronouns has shown that despite "apparent" chaos and unpredictability due to the immediate linguistic choices the speakers make as the talk unfolds, the use of these morpho-syntactic variables is not random, but regulated.

Keywords: Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic, Mixed Arabic, adnominal demonstratives, definite relative pronouns.

1. Introduction

Mixed Arabic is an important facet of Arabic diglossia. As opposed to Ferguson's (1959) classic model of diglossia, which is characterized by a rigid dichotomization concerning the use of the high variety (H) and the low one (L), mixed Arabic presupposes in-between spaces between pure H and pure L and hence the existence of a continuum (Blanc 1960, Badawi 1973, Meiseles 1980, Youssi 1983, 1992, 1995, Hary 1992, Bassiouney 2006, 2009, Mejdell 2006, Afkir 2015, 2019, 2022, Albirini 2016). Within the same speech, speakers may use different forms of spoken Arabic, including (SA) forms, colloquial forms in addition to mixed or hybrid forms, which exhibit a mixing of linguistic features from both SA, the high variety, and Dialectal Arabic, the low variety. Hary (1992: 12) strongly claimed that

> it is imperative to remember that this area in the middle is not composed of only one variety, or of three varieties as proposed by Badawi (1973); there can be a countless number of lectal varieties on the continuum between the two ideal types […] Since we are dealing with the notion of a continuum, there are no boundaries and no commitment to discrete categories, this allowing more flexibility in analyzing texts.

Moreover, this mixedness, which may appear chaotic, "may be correlated with dimensions of context and style- the informal-formal cline, the casual-careful cline; unplanned vs. planned discourse, and of mode/medium, i.e. spoken vs. written." (Mejdell 2006: 4)

From a historical perspective, this variety of Arabic, which is marked by the mixing of H and L forms of Arabic, has an older and a more recent manifestation.

It has been known for some time that the structural differences between the H and L varieties, which have been a permanent reality throughout their history, resulted at some point in the creation and development of intermediate and mixed varieties that were written, and probably spoken as well, in the past as much as they are often used in oral speech today (den Heijer 2012: 2). The older form is referred to as Middle Arabic, and it is manifested in medieval Muslim, Jewish and Christian written texts (Schen 1972, Blau 1977, Tobi 2012, Turner 2022). The more recent manifestation of this type of Arabic is referred to as Mixed Arabic, and it is produced in modern oral texts.

The mixed variety of Arabic is studied from both a functional and a grammatical perspective. The functional approach, which basically subjects this form of Arabic to sociolinguistic analysis (Eid 1982, Bassiouney 2009, Hamam 2011, Afkir 2019), lays emphasis on the factors that motivate speakers' shift from one variety to another along the diglossic continuum and

the functions such code-switching and mixing would fulfill. The investigation of the oral manifestation of mixed Arabic in Moroccan audio-visual media discourse (Afkir 2019), for example, has shown that despite apparent randomness in speakers' immediate language choices as talk unfolds, the way a topic fits in the communicative habits of the Moroccan speech community was found to be a strong predictor of the occurrence of different forms of Arabic. In the topic about sexual harassment, the panelists' degree of colloquialness decreases and that of hybridity and standardness increases because this is how language is used in public discourse to talk about sexuality, which is still taboo in Moroccan society. For instance, content related to verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature is never expressed in Moroccan Arabic (MA), which is indicative of functional norms or rules that regulate the mixing of Arabic varieties. Hamam (2011) also found that diglossic code-switching in the Coptic Christian homilies he studied fulfills certain functions in this type of religious discourse. He pointed out that shifting from one variety of Arabic to another is a powerful rhetorical device.

The grammatical approach rather deals with the structural/grammatical rules that govern the mixed variety of Arabic. Studies conducted within this approach have tried to come up with rules for the grammar of hybridization in order to describe what happens phonetically and morphologically in the process of classicization and colloquialization (El Gibali 1993). Other studies have tried to elucidate the recurrent patterns that characterize the shift from one variety to another, providing evidence for its non-randomness (Mejdell 2006). This paper fits within the grammatical/structural approach. Its goal is to determine how speakers' recourse to different variants of proximal adnominal demonstratives, which express near deixis, and definite relative pronouns in a semi-formal context that triggers mixed Arabic is constrained. It specifically focuses on recurrent patterns and on constraints that govern occurrence.

2. Method

The data on which the present paper is based consists of oral texts produced in panel discussions broadcast on Moroccan national television channels. It was taken from three programs, namely *mubāšaṛa maʕakum* "Alive with you", *qaḍāyā waʔārāʔ* "Issues and views" and *nkunu waḍḥīn* "Let's be clear" in which an animator and a group of panelists discuss social, political and economic issues in Moroccan society. The overall number of words is 24 000. This genre of media discourse, whose basic characteristic is semi-formality, is likely to trigger different variants of Arabic ranging from colloquial to standard ones with other forms falling on the continuum between the two poles. This is so because

> The overarching functional dimension [of the diglossic continuum] is generally taken to be the degree of formality of the situation/context- a continuum from *informal* to *formal* largely corresponding structurally to a continuum from predominantly ʕāmmiyya (L), to increasingly fuṣḥā (H) features. (Mejdell 2006: 3)

In Arabic variation, linguistic variables may have two variants, one from colloquial Arabic and one from SA or three variants, including a hybrid, intermediate variant within which there is at the same time a mixture of features from both types of Arabic. Proximal adnominal demonstratives and definite relative pronouns, the two morphological variables examined in this paper, were coded as either MA or SA variants because they have no intermediate, mixed morphological realization.

3. Results

3.1. Proximal adnominal demonstratives

The analysis has shown that proximal adnominal demonstratives from both MA and SA are present in the analyzed data. As examples (1), (2), (3) and (4) show, there are instances in which the demonstrative and the noun it co-occurs with are both from the same Arabic variety, that is, from MA or SA, and there are also cases in which the demonstrative and the noun it co-occurs with are taken from the two different varieties of Arabic.

(1) *lā aʕtaqid anna uh* ***had*** (MA) ***l-muškil*** (MA) *hada muṛtabiṭ bi-fiʔa žtimāʕiyya muʕəyyana walā bi-mustawā taqāfī muʕəyyan*
I don't think that uh **this** (MA) **problem** (MA) is related to a specific social class or a specific educational level.

(2) *nunāqišu fi:* ***hāda*** (SA) ***l-masāʔ*** (SA) *mawḍūʕan lāzāla fi xānati l-maskūt ʕanh*
We discuss **this** (SA) **afternoon** (SA) a topic that is still in the category of the unsaid.

(3) *yažib muwākabat* ***had*** (MA) ***l-bawādir*** (SA). *kull* ***had*** (MA) ***l-ʔašyāʔ*** (SA)
We must accompany **these** (MA) **initiatives** (SA), all **these** (MA) **things** (SA).

(4) *kənna bġina waḥəd t-taqyīm l-****had*** (MA) ***n-namūdaž*** (SA) *t-tanmawī ṣ-ṣābiq awwalan*
We would have liked to have an evaluation of **this** (MA) previous development **model** (SA) first.

The speakers' use of different variants of the proximal adnominal demonstratives corroborates the notion of continuum and the non-

dichotomization of the situations in which the “high” and “low” varieties are used. It is reflective of a linguistic practice that is, in fact, easily attested in Arabic-speaking communities when talk is produced in a context that is characterized by semi-formality.

The analysis has revealed speakers’ recourse to the two variants of demonstratives, but there is a predominance of vernacular variants throughout all the data. A frequency-based analysis that involved the proximal adnominal demonstratives produced in 10000 words has revealed that 92% of them belong to the low variety, revealing an extensive use of the colloquial variants. MA and SA, like other Semitic languages, employ a wide range of demonstratives, namely pronominal demonstratives, adnominal demonstratives which co-occur with a noun, adverbial demonstratives and identificational demonstratives, which are pronouns used in copular and non-verbal clauses (Diessel 1999, Hasselbach 2007). SA demonstratives are numerous and are morphologically more complex because they are inflected for gender, number, and case as the following table shows.

	Singular	Dual Nominative	Dual Accusative	Plural
Masculine	hāḏā	hāḏāni	hāḏayni	hāʔulāʔi
Feminine	hāḏihi	hātāni	hātayni	hāʔulāʔi

MA, on the other hand, is characterized by a simpler system of deictic categories. Its proximal adnominal demonstratives are expressed by one demonstrative which is *had* “this” (Youssi 1992, Caubet 1993); it is invariable as it is not marked for number, gender or case. It is used with singular, dual and plural and for masculine and feminine as in the following examples.

(5) ***had <u>lə-ktāb</u>*** (singular, masculine) *ṛa-ḥətta huwa qdīm šwiyya*
This <u>book</u> is also old.

(6) ***had <u>l-qaḍiyya</u>*** (singular, feminine) *hiya ṭabu*
This <u>issue</u> is taboo.

(7) ***had <u>lə-bnāt</u>*** (plural, feminine**)**
these <u>girls</u>

This simplicity in the morphological realization of the invariable proximal adnominal demonstrative in MA may account for its higher frequency. It puts less pressure on speakers when they retrieve language in a semi-formal, semi-planned context.

In addition to frequency of occurrence, another finding is the existence of a constraint that governs the co-occurrence of colloquial and SA proximal adnominal demonstratives and the noun they modify. Demonstratives in both varieties of Arabic share the same distributional properties. They are structurally congruent, which would have made it possible to have switching in both directions. However, this is not the case. A recurrent pattern that has

emerged in the examined data is that when an adnominal demonstrative is from SA, it does not co-occur with a noun that belongs to Moroccan Arabic as in:

(8) ***<u>hādihi</u>*** (SA) ***l-bənt*** (A noun in MA)
***<u>this</u>** (SA) **girl** (MA)

However, the MA demonstrative *had* has a freer distribution. It can modify colloquial, standard and hybrid nouns. In following examples, it is followed by SA nouns.

(9) ***had*** (MA) ***<u>l-kalima</u>*** (SA) *lli ka-txəbbi l-məʕna l-ḥaqīqi mərfūḍa*
This (MA) **<u>word</u>** (SA) which hides the real meaning (of sexual harassment) is not accepted.

(10) *waš laḥətti nta mən xilāl* ***had*** (MA) ***<u>l-maṣāṛ</u>*** (SA) *hāḏā annahu hunāka yəʕni takātuṛ yəʕni fī ʕadad ḥalāt t-taḥaṛṛuš aw annahu ṛubbamā l-wəḍʕ yəʕni ma ma-tġəyyər-š bəzzāf.*
Have you noticed from **this** (MA) **<u>experience</u>** (SA) that there is I mean an increase I mean in the number of harassment cases? Or maybe the situation I mean hasn't changed a lot.

(11) ***had*** (MA) ***<u>l-ʕulamāʔ</u>*** (SA) *žəṛṛmu t-təkfīr*
These (MA) **<u>scholars</u>** (SA) have criminalized excommunication.

3.2. Definite relative pronouns

The analysis has shown that both the colloquial and standard variants of the definite relative pronouns were produced by the speakers in the analyzed media discourse, which is expected given the semi-formality of the context in which the panel discussions were produced. The following examples illustrate this.

(12) *tlata w-tlatin f-lə-mya dyal* ***r-rižāl*** (SA) ***<u>lli</u>*** (MA) *ka-yttḥəṛṛšu ka-yəʕtabṛūh ka-yəʕtabṛūh sulūk ʕādi.*
Thirty-three percent of **the men** (SA) **<u>who</u>** (MA) harass women consider it normal behavior.

(13) *fa-ʔidan* ***l-qiyyam*** (SA) ***<u>lli</u>*** (MA) *ʕəndna fə-l-ʔaṣāla dyalna xaṣṣna n-laqiwha mʔa l-qiyyam l-ʔinsāniyya n-nabīla lli kayna f-ḥuqūq l-ʔinsān*
So, **the values** (SA) **<u>that</u>** (MA) we have in our authentic society should converge with the noble human values which we have in human rights.

(14) *t-təkfīr huwa ʕadam fahəm li-d-dīn fahəm mutanawwiṛ li-****risālat ḷ-ḷāh*** (SA) ***<u>allatī</u>*** (SA) *žāʔa bihā žamīʕ l-ʔanbiyyāʔ*
takfīr (excommunication) is a lack of understanding of religion, an enlightened understanding of **God's message** (SA) **<u>which</u>** (SA) all prophets brought.

However, dialectal Arabic variants are far more prevalent than their SA counterparts. There are, in fact, no occurrences of the SA dual (both

nominative and accusative/genitive), and the SA plural feminine, which has three variants *allātī allawātī allāʔī*, has only one occurrence.

This difference in occurrence can be explained by the morphological nature of definite pronouns in both varieties. SA employs nine definite relative pronouns (with the plural feminine having three variants) (Ryding 2005, Aoun et al. 2009). Singular and plural relative definite pronouns agree with the noun they relate to, their antecedent, in gender and number, and the dual form, in addition to gender and number, is marked for case (nominative, accusative and genitive) as the following table shows.

	Singular	Dual Nominative	Dual Accusative/ Genitive	Plural
Masculine	allaḏī	allaḏāni	allaḏayni	allaḏīna
Feminine	allatī	allatāni	allatayni	allātī/allawātī/ allāʔī

MA, however, has only one definite relative pronoun *lli* (Youssi 1992, Caubet 1993), which is invariable; it is not inflected for gender, number and case. Moreover, as opposed to SA, it co-occurs with an antecedent that could be singular masculine, singular feminine, plural masculine, and plural feminine. This suggests that due to their simple morphology, MA definite relative pronouns are easier to process and hence are more likely to be used in semi-formal language situations where there is the burden of the immediacy of discourse production.

In addition to a total absence of some SA definite relative pronouns that involve many inflectional morphemes, the analysis has shown that the mixing of definite relative pronouns from MA and SA with antecedents from the two languages is constrained in two ways. The first occurrence constraint is that colloquial *lli* can be preceded by antecedents from both MA and SA while a SA definite relative pronoun does not co-occur with a MA antecedent. Examples (15), (16) and (17) illustrate this.

-*lli* preceded by a MA plural feminine antecedent

(15) ***<u>lə-ʕyalāt</u>*** (MA) ***lli*** *ka-yəttʕərṛḍu lə-l-ʕunf…*

<u>The women</u> (MA) **who** are subject to violence…

-*lli* preceded by a SA singular feminine antecedent

(16) *ʕəndna* ***<u>l-qawla</u>*** (SA) ***lli*** *katqūl z-znaqi ʕamṛa wə-ḍ-ḍyūṛ xawya*

We have **<u>the proverb</u>** (SA) **which** says, streets are full and houses are empty

-*lli* preceded by a SA plural masculine antecedent

(17) ***<u>l-ʔaṭfāl</u>*** (SA) ***lli*** *ta-yxuržu fə-l-līl*

<u>The children</u> (SA) **who** go out at night…

In (15), the MA relative pronoun *lli* is preceded by *lə-ʕyalāt* “the women”, which belongs to the same variety whereas in (16) and (17), it modifies nouns that are SA nouns, namely *l-qawla* “the proverb” and *l-ʔaṭfāl* “the children”. However, there is no instance in which a SA definite relative pronoun co-occurs with an antecedent in MA as in (18).

(18) ***l-bənt** (MA) ***allatī** (SA)
***the girl** (MA) **who** (SA)

The second occurrence constraint is that when the definite relative pronoun belongs to SA, the verb that comes after it should also be in SA. There is no example like the following.

(19) ***al-bint** ***allatī*** (SA) ***kətbat*** (verb in MA)…
*****The girl **who** (SA) **wrote** (MA)…

4. Conclusion

The goal of this paper, which has examined proximal adnominal demonstratives and definite relative pronouns, has been to investigate to what extent mixed Arabic is governed by structural constraints in a semi-formal register.

The first finding is that in spite of the sense of unpredictability and chaos that characterize speakers’ shift from one variety of Arabic to another, the fact that certain colloquial morphological variants are more likely to occur than their standard counterparts betokens the existence of certain norms that predict the use of mixed Arabic. The MA proximal adnominal demonstrative *had* and the definite relative pronoun *lli* are used far more frequently than their standard counterparts certainly due to their simple morphological realization. They are invariable; they are not marked for number, gender and case, which relieves the burden of language production on users who are caught between the immediacy of the talk and the expression of their views of the critical issues that are discussed in the panels and that are controversial in their society. Myers-Scotton (1993) pointed out that switching is used to “minimize costs” and “maximize rewards”. So, when the speakers move along the Arabic diglossic continuum, they are aware that there are certain forms that relieve the burden on language production.

The other finding is the presence of constrains on the occurrence of these morpho-syntactic variables. Although they have the same distributional properties, their co-occurrence with the words they relate to is not random. MA demonstratives can co-occur with nouns that are colloquial, standard and intermediate whereas SA demonstratives cannot co-occur with a colloquial noun.

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New Data on the Arabic Dialect of Tangier

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine some characteristic features of the Arabic dialect spoken in Tangier. We have collected our corpus from recorded data based on interviews with questionnaires along with recordings from casual dialogues. Our data were collected from a representative sample of its autochthonous inhabitants. Although this dialect has been partially described by William Marçais (1911) and Bruno Meissner (1905) in the last century, these works are far from exhaustive, and our investigation shows that they overlook important features. Tangier, for example, has a much richer vocalism than the Hilalian dialects: the short vowels /ə̃/, /ã/, /ĩ/ and /ũ/ are phonemic, as minimal pairs demonstrate. Of interest is the realisation of /q/ as /ʔ/ by a significant proportion of our informants (not just elder speakers), a feature not mentioned by either Marçais or Meissner. The depharyngealisation of consonants in contact with /i/ or /y/ is not uncommon in Moroccan dialects, whereas in Tangier it is the rule. Assimilation of the definite article *l-* to its following consonants is the norm, except in the case of /ʔ/, /ʕ/, /x/, /ḥ/, /h/, /ġ/, /w/ and /y/. For our informants, verbs have the ending *-āṭ* for the 3rd feminine singular in the perfect. In Tangier, the object of comparison is marked by the prepositions *mə̃n* or *ʕla*, followed by the adjective in the positive degree. Unreal conditional sentences are marked with (*ka*)... *xŭdd-* or *(ku)... xŭdd*.

Keywords: Dialect of Tangier, vocalism, definite article, verbs, comparison, conditional sentences.

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1. Historical context

Tangier was one of the first Moroccan towns to be conquered by the Arabs, but its dialect has some peculiarities that distinguish it from other pre-Hilalian ones. As we have elsewhere indicated (cf. VaS 2022:69-70), this is due to the Portuguese, Spanish and English occupation of the city between 1471 and 1684. The Arabic-speaking population almost completely disappeared during this period, and Tangier's current populations dates from the 17th century, when Sultan Mūlāy Ismāʕīl repopulated the town with Riffian soldiers and people from the surrounding areas. According to El Mansour (2000), under English rule, Tangier was "primarily a military centre, with soldiers making up half of its 3,000 inhabitants".

This more recent and somewhat varied origin of the inhabitants could, in our opinion, explain some of the peculiarities of the Arabic dialect spoken in Tangier.

For earlier research findings on the Tangier dialect (hereafter TA) and comments on Marçais (1911) and Meissner (1905), see VaS 2022:70–72. Assad (1978) is a frequently cited work for TA. However, we have decided not to consult it as it is a highly unreliable source for TA as this author often mixes data from other dialects; see VaS 2022:72 for more information. Due to space limitations, this paper will only highlight some of the most important aspects of TA.

For the methodology of our field research as well as the details of our informants (autochthonous speakers with at least one of their parents born and raised in Tangier), see VaS 2022:69.

2. Phonology

As far as vowels and stress are concerned, we summarise here the data we published in VaS 2022. It is not necessary to go into the long vowels here, since Tangier has the same system as other Moroccan dialects, namely three long and stable vowel phonemes (with their corresponding allophones). Long vowels in TA are often shortened in post-tonic closed and double-closed syllables, but in such cases they are somewhat longer than the short ones (see Salim 2020: 5 and VaS 2022: 74). For this reason, such vowels (which are still stable) are transcribed here as /a/, /i/ and /u/: *kəmmlāṭ*→ *kə̆mmlaṭ* "she finished", *ḥmā́ṛ* → *lā́-ḥmaṛ* "the donkey". In an open stressed syllable, this vowel becomes longer again: *kəmmlā́ṭu* "she finished it", *lă-ḥmā́ṛa* "the female donkey", *xăddām* → *xā́ddam* "worker" (but *xăddā́ma* "workers"). *făṛḥān* →

fǎṛḥan “happy” (but *făṛḥǎna* “happy (f.)”)[2]. However, there are numerous cases where unstressed long vowels in closed and double-closed syllables are not shortened, most likely due to intonation.

3. Short vowels

According to our findings in VaS 2022:75-76, TA presents a four-short vocalic phoneme system:

/ă/ /ə̃/ /ĩ/ /ŭ/

These vowels have several allophones depending on the context (which are not considered in our transcription). Short vowels, as in all other Moroccan dialects, are unstable and do not occur in open syllables. Elision and metathesis are used to prevent short vowels from occurring in open syllables. The phonemic status of these four short vowels is confirmed by the following minimal pairs:

- /ŭ/ ≠ /ĩ/: *qŭlṭ* “I said” ≠ *qĭlṭ* “I let alone” (= verbs *qāl ~yqūl* “to say” ≠ *qāl ~yqīl* “to let alone”); *qĭṣṣa* “tale” ≠ *qŭṣṣa* “fringe”.
- /ə̃/ ≠ /ĩ/: *sĭnn* “age” ≠ *sə̃nn* “teeth”.
- /ă/ ≠ /ĩ/: *xăyyə̃r* “to let someone choose” ≠ *xĭyyə̃r* “rightous, honest”, *qăyyə̃m* “to asses” ≠ *qĭyyə̃m* “valuable”.
- /ə̃/ ≠ /ă/: *qə̃ṛṭas* “paper, paper bag” ≠ *qăṛṭas* “cartridge”; *ġə̃bra* “absence” ≠ *ġăbra* “dust”; *ḥə̃lma* “he dreamed it (f.)” ≠ *ḥălma* “dream”.
- /ă/ ≠ /ŭ/: *năqṛa* “I will read” ≠ *nŭqṛa* “silver”; *qălla* “lack, scarcity” ≠ *qŭlla* “clay jug”; *qădra* “pot” ≠ *qŭdra* “power, destiny”; *băʕd* “after” ≠ *bŭʕd* “distance”; *ṛăšš* “he sprinkled” ≠ *ṛŭšš* “sprinkle!”; *ḥăbba* “grain (wheat)” ≠ *ḥŭbba* “boil, pustule”.
- /ə̃/ ≠ /ŭ/: *sə̃nna* “tooth” ≠ *sŭnna* “Sunna”; *žə̃mla* “female camel” ≠ *žŭmla* “quantity, wholesale”; *kə̃bb* “he poured” ≠ *kŭbb* “pour!”; *sə̃ff* “he absorbed” ≠ *sŭff* “absorb!”; *bə̃šṛa* “skin” ≠ *bŭšṛa* “good news”.

4. Diphthongs

As it is the case in other Northern pre-Hilalian dialects, the short diphthongs */ăw/ and */ăy/ are generally preserved: *yăwm* “day”, *năwba* “turn”, *băyn* “between”, *ḥăwma* “quarter”, *ṣăyf* “summer”. Examples of diphthong reduction include **băyṭ> bīṭ* “room” and **zăyṭ> zīṭ* “oil”. In both

[2] Stress in TA is generally paroxytone: see VaS 2022:§ 6.1-6.2 and 8.1.

cases monophthongisation is not a recent evolution, as the texts collected by Marçais at the beginning of the 20th century show: see, for instance, *bīţ* and *zīţ* in Marçais (1911:240, 326) and Aguadé (2016:23).

5. Stress

Summarised below are the findings published in our previously mentioned article, see VaS 2022:77-92:

- Placement of stress is not affected by vowel length or syllable types: paroxytone stress is always the rule regardless of whether it falls on short or long vowels in open or closed syllables.

- Only focalisation may produce oxytone stress, and there are no examples of proparoxytone stress in TA, neither in isolated words nor in sentences.

- Stress in TA is not free: its placement in isolated words or word liaisons is always paroxytone.

6. Reflexes of */q/

Most of our informants realise */q/ as a voiceless uvular stop /q/: *qāl* "he said", *qăṛfa* "cinnamon", *qdīm* "old", *qūq* "artichoke", *fūq* "on, upon", *qənfud* "hedgehog", *qădra* "clay pot", *wăṛqa* "leaf".

However, female speakers, particularly elderly ones, tend to realise it as a voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ (only one male informant of about sixty pronounced /q/ as a voiceless glottal stop). Examples from our informants include *ʔālu* "they said", *bʔāw* "they remained", *băʔra* "cow", *ʔăţţ* "cat". It seems that this realisation is decreasing. Data collected by Echchahidi (1995-1996:48-49) some thirty years ago in an unpublished dissertation suggest that it was more widespread than it is today[3].

As early as 1899, the German researcher Fischer noted that /q/ was realised as /ʔ/ by part of the autochthonous Tangerine population[4]. Unfortunately, he did not provide any additional information, however, his observation is especially valuable as he visited Tangier, Rabat, Casablanca and Essaouira and thus had the opportunity to observe the differences between these dialects. Some twenty years later, the anonymous authors of *Villes et tribus du Maroc.*

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3 Echchahidi interviewed six female speakers ranging in age from 23 to 70: four always pronounced /ʔ/, one pronounced both /ʔ/ and /q/ and only one always pronouced /q/.

4 Fischer (1899:223) remarks: "ein Theil der Einwohnerschaft von Tanger, und zwar, soweit ich konstatiren konnte, echte *ṭanžāuūin* [sic], vermögen ebenso wenig wie die Kairiner […] *q* zu articuliren und sprechen dafür Hamza". See also VaS 2022:71.

Tanger remark that the inhabitants of Tangier —mostly women and children— realise /ʔ/ rather than /q/[5].

But surprisingly, the shift */q/> /ʔ/ has hardly ever been mentioned by other dialectologists until today. Marçais (1911), for example, who spent two short stays in Tangier in 1900 and 1907, always transcribes /q/ (though one of his texts was spoken by two female speakers); and the same goes for Meissner (1905).

Heath (2002:142) seems to be the only exception, stating: "I can also report *ʔ* < **q* as an archaic feature of a few medina M dialects (Tg and Tn in the north, Fs and Tz in the urban belt)"[6].

7. Phoneme /p/

/p/ is usually explained as a borrowing from European languages. It appears in loanwords such as *plānča* "iron (clothing)" (Spanish *plancha*), *pāla* "shovel" (Spanish *pala*), *pīla* "battery" (Spanish *pila*).

However, in cases like *mpăʕʕăẓ* "boor, bumpkin" the occurrence of /p/ cannot be explained as a loanword: the root being {bʕz}; see DAF (1:388). In other cases, such as *păxpăx*: "he hissed (cat)"[7] and *mpăṛpăṛ*: "lazy"[8], the occurrence of /p/ seems to be onomatopoeic.

The occurrence of /p/ is not uncommon in Northern dialects: *păxxāxa* "chameleon" (South of Chaouen), *păkka* "chameleon" (Mtiwa), cf. WAD (1:372 and map 126)[9].

8. Realisation of /r/

Unlike in other urban dialects, the voiced trill /r/ is never realised as a voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/ in Tangier, as in Tetouan or Chaouen; see Singer (1958: 108-109) and Rahmouni (2015: 28-30).

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5 *Villes et tribus* (1921:363) observe: "Les habitants de Tanger on un accent particulier […] la plupart, surtout les femmes et les enfants ne peuvent pas prononcer la lettre *qâf* […] qu'ils remplacent par la consonnance du *hamza*".

6 Tg = Tangier, Tn = Tetouan, Fs = Fes, Tz = Taza.

7 DAF (1:386): "souffler et charcher (chat)".

8 DAF (1:387): *(mṛēṭ) mpăṛpăṛ* "très gravement malade, très déprimé, anéanti".

9 Behnstedt/Woidich (WAD 1:372) compare *păxxāxa* with Yemenite *fĭxāx*, *fŭxāxī* and *fĭxāxī* "chameleon" (nouns related to the Classical Arabic root {nfx} "to blow"). Another word with /p/ is *ṭowpa* "rat" (< Latin *talpa* "mole") in Mtīwa (WAD 1:388, map 131) and *ṭūḥḥa/ṭăwḥḥa* in other Moroccan dialects.

9. Depharyngealisation

The depharyngealisation of consonants in contact with /i/ or /y/ is not uncommon in Moroccan dialects[10]; in Tangier, it is the rule:

- *ʕṭīni> ʕtīni* “give me!” (but *ʕṭa* “he gave”), *bǎyṭa> bǎyta* “egg”, *ḥǎyṭ> ḥǎyt* “wall” (but *ḥyūṭa* “walls”), *qǎyṭun> qǎytun* “tent”, *ṭīn> tīn* “clay”.
- *nḍīf> ndīf* “I will add” (but *ḍāf* “he added”), *ḍyūṛ> dyūr* “houses” (but *ḍāṛ* “house”)[11].
- *nsǎqṣi> nsǎqsi* “I will ask” (but *sǎqṣa* “he asked”), *ṛxīṣ> ṛxīs* “cheap”, *ḥǔmmiṣ> ḥǔmmis* “chickpeas”, *ḅṣīr> bsīr* “blind”.
- *ẓṛǎq* “blue”> diminutive *zrīrǎq*
- *ʕṛǎž* “lame”> diminutive *ʕrīrǎž*, *kǎṛmūṣa* “fig”> diminutive *krīmīsa*.

10. The definite article

Examples of assimilation of the definite article to consonants other than coronals (the so-called “solar letters”) are not uncommon in Moroccan dialects, as examples in Heath (2002:169-170) show, but Tangier seems to go one step further, as the definite article *l-* is always assimilated to the following consonants, except when they are: /ʔ/, /ʕ/, /x/, /ḥ/, /h/, /ġ/, /w/ or /y/: *b-bīt* “the room”, *ḅ-ḅṛǎq* “the thunder”, *b-bǎytaṭ* “the eggs”, *t-ṭālǎṭ* “the third”, *ḍ-ḍāṛ* “the house”, *g-gūb* “the artichoke”, *g-gṛāna* “the frog”, *t-čāli* “the shore”, *f-fāṛ* “the mouse”, *d-ǧāṛ* “the neighbour”, *d-ǧru* “the dog”, *d-ǧīm* “the pocket”, *z-zǎbda* “the butter”, *r-rīḥ* “the wind”, *s-sūq* “the market”, *ṣ-ṣǎyf* “the summer”, *k-kǔdya* “the hill”, *k-kūṛa* “the ball”, *k-kǔnnaš* “the notebook”, *q-qǐbla* “the qibla”, *q-qābla* “the midwife”, *m-mṛāya* “the mirror”, *ṃ-ṃḍa* “the razor”, *ṃ-ṃṭǎṛqa* “the hammer”, etc.

Surprisingly, Marçais (1911) does not transcribe such an assimilation frequently. Similarly, Meissner (1905) and other authors also do not mention these assimilations in their works. In our opinion, this discrepancy is most likely due to inaccurate transcriptions rather than a recent dialectal evolution.

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10 See examples from different dialects in Heath 2002:149-158.

11 Heath (2002:537, map 3-28) mentions *ḍwīṛa* as diminutive for *ḍāṛ*, but, our informants always pronounced it as *dwīra*, with plain consonants. There are other examples where our data differ from his. According to him, the forms for “white (f.)” and “burrows” are respectively *bəyḍa* [*bǎyḍa*] (2002:540, map 3-48) and *ġiṛan* [= *ġīṛān*] (2002:536, map 3-25), but our informants use *bǎyta* and *nġūṛa* (pl. of *nġūṛ*), a Berber loanword according to Marçais (1911:224-225) and DAF (11:404).

11. Personal pronouns

Tangier, like other pre-Hilalian Northern dialects does not distinguish the gender of the 2nd person singular of the independent personal pronoun: *nṭīna* "you (m./f.)". As early as the beginning of the last century, Brockelmann (1908 1:300) posed a hypothetical Berber influence to explain this ending *-na*. A more plausible explanation, however, is a morphological analogy to the first persons *āna* "I" and *ḥna* "we", as Marçais (1956:436) assumes. Besides, the 2nd persons f. *ʔăntīna, ʔăntīn* and *ʔĭntīn* appear in Yemen, a region where Berber influence is completely excluded (see Behnstedt 2016:95 and map 41).

12. Verbal morphology

In Tangier, the 2nd person perfect has no gender distinction; it is formed with the suffix *-ti/-ṭi*: *ktăbṭi* "you (c.) wrote", *xdəmṭi* "you (c.) worked", *fhămṭi* "you (c.) understood", *wṣălṭi* "you (c.) arrived", *šăddīṭi* "you (c.) closed", *qŭlṭi* "you said", *šrīṭi* "you (c.) bought", etc[12].

The 2nd person suffix *-ti/-ṭi,* as mentioned by Heath (2002:220-221), is a feature common to North-western and central dialects, from Tangier to Casablanca, including Fes and Meknes, and it distinguishes Tangier from some Jebli and urban Northern dialects.

13. 3rd. fem. singular of the perfect

According to our informants, verbs have the ending *-āṭ/-aṭ* for the 3rd fem. singular in the perfect: *fãhmaṭ* "she understood", *kəṭbaṭ* "she wrote", *šăddaṭ* "she closed", *wŭṣlaṭ* "she arrived", *ṭăržmaṭ* "she translated", *kəmmlaṭ* "she finished". The only exceptions are hollow verbs with the ending *-əṭ* and defective verbs with the ending *-ṭ*: *qāləṭ* "she said", *mšāṭ* "she went".

This ending *-āṭ/-aṭ* is a distinctive feature of Tangier, as most of the Northern and Jbala dialects have *-əṭ*. According to Heath (whose data were collected in the year 1986), both endings would occur in Tangier, *-āṭ* and *-əṭ*[13]. However, this is not confirmed by our informants, who use only *-āṭ/-aṭ*[14]. In the texts collected by Marçais (1911), the ending for the 3rd fem. singular in

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12 As Heath (2002:221) notes, the loss of gender distinction (the generalisation of the 2FeSg form *-ṭi* to the 2MaSg) serves "to insure overt expression of the key distinction between lSg and 2Sg, sacrificing the less important 2Sg gender opposition".

13 His indications are a little ambiguous: in the text (2002: 222-225) he does not mention *-əṭ* for Tangier, but both endings are given on map 4-18.

14 *-əṭ*> *-āṭ* by analogy from the weak verbs: Heath (2002:223), Aguadé (2008:229).

the perfect is always *-əǰ*; this seems to prove that the reshaping *-əǰ*> *-āǰ* is a recent feature.

14. Perfect of hollow verbs (form I)

The 1st and 2nd persons of hollow verbs in the perfect show one of the short vowels /ă/, /ŭ/ or /ĭ/, which correspond to the long vowel in the imperfective:

- *qāl~yqūl* → *qŭlǰ* "I said", *qŭlǰi* "you (c.) said", *qŭlna* "we said", *qŭlǰu* "you said"

- *xāf~yxāf* → *xăfǰ* "I feared", *xăfǰi* "you (c.) feared", *xăfna* "we feared", *xăfǰu* "you feared"

- *fāq~yfīq* → *fĭqǰ* "I woke up", *fĭqǰi* "you (c.) woke up" *fĭqna* "we woke up", *fĭqǰu* "you woke up"

According to Heath (2002: 341-345 and map 5-80), Tangier, Tetouan, Ouezzane, Chaouen, Taounate, and Branes have 1st and 2nd persons with full vowels (*ā, ū, ī* in our transcription). However, our informants realise such vowels as short.

15. Future markers

In Tangier, the future markers are *māšši/māš* and *ġa*. The *māš* and *ġa* markers are invariable; *māšši* has a feminine *māšša* and a plural *māššin*. Examples from our informants are: *māšša*/*ġa dži* "she will come", *māššin* /*ġa ysāfṛu* "they will travel", *māšši*/*ġa nqūl-lək ši ḥāža* "I will tell something", *māš nəmšīw* "we will go", *māš ykūnu ţəmma* "they will be there", among others.

Today most speakers tend to use *ġa* instead of *māšši/māš* (which is now stigmatised as a rural feature). Moreover, young speakers use *ha* instead of *ġa*: *ha nsāfṛu ġădda* "we will travel tomorrow", *ha nəmšīw n-s-sūq* "we will go to the market", *ha nətsənnāwăk ḥătţa dži* "we will wait for you until you come".

The marker *ha* can be explained as follows: *ġādi*> *ġa*> *ʕa*> *ha*; the shift *ġ*> *h* is not uncommon in Morocco (Guerrero 2015:120-121; Sánchez 2014:240). According to Behnstedt, the future marker *ha* only occurs in ʕĂyn əd-Dfāli and Žŭrf əl-Məlḥa (South of Ouezzane)[15].

[15] Unpublished data, personal communication with Peter Behnstedt. Heath (2002) does not mention this future marker.

16. Comparative

In Tangier, the object of comparison is marked by the prepositions *mən* or *ʕla-* followed by the adjective in the positive degree[16]: *hĭyya ṣġīra mən/ʕla xṭa* "she is younger than her sister", *hŭwwa kbīr mənni /ʕlĭyya* "he is older than me", *hĭyya ṭwīla mənna /ʕlīna* "she is taller than us", *lă-ʕsăl ḥlŭwwa mən /ʕla s-sŭkkaṛ* "honey is sweeter than sugar", *n-nhāṛ d-əl-yūma sxūn mən /ʕla b-bārăḥ* "today is hotter than yesterday", *l-xŭbz d-ʕzīza ldīda mən /ʕla d-yĭmma* "my grandmother's bread is tastier than my mother's", *hūma kbārin mənna /ʕlīna* "they are older than us", *lă-ʕwāwəl dyālna sġārin mənnək /ʕlīk* "our children are younger than you".

17. Unreal conditional sentences

The markers for unreal conditional sentences are *(ka)..xŭdd-* or *(ku)..xŭdd-*: *ka xŭddək qrīţi məzyan, ka xŭddək nžăḥţi* "if you had studied well, you would have passed", *ku xŭdda māmma mʕāya, ku xŭdda ʕāwnāṭni* "if my mother had been with me, she would have helped me", *xŭddni ḥḍăṛţ mʕāha l-ʕŭrs, xŭddni šbăʕţ štīḥ* "if I had been with her at the wedding, I would have grown tired of dancing", *ku xŭddkŭm ʕṛăfţu ṣ-ṣăṛf ṭālăʕ ku xŭddkŭm ma ṣăṛṛăfţū-ši* "if you had known that the exchange rate was going up, you would not have exchanged (money)".

As far as we know, this marker *ku...xŭdd-/ ka...xŭdd-* has only been documented for Tetouan and Ghomara so far (Herrero 1999:120, Naciri-Azzouz 2022:304).

As for the etymology of the marker *xŭdd-* we believe that it derives from the imperative *xūd* "take". The verb *xda~yāxŭd* is quite uncommon in Tangier today, as Tangerine speakers use *šəbbăṛ~yšəbbăṛ* instead. Besides, Marçais (1911:288) cites the imperative *xūd* in enumerative sentences: *xūdək d-əs-smīd, xūdək d-əṭ-ṭḥīn, xūdək d-əẓ-ẓṛăʕ*[17] "semolina, and flour or wheat flour". In our opinion, the unreal conditional marker *xŭdd-* in such enumerative sentences may have evolved from the imperative *xūd*.

18. Spanish loanwords

Interestingly, Spanish loanwords may form their plural by adding the Spanish plural suffix *-s*: *ḷānča* "ship"→ *ḷānčas* "ships", *gāṛṛu* "cigarette"→

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16 On the comparison introduced by *ʕla* see Aguadé/Vicente 1997 and Heath 2002:332-333, 337.

17 We adapted his transcription to ours.

gāṛṛus “cigarettes”, *čānkla* “flip-flop”→ *čānklas* “flip-flops”, *kīlu* “kilo”→ *kīlus* “kilos”, *mītru* “metre”→ *mītrus* “metres”, *limbṛāgi* “clutch”→ *limbṛāgis* “clutches”.

Loan verbs may conserve their infinitive ending in *-r*: Spanish *aparcar* “to park” → *pārkar~ypārkar,* Spanish *duchar* “to take a shower” → *dūčār~ydūčar*.

19. Conclusion

- Our results show the richness of short vocalism in Tangier: /ă/, /ĭ/ and /ŭ/ are phonemes and not merely allophones of /ə̆/.

- Stress is always paroxytone.

- Tangier shares phonetic features with other northern dialects (for example, /q/ as /ʔ/). The /r/, on the other hand, is never realised as voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/.

- The influence of Hilalian dialects (such as Casablanca) on the phonetics and morphology of TA is minimal; an example is the use of the future marker *ġa* instead of *māšš/māšši*.

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Voicing and Devoicing in the History of Maltese

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Abstract

In Modern Maltese obstruents undergo devoicing in word-final position and regressive voicing assimilation in clusters. Earlier Maltese did not have either of these rules. The present paper first outlines the diachrony of these two phonological changes, on the basis of the spelling used in records of earlier Maltese, ranging from the earliest attestation of the language to the end of the 18th century. Next, it is shown that word-final obstruent devoicing and regressive voicing assimilation are first attested as early as 1588, but that, for approximately two centuries, there is considerable variation in the operation of these two phonological rules. Word-final obstruent devoicing and regressive voicing assimilation became categorical rules of Maltese towards the end of the 18th century. Diachronically, both are instances of rule addition. From the perspective of the typology of voicing and devoicing, the two phonological rules have triggered a typological shift, repositioning Maltese with respect to Arabic.

Keywords: voicing, devoicing, voicing assimilation, Maltese.

1. Introduction

Modern Maltese exhibits several instances of spontaneous voicing (Cohen 1966) and devoicing in its so-called "Semitic" component. Voicing is illustrated by examples such as: **t > d* Ar ***t****isʕa* > M ***d****isgħa* "nine"; **k > g* Ar ***k****aḏab* > M ***g****ideb* "to lie"; **ṣ > z* Ar ***ṣ****abaʕ* > M ***z****aba'* "to paint". As for

devoicing, it is found in cases such as: **d* > *t* Ar ***d****arağa* > M ***t****arġa* "stair"; **ğ* > *č* Ar ***ğ****aḥad* > M ***ċ****aħad* "to deny".[1]

While the above changes are only sporadically attested, Modern Maltese has a rule of word-final obstruent devoicing as well as a rule of regressive voicing assimilation (Cohen 1966, Parawahera 1994–1995, Borg 1997). Importantly, as shown by Parawahera (1994–1995), word-final obstruent devoicing precedes regressive voicing assimilation, and regressive voicing assimilation spreads over to the neighbouring consonants in a cluster.

Maltese did not initially have either of these two phonological rules (Avram 2017b, 2020, 2021, 2022a). The present paper reconstructs the parallel diachrony of the phonological processes of word-final obstruent devoicing and of regressive voicing assimilation in Maltese and discusses some of the implications. The timeline of these changes is inferred from the orthography used in the sources, but reference is also made to metalinguistic comments. The number of examples has been kept to a reasonable minimum.

The corpus of Maltese covers a period ranging from the second half of the 15th century to the end of the 18th century. It consists of (i) texts: Caxaro's *Cantilena* (Wettinger & Fsadni 1968), Buonamico's Sonnet (Cachia 2000), *Salve Regina* (Said 2017), the sermons of Ignazio Saverio Mifsud (Ġabra tal-Malti Qadim n.d.), de Soldanis' (1750) grammar, the translation of *Dottrina Cristiana* (Wzzino 1752), de Soldanis' (1758) *Sonetto punico-maltese*, de Soldanis' dialogues (Id-Djalogi ta' de Soldanis n.d.), end of 18th-century sermons (Bonelli 1897, Fenech 2016), Navarro's quatrains (Guignard 1791), the translation of *La Via Sagra* (Cannolo 1796); (ii) samples of Maltese in archival records of the Roman Inquisition in Malta (Cassar 2005); (iii) lexicographical works: Megiser's wordlist (Megiser 1610), Thezan's dictionary (Cassola 1992), Skippon's (1732) wordlist, Maius' (1718) wordlist, de Sentmenat's vocabulary (Queraltó Bartrés 2003), de Soldanis' dictionary (after 1760); (iv) place names and personal names: Abela (1647), Avram (2012, 2016).

2. Word-final obstruent devoicing and regressive voicing assimilation in Early Maltese

2.1. The 15th century

As already noted by Cohen & Vanhove (1991: 181), in Caxaro's c. 1475 *Cantilena* "la neutralization sourde/sonore en finale au profit de la sourde […]

[1] Modern Maltese forms appear in the standard orthography. Examples in earlier Maltese are reproduced in the orthography used in the sources.

n'est pas attestée". All relevant forms exhibit word-final voiced obstruents, as in the examples below:

(1)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*cal**b*** "heart"	—
	*tre**d*** "you want"	

Personal names and place names recorded in e.g. notarial documents (Avram 2012, 2016, 2017b) contain many instances of word-final voiced obstruents, but only one doubtful case of a devoiced one:

(2)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*muhamu**d***	*Muhame**t***
	*mita Jlchade**d*** "of the iron"	

In Caxaro's *Cantilena* there is also evidence for the non-occurrence of regressive voicing assimilation:

(3)	non-agreeing in voicing	agreeing in voicing
	*si**b[t]** tafal* "[I] found clay"	—

According to Cohen & Vanhove (1991: 190), "le suffixe –t […] a été omis à la fin de sib par le copiste à cause de la liaison avec le mot suivant", which was "un phénomène très fréquent au Moyen Âge".

2.2. The 16th century

Megiser's 1588 wordlist (Megiser 1610) contains 3 forms with word-final voiced obstruents vs. 8 with devoiced.

(4)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*Kel**b*** "dog"	*Taje**p*** "good"
		*Quacha**t*** "one"

This wordlist also contains the first instances of regressive voicing assimilation of obstruents:

(5)	on-agreeing in voicing	agreeing in voicing
	—	***Gu**ir*[2] "big.M"
		*Cho**ps*** "bread"

Word-final obstruent devoicing is also attested in archival records of the Roman Inquisition in Malta (Cassar 2005), in which, however, word-final voiced obstruents continue to occur:

(6)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*tighi**b*** "[it] disappears"	*chasa**p*** "rod, cane"
	*Ixibe**b*** "virgins"	*iddue**p*** "the mares"

Finally, place names also attest to the continuous occurrence of word-final voiced obstruents (7a) with a single instance of variation between a voiced and devoiced obstruent (7b):

[2] Where <u> is an error of transcription or a misprint and should read <b>.

(7) a. word-final voiced — word-final devoiced

ta misged “of the synagogue” — —

il mueyed “the table lands”

b. variation: word-final voiced ~ devoiced

gebel labiod ~ *gebel labiath* “the white rock”

2.3. The 17th century

Word-final obstruent devoicing is better attested beginning with the 17th century, even though devoiced obstruents also occur in word-final position. Similarly, forms exhibiting regressive voicing assimilation are better documented, sometimes in competition with forms non agreeing in voicing. Consider first archival records of the Roman Inquisition in Malta, 17th century (Cassar 2005):

(8) word-final voiced — word-final devoiced

*chihe**d*** “[he] sat” — *rmi**t*** “ashes”

(9) non-agreeing in voicing — agreeing in voicing

— — *hie**pch**a* “[he] remains]” 1602

In Thezan’s dictionary (by 1647), most word-final obstruents are voiced. As can be seen in (10b), some forms exhibit variation between word-final voiced and devoiced obstruents:

(10) a. word-final voiced — word-final devoiced

حabib “friend” — *غarp* “sunset”

üeld “son” — *ermiet* “ashes”

embiذ “wine” — *غamma*ث3 “to blindfold”

aعaچ “ivory” — *خareġ* “[he] got out”

b. variation: word-final voiced ~ devoiced

aعziez “dear [pl]” ~ *aعzis* “dear”

Most relevant forms exhibit obstruent clusters which do not agree in voicing. However, regressive voicing assimilation is attested in all positions (onset, word-medial and coda), with variation occurring in some forms (11b):

(11) a. non-agreeing — agreeing

arkobtein “kneeling” — *tخalt* “[I] entered”

kebش “ram” — *esfen* “dance.2sg!”

meشebه a “likened” — *nepه* “barking”

b. non-agreeing in voicing ~ agreeing in voicing

*خo**bs*** ~ *خo**bz*** “bread”

libsa ~ *lipsa* “garment”

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3 Cf. Ar. *ġammaḍ*. The reflex of Arabic *ḍ* in earlier Maltese is *ð* (Avram 2014, 2016, 2017a, 2021, 2022b).

Co-occurrence of word-final voiced and devoiced obstruents is also attested in the place names recorded by Abela (1647):

(12)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*Aayn Clie**b*** “fountain of the dogs”	*Mitahle**p*** “where cows are milked”
	*Aayn Hadi**d*** “the iron fountain”	*Kibur elihu**t*** “the Jews’ graves”

In Skippon’s 1664 wordlist (Skippon 1732) there are 39 forms with word-final voiced obstruents vs. 9 forms with devoiced ones and regressive voicing assimilation is not attested:

(13)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*dehe**b*** “gold”	*tachse**p*** “[you] think”
	*bar**d*** “cold”	*raa**t*** “thunder”
(14)	non-agreeing in voicing	agreeing in voicing
	***sb**iacha* “beauty”	—
	*reko**bt*** “knee”	

Buonamico’s 1672 *Sonnet* (Cachia 2000) contains 3 forms with word-final voiced obstruents vs. 2 with devoiced ones; 3 forms illustrate regressive voicing assimilation. Some of these are given below:

(15)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*scha**b*** “clouds”	*bar**t*** “cold”
	*uar**d*** “rose”	
(16)	non-agreeing in voicing	agreeing in voicing
	—	*ne**pt**et* “[it] sprouted”

2.4. The 18th century

Both word-final obstruent devoicing and regressive voicing assimilation are robustly attested in 18th-century Maltese.

There is an equal number of forms with word-final voiced and devoiced obstruents in Maius’ (1718) wordlist. These include the following:

(17)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*Bie**b*** “is the name of the door”	*i**t*** “hand”
	*Dee**b*** “gold”	*Guar**t*** “rose”

Only one form illustrates regressive voicing assimilation:

(18)	non-agreeing in voice	agreeing in voice
	—	*Ho**ps*** “bread”

All relevant forms in *Salve Regina* (Said 2017) exhibit word-final devoiced obstruents as well as agreement in voicing in obstruent clusters. Consider the examples in (19) and (20), respectively:

(19)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	—	*ule**t*** “birth”
(20)	non-agreeing in voicing	agreeing in voicing

— *ne**pc**u* “[we] cry”

Forms with word-final obstruent devoicing are in a clear majority in Mifsud’s 1739–1746 sermons (Ġabra tal-Malti Qadim n.d.), while variation is rarely attested. Relevant examples are reproduced below:

(21) a. word-final voiced word-final devoiced
imsallab “crucified” *deep* “gold”
hedded “threatened” *iocot* “[he] sits”
b. variation: word-final voiced ~ devoiced
club “hearts” ~ *clup* “hearts”

Mifsud’s sermons are the first M text in which forms exhibiting regressive voicing assimilation (in all positions) outnumber those which do not.

(22) a. non-agreeing in voicing agreeing in voicing
B’cant “with a chant” *p’cheit* “[I] cried”
bsebhu “with his finger” *ithac*”[he] laughs”
hrapt “[I] ran away”
b. variation: non-agreeing ~ agreeing in voicing
tibca vs. tipca “[you] remain”

In Marquis of Sentmenat’s vocabulary, dating from the second half of the 18th century (Queraltó Bartrés 2003), there are 25 forms with word-final voiced obstruents vs. 22 with devoiced.

(23) word-final voiced word-final devoiced
*Bie**b*** “door” *Hhhata**p*** “wood”
*Gel**d*** “skin, leather” *Bar**t*** “cold”

As for forms which exhibit regressive voicing assimilation (in onset, word-medial and coda positions), these outnumber by a ratio of 2 to 1 those which do not. Consider the following examples:

(24) non-agreeing in voicing agreeing in voicing
*dar**bt**ein* “twice” ***pt**aiel* “holidays”
*tilhhha**bx*** “don’t play” *to**gb**a* “hole”
*Gi**pps*** “plaster”

In Wzzino’s (1752) translation of *Dottrina Cristiana* devoiced word-final obstruents are in the minority, and several forms exhibit variation (25):

(25) a. word-final voiced word-final devoiced
*ġhage**b*** “miracle” *itlo**p*** “[he] asks”
*colha**dd*** “everybody” *uie**t*** “valley”
*ġhażi**s*** “beloved”
b. word-final voiced ~ devoiced
*mislu**b*** “crucified” vs. *mislu**p*** “crucified”
gidid “new” *vs. gdit* “new”
hhuejeġ “things” ~ *hhuejeċ* “things”

In this text forms which display regressive voicing assimilation outnumber by a ratio of more than 2 to 1 those which do not.

(26) non-agreeing in voicing agreeing in voicing
*ħho**bs***[4] "bread" ***pt**ajel* "holidays"
*ma nidni**bsċ*** "[I] do not sin" *ji**pk**a* "[he] remains"

Consider next a number of works by de Soldanis. De Soldanis' (1750) grammar and dictionary contains 25 forms with word-final voiced obstruents vs. 22 with devoiced ones. In a few cases (27b) de Soldanis explicitly mentions variation in the phonetic realization of word-final obstruents, whereas several other instances of variation are not mentioned.

(27) a. word-final voiced word-final voiced
Ghageb "admiration" *deep* "gold"
gdid "new" *it* "hand"
b. variation: word-final voiced ~ devoiced
Bieb or *Biep* "door"
ghand ~ *ghant* "at"

Regressive voicing assimilation is attested, but so are forms which do not agree in voicing (28a) as well as instances of variation (28b):

(28) a. non-agreeing in voicing agreeing in voicing
Qbir "big.m" *psciara* "happy announcement"
Nebhh "barking" *sfin* "dancing"
b. variation: non-agreeing ~ agreeing in voicing
hhobs or *chops* "bread"

A similar picture emerges from the examination of de Soldanis's (after 1760) Dialogues (Id-Djalogi ta' de Soldanis. n.d.)

(29) a. word-final voiced word-final devoiced
għaġeb "wonder" *trap* "dust"
geuz "walnut" *git* "good"
jahtieg "needs" *fuec* "in the face"
b. intra-speaker variation: word-final voiced ~ devoiced
trid ~ *trit* "[she] wishes"
c. inter-speaker variation: word-final voiced ~ devoiced
t okghod "[you] sit" ~ *t okghot* "[you] sit"

Regressive assimilation occurs in a majority of forms:

(30) a. non-agreeing in voicing agreeing in voicing
klubkom "your hearts" *dbeddel* "[it] changed"
chobs "bread" *ietchol* "[he] enters"
Hhsept "[I] thought"
b. intra-speaker variation: non-agreeing in voicing ~ agreeing in voicing
tebka ~ *tepka* "[she] remains"
c. inter-speaker variation: non-agreeing ~ agreeing in voicing

[4] The digraph <ħh> represents the reflex of Arabic *ḥ.

n-elbsu “[we] get dressed” ~ *lepsin* “dressed-pl”

Finally, de Soldanis’ (1758) *Sonetto punico-maltese* (Cremona 1953) contains an approximately equal number of word-final voiced and devoiced obstruents (31) and the only relevant form exhibits regressive voicing assimilation (32):

(31) word-final voiced — word-final devoiced
*en-ghi**d*** “[I] say” — *ghi**t*** “feast day”

(32) non-agreeing in voicing — agreeing in voicing
— — ***thh**altlu* “[you] inserted it for him”

As shown below, both word-final obstruent devoicing and regressive voicing assimilation are prevalent in the relevant forms in the Maltese sermons (1774 and 1783) published by Bonelli (1897):

(33) a. word-final voiced — word-final devoiced
*jackle**b*** “[it] spills” — —
*izje**d*** “more”
b. variation: word-final voiced ~ devoiced
*inghi**d*** “[I] say” — *gha**t*** “[he] said]”

(34) non-agreeing in voicing — agreeing in voicing
— — ***p-sci***[5] “with some”

However, the 1788 sermon in Fenech (2016) presents a more varied picture:

(35) a. word-final voiced — word-final devoiced
*mahbu**b*** “beloved” — *igi**p*** “[he] brings”
ʒaslug “twig” — *hueje**c*** “things”[6]
b. variation: word-final voiced ~ devoiced
gild ~ *gilt* “skin”
*hali**b*** ~ *hali**p*** “milk”

(36) a. non-agreeing in voicing — agreeing in voicing
b’sehmu “in his portion” — *pchia* “remainder”
habtet “[she] struck” — *tithol* “[it] enters”
b. variation: non-agreeing ~ agreeing in voicing
*li**bs**a* / *li**bbs**et* / *li**bs**et* ~ *li**ps**a* “dress, dress of”

The archival records of the Roman Inquisition in Malta (Cassar 2005) illustrate the application across the board of both word-final obstruent devoicing and of regressive voicing assimilation:

(37) word-final voiced — word-final devoiced
— — *tala**p*** “[he] prayed”

(38) non-agreeing in voicing — agreeing in voicing

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5 Where <sc> = [ʃ].

6 Where <g> = [dʒ] and <c> = [ʧ].

	—	***ph**al* “like” 1788
		*ho**ps*** “bread” 1792

In Navarro’s quatrain (Guignard 1791) word-final obstruent devoicing and regressive voicing assimilation are about equally well represented:

(39)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*naʒse**b*** “[I] think”	*tiش ro**p*** “[you] drink”
(40)	non-agreeing in voicing	agreeing in voicing
	*mas-si**b**ʒje*ش “[you] don’t find”	***ph**alek* “like you”

The same is true of the last text examined here, Cannolo’s (1796) translation of *La Via Sagra*. Relevant examples are provided below:

(41)	word-final voiced	word-final devoiced
	*sali**b*** “cross”	*abbja**t*** “white”
	*ghazi**z*** “beloved”	*iz-zje**t*** “more”

(42) a. non-agreeing in voicing agreeing in voicing

*l’i**bs**a* “garment” ***ps**abar* “with patience”

b. intra-speaker variation: non-agreeing in voicing ~ agreeing in voicing

*ti**bch**usc* “don’t cry.PL!” ~ ***ipch**u* “cry.PL!”

3. Metalinguistic comments

In addition to the empirical data examined in section 2, circumstantial evidence for both word-final obstruent devoicing and regressive voicing assimilation can be found in metalinguistic comments towards the end of the 18th century (Vassalli 1791, 1796)[7].

Consider first comments on word-final obstruent devoicing. Vassalli (1791: 95) writes that “litterae B D Ǧ […] Z in fine dictionum sonos proprios amittunt & pronunciantur ac si essent P T Č […] & S” [= the letters B D Ǧ … Z at the end of words lose their own sounds and are pronounced as if they were P T Č … & S].

Consider next comments on regressive voicing assimilation in obstruent clusters. Vassalli (1791: 80) states about the letter “Be Bb” that “ante T K Q S & Š […] sonat P” [= before T K Q S & Š ... it sounds like P]. Similarly, Vassalli (1791: 90) notes the case of “Zajn Zz”, which “ante Q, T […] sonat S” [= before Q, T […] sounds like S]. Also, Vassalli (1796: 140) states about the “letter D” that “ante litteras F X K & Q legitur T” [= before the letters F X K & Q it is read T].

7 For typographical reasons, the letters specially designed by Vassali (1791, 1796) to render [q], [ʃ], [x], [ʧ] and [ʤ] are replaced with their standard equivalents used in Arabic transliteration.

4. Conclusions

Neither word-final obstruent devoicing nor regressive voicing assimilation can have been inherited from Sicilian Arabic. If they had, they should have been attested in the earliest records of Maltese (Isserlin 1977; Avram 2016 and 2017b). Both rules are late developments in Maltese: they start at the end of the 16th century, gain momentum in the 17th century, and are essentially generalized at the end of the 18th century.

The diachrony of both rules illustrates lexical diffusion: sound change is phonetically abrupt, but lexically gradual. A sound change does not affect all relevant lexical items, but it occurs only in a small subset of the potential targets. In some words, there will be both intra- and inter-speaker variation for a certain period of time. At a later stage, the sound change spreads to other lexical items and to other speakers. Finally, the sound change may extend to all relevant words.

Both word-final position obstruent devoicing and regressive voicing assimilation are examples of rule addition, which does not induce a change in underlying representations. They have been persistent rules of Maltese ever since the late 18th century, i.e. both are still operative as synchronic rules.

The two rules have triggered a typological shift. Work by e.g. Wetzels & Mascaró (2001), Kenstowicz et al. (2003) on word-final neutralization of voicing and obstruent voicing assimilation has shown that there are several types of languages. While Arabic and Early Maltese belong to the type "voice unrestricted" – i.e. with "contrast of voiced and voiceless obstruents initially, medially, finally and in clusters" (Kenstowicz et al. 2003: 260), Modern Maltese belongs to the type with "voicing assimilation in obstruent clusters with word-final neutralization".

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The Jewish Arabic Dialect of ʕĀna – an Euphrates Branch Dialect of the *qəltu* Family

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Abstract

The Jewish community of ʕĀna, a city in western Iraq close to the Syrian border, was one of the oldest in the Jewish world. The community spoke its own distinct dialect, which was different from the one spoken by the Muslims in the city, on the one hand, and from the one spoken by the Jews in Baghdad, on the other hand. Due to its geographical location, it was previously hypothesized that the Jewish Arabic dialect of ʕĀna affiliates to the Euphrates branch of the Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects. This hypothesis is confirmed in this paper by examining the main traits of the dialect.

Keywords: The Jewish Arabic dialect of ʕĀna, *qəltu* dialects, Bedouin Arabic, language contact.

1. The *qəltu* family and the Euphrates branch

Back in 1964, Haim Blanc divided the Arabic dialects in Mesopotamia into two families: *qəltu* and *gələt*. Blanc noted that *qəltu* dialects were spoken by all the sedentary Arabic speakers in upper Iraq and by Jews and Christians in lower Iraq. In the following decades, Otto Jastrow (2007: 415) divided the *qəltu* family into branches based on his extensive fieldwork among speakers of the family. The grammatical features that Jastrow examined allowed him to group the different dialects into four branches: the Tigris branch, the Euphrates branch, the Anatolian Branch, and the Kurdistan branch.

The dialects of the Euphrates branch are spoken by people who lead sedentary lifestyle along the Euphrates River in the Syro-Mesopotamian desert. The exact borders of the geographical area in which these dialects are

spoken are not entirely known. Jastrow (1978: 25-26) characterized these dialects as follows: "The dialects show a strong Bedouinization, which at the same time entails the reversal of many *qəltu* characteristics." (My own translation). More specifically, Jastrow (1978: 28) noted the following grammatical features that distinguish the Euphrates branch from the rest: affrication of Older Arabic (OA)[1] *k* into *č*; voicing of OA *q* into *g*; and retention of a short vowel system that consists of the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*. All these, Jastrow noted, can be attributed to the Bedouin superstrate.

Jastrow's decision to distinguish the Euphrates branch from the rest was mainly based on fieldwork that he conducted in Dēr iz-Zōr (DZ). To that, Jastrow added the sporadic remarks that Blanc (1964) provided about the Muslim dialects of ʕĀna (MA) and Hīt. Since then, however, additional dialects of the branch were explored. In 1992, some data about the dialect of Albu Kmāl (AK), as well as some other dialects along the Euphrates on the Syrian side, were added to the picture by Behnstedt (1992). This was supplemented by additional data in Behnstedt's *Sprachatlas von Syrian* (1997). In 1997, Khan published a detailed article about the dialect of the Karaite Jews of Hīt (JH). Then in 1999, Talay published a grammar of the Khawētna dialects (Kh), followed by a collection of texts in 2003.

Data from the Jewish dialect of ʕĀna (JA) were collected by the author through fieldwork with native JA speakers of in Israel. Four hours of recorded interactions were phonemically transcribed and translated into English (Bar-Moshe, Forthcoming). Most of the forms presented below were naturally produced by the speakers during spontaneous speech. Additionally, to complete paradigms or retrieve missing sounds, the informants were prompted to explicitly produce them, utilizing Hebrew as an intermediate language. In this paper, we shall explore how JA aligns with the three distinguishing features identified by Jastrow for the Euphrates branch. Additional grammatical traits will be added to the discussion and compared with other dialects of the branch and against other *qəltu* dialects. Furthermore, Šāwi Arabic and the Muslim dialect of Baghdad (MB) will be examined in relation to the discussed traits, as reference to the regional Bedouin superstrate[2].

Given the paper's limited scope, we will not engage in the ongoing debate on the validity of dividing Arabic dialects into Bedouin and sedentary categories. Instead, we will rely on established classifications (Rosenhouse

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1 Symbols and abbreviations: >, diachronic development; ~, free variation; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person; AK, Albu Kmāl; DZ, Dēr iz-Zōr; F, feminine; JA, Jewish dialect of ʕĀna; JB, Jewish dialect of Baghdad; Kh, Khawētna Arabic; M, masculine; MA, Muslim dialect of ʕĀna; MB, Muslim dialect of Baghdad; OA, Older Arabic; P, plural; PC, prefix-conjugation; S, singular; SC, suffix-conjugation.

2 The nature of the Bedouin dialects that were spoken around ʕĀna is unknown, but they can be assumed to correspond to some extent to Šāwi Arabic, as well as to rural and urban *gələt* dialects.

2006, Palva 2006, Behnstedt & Woidich 2005: 42-43) as a reference for Bedouin features. These features will support our claim that JA is a *qəltu* dialect influenced by contact with neighboring Bedouin dialects.

2. Consonants

As a *qəltu* dialect, OA *q* is mainly retained in JA: *qāl* "he said". In comparison to the Jewish dialect of Baghdad (JB), however, JA exhibits more lexical items in which OA *q* is realized as *g*. Compare JA's *rugba* to JB's *ġəqba* "neck" (Bar-Moshe 2019b: 50).

As for OA *k*, it affricates in the vicinity of front vowels: *čān* "he was", although to a lesser extent than in a *gələt* dialect like the Muslim dialect of Baghdad (MB). Compare JA's *kbīġ* "big (MS)" to MB's *čəbīr* (Blanc 1964: 25).

Another consonant of interest is OA *r*. Like in JB, in JA it is mostly realized as the velar *ġ*: *ġāḥ* "he went". There are, however, more lexical items where OA *r* is realized as a trill in JA in comparison to JB. Compare JA's *arbaʕa* "four" to JB's *áġəbʕa* (Bar-Moshe 2019b: 60).

Finally, OA interdental fricatives are retained in JA. In this, JA behaves similarly to both JB (Bar-Moshe 2019b: 16) and MB (Blanc 1964: 19), as well as to most Bedouin dialects (de Jong 2004: 155; Behnstedt & Woidich 2005: 12, 42; Palva 2006: 606; Rosenhouse 2006: 260).

3. Vowels

The short vowel system of JA exhibits two phonemes: *a* and *ə*. The vowel *ə* mainly reflects OA *i* and *u*, as is the case in *qəltu* dialects (Talay 2011: 913). Nonetheless, *ə* may get colored into *u* or *a* under the influence of specific flanking consonants (Bar-Moshe 2022: 53-55): OA *ḥinṭa* "wheat" > *ḥənṭa* > JA *ḥunṭa*; OA *ṣiḥḥa* "health" > *ṣəḥḥa* > JA *ṣaḥḥa*. Vowel coloring is a known Bedouin trait (Blanc 1964: 37-38; Jastrow 1978: 28, 58-59; Talay 2011: 913), and it is attested to different extents in other dialects of the Euphrates branch such as JH (Khan 1997: 60-62), Kh (Talay 1999: 38), and DZ (Jastrow 1978: 58), as well as in *gələt* dialects like MB (Blanc 1964: 36-38). Unlike DZ (Jastrow 1978: 58), however, the resulted vowel is an allophone of *ə* and not an independent phoneme.

One feature in which JA diverges form *gələt* dialects and other dialects of the Euphrates branch is its tendency to raise OA *a* in a pre-stressed closed syllable: OA *sabbāḥ* > JA *səbbāḥ* "professional swimmer (M)"; OA *sakrān* "drunk (MS)" > *səkrān*. The only exceptions are JH, where the status of the

vowel is unstable (Khan 1997: 63, 98), and Kh, where this change is limited to the CaCCān pattern. Two *qəltu* dialects where the shift *a* > *ə* in this syllable type is systematic are JB (Bar-Moshe 2019b: 22) and Tikrit (Johnstone 1975: 92).

Another atypical feature that JA presents in contrast to the rest of the dialects of the Euphrates branch is the shortening of an original long vowel in an unstressed position. Compare, for instance, *yġīd* "he wants" to *yġidūn* "they want". In this feature as well, JA resembles JB (Bar-Moshe 2019a: 112-113), although Blanc (1964: 41) noted long vowel shortening also in MA.

OA diphthongs are monophthongized in JA: OA *bayt* > JA *bēt* "house"; OA *yawm* > JA *yōm* "day". The same happens is the rest of the dialects of the Euphrates branch (Blanc 1964: 51; Khan 1997: 57, 64; Behnstedt 1992: 38; Talay 1999: 40; Jastrow 1978: 78), and is the general trend in Mesopotamian Arabic, with the exception of some Anatolian *qəltu* dialects (Blanc 1964: 51; Jastrow 1978: 78-79; Fischer & Jastrow 1980: 140).

Imāla is entirely absent from JA: *člāb* "dogs"; *ṯmānya* "eight"; *nāʕma* "thin (FS)". This is also the case in JH (Khan 1997: 72-74), in MA (Blanc 1964: 47), and (mostly) in AK (Behnstedt 1992: 38), but unlike DZ (Jastrow 1978: 66-67, 72-74) and Kh (Talay 1999: 42-43). Medial *imāla* is also absent from Šāwi dialects (Cantineau 1936: 44; 1937: 147) and MB (Blanc 1964: 42).

4. Stress and syllable structure

Final clusters of two consonants are always broken in JA: *šaməs* "sun"; *əxət* "sister". The same happens in Kh (1999: 49), DZ (Jastrow 1978: 91), and JH (Khan 1997: 66), while in the rest of the *qəltu* family the cluster is typically broken by an anaptyctic vowel under specific phonetic considerations that may vary in details (Jastrow 1978: 91). Consistent breaking of a final cluster of two consonants is typical of *gələt* dialects (Versteegh 1997: 157).

Despite the contact with surrounding Bedouin dialects, and especially Šāwi Arabic where it exists (Herin & Younes), the *gahawa* syndrome was not reported in any of the dialects of the Euphrates branch. It is also absent from MB (Plava 2009: 24).

5. Pronouns and deixis

There is no gender distinction in the plural in any of the dialects of the branch, which corresponds to the general situation in *qəltu* dialects as well as urban *gələt* dialects, but is opposed to the situation in rural *gələt* dialects and

Šāwi Arabic (Cantineau 1937: 185; Fischer & Jastrow 1980: 147; Behnstedt & Woidich 2005: 43; Plava 2006: 606; Rosenhouse 2006: 263; Herin & Younes).

Apart from AK (Behnstedt 1992: 40), where the *gələt* and Šāwi type pronoun *āni* is deployed, all the dialects of the Euphrates branch, including JA, present the form *ana* for the 1S. On the other hand, only in JA traces of the *qəltu* type pronoun *nəḥna* for the 1P were found, while the rest of the dialects exhibit *əḥna*. But perhaps the most striking fact about personal pronouns in JA is that the initial vowel *a*, rather than *ə*, occurs in the following personal pronouns: *anta* "you (MS)"; *anti* "you (FS)"; *antum* "you (P)"; *(n)aḥna* "we". This does not happen in DZ (Jastrow 1978: 129-131), AK (Behnstedt 1992: 40), or Kh (Talay 1999: 53). In JH, Khan (1997: 67) noted forms with *ə* and *a*. The only other *qəltu* dialects that exhibit the vowel *a* are Tikrit (Johnstone 1975: 101-102) and Al-Dōr (Hassan 2022: 614). In some Šāwi dialects, the vowel *a* was also noted in these pronouns by Cantineau (1937: 173).

Two notes are in order about the system of pronominal suffixes. One concerns the form *-(ə)č* of the 2FS in JA: *bēt-əč* "your house"; *bī-č* "in you". These are similar to MB (Blanc 1964: 65) and are clearly influenced by surrounding Bedouin dialects. Other dialects in the branch are more conservative and present *qəltu*-like suffixes, for example, JH (Khan 1997: 68) and Kh (Talay 1999: 55), where the suffix did not affricate, or DZ (Jastrow 1978: 285) and AK (Behnstedt 1992: 40), where the suffix did affricate into *-či*, but presents the final vowel *i*, which is typical of *qəltu* dialects (Fischer & Jastrow 1980: 149). The second note concerns the 3MS pronominal suffix following bases that end with a vowel. While other branches of *qəltu* dialects exhibit suffixes like *-hu*, *-yu*, *-wu*, and *-nu*, the dialects of the Euphrates branch deploy a zero suffix that translates, in practice, into elongation of the final base vowel (Blanc 1964: 66; Jastrow 1978: 274; Behnstedt 1997: 527; Khan 1997: 68). Examples from JA are: *ab-ū* "his father"; *šġabn-ā* "we drank it (M)"; *ʕl-ē* "on it (M)".

The close demonstrative for the FS presents two forms in the Euphrates branch – one with *ḏ* and another one with *y*. The former is typical of Bedouin dialects while the latter of sedentary ones (Behnstedt 1993: 78). JA present *hāḏi*, while DZ (Jastrow 1978: 103) and AK (Behnstedt 1992: 40) present *hāye* and *hāya*, respectively. In JH, both *hāḏi* and *hāy* were attested (Khan 1997: 71), and so is the case in Kh (Talay 1999: 57).

All the dialects of the Euphrates branch present a variant of the OA form *hawna* for the locative close deixis "here", which is common in Mesopotamian Arabic in general. However, two different forms are attested for its distal counterpart "there": *ġādi* in JA, DZ (Jastrow 1978: 114), and JH (Khan 1997: 71), vs. *hnāk* in AK (Behnstedt 1992: 40) and Kh (Talay 1999: 60-61). While the former is typical of Bedouin dialects and is found in rural *gələt* and Šāwi dialects (Jastrow 1978: 113-114; Behnstedt 1993: 88; Rosenhouse 2006: 267),

the latter is widely common in Eastern Arabic dialects. In fact, both adverbs were attested in JH, and to some extent also in JA. Similarly, two forms were noted for the temporal adverb "now" in the Euphrates branch: *hassa(ʕ)* in JA, JH (Khan 1997: 71), and Kh (Talay 1999: 61), which is widespread along the Syro-Mesopotamian region (Fischer 1959: 149; Blanc 1964: 140), vs. *álḥaz* in AK (Behnstedt 1992: 40), rarely in DZ (Ercegovčević 2019: 36), and according to Blanc (1994: 140), also in the MA. *álḥaz* is attested in Bedouin dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian desert (Cantineau 1936: 110; Behnstedt 1993: 90-91).

6. Verbs

As a *qəltu* dialect, the subject suffix for the 1S in the SC is *-tu*: *nzaltu* "I went down". This is the case in all the dialects of the Euphrates branch except JH (Khan 1997: 77), which presents the *gələt* ending *-(i)t*. Also typical of *gələt* dialects is the 3FS subject suffix in the SC, *-at*, that all the dialects of the branch but Kh (Talay 1999: 97) exhibit: *nazlat* "she went down". Kh's suffix, *-ət*, is the expected *qəltu* one, and it is found in the rest of the dialects of the family except Tikrit (Jastrow 1983: 107-108) and Al-Dōr (Hassan 2022: 614).

One issue that sets JA apart from the rest of the dialects in the sample is the use of the prefix vowel *a* for the short persons of the PC: *yanzəl* "he goes down". This trait, which is also attested in Tikrit (Jastrow 1983: 106) and Al-Dōr (Hassan 2022: 614-615), can probably be attributed to Bedouin influence, as it is exhibited by some dialects of the Syrian Desert (Cantineau 1936: 83; Cantineau 1937: 187; Rosenhouse 2006: 265). In the long persons, one can see that all the dialects of the Euphrates branch retain the typical Mesopotamian suffix that ends with *n*: *ynəzlūn* "they go down". More specifically, all the dialects of the branch but Kh (Talay 1999: 97) exhibit the ending *-ūn* rather than *-ōn*. The latter ending has developed in analogy to weak roots, and exists also in JB (Bar-Moshe 2018: 15).

While most *qəltu* dialects present two patterns for the SC in the first stem: CaCaC and CəCəC, most of the dialects along the Euphrates present the former alone. JA, JH (Khan 1997: 76), AK (Behnstedt 1992: 39; Behnstedt 1997: 264-267), and MA (Blanc 1964: 97-98) have a single pattern, while two patterns exist in Kh (Talay 1999: 95-97) and in DZ (Jastrow 1978: 152). In Šāwi Arabic, two patterns are noted for the SC (Cantineau 1936: 79; Cantineau 1937: 185; Blanc 1964: 97; Herin & Younes). On the other hand, *gələt* dialects, including MB, present a single pattern (Blanc 1964: 98; Khan 1997: 76; Talay 2011: 916). A single pattern is also found in JB (Bar-Moshe 2019b: 33).

One of the clear features of *qəltu* dialects is the development of a rich system of verb modifiers to denote different tenses, aspects, and moods. While this is true to all the branches of the family, some dialects of the Euphrates

branch seem to have been left behind. The most obvious example for that is the absence of actual present marker in JA and JH (1997: 92). Bedouin dialects also tend to lack actual present markers, and in the *gələt* dialects where they have developed, they are used less commonly (Blanc 1964: 116; Behnstedt & Woidich 2005: 17; Rosenhouse 2006: 266). Having said that, Behnstedt (1992: 40) does report the existence of the verb modifier *qāʕid* in AK. *qāʕəd* is also reported in Kh (Talay 1999: 182) alongside the Syrian modifier *ʕam*. Finally, Hanitsch (2019: 54) noted the use of both *qāʕid~qāʕd~qaʕd* and *qām~qam* as actual present markers in DZ.

7. Additional word classes

The singulative suffix across the Euphrates branch (Khan 1997: 73; Talay 1999: 70) seems to be *-a*: JA *baṣla* "an onion". The ending *-āya* is reserved for collective nouns that end with a vowel: JA *səllāya* "a thorn" (*səlla* "thorns"). This is like MB but unlike some *qəltu* dialects that presents endings such as *-āyi/-āye* even when collective nouns end with a consonant (Blanc 1964: 73).

Like many dialects in Iraq, including JH (Khan 1997: 93) and MB (Blanc 1964: 125, 156), the genitive exponent in JA is *māl*. Khawētna dialects on the Iraqi side of the border also use *māl*, but those on the Syrian side use exponents like *gīt*, *hnīt*, and *šīt*, which are also found in Šāwi dialects (Talay 1999: 65). *gīt* was also noted in DZ (Jastrow 1978: 125) alongside *gayy*, which is attested in AK as well (Behnstedt 1997: 499). The Syrian exponent *tabaʕ* was also noted in DZ and AK, pushing the older exponents aside (Ercegovčević 2019: 39).

The preposition "next to" is denoted in JA by *yamm*, a preposition that can be found in Bedouin dialects (Palva 2009: 29). This is also the case in JH (Khan 1997: 91) and in MB (Blanc 1964: 123), while in Kh (Talay 1999: 161), the typical northern *qəltu* preposition *ǧamb* is in use. Southern *qəltu* dialects, like JB, present the preposition *ṣōb* (Bar-Moshe 2019b: 64). For "with", JA deploys the typical Iraqi preposition *wiya*, which is also found in JH (Khan 1997: 91), MB (Blanc 1964: 123), and JB (Bar-Moshe 2019b: 63). Kh (Talay 1999: 162), on the other hand, presents *maʕa*.

8. Lexicon

JA employs words that can typically be found in Bedouin dialects. Some of them are listed in Table 1, where one can see how they differ from the equivalent one in JB, while they are similar to JH and MB.

	JA	JH	JB	MB
Husband	*rağəl*	*rağil*	*zōğ*	*rağəl*
Floor, earth	*gāʕ*	*gāʕ*	*aġḏ*	*gāʕ*
Fire	*nār*	*nār*	*ḏaww*	*nār*
Nose	*xašam*	*xāšim*	*ənf*	*xašəm*
He saw	*šāf*	*šāf*	*ʕāyan*	*šāf*
He gave	*naṭa ~ ṭaʕa ~ ʕaṭa*	*inṭa ~ ṭaʕa ~ ʕaṭa*	*ṭaʕa*	*nəṭa*

Table 1[3]: Some lexical items

9. Conclusions

JA presents the following features that point to Bedouin influence on it:

- Affrication of OA *k* into *č* in the vicinity of front vowels
- Short vowel coloring
- Absence of medial *imāla*
- Consistent breaking of final clusters of two consonants
- Initial vowel *a* in some personal pronouns
- 2FS pronominal suffix *-(ə)č*
- Zero reflex of the 3MS pronominal suffix following vocalic bases
- The 3FS ending of the SC *-at*
- The prefix vowel *a* of the PC
- Single SC pattern
- Absence of actual present marker
- Singulative suffix *-a*
- Bedouin type prepositions, deixis, and vocabulary

Some of these features, like the vowel *a* in personal pronouns and as a prefix vowel of the PC, seem to be unique to JA within the Euphrates branch. These are found to some extent in Šāwi Arabic.

For some grammatical traits, JA presents an intermediate picture, pointing to Bedouin pressure that hasn't entirely taken over the system:

- OA *r* is partially realized as *ġ*
- OA *q* is mostly retained, but occasionally shifts into *g*

Two features that are typically found in Bedouin dialects (except sedentary *gələt* ones), are absent from the dialects of the Euphrates branch, including JA:

- *gahawa* syndrome
- Gender distinction in the plurals

[3] See Blanc (1964: 134); Khan (1997: 93-94); Bar-Moshe 2019b (16, 23, 252, 257, 293); Leitner et al. (2021: 63).

The next couple of traits are part of the Iraqi Arabic koine, thus penetrating not only to JA but also to *gələt* dialect like MB:

- Genitive exponent *māl*
- Preposition *wiya* "with"

JA deviates from most other dialects in the Euphrates branch in:

- raising OA *a* in a pre-stressed closed syllable into *ə*
- shortening long vowels in an unstressed position
- presenting traces of *qəltu*-type *naḥna* "we"
- using the adverb *hassa* rather than *álḥaz* "now"

Finally, as a Mesopotamian Arabic dialect, JA exhibits the following traits:

- Retention of OA interdentals
- Monophthongization of OA diphthongs
- Endings -*īn* and -*ūn* for the long persons in the PC

To conclude, JA exhibits a large inventory of grammatical features that are typically found in Bedouin dialects, especially rural *gələt* ones. In this, it resembles other dialects of the Euphrates branch. However, JA presents some unique Bedouin traits against the other dialects of the Branch. Other deviations from the rest of the dialects in the Euphrates branch that JA presents can be assigned to its *qəltu* substrate or to its contact with Iraqi Arabic. Thus, the clear Bedouin influence on JA allows us to classify it, as was hypothesized before, as a member of the Euphrates branch of the *qəltu* family.

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Réflexion sociolinguistique sur le parler Yazghi : vocabulaire, origine et interprétation

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Abstract

Le dialecte de Béni Yazgha présente une variété de l'arabe marocain dans le sens où l'on observe quelques divergences sur le plan phonétique, lexical, morphosyntaxique, etc. Ce parler partage un certain nombre de caractéristiques communes au dialecte jebli estime le sociolinguiste F. Brigui (2019 : 4) : "les caractéristiques communément reconnues aux parlers des Jbala s'étendaient au-delà de l'espace considéré habituellement comme jebli […] on trouve des variantes linguistiques très proches, dans des zones situées plus au sud, en deçà du nord-ouest marocain : parlers des Bni Yazgha, des Bhalil et d'Azzaba (région de Séfrou)".

Dans cet article, nous essayerons de décrire les traits phonétiques, morphologiques et lexicaux du parler yazghi en mettant en lumière tous les aspects qui lui semblent être particuliers. Notre investigation sera conduite sur la base d'un corpus d'enregistrements audio collecté par l'auteure.

Mots-clés : Arabe marocain, Béni Yazgha, judéo-arabe, parler jebli.

1. Introduction

La variété, objet d'étude, est attestée dans la tribu de Béni Yazgha qui se compose de plusieurs douars : Elmenzel, Mtarnagha, Karatech, Elkalaa,

[1] Ce travail de recherche a reçu le support du projet de recherche « Variación diastrática en las variedades habladas del árabe vernáculo de Marruecos (FFI2017-87533-P) », financé par le Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Competitividad du gouvernement espagnol, l'Agencia Nacional de Investigación (AEI) et le Fonds européen de développement régional (FEDER).

Zawiyya, Alkasba, Taghit, Oulad Meriane, Taghrout, Mghila, Oulad Mkoudou, Oulad Mbarek etc. Le centre administratif de cette tribu se trouve à la commune urbaine El Menzel située à environ 30 km de Sefrou (au Nord-Est) et à 60 km de Fès (précisément au Sud-Est). La tribu de Béni Yazgha se compose d'ilots arabophones en montagnes comme les Bani Alaham dont une partie est arabophone et une autre berbérophone. Les Ait Yahya, les Oulad Mkoudou, les Timouyass, les Qassiwa sont totalement arabophones. Ces tribus arabophones côtoient des tribus berbérophones dans des espaces dont les toponymes sont en langue amazighe (Taghit, Taghrout, Ahermemou, Tibekhbakhine, etc...).

Le terrain yazghi est un terrain riche du point de vue historique, économique, social, culturel et linguistique. Cependant, il a été très rarement exploré (Il y a une petite description de la tribu dans le livre *Description de l'Afrique* de Léon l'Africain 1556). D'ailleurs, on constate une absence de données scientifiques sur les Béni Yazgha d'où l'intérêt de cette investigation.

Cet article essaye de décrire une partie des traits linguistiques de la variation vernaculaire produite par les locuteurs de l'arabe marocain dans le terrain yazghi. Il s'agit, tout d'abord, de montrer les phénomènes linguistiques les plus caractéristiques de l'arabe vernaculaire de Béni Yazgha. Puis, d'établir des comparaisons et d'analyser les changements linguistiques relatifs à cette variété de l'arabe marocain.

L'étude est basée aussi sur une synthèse des données bibliographiques de travaux ayant été effectués sur l'arabe marocain et ses variétés (Aguadé 2003 et 2008 ; Benítez Fernández 2017 ; Caubet 1993 et 2000-2001 ; Heath & Bar-Asher 1982 ; Stillman 1988 ; Vicente 2000 et 2002 ; Barontini & Ziamari 2008) afin d'établir une relation entre les quelques données historiques que nous avons sur le terrain et cette façon de parler, ainsi que le parler jebli qualifié d'après Vicente (2000), Guerrero (2018), Ziamari & Barontini (2008) comme une variante préhilalienne qui présente des divergences au niveau phonétique, morphosyntaxique et lexical par rapport aux autres variantes de l'arabe marocain.

Avant de commencer la description du parler yazghi, nous présenterons les conditions de la collecte du corpus.

2. Le corpus

L'enquête de terrain a été réalisée par moi-même dans le cadre d'un travail de recherche en cours dont le but est de décrire et d'expliquer des faits linguistiques, tout en se référant au contexte socio-culturel de l'acte de communication des locuteurs et des référents de la langue judéo-arabe

d'origine, ainsi que les domaines d'utilisation actuels de cette langue et les pratiques qui s'inscrivent dans l'héritage juif.

Notre corpus correspond à environ 4 h 41 min d'enregistrements audio recueillis entre l'année 2012 et l'année 2022 avec des personnes originaires de Béni Yazgha. Il s'agit de 14 informateurs et informatrices dont l'âge varie entre 36 ans et plus de 90 ans.

La plupart des informateurs et informatrices appartiennent à la famille de l'enquêtrice, chose qui a facilité le recueil des données. La situation des échanges était généralement convenable pour effectuer des conversations sur plusieurs sujets et elle a permis une collecte intéressante de données.

Les conversations étaient au nombre de sept, quelques-unes ont été enregistrées à micro caché vu que la présence du magnétophone dans un cadre familial, intime peut perturber le climat et empêcher une collecte des pratiques reélles de nos informateurs.

Pour étudier la variété yazghi, nous commencerons par une analyse des particularités phonétiques, puis nous exposerons les caractéristiques morphologiques et syntaxiques et enfin nous nous intéresserons au lexique spécifique aux yazghis.

3. Traits phonétiques

Dans la partie suivante nous allons décrire les traits phonétiques les plus saillants dans le parler yazghi, et non la réalisation orale de tous les sons de cette variété.

3.1. Consonnes

3.1.1. Réalisation du /*q*/ : réalisation sourde préhilalienne

Le qaf est le plus souvent réalisé sourd [*q*] comme c'est le cas dans le parler jebli d'Anjra (Vicente 2000 : 47), et du territoire des Jbala (Guerrero 2018 : 92) et l'on ne retrouve que cette variante et non la variante [*ʔ*] recensée au Maroc principalement dans ce parler comme le souligne Aguadé (2008) "The realization is found in Jewish dialects, Chaouen (female speakers), Fes, Taza, and Tetouan" (Aguadé 2008 : 290)

- *ma lqit šāy dāk lə-ḥmiṃṣāt ġīṛ lqi-həm*

Tu n'as pas utilisé les poids chiches, essaies-les.

- *Widād lqat-a ṛ-ṛās-a*

Ouidad a fait une bêtise

- *qult l-a ywa yyīh klu-k žnāb-ək*

Je lui ai dit : "j'ai compris ! tu cherches à te battre ?"

Le qaf n'est pas souvent réalisé [g] comme c'est le cas dans d'autres régions au Maroc, Oujda par exemple (Benítez Fernández 2017 : 5) :

- *mā ḥədd-a dāk əl-bakiyya məqbūṭa u huwwa qəlb-u məqbūṭ*

Tant que le paquet est fermé, il restera malheureux.

- *əḷḷa ywəqqəf l-a əṛ-ṛīq f əl-ḥəlq*

Que Dieu la rende muette.

3.1.2. Réalisation du /*t*/

Il est réalisé [*t*] et présente aussi des réalisations affriquées [*ʧ*] et spirantisées [*ŧ*].

[*t*] dans toutes les positions (initiale, médiane et finale)

- *kānu dīk əs-sāʕātīk dābḥīn wāḥəd əl-bəqṛa*

Ils avaient en ce moment-là égorgé une vache

- *ḥətta l-ʕām ʔalf u təsʕamya w sətta w ʕəšṛīn*

Jusqu'à l'an mille neuf cent vingt-six

- *ʕṭīwni t-tīsāʕ*

Laissez-moi tranquille

[*ʧ*]

Cette prononciation caractérise un nom propre, il nous faut chercher d'autres exemples.

- *wlād yəʧʧāḥ yhūd*

La famille *yəʧʧāḥ* est juive

[*ŧ*]

Le [*ŧ*] ne correspond que rarement au /*ŧ*/ de l'arabe classique. Cette réalisation interdentale est due à une fricatisation secondaire des occlusives sous l'influence du berbère et est un phénomène caractéristique des parlers Jbala et de certaines villes du nord du Maroc comme Chaouen (Aguadé 2003 : 67-68) :

- *ŧlāta w ʕəšṛīn yūm*

Vingt-trois jours

3.1.3. Réalisation du /*d*/

Réalisé le plus souvent [*d*] dans toutes les positions comme dans les exemples suivants :

- *dīk əs-sāʕa*

Cette heure-ci

- *zādət dəṛdəṛt-a*

Elle l'a refait

- *kunnā mšinā dadina ʕlī-h*

On était parti le chercher

3.1.4. Dissimilation de */ǧ/

Le verbe “passer” *dāz*, *duwwəz* est prononcé *gāz*, *guwwəz* dans la variante yazghi, il s'agit d'un cas de dissimilation de */ǧ/ qui, en contact avec des sibilantes, peut devenir [*d*] -dans le centre et sud du Maroc- ou [*g*] -dans les variétés du Nord. Le verbe est **ǧawaza* qui devient *dāz* au sud (Heath & Bar-Asher 1982)[2], et *gāz* comme dans d’autres régions au Maroc à savoir : le Nord marocain (Vicente 2000), Ourtzagh (Ziamari & Barontini 2008 : 56) et le judéo-arabe (Stillman 1988 : 33) :

- *hād əl-ʕāmāyən kifāš nguwwəz-a*

Ces deux années, comment je les passerai?

- *ḥna gāyzīn*

En passant

Dans son article “Reflexes of Old Arabic */ǧ/ in the Maghrebi Dialects”, Guerrero (2019 : 151) aborde, d'un point de vue diachronique, les réalisations de l’arabe ancien */ǧ/ dans les différents dialectes maghrébins. L’auteur montre que dans de nombreux parlers du centre et du sud du Maroc */ǧ/ passe systématiquement à /*d*/[3].

Ainsi, dans notre cas, et selon Guerrero (2019 : 154), il s’agit d’une dissimilation qui a touché le */ǧ/ pour être est prononcé /g/ lorsqu'il est suivi d’une sifflante (/*s*/, /*ṣ*/, /z/, /*š*/) *gāz* (il est passé ; *ǧāza).

3.1.5. Réalisation du /*ž*/

Le [*ž*] est réalisé comme fricative prépalatale sonore et présente une autre variation comme ce que nous avons relevé plus haut et ce qui est constaté dans d’autres régions du Maroc par Vicente (2000) et Aguadé (2003) en parlant de la réalisation [*ǧ*] qui apparaît en position intervocalique lorsque le phonème est géminé, en position initiale et aussi au contact de certaines consonnes comme n et r.

- *lə-bṛīṭəl di ṛiyyšū l-u əž-žniḥāt*

L’oiseau auquel on a arraché les plumes.

- *žāw žūž d lə-xxūt*

Sont venus deux frères

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2 Le livre de Heath & Bar-Asher (1982) intitulé “A judeo-arabic dialect of Tafilalt (Southeastern Morocco)” présente une analyse détaillée du parler judéo-arabe de Tafilalt qui se trouve au sud-est du Maroc.

3 “The Maghrebi /d/ and /g/ reflexes of Old Arabic */ǧ/ have traditionally been explained by scholars as a case of dissimilation triggered by the presence of other sibilants in the stem” (Guerrero 2019 : 151).

3.1.6. Assourdissement du /ḍ/ en /ṭ/

Comme dans les parlers juifs de Sefrou (Stillman 1988) et de Tafilalt (Heath & Bar-Asher 1982 : 38) et la variante attestée au Nord marocain (Nord Taza) (Colin 1918 : 40), le parler de Béni Yazgha connaît l'assourdissement de /ḍ/ en /ṭ/. On pourrait expliquer ce phénomène par l'influence de la langue berbère (Caubet 2000-2001 : 80).

- *əṭ-ṭhiṛa dyāl-i kull šī ṭāyəb mən-ni*

Mon dos et tout mon corps me font mal (*əṭ-ṭhiṛa* au lieu de *əḍ-ḍhiṛa*)

- *mša l ʕīn bīṭa*

Il était parti à *ʕīn bīṭā* (*bīṭa* au lieu de *bīḍa*)

- *tʕəṛṛəṭ l žədd-i*

Il arrêta mon père (*tʕəṛṛəṭ* au lieu de *tʕəṛṛəḍ*)

3.2. Phonèmes contigus

La combinaison des sons (Marçais 1976 : 20) ou l'assimilation est définie par Carton (1997 : 82) comme : "les différentes sortes de changements dont un son est susceptible d'être affecté quand il subit l'influence d'un son voisin : deux sons contigus tendent à acquérir un ou plusieurs caractères communs."

Ainsi, lorsqu'on a certains phonèmes dont le point ou le mode d'articulation sont voisins, on constate selon (Marçais 1976 : 20-21) que : "plus le débit de la parole est rapide, plus nombreuses sont les mutations des phonèmes au contact […] c'est tantôt le second phonème qui agit sur le premier […] C'est tantôt, aussi, le premier élément qui agit sur le second."

Dans notre corpus, nous avons le verbe *nəgləs*[4] qui subit une influence du premier son /g/ sur le deuxième /l/ ce qui fait la prononciation *nəggəs*. En plus de cette combinaison, il y a deux autres phonèmes contigus produits par l'assimilation des sons /s/ du verbe et /š/ de la négation. Dans ce cas c'est le deuxième phonème qui agit sur le premier *mā nəggəš šāy / mā nəgləs šāy*.

- *qāl l-a ʔanā mā nəggəš šāy təmm*
  Il lui a dit : "je ne veux pas rester là-bas, moi"
- *ʔā yəmmā guz təggəs mʕā bənt-ək*
  Viens voir ta fille, maman
- *dʕī mʕaya n-nfəkk mən hād əd-duwwāma*
  Prie pour que je m'en sorte

[4] Il s'agit ici d'un cas de dissimilation où /g/ reflète */ǧ/ (Guerrero 2019 : 154).

3.3. Amuïssement du /h/

On remarque une chute fréquente du /*h*/ du pronom suffixe *ha* et une chute aussi dans *hum* / *əm* avec affaiblissement de la voyelle /*u*/ phénomène que l'on retrouve généralement dans les parlers pré-hilaliens et plus précisément à Anjra (Vincente 2000 : 138-139), Ourtzagh (Ziamari & Barontini 2008) et Tfaza (Barontini & Hmimsa 2017).

hā / *a* :

- *kānət mġīla kull-a yhūd*

Il y avait beaucoup de juifs à Mghila

- *ṭāḥət l-a*

Elle lui est tombée

- *hada di yədxul šəhṛ-a*

Celui qui arrive est son moi d'accouchement

- *əl-məlḥa kānət mnəffəx-ta w xḷāh*

Le sel l'a gonflé et c'est tout

hum / əm :

- *mulāy dṛīs qāl l-əm*

Moulay Idriss leur a dit

- *ka-yəmšī mən-nəm žədd-i*

Il part d'entre eux mon grand-père

- *ka-ynuḍu wlād-əm ʕəžb-əm*

Il arrive que leurs enfants l'ont aimé

- *ma ka-nhəḍḍṛ-əmš, […] ka-nkunu ka-nžžəmmʕu ka-nqul l-əm*

Je ne les parle plus, quand on est en train de discuter je leur dis…

Quand le pronom suffixé (*ha* ou *hum*) est précédé d'une voyelle, l'amuissement ne se produit pas, ainsi *hum* devient *həm* dans les exemples suivants :

hum / həm :

- *ṭəṛf ʕlī-həm*

Une partie d'eux

- *dāba ḅḅā-həm di žā m lə-ḥyāyna*

C'est leur père qui est venu de la région des Hyayna

3.4. Les diphtongues

Les diphtongues /*-ay*/ et /*-aw*/ sont généralement bien conservées surtout pour exprimer la négation et le duel à Béni Yazgha. Elles sont gardées aussi dans le parler jebli d'Anjra (Vicente 2002 : 339) et le parler du nord de Taza (Colin 1918 : 92).

Diphtongue de négation

- *mā lqit šay dāk lə-ḥmiṃṣāt*

Tu n'as pas utilisé les poids chiches.

- *əlla mā ddā-ha šay*

Non, il ne l'avait pas eu

- *qāl l-a ʔanā mā nəggəš šay təmm*

Il lui a dit je ne reste pas là-bas

Diphtongue caractérisant le duel

- *mā ka-ysuxnu l-iš ṛəžl-ay*

Je n'arrive pas à me réchauffer des pieds

4. Morphologie

4.1. Pronoms indépendants

yāna/ āna :

Le pronom sujet de la première personne singulier est normalment *āna*, mais il alterne avec une version allongée ou préfixée (Caubet 2000-2001 : 84) *yāna* dans la variété de Béni Yazgha comme c'est le cas du judéo-arabe de Sefrou (Stillman 1988 : 49) et à Jbala, région de Taza, Trâra, Fès parfois (Caubet 2000-2001 : 84)

- *yāna bḥāl lə-bṛīṭəl*

Je ressemble à l'oiseau

ntīn / ntīna :

Il n'y a pas de distinction de genre dans la 2e personne du singulier comme dans les dialectes du Nord du Maroc (Aguadé 2008 : 291;Vicente 2000 : 136), et dans le judéo-arabe de Sefrou (Stillman 1988 : 49).

Dans d'autres variétés sédentaires (Jbala, Fès, Anjra) (Caubet 2000-2001, Vicente 2000) le pronom de deuxième personne plus habituelle est *ntīna*, mais dans la variété des Béni Yazgha le pronom est parfois apocopé.

- *n-nəṣṣbuk qāyəd ḥt əntin*

On te nomme caïd toi aussi

- *š ka-tlqi ntīna*

Que fais-tu toi ?

hu / huwwa :

Le pronom de troisième personne est *huwwa* pour le masculin et *hiyya* pour le féminin. Les deux connaissent la forme appocopée *hu* et *hi* qui est utilisée par les personnes les plus âgées pour conserver un trait qui est en voie de disparition chez les jeunes de la région.

- *žā huwwa l-luwwlī*

Il était le premier

- *mšāw ʕāwəd qutl-ūh huwwa*

Il l'ont tué, lui.

- *žədd-a di mamāk ʕāwəd ḥəttā hu ʔidṛīssī*

Le grand-père de ta maman est lui aussi un idrissi

hi / hiyya

- *w hiyya tṣīb-əm*

Et elle les a trouvés

- *mšāt hi di lqat-a*

C'est elle qui l'avait fait

ḥna/ḥnāya

Le suffixe *-ya* est parfois ajouté aux pronoms indépendants (Aguadé 2008 : 291), surtout ceux de la 1ère, 2ème personne du singulier (Marçais 1977 : 188-190) ainsi que la 1ère personne du pluriel (Pereira 2011 : 959) :

- *ḥnāya n-nəṣṣbuk qāyəd*

nous te nommons caïd

ntūm :

On rencontre le pronom indépendant de la 2ème personne du pluriel sous la forme réduite *ntūm* qui est attestée dans la variété jebli d'Anjra (Vincente 2000 : 136) et de Ourtzagh (Ziamari & Barontini 2008).

- *ntūm di lqitu-ha ṛṛaskum*

C'est vous qui l'avez cherché.

hūma :

- *hūma ka-yddəxlu f had əš-ši*

Ils interviennent dans ceci.

4.2. Pronoms interrogatifs

4.2.1. quoi, que?

La principale particule de l'arabe marocain yazghi pour s'interroger en utilisant "quoi" ou "que" est *āš* et *š* qui se préfixe ou se suffixe quelques fois avec toutes les prépositions pour former différentes questions. Cette particule caractérise aussi la variété de l'arabe marocain au nord de Taza (Colin 1918 : 74), Anjra (Vicente 2000 : 141) et le judéo-arabe sefrioui (Stillman 1988 : 49).

āš

- *b-āš žāya*

Que portes-tu ?

š

- *īwa š māši nqūl l-ək*

Et qu'est-ce que je te dirai ?

- *ka-yqūl l-ək š ḍāʕ l-ək*

On te dit : “qu’est-ce que tu vas perdre ?”

Il arrive que le pronom interrogatif *āš* soit prononcé *āh* par l’ensemble des locuteurs du terrain étudié, dans *b-āš*/*b-āh* relevé dans les parlers bédouins de l'Ouest algérois et de l'Oranie par Marçais (1977 : 239) et *ʕlāš*/ *lāh* ou *liyyāh* comme le montre l’exemple ci-dessous.

4.2.2. Pourquoi

On trouve très souvent *liyyāh*/ *lāh* (forme réduite) ou *ʕlāš*.

- *liyyāh yā wlīdi ḥbīb-i*

Pourquoi mon fils chéri ?

- *lāh anā bənt-i māši nṛəddʕ-a*

Pourquoi ? Je vais l’allaiter ma fille

- *ʕlāš žīt*

Pourquoi tu es venu ?

4.3. Le génitif *di-*/*d-*

Le rapport d’appartenance est exprimé par la particule *di-*/*d-* (Marçais 1976 :169) et ce type de génitif est caractéristique du parler jebli (Guerrero 2018 : 96-97) et du judéo-arabe de Sefrou où la particule *dyāl* n’est jamais utilisée pour relier deux noms (Stillman 1988 : 52).

- *ṛā di widad məḥwāṭīn hnā-k*

Ceux de Ouidad sont cachés là-bas

4.4. Le duel

Le duel est exprimé pour le Maroc et l’Algérie dans la région de Tlemcen et la région de Djidjelli (Nord constantinois) par le suffixe -ayn pour les noms de mesure, comme le montre Marçais (1976 :116) et les parties doubles du corps et quelques autres noms comme le soulignent Heath & Bar-Asher (1982 : 54) pour le judéo-arabe de Tafilalt : “Pour les noms de mesure, au Maroc et en Algérie […] l'indice est -āyən, āyn (avec allongement du premier élément *ā* : de la diphtongue, caractéristique du duel, pour en assurer la conservation)” (Marçais 1976 : 116).

L ‘indice du duel perd alors son -n final dans les parties doubles du corps lorsqu’ils sont utilisées dans un rapport d'appartenance marqué par le suffixe personnel et se présente, sous la forme *-a-* au nord de Tlemcen (Marçais 1976 : 116), à Anjra *ṛəžlā-na* (Vicente 2000 : 123) et au nord de Taza (Colin 1918 : 58), ce dont témoigne l’exemple relevé dans notre corpus.

- *ət-tqāšəṛ lāqa ət-tqāšəṛ mā ka-ysuxnū l-iš ṛəžlāy*

Les chaussettes, je mets les chaussettes et je n'arrive pas à me réchauffer des pieds.

4.5. Morphologie verbale

Une des principales différences entre l'arabe des juifs et l'arabe des musulmans au Maroc est l'inflexion du verbe à la 2e personne du singulier. Pour les musulmans le verbe se conjugue d'une manière différente en passant de la 1ère personne à la 2ème personne du singulier. Par contre l'inflexion du verbe à la 1ère personne du singulier et à la 2ème personne du singulier est la même des verbes au perfectif dans les parlers arabes des juifs. De plus cette particularité touche même la 3ème personne du féminin[5] singulier des verbes sains (Stillman 1988 : 40; Marçais 1976 : 30), phénomène qu'on relève à plusieurs reprises dans notre terrain. Ainsi, le verbe *mṛəḍ* "tomber malade" se conjugue de cette manière au perfectif (accompli) :

1ère pers. sing.	*məṛḍət*
2ème pers. sing.	*məṛḍət*
3ème pers. masc. sing.	*mṛəḍ*
3ème pers. fém. sing.	*məṛḍət*
1ère pers. plu.	*mṛəḍna*
2ème pers. plu.	*mṛəḍtu*
3ème pers. plu.	*məṛḍu*

1ère personne du singulier

- *məṛḍət məṛḍa d lə-ġṛiba w lə-mḥāyən*

Je suis tombée gravement malade

- *ṛāni ḍəṛbət bəṛṛād d atāy*

J'ai bu toute une théière

- *tfəqṣət tfəqṣət tfəqṣət əl-fəqṣa lə-kbīṛa*

J'ai été prise en proie à une explosion de rage et de rancœur

- *mā kəlt š a wlīd-i la pain mā kəlt š*

Je n'ai pas mangé le pain mon fils, je ne l'ai pas mangé

2e ère personne du singulier

- *šərbət l-ʕaṣīṛ*

Tu as bu le jus ?

3e personne du singulier

- *zādət dəṛdəṛt-a*

Elle l'a refait

5 Voir aussi d'autres parlers jeblis (Vicente 2000).

- *tqəṛṭət qālət mən ṛəžl-a*

Elle s’est cassée la jambe

5. Syntaxe

5.1. Le pronom relatif

Le pronom relatif utilisé est *di* comme dans le judéo-arabe de Tafilalt (Heath & Bar-Asher 1982 : 75) et le judéo-arabe de Sefrou et du Mellah à Fès (Stillman 1988 : 50), il s’oppose à lli qui caractérise le dialecte musulman.

žəṛṛā ʕlī-həm kāyən di xwā kāyən di bqā mʕa l-udāya

Il les a chassés, il y a ceux qui sont partis et ceux qui sont restés à l’Oudaya

huwwa di qāla l-a

C’est lui qui le lui a dit

škūn di ʕənd-u

Il a qui ?

Le pronom *di* est des fois suivi d’un *–n* dans l’expression *di-n huwwa* que les juifs arabes insèrent dans leur parler (Stillman 1988 : 38).

qum ʕlik din huwwa mufīd

Lève-toi, c’est ce qui est important.

5.2. Les inchoatifs

Les inchoatifs sont des formes participiales ou verbales qui, lorsqu’elles sont placées devant un verbe, indiquent l'imminence, le début de l'action, et aussi l'intention de l'accomplir (Marçais 1976 : 75).

Forme participiale : *māšī* (Stillman 1988 : 40; Marçais 1976 : 75)

lāh anā bənt-i māši nṛəddʕ-a

Pourquoi ? Je vais l’allaiter ma fille ?

Forme verbale : *qām* “d'usage pan-maghrébin” (Marçais 1976 : 76)

qām šṛā əṭ-ṭumbil

Il a pensé à acheter une voiture

qām qəddəm l-stiqāla dyāl-u

Il a pensé à démissionner

ka-yqūm nʕam a sidī ka-yṣəddṛu l-u əḍ-ḍahīṛ

Ils ont décidé cher monsieur de lui envoyer le dahir

Forme verbale : *təmm*

ka-ttəmm nāyḍa

Elle se met debout

6. Lexique

ḥāṭ : cacher
ṛā ḥāṭt-u xtək f lə-fṛīgo
Ta sœur l'avait caché dans le frigo

fṛəš : il a frappé
fəṛš-a ḥməd
Ahmed l'a frappée

ka-tnāka : elle s'énerve
ka-tnāka mʕā-həm ka-tākul ʕṭām-ā
Elle s'énerve au point de se tuer

əḍ-ḍəhṣīṣa : l'idiote
l-ʕūra ḍ-ḍəhṣīṣa
L'aveugle ! L'idiote !

dāda : chercher
kunna mšina dādina ʕlī-h
On était parti le chercher
ka-tdādi f dāk əs-sṭəḥ
Elle cherche dans cette terrasse

7. Conclusion

D'après l'analyse linguistique de notre corpus on constate que le parler yazghi présente de nombreux traits préhilalien en général et Jbala en particulier ces traits sont communs aussi au parler des anciennes communautés juives qui ont habité Sefrou, Fès et d'autres régions marocaines (assourdissement du /*ḍ*/ en /*ṭ*/, le relatif *di*- au lieu de *lli*, dissimilation de */*ǧ*/ en [*g*], pas de distinction de genre à la 2e personne, inflexion du verbe à la 1ème personne du singulier et à la 2e personne du singulier ainsi que la 3e personne du féminin singulier est la même dans les des verbes sains au perfectif…). D'ailleurs, Zafrani (1967 : 181) constate que :

> "les parlers juifs sont ceux qui ont le mieux conservé les traits les plus archaïques de la langue importée aux premiers siècles de la conquête arabe, classée par les dialectologues de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines de Rabat dans la catégorie de type pré-hilalien"

Ceci explique en grande partie les similitudes que nous avons recensés dans notre corpus avec les parlers préhilaliens qui caractérisent le parler jebli (amuïssement du /*h*/, diphtongues…).

D'autres traits sont à explorer dans le cadre de la dialectologie, ce qui implique la nécessité de procéder à des descriptions bien poussées de la variété parlée à Béni Yazgha.

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Some Remarks on the Speech of the Ghzaoua Tribe

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Abstract

The present paper aims to shed light on the Ghzaoua tribe (Northern Morocco) vernacular, an almost unknown Moroccan Arabic variety, by describing its most salient features. The data were gathered by means of semi-directed interview recordings along three fieldwork campaigns during 2018 and 2021. When possible, the Ghzaoua variety has been compared with other Moroccan vernaculars, which are also spoken in the Jbala region. The similitudes the Ghzaoua variety shows with other Jbala vernaculars demonstrate a linguistic unity as well as a high degree of linguistic variation both within the region and inside this variety.

Keywords: Arabic dialectology, Ghzaoua variety, Jbala, Morocco

1. Introduction

Judging by the location of research points identified by Behnstedt and Woidich in their *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte* (2010), the Arabic varieties spoken in communities between Chefchaouen, Larache and Massmouda/Ouezzane are among the lesser known Arabic varieties of Morocco. Among the tribes inhabiting this area we find the Bni Issef, Bni Zkar, Ghzaoua, Beni Mestara, Rhouna, Ahl Serif, and Ahl Sarsar. Since Behnstedt and Woidich published their maps thirteen years ago, the body of research

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about the vernaculars spoken by most of these tribes has remained rather slim, though there are noteworthy exceptions. For example, 2020 saw completion of a PhD thesis by El Khomsi on dialectological and sociolinguistic issues bearing on the Rhouna and Beni Mestara tribes. As for the Ghzaoua tribe, although Colin gave a talk on this variety in the 1930s, the loss of his handwritten notes makes it impossible for us to consider his data a reference. Nonetheless, the Ghzaoua vernacular is not completely uncharted. Malki published a paper in 2017 on the vernacular variety spoken in Moqrisset, the main village in the southern part of the tribe's geographic domain. The proceedings of the 13th AIDA conference includes a study where I (Benítez Fernández 2022) analyzed the linguistic variation that occurs within this variety. In that paper, I compared urban speakers —meaning informants who were living in the city of Ouezzane but had been born in Ghzaoua villages or otherwise identified as Ghzaoua members— with rural speakers —participants who had been born and were living in Moqrisset— with the aim of verifying how urbanization is a parameter to be taken into account in linguistic variation and change.

The aim of my paper is to contribute to the development of Arabic dialectology by presenting a preliminary description of the most salient phonological and morphological aspects of the vernacular spoken by the Ghzaoua people.

1.1. The Ghzaoua tribe

The Ghzaoua tribe inhabits two separate areas, one located in the northeast of the province of Ouezzane and the other in the south of the province of Chefchaouen. This tribal split is not of recent origin: during the colonial period, the Ghzaoua-inhabited territories straddled the Spanish-French protectorate border, with Fifi in the Spanish part and Moqrisset in the French one. After the colonial period, administrative redistribution has at different times either unified or divided the tribe, until the last administrative reform in 2009 led to the creation of the province of Ouezzane, in which were incorporated some of the territory previously pertaining to Chefchaouen.

As one can imagine, Ghzaoua people live in a mountainous region devoted to agriculture. In the past, the main crop was the wheat, with the particularities of the terrain making it essentially a subsistence crop, but since approximately 20 years ago, farmers have begun to grow crops that are more profitable. Although family incomes have increased, the difficult climate and lack of public services, among other reasons, have favored a certain depopulation, at least in the villages where I carried out my fieldwork, according to my informants. The inhabitants of Fifi, for example, often spend time for medical or commercial reasons in Chefchaouen or Tetouan, and many also have family relationships and business affairs in Tangier, with extended visits sometimes

turning into definitive migration. For the same kinds of reasons, the inhabitants of Moqrisset are tied to networks in Ouezzane and Kenitra, or even in Casablanca. These parameters must be considered in order to map the linguistic influences that bear on Ghzaoua vernacular speech.

1.2. Informants and Data

The data are taken from the speech of 10 informants and was collected between 2018 and 2021. More specifically, I carried out two research visits in 2018 and another in 2021 in the northern part of the Ghzaoua tribe's geographic domain. These two visits allowed me to conduct interviews twice in Lahrayek (*l-ḥrāyəq*), in the commune of Fifi, and once in Douar Laazib (*duwwār la-ʕzāyəb*) in the commune of Beni Faghloum. For this paper, I have selected 7 informants including 2 men and 5 women. One of the men and one of the women belong to a middle-aged generation aged between 40 and 55, while the rest of the informants are over 60. All informants are illiterate or have only a primary education. In the southern part of the Ghzaoua domain, I only had the opportunity to carry out fieldwork in Douar Moqrisset in the commune of Moqrisset, in 2018. Unfortunately, I was only able to interview 3 informants, 2 elderly people (a woman and a man), both of them illiterate, and a middle-aged woman who had completed primary education. Therefore, it would be useful to expand my fieldwork in future visits, in order to confirm the trends perceived in my data thus far.

2. Phonetic description

This paper will deal with various phonetic phenomena, in particular the spirantization, elision and assimilation of different phonemes. I will also focus on the realization of /q/ and the affrication of /ž/, since, as Caubet (2017: 112) and Lévy (1998: 12) have already pointed out, these are the essential discriminants of the Jbala varieties.

I will start my description with the voiceless dental phoneme /t/, which was usually realized as a dental affricate allophone [ţ] among all my informants. This phonetic choice was more consistent among middle-aged informants in both the northern and the southern part of the tribal domain.

Ex.: *bəllēţi* 'wait'; *nţilfu* 'we get lost'; *l-mifţil* 'a ring in the ear'; *ʕţāţ-əm* 'she gave them'; *dīk əl-bnāţ* 'those girls';

Some previous studies (Vicente 2000; Heath 2002) have identified this realization as the most usual in the region. This allophone can be also found in other areas of the Jbala region (Colin 1921; Lévy-Provençal 1922; Vicente 2000; Moscoso 2003; Caubet 2017; Chikhi 2017; Sadni, Ziani & Brigui 2017;

Belbaita 2017; Brigui 2017; Ziamari & Barontini 2008), either as the only realization or in alternation with the plosive [t] or the spirantized [ṯ], which is the case in Ghzaoua.

As in Chefchaouen (Moscoso 2003), Douar Ouslaf (Sadni, Zizni & Brigui 2017: 233), Msek and Bni Qorra (Caubet 2017: 125), Outzagh (Ziamari & Barontini 2008), the region of Taounate (Chikhi 2017: 185; Lotfi 2017: 191; El Ghazaz 2017: 204 – just the [ṯ] realization; Laâroussi 2017: 221), and the region of Taza (Colin 1921: 39; Larej 2017: 288-289), I also detected in this vernacular the spirantized realization of dentals, both voiceless [ṯ] and voiced [ḏ]. I found the voiceless dental spirant [ṯ] either in intervocalic position or at the end of the word.

Ex. *ḥūṯ* 'fish'; *kānēṯ* 'she was'; *qāṯṯ l-u* 'she said to him'; *quṯ l-u* 'I said to him'; *wa-ṯəmma* 'and there';

As for the voiced dental spirant [ḏ], in the northern part of the tribal domain, it could appear either in initial or intervocalic position, but it has completely disappeared in Moqrisset.

Ex.: *ḏāba* 'now'; *[h]āḏi* 'this one' (fem.); *hāyḏāk* 'like this'

Since the spirantized realization of these phonemes was found exclusively in older informants, it can be argued that this is a recessive trait.

Another spirantized feature, present exclusively in Ghzaoua speakers from the northern area of the domain, was the voiceless velar phoneme /k/ realized as fricative [ḵ]. In his study of the northern Taza variety, Colin (1921) regarded this as reflecting a weakening of the voiceless velar. This feature is also present in the speech of Anjra (Vicente 2000: 46), Chefchaouen (Natividad 1998: 110; Moscoso 2003: 44), Douar Ouslaf (Sadni, Ziani, &Brigui 2017: 232), Outzagh (Ziamari & Barontini 2008: 46), the region of Taounate (in Douar Beni Imran: Chikhi 2017: 178; in Aïn Mediouna: El Ghazaz 2017: 204; in Douar Tazaran —especially in final position in the suffixed pronouns—: Laârousi 2017: 220), and the region of Taza (Colin 1921; Belbaita, 2017: 277; Larej 2017: 291).

Ex.: *baḵri* 'soon'; *dyāl-əḵ* 'pertaining to you'; *bārāḵa* 'blessing', *aḵbar* 'bigger/the biggest': *dīḵra* 'litany'; *yāḵul* 'he eats';

I have also detected a case of voicing. The third person feminine singular verbal inflection used the initial morpheme *d-* in the prefixed verb conjugation, as in Douar Ouslaf (Sadni, Ziani & Brigui 2017: 235) and in the region of Taza (Belbaita 2017: 279; Bedra 2017: 329).

Ex.: *ka dkūn* 'she is'; *ka dəṭbax* 'she cooks'; *ka dāqul* la 'she says to her'; *dākl-əm* 'she eats them'.

The voiced palato-alveolar fricative [ž] alternated with the voiced palato-alveolar affricate [ǧ], as in Anjra (Vicente 2000), Chefchaouen (Natividad, 1998: 111) and Douar Ouslaf (Sadni, Ziani & Brigui 2017: 232), Ouargha (Lévy-Provençal 1922: 19), Outzagh (Ziamari & Brontini 2008); the region of Taounate (El Ghazaz 2017: 202; Lotfi 2017: 191; Laâroussi 2017: 221), and

the region of Taza (Larej 2017: 292; Benabbou 2017: 308; El Jettari 2017: 317).

Ex.: *ǧāt* ‘she came’; *xərǧi* ‘get out’; *ǧ-ǧārīda* ‘the newspaper’

However, one informant, an elderly man living in the northern part of the tribal domain, used the voiced palato-alveolar affricate [ǧ] only when it was a geminate consonant, as in Tangier (Marçais 1911), and in Douar Beni Imran (Chikhi, 2017: 181), while middle-aged informants chose the voiced palato-alveolar fricative [ž] systematically in all positions, in other words, when it was geminate, or in contact with liquids, nasals or sibilants.

I encountered various phenomena tied to the instability of the lateral /l/, as Marçais (1956: 13) already reported for the Jijel variety. For example, the lateral phoneme tended to assimilate with the dental, when the latter was a person morpheme in the verb *qāl-yqūl* in the perfective aspect.

Ex.: *qātt l-a* ‘she said to her’.

This phenomenon is shared by other varieties like Anjra (Vicente 2000: 57), Chefchaouen (Moscoso 2003: 70).

The voiced alveolar nasal /n/ replaced the lateral /l/, especially in the preposition of direction or finality.

Ex.: *mmšu n dīk əl-ʕsəl* ‘we go to [get] that honey’; *n dīk ən-nḥal* ‘for those bees’; *n wāḥid l-ḥažra* ‘to a rock’.

Specifically, among the speakers from the southern area of the tribal domain, the lateral phoneme /l/ was elided in final position. This is a non-systematic phenomenon, found also in the Ghomara variety (Vicente & Naciri-Azzouz 2018).

Ex.: *fḥā[l]* ‘like, as’

The weakness of the voiced alveolar nasal in final position could also be discerned, as it appears in Douar Ouslaf variety (Sadni, Ziani & Brigui 2017: 235).

Ex.: *ka* < *kān* ‘it was’; *šku* < *škūn* ‘who’.

Concerning the voiceless uvular plosive, it was overwhelmingly produced as a voiceless uvular plosive as in the region of Taza (Colin 1921; Belbaita 2017: 276; Benabbou 2017: 307; Bedra 2017: 328) and Outzah (Ziamari & Baronitini 2008: 44). Only one elderly female informant from the northern area of the tribal domain realized the voiceless uvular plosive as the voiceless velar fricative allophone [x] in the expression *waxt* ‘time’.

Ex.: *qadd-u* ‘his size’; *əl-qənfūd* ‘hedgehog’; *əl-qəṣṣa* ‘the story’; *ḥqīqa* ‘true’; *l-frāqəš* ‘the hoofs’.

I expected to find its realization as the glottal plosive [ʔ] to be the usual practice, either among the whole sample, since it could be considered a rural feature — as El Ghazaz (Aïn Mediouna —Taounate region— 2017: 203) has shown in her paper — or among women, because in some mostly urban varieties, like Ouezzane (Khoukh 1993; El Khomsi 2017), Chefchaouen

(Moscoso 2003; Natividad 1998), Tetouan (Vicente 2009) or Branes (Larej 2017: 292) it is linked to sociolects associated with women. However, only the two older men — one from the northern, the other from the southern area of the tribal domain — used the glottal stop, but this realization alternated with the plosive.

Ex.: *warʔa* ‘sheet, page’; *ʔūl l-um* ‘tell them’.

As everywhere in the sedentary varieties of Moroccan Arabic, the unvoiced glottal fricative consonant [h] was elided in suffixed pronouns of the 3rd person singular feminine and the 3rd person plural.

Ex.: *ʕənd-a/e* ‘she has’; *dyāl-a* ‘pertaining to her’; *xəbbʕāt-e* ‘she hid her’; *nṭillfu-um* ‘we get used to them’.

Regarding vowels, two phenomena are noteworthy:

On the one hand, the short close back rounded phoneme [ŭ] was realized as a neutral vowel [ə] in suffixed pronoun by all informants except for the two middle-aged informants from the northern part of the domain and the elderly male from the southern part. This is also the case in other Northern varieties as Anjra (Vicente 2000), Moqrisset (Malki 2017: 150), Ain Mdiouna (El Ghazaz 2017: 209), Branès (Larej 2017: 295) and Tsoul (Benabbou 2017: 310). In fact, Naciri-Azzouz (2022: 78) claims the existence of only one unstable vowel [ə] in Ghomara varieties.

Ex.: *dda-həm* ‘she brought them’; *ʕəllaq l-əm* ‘he hung them’; *w-qāl-əm* ‘and he told them’.

On the other hand, I encountered several occurrences of *imāla,* as it occurs in Anjra (Vicente 2000), in Ghomara (Naciri-Azzouz 2022: 80) and in other rural varieties (Guerrero 2018). Again, this feature was used differently in the northern and southern areas of the tribal, since it was a feature characterizing the elderly male from the north but present only in women’s speech among speakers from the south.

Ex.: In the north: *f-əl-wāḥde* “in one single”; *wāqīlæ* “perhaps”;

Ex. In the south: *xəbbʕāt-e* ‘she hid her’; *wāḥde* ‘she alone’; *wlād-ne* ‘our children’; *hāyde* ‘like this’; *b-yidd-e* ‘she, herself’;

3. Morphology

As in most pre-Hilalian dialects, speakers showed no gender differentiation in the second person subject pronoun, which was in all cases *ntīna*.

This absence of gender distinction also applied to demonstrative adjectives, but in addition, no distinctions were made in expressing spatial deixis. Thus, we find *dīk* in all positions.

Ej.: *dīk ər-rāžəl* (masc.) ‘this/that man’; *dīk ər-rzāmae* (fem.) ‘this/that beater [wooden paddle]’; *dīk əl-ḥzīme* (fem.) ‘this/that belt’; *dīk əl-wād* (masc.) ‘this/that river’.

Again, there was one exception: the middle-aged informant from the southern part of the domain did occasionally use the proximity deixis form *hād*.

Ex.: *hād əl-fkrūn* ‘this turtle’;

The verb conjugation of defective forms toggled between the non-reconstruction of the diachronic paradigm and the diphthong.

Ex.: *yəṃšu* ‘they will go’; *nəmšu* ‘we will go’; *yitġannu* ‘they will become rich’.

Ex.: *mšāw* ‘they went’; *yitġannīu* ‘they will become rich’; *bdāw* ‘they started’; *ytaʕššāw* ‘they had dinner’; *[b]qāw* ‘they stayed’; *əbdāw* ‘they started’;

Surprisingly, the elderly informant from the northern part of the domain used suffix /*-ən*/ for the regular plural morpheme. This feature is reported by Guerrero (2018) to be of Berber origin.

Ex.: *mzāwgən* ‘the Mzawgis’, *ʕlāwiyyən* ‘the ʕAlawis’*, idrīsiyyən* ‘the Idrisids’*, ʕlāmiyyən* ‘the ʕAlamis’, *ṭahriyyən* ‘the Tahris’

As in many other varieties of Moroccan Arabic, verbal negation was a discontinuous morpheme normally placed before and after the verb.

Ex.: *ma tsəǧǧəl l-i ši?* ‘don’t you record me?’*; ma ža ši* ‘he didn’t come’; *ma daxlu ši* ‘they didn’t enter’; *ma xəṣṣ-ni ši* ‘I needn’t’; *ma bāʕət ši* ‘she didn’t sell’.

This form alternated, as everywhere in Morocco, with an apocopate *ma š*.

Concerning nominal negation, the most frequent form was *māši*, but the elderly informant from the northern part of the domain occasionally produced the alternative *mūši*.

Ex.: *hādik mūši dyāl-i* ‘this is not mine’

Caubet (2017: 129) points to a similar form: *moši*. According to her, this form is recurrent among Msek speakers, but it can also be found at Beni Qorra and Aïn Mediouna. In her paper, she argues that this form does not have the same origin as *māši*, despite its apparent similarity. Instead, it comes from *ma hūwa ši* or *ma hu š* and it is present in other Arabic varieties such as those spoken in Tunisia and Libya. The nominal negation found in l-ʕAzayəb seems to be the same apocopated form.

4. Conclusions

I have tried to shed light on a relatively understudied variety of Moroccan Arabic belonging to the group of varieties spoken by sedentary mountain

dwellers in northern Morocco, the Jbala vernaculars. My description has shown different degrees of spirantization, weakness, elision, assimilation and other phenomena linked with lenition in general, which, as previously noted, seems to be the nature of these kinds of vernaculars. I have also demonstrated that most of the salient features I have noted in my data also characterize other Jbala varieties, which underlines the fact that these varieties must be understood as a whole.

Certain traits distinguish the two subgroups of the tribe analyzed in this paper. In the northern part of the territory inhabited by the Ghzaoua, I have noted a higher degree of spirantization, reflected in the greater number of spirantized phonemes and the higher frequency of each. Given that spirantization is the result of Berber influence on the pre-Hilalian varieties of Moroccan Arabic, my data confirm Laoust‘s (1927: 176) claim that spirantization recedes as one moves away from the Taza corridor to the west. The nominal negation particle *mošˇ* also characterizes the northern subvariety of Ghzaoua vernacular. The southern subvariety is more homogeneous, since the only feature that particularizes it is the elision of the lateral /l/ at the end of certain words.

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Abbreviations

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ḥmīr šayš yzaṛzəṛu? Quadriliteral Verbs in Siirti Arabic

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Abstract:

This study aims to provide a detailed description of the quadriliteral verbs in the Spoken Arabic of Siirt, Turkey. The study is based on analyses of data collected from speakers of this variety of Arabic during field researches carried out between 2013 and 2016. The quadriliteral verbs seem to follow two main conjugations: form I ($C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / $C_1aC_2C_3oC_4$- $yC_1aC_2C_3əC_4$ / $yC_1aC_2C_3oC_4$), and form II ($tC_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / $tC_1aC_2C_3oC_4$- $yətC_1aC_2C_3əC_4$ / $yətC_1aC_2C_3oC_4$). These forms can be produced from a redoubled biconsonantal root of onomatopoeic origin or can be directly inherited from the old Arabic background. However, Siirti Arabic presents a series of remarkable internal evolutions (some of which are even based on loans from its surrounding languages - Turkish and Kurdish). Some of these verbs are denominative, while others gave room to the formation of many participles. Their meanings range from reflexive and passive to intensive. The current corpus of recordings counts more than 100 different quadriliteral verbs, which show the productivity of Siirti Arabic, a *Sprachinsel* situated inside a Kurdish microcontext, which, in its turn, resides in a Turkish macrocontext.

Keywords: Quadriliteral verbs, Siirti Arabic, morphosemantics, etymology

1. Introduction

The spoken Arabic of Siirt, or Siirt Arabic (henceforth-abbreviated SA) is a North-Mesopotamian Arabic variety, spoken in South-Eastern Turkey. It is a *qəltu* dialect (as described by Jastrow, in 1978, 1981). It is also a dialect that

is not spoken within the confines of what is conventionally considered the Arab world (where the diglossia has to do with a higher level of Arabic – *fuṣḥā* – vs. the lower level of Arabic - *ʕammīya*). SA is, by all definitions, a linguistic enclave, or a *Sprachinsel*, enclosed in a Kurdish micro-context, which, in its turn, is enclosed in a Turkish macro-context, both of which play an extremely important role in giving shape to the Arabic dialect's features (Grigore 2003: 120).

The corpus consists of my own recordings (which are primarily non-scripted and naturally-occurring, in written or audio form) employed in the summers of 2013 and 2014 and the spring of 2016 in the city of Siirt and in the Siirti community in Istanbul, along with other recordings employed in July 2015 in Bucharest and many other written recordings achieved via social networking websites on the Internet between 2013 and 2016. The speakers came from different social and professional backgrounds, with ages ranging between 10 and 70+ years.

The SA samples have been transliterated phonetically, with the observation that I marked the *ʔimāla* wherever I considered it necessary. I have used the following abbreviations for the glosses: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; cl. Ar. = Classical Arabic; DEF = definite article; F = feminine; M =masculine; NEG = negation particle; PC = prefixal conjugation; PFV =perfective particle; PL = plural; SA = Siirti Arabic; SC = suffixal conjugation; SG = singular;

2. Theoretical framework

For the purpose of this analysis, I have consulted the following works related to SA and other dialects that belong to the same area in South-Eastern Turkey: Akkuş (2017), Fink (2017), Grigore (2007, 2010a, 2011), Gül (2013), Jastrow (1978, 1981), Lahdo (2009), Talay (1999), Wittrich (2001).

I have also consulted some works that discussed the same subject: quadriliteral verbs or quadriliteral roots in Arabic dialects: Prochazka (1993), Holes (2004), Grigore (2010b), Albader (2022).

In Arabic linguistics, "quadrilateral" refers to the four root consonants of a word. Classical Semitic languages have verbs that are based on triliteral roots mostly, while biliteral or quadriliteral roots are much less common (Holes 2016: 169 in Albader 2022: 187). However, quadriliteral roots and, especially, quadriliteral verbs, seem to be proliferating not only in SA, but also in other modern Arabic dialects (Holes 2004, Grigore 2010b, Albader 2022).

Although most of the verbs in SA fit in a trilateral root pattern ($C_1C_2C_3$), there are also verbs that are built on quadriliteral root patterns ($C_1C_2C_3C_4$),

which are usually semantically charged as reflexives of the first or second forms of the triliteral root verbs.

The quadriltieral verbs are of two forms: the basic form (henceforth called 1st form): $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / $C_1aC_2C_3oC_4$ (the variation with C_3oC_4 is present in SA when the C_3 or C_4 is emphatic or posterior) and the reflexive form of the 1st form (henceforth called 2nd form).

3. 1st form of quadriliteral verbs

Suffixal conjugation (perfective form): $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / $C_1aC_2C_3oC_4$
Prefixal conjugation (imperfective form): $yC_1aC_2C_3əC_4$ / $yC_1aC_2C_3oC_4$
Imperative: $C_1aC_2C_3əC_4$ / $C_1aC_2C_3oC_4$
Verbal noun: $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4a$ / $C_1aC_2C_3īC_4$
Active participle: $mC_1aC_2C_3əC_4$ / $C_1aC_2C_3oC_4$
Passive participle: $mC_1aC_2C_3əC_4$ / $C_1aC_2C_3oC_4$
Conjugation of the quadriliteral verb ṭarṭoṛ - yṭarṭoṛ “to clack, to thwack”

No.	Pers.	Gender	Suffixal conj.	Prefixal conj.	Imperative
Sg.	I		*ṭaṛṭərtu*	*aṭaṛṭor*	
	II	Masc.	*ṭarṭərt*	*ṭṭarṭor*	*ṭarṭor*
		Fem.	*ṭarṭərti*	*ṭṭarṭəri*	*ṭarṭəri*
	III	Masc.	*ṭarṭor*	*yṭarṭor*	
		Fem.	*ṭarṭərot*	*ṭṭarṭor*	
Pl.	I		*ṭarṭərna*	*nṭarṭor*	
	II		*ṭarṭərtən*	*ṭṭarṭəru*	*ṭarṭəru*
	III		*ṭarṭəru*	*yṭarṭəru*	

xarmaš - yxarməš “to scratch or scrape while making a sound”

No.	Pers.	Gender	Suffixal conj.	Prefixal conj.	Imperative
Sg.	I		*xarmaštu*	*axarməš*	
	II	Masc.	*xarmašt*	*txarməš*	*xarməšu*
		Fem.	*xarmašti*	*txarməši*	*xarməši*
	III	Masc.	*xarmaš*	*yxarməš*	
		Fem.	*xarmašət*	*txarməš*	
Pl.	I		*xarmašna*	*nxarməš*	
	II		*xarmaštən*	*txarməšu*	*xarməšu*
	III		*xarmašu*	*yxarməšu*	

3.1. 1st form of quadriliteral verbs - type $C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$

This type of verbs can be formed from a biconsonantal root which is redoubled. It is usually of onomatopoeic origin and comes from the Old Arabic background.

1. *balbal* - *ybalbəl* "to unrest, to unsettle, to make something swollen or go up" cf. cl. Ar. *balbal* - *yubalbil* "to disturb"
2. *damdam* - *ydamdəm* "to cry, to mewl, to slobber", cf. cl. Ar. *damdam* - *yudamdim* "to grumble, to mumble"
3. *ġarġor* - *yġarġor* (*ğawf-u*) "to growl (stomach)", cf. cl. Ar. *ġarġor* - *yġarġor* "to gargle"
4. *šaršoṛ* - *yšaršoṛ* "to stream, to flow (water)", cf. cl. Ar. *šaršar* - *yušaršir* "to gnaw, to crunch"
5. *waʕwaʕ* - *ywaʕwəʕ* "to croak (frogs)", cf. cl. Ar. *waʕwaʕ* - *yuwaʕwiʕ* "to bark, to howl"
6. *wašwaš* - *ywašwəš* "to whisper", cf. cl. Ar. *wašwaš* - *yuwašwiš* "to whisper"
7. *zaqzoq* - *yzaqzoq* "to gnash, to grate (teeth), cf. cl. Ar. *zaqzaq* - *yuzaqziq* "to chirp, to chitter"
8. *ybalbəl* *avāni-yu*
   lift up-CP3SG.M ears-3SG.M
   "it is lifting up its ears"
9. *avrāṣ* *yzaqziqū*
   teeth screech- CP3PL
   "the teeth are screeching"

Although many of these verbs are of onomatopoeic origin, some others may come as internal evolutions from Turkish or Kurdish borrowings or may have evolved from Old Arabic as well.

10. *ḥaṛḥoṛ* - *yḥarḥor* "to neigh"
11. *zaṛzoṛ* - *yzaṛzoṛ* "to heehaw (donkey)"
12. *čančan* - *yčančən* "to ring (ears)" < tk. *çan çalmak*[1] "to ring or to toll a bell"
13. *ʕarʕoṛ* - *yʕarʕoṛ* "to deepen one's voice"
14. *kafkaf* - *ykafkəf* "to hiss (cat), to woosh"
15. *patpat* - *ypatpət* "to speak quietly"
16. *parpar* - *yparpər* "to beat like a drum (for heart)" < tk. *pır pır etmek* "to whirr (for birds' wings fluttering in the air)"
17. *saqsoq* - *ysaqsoq* (*ʕaṣābi-yu*) "to snap one's fingers"
18. *nawna*- *ynawni* "to meow"

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[1] This etymology was also mentioned by Grigore (2007: 152) for the form *čančan* - *yčančən* from the Arabic spoken in Mardin.

19. *ḥmīr* *šayš* *yzaṛzəṛu*
donkeys why heehaw-CP3PL
"Why do donkeys heehaw?"

This type of verbs can also be formed from a root of type $C_1C_2C_2$ which passes through the 2nd form then through a harmonic dissimilation $C_1C_2C_2 \rightarrow C_1aC_2C_2aC_2 \rightarrow C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$. Passing through the 2nd form of the triliteral verb offers the newly formed verb an intensive meaning ("to perform an action repeatedly, carefully, with agility"):

20. *šamšam* - *yšamšəm* "to sniff (dog)" ← *šamm* - *yšəmm* "to smell"
21. *faqfoq* - *yfaqfoq* "to act cocksy, arrogant"
22. *daqdoq* - *ydaqdoq* "to tap gently with the hammer" ← *daqq* -*ydəqq* "to knock"
23. *maxmax* - *yəmaxməx* "to make bleed (from beating to a pulp)"
24. *marmoṛ* - *ymarmoṛ* "to make someone suffer" ← *mərr* "bitter"
25. *maṣmoṣ* - *ymaṣmoṣ* "to suck [for feeding from a breast or a tit]" ← *maṣṣ* - *yməṣṣ* "to suck"
26. *qaṣqoṣ* - *yqaṣqoṣ* "to divvy up, to give little bits" ← *qaṣṣ* - *yqəṣṣ* "to cut"
27. *xarxar* - *yxarxər* "to hoarse, to wheez" ← x*arr* - *yxərr* "to whirr, to flow"
28. *varvar* - *yvarvər* "to raise a fire, to bring it back to life" ← *varr* - *yvərr* "to burn"

The triliteral verbs that have $C_2 = C_3$, show only few transformations towards the 2nd form, because, as Grigore (2007: 125) also observes in the Arabic spoken in Mardin and Jastrow (1978: 172) in the north-Mesopotamian dialects in general, forms with C2 = C3 lead to the generation of quadriliteral verbs. That is why, for example, a verb like *lamm* - *yləmm* "to collect", which according to the 2nd form pattern should follow the conjugation *lammam* - *ylamməm*, will produce the form *lamlam* - *ylamləm* "to collect", resulting in a quadriltieral verb. Additional example:

29. *čazz* - *yəčəzz* "to draw" → *čazčaz* - *yčazčəz* "to scribble".

3.2. 1st form of quadriliteral verbs - type $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$

This type of verbs could be inherited from the old Arabic background, but it doesn't supply a great number of occurrences:

30. *xarmaš* - *yxarməš* "to scratch, to screech", cf. cl. Ar. *xarmaš* - *yuxarmiš* "to scratch"

This verb form is mostly realized through the insertion of other consonants, either before C_2, or before C_3:

3.2.1. /r/ before C_2

31. *pa**r**čoq* - *ypa**r**čoq* “to break into pieces” ← *pa**č**čoq* - *ypa**č**čoq* *“*to crush”; *mapčōq* “crushed”

3.2.2. /w/ before C_2: $C_1awC_3aC_4$ / $C_1awC_3oC_4$ - $yC_1awC_3əC_4$ / $yC_1awC_3oC_4$[2]

32. *xa**w**loṭ* - *yxa**w**loṭ* to mix”, cf. cl. Ar. √x-l-ṭ “to mix”
33. *xa**w**noq* - *yxa**w**noq* “to stuff one’s mouth with food”, cf. cl. Ar. *xāniq* “something that produces suffocation or asphyxiation”
34. *xa**w**zoq* - *yxa**w**zoq* “to trick someone into buying something””, cf. cl. Ar. *xāzūq* “trick”
35. *ša**w**laf* - *yša**w**ləf* “to do sloppy work”, cf. cl. Ar. *šānif*[3] “someone who looks at something with disgust”
36. *pa**w**čač* - *ypa**w**čəč* “to fold”
37. *da**w**hoṛ* - *yda**w**hoṛ* “to spend, to waste”, cf. cl. Ar. *dāhir* “something that lasts long”[4]
38. *ga**w**laḥ* - *yga**w**ləḥ* “to cheat, to deceive”
39. *da**w**da* - *yda**w**di* “to crackle [for wood in the fire]”
40. *da**w**bal* - *yda**w**bəl* *“*to unroll, to tumble”[5]
41. *da**w**ṛoš* - *yda**w**ṛoš* “to gossip”[6]

3.2.3. /d/ before C_1

42. *daḥlač* - *ydaḥləč* “to recite poetry”, cf. cl. Ar. *ḥalağ* -*yaḥliğ* “o clean the cotton seeds, to gin[7]“

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2 Grigore (2010b: 60) explains the insertion of the semiconsonants /y/ and /w/ before C_2 at the quadriliteral verbs through the phenomenon of harmonic dissimilation from the biconsonantal group C_2C_2 to yC_2 or wC_2.

3 Here there could have been a switch from the /n/ to the liquid /l/.

4 Here, probably the meaning of “lasting a long time” favored the emergence of the meaning “to lose, to waste” - the time - in the first place, then it completely generalized.

5 Probably a denominative from tk. *dolap* “wheel”, followed by a metathesis between C_2 and C_3.

6 Probably from *dawwar ši* “to walk something”.

7 Probably, during the time in which the wool was combed, people would tell stories or poems and this is how the meaning in SA came to be.

3.2.4. /y/ before C_2

43. *ma**y**hoṛ* - *yəma**y**hoṛ* “to dally, to tergiversate, to procrastinate”, cf. cl. Ar. *mahal* - *yamhal*[8] “to be slow, to take one’s sweet time when doing something”
44. *da**y**da* - *yda**y**di* “to sing a lullaby for children”[9]

3.2.5. /č/ or /m/ blikely before C_3

45. *čar**č**oq* - *yčar**č**oq* / *čar**m**oq* - *yčar**m**oq* “to wrinkle” < √č-r-q < tk. *čürük* “broken, old”
46. *mar**č**oq* - *ymar**č**oq* “to mash, to smash”, cf. cl. Ar. *maraq* “bisk, broth”

3.2.6. /t/ before C_3

47. *šam**t**ar* - *yšam**t**ər* “to throw” ← *šammar* - *yšammər* “to tuck up”

3.2.7. /n/ after C_3

48. *farma**n*** - *yəfarmə**n*** “to crumble”, cf. cl. Ar. *faram* “to mince, to grind”

3.2.8. by repeating C_1 after C_2

49. *šafšal* - *yšafšəl* “to hang, to dangle”
50. *šafšan* - *yšafšən* “a drag”
51. *ṣafṣoq* - *yṣafṣoq* “to clap, to applaud”, cf. cl. Ar. *ṣafaq* - *yaṣfaq* “to clap”

3.2.9. denominative quadriliteral verbs of the 1st form

There is also a set of denominative quadriliteral verbs following this pattern:

52. *ʕaṣfor* - *yʕasfoṛ* “to chirp, to blab” < *ʕaṣfōr* “small bird”
53. *darman* - *ydarmən* “to hit, to hurt”[10]
54. *fandoq* - *yfandoq* “to open the door or the window wide”[11]

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8 Here, the vibrant /r/ switched to the liquid /l/.

9 Probably an onomatopoeia of the form *dada*, used when someone addresses little children.

10 Probably from the tk. *derman* “cure”, used with the meaning of “to find someone’s weakness so as to gain from them [lit. “finding someone’s cure”].

11 Probably a remnant of *funduq* “hotel”, which is attested in many other dialects South of Turkey; the verb must have crystalized semantically from the idea of not leaving the door wide open, as it is often found at the entrance of hotels.

55. *kandar* - *yəkandər* “to lay something down” < aram. √*gndr* “to roll, round”
56. *xarboq* - *yxarboq* “to ransack, to search for something vigorously”[12]

There have been other denominative verbs attested from nouns or participles (that start with /m/) and have been derived from triliteral roots:

57. *maʕloq* - *ymaʕloq* “to cram into one’s mouth, to eat greedily” < *maʕlaqa* “spoon” < the root √ʕ-l-q, after a metathesis from √l-ʕ-q, cf. cl. Ar. *laʕiq* - *yalʕaq* “to lick”
58. *masxar* - *ymasxər*[13] “to mock” < *masxara* “mockery” < root √s-x-r, cf. cl. Ar. *saxir* - *yasxar* “to mock”
59. *marham* - *ymarhəm* “to oint, to grease” < *marham* “cream, ointment”

3.2.10. participle forms

In the corpus of recordings, there is also a high number of participles from this form. Alas, very few have any recorded verb form too:

60. *mbahdal* “unclean, unkept”
61. *mbalǧam* “baffled”
62. *mbarbaz* “astray, scatter-brained”
63. *mčaʕḷoš* “soft”
64. *mčaṛpoz* “deformed, broken”
65. *mčaqlap* “capsized, upside down”
66. *mdawnək* “slacker”
67. *mfarʕon* “cruel, ruthless” < *firʕawn* “pharaoh”
68. *mfarfəš* “scattered, wasted”
69. *mfarkaḥ* “bowlegged”
70. *mfaškəl* “broken, shattered”

4. Verbal nouns

The most common verbal nouns in SA are the ones formed following the pattern $C_1aC_2C_3īC_4$:

71. *farmīn* “shattered”
72. *faqfīq* “assuredness, smugness”
73. *gawlīḥ* “trickery”
74. *kazbīr* “turning into candy, crystallization”[14]
75. *laglīg* “aimless and useless walk”

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12 Here there could have been two verbs that fused: *xarap* “to ruin, to destry” and an OA root √x-r-q “to smash, to break”.

13 There is also the verb *maqroy* - *ymaqroy* with the same meaning, that of “to mock”.

14 Probably from *kəzbara* “coriander”.

76. *lamlīm* “gathering, piling”
77. *pawdīr* “powdered” < tk. *pudra*. “powder”

There is another pattern for verbal nouns from the 1st form of the quadriliteral verbs, $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4a$, but it is not very productive (it is most likely either borrowed as such from Turkish or inherited from the Old Arabic background):

78. *qahqaha* “laughter” < tk. *kahkaha* < ar. cl. *qahqaha*

5. 2nd Form of the quadriliteral verbs

This form is morphologically characterized by the appearance of the prefix *t-* before the 1st form of the quadriliteral verbs.

Suffixal conjugation: $tC_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / $tC_1aC_2C_3oC_4$
Prefixal conjugation: $yətC_1aC_2C_3əC_4$ / $yətC_1aC_2C_3oC_4$
Imperative: $tC_1aC_2C_3əC_4$ / $tC_1aC_2C_3oC_4$
Verbal noun: $tC_1aC_2C_3aC_4a$ / $tC_1aC_2C_3īC_4$
Active participle: $mətC_1aC_2C_3əC_4$ / $mətC_1aC_2C_3oC_4$
Passive participle: $mətC_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / $mətC_1aC_2C_3oC_4$

tšayṭon - *yətšayṭon* “to be naughty, to cause mischief”

No.	Pers.	Gender	Suffixal conj.	Prefixal conj.	Imperative
Sg.	**I**		*tšayṭəntu*	*atšayṭon*	
	II	**Masc.**	*tšayṭənt*	*tətšayṭon*	*tšayṭon*
		Fem.	*tšayṭənti*	*tətšayṭəni*	*tšayṭəni*
	III	**Masc.**	*tšayṭon*	*yətšayṭon*	
		Fem.	*tšayṭənot*	*tətšayṭon*	
Pl.	**I**		*tšayṭənna*	*nətšayṭon*	
	II		*tšayṭəntən*	*tətšayṭənu*	*tšayṭənu*
	III		*tšayṭənu*	*yətšayṭənu*	

tčakčak - *yətčakčək* “to walk with numbness”

No.	Pers.	Gender	Suffixal conj.	Prefixal conj.	Imperative
Sg.	**I**		*tčakčaktu*	*atčakčək*	
	II	**Masc.**	*tčakčakt*	*tətčakčək*	*tčakčək*
		Fem.	*tčakčakti*	*tətčakčəki*	*tčakčəki*
	III	**Masc.**	*tčakčak*	*yətčakčək*	
		Fem.	*tčakčakət*	*tətčakčək*	
Pl.	**I**		*tčakčakna*	*nətčakčək*	
	II		*tčakčaktən*	*tətčakčəku*	*tčakčəku*
	III		*tčakčaku*	*yətčakčəku*	

The meanings of the 2nd quadriliteral form are identical to those of the 5th triliteral form, as it is the case in the spoken Arabic of Baghdad (Grigore 2010b: 62).

5.1. middle meaning

79. *tʕabdal* - *yətʕabdəl* "to behave like an idiot" < *ʕabdāl* "idiot" < tk. *aptal*
80. *tḥaywan* - *yətḥaywən* "to behave like an animal" < *ḥaywān* "animal"
81. *tmanyoq* - *yətmanyoq* "to behave like a madman" < tk. *manyak* "crazy person"
82. *tšayṭon* - *yətšayṭon* "to behave like a devil, to cause mischief" < *šayṭān* "devil"
83. *tfarʕon* - *yətfarʕon* "to behave like a pharaoh, to be mean, to be cruel" < tk. *firavun* < cl. Ar. *firʕawn*

5.2. middle-reflexive meaning

84. *tnaʕnaʕ* - *yətnaʕnaʕ* "to get very tired"
85. *ččangar* - *yəččangər* "to tick, to beat (for a clock)" ← tk. *cengel* "hook"
86. *tgargar* - *ytgargər* "to thunder"
87. *tšawloq* - *yətšawloq* "to sting"
88. *tčaqlop* - *yətčaqlop* "to tumble and fall", cf. cl. Ar. √q-l-b "to tip, to turn upside down"

5.3. reflexive-passive meaning

89. *ddawdoq* - *yəddawdoq* "to tumble, to roll over"
90. *tfaṛfoṭ* - *yətfaṛfoṭ* "to struggle, to scuffle"
91. *ččayčar* - *yəččayčər* "to squirm"
92. *tčapčop* - *yətčapčop* "to wade into the water, to splatter"
93. *tčakčak* - *yətčakčək* "to be numb"
94. *tšapras* - *yətšaprəs* "to become upset, disturbed"
95. *tqandoṛ* - *yətqandoṛ* "to become round"
96. *tbannik* - *yətbannik* "to sit in the lotus position"

6. Denominative quadriliteral verbs of the 2nd form

97. *tmarḥop* - *yətmarḥop* "to greet each other" < *marḥaba* "hello"
98. *ttanbal* - *yəttanbəl* - "a (-i) obosi (ochii)" < tk. *tembel* "lazy, tired"

99. *tkandar* - *yətkandər* “to lie down” < aram. √*gndr* “to roll
100. *tpašman* - *yətpašmən* “to regret” < tk. *pişmanlık* “regret”

7. Other quadriliteral patterns are attested only in nouns

7.1. $C_1aC_2āC_3oC_4$ / $C_1aC_2āC_3əC_4$

101. *qaṛnap* - *qaṛānop* “rabbit - rabbits”, cf. cl. Ar. *’arnab* - *’arānib*
102. *daftar* - *dafātoṛ* “notebook - notebooks”, cf. cl. Ar. *daftar* - *dafātir*
103. *bərgəš* - *barāgəš* “[small] table - tables”
104. *ʕnṭaṛ* - *ʕanāṭoṛ* “tomcat - tomcats”, cf. cl. Ar. *ʕantar* “brave, gallant”
105. *faʕlap* - *faʕālop* “fox - foxes”, cf. cl. Ar. *ṯaʕlab*- *ṯaʕālib*
106. *xənfəze* - *xanāfəs* “hedgehog - hedgehogs”, cf. cl. Ar. *qunfuḏ* - *qanāfiḏ*
107. *darağe* - *daṛāyoğ* “step (of a staircase) - steps”, cf. cl. Ar. *darağa* - *darağāt*

7.2. $maC_2āC_3īC_4$ /$maC_2ēC_3īC_4$

108. *məftāḥ* - *mafātīḥ* “key - keys”, cf. cl. Ar. *miftāḥ* - *mafatīḥ*
109. *məṛqāḥ* - *maṛāqīḥ* “slingshot - slingshots”, cf. cl. Ar. *miqlāʕ* - *maqālīʕ*

7.3. $C_1əC_2āC_3əC_4a$ / $C_1əC_2ēC_3əC_4e$

110. *təlwāni* - *təlēwəne* “Tillo inhabitant - Tillo inhabitants”
111. *fərsāfi* - *fərāsəfe* “Fərsāf[15] inhabitant - Fərsāf inhabitants”

8. Other quadriliteral patterns are only attested in participles

8.1. mCaCCaC

112. *mgargam* “bitten, mangled”
113. *mkalpač* “in handcuffs” < tk. *kelepçe* “handcuffs”
114. *mkawpal* / *mkaʕpal* “wrinkled, frizzly, corrugated”
115. *mlawpat* “dirty, filthy”
116. *msargan* “exiled” < tk. *sürgün* “exile”
117. *msansal* “easily distracted, someone who is not paying attention”
118. *mšapraz* “dirty, unkempt”

15 The village of Dereyamaç, by its official Turkish name.

119. *mzanğar* “chained” < tk. *zincir* “chain”

8.2. mCaCCəC / mCaCCoC

120. *mxanzər* “insidious, shrewd” < *xanzīr* “pig”
121. *mgarhək* “stray, straggler”
122. *mhathət* “someone without dignity”
123. *mlagləg* “someone who likes to wander around, to be childish”
124. *mnaxnəx* “pretentious, finicky”
125. *mpaspəs* “obsessed and meticulous with cleaning, a neat freak”
126. *mšaḥšoṭ* “a child that spends all day on the street”
127. *mšalhəm* “someone who craves food all the time”
128. *mzarzəḥ* “someone who is shaking”

There are a few verbs that have been developed from borrowings from the languages that are in contact with SA. At first sight, it looks like the 4th form of the triliteral roots has been preserved, but the verbs act like any other denominative quadriliteral verbs.

129. *addap* - *yʔaddəp* “to educate” < denominative from *adap* “good manners”
130. *aflas* - *yʔafləs* “to go bankrupt” < tk. *iflas* “bankruptcy” < cl. Ar. *ʔiflās* “bankruptcy”

9. Conclusion

Quadriliteral verbs in SA are remarkable not only through their productivity, but also through the many paths they took to develop: formed from biliteral roots, having onomatopoeic origins, being internally developed from borrowings (mostly from Turkish, but also from Kurmanji Kurdish, Neo-Aramaic), or by passing through various stages (coming from triliteral roots that suffered different transformations); some verbs show signs of following patterns where certain consonants are inserted before C2 or C3; a lot of the verbs are denominative, while some recordings occur only in verbal noun or participle form.

More research is definitely required for the preservation of these prolific verbs. They are one of many examples that show the liveliness and the energy that north-Mesopotamian Arabic dialects exhibit, especially within the *Sprachinsels* encountered in South-Eastern Turkey.

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Pronoms supports de détermination et composés nominaux en arabe algérien

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Résumé

Cet article, basé sur un corpus dictionnairique de 450 termes, traite des *composés nominaux* de l'arabe algérien formés d'un *pronom support de détermination* (PR.SUP.DET) et d'un nom (N) du type *bu-laḥya* "barbu", litt. PR.SUP.DET.-barbe. Il vise à décrire un ensemble de composés de ce type de *composition nominale* et, dans cet ensemble, à préciser l'apport des différents PR.SUP.DET relevés : (1) *bu* et *umm* (variantes *mu*), (2) *ḏu* et *ḏat*, (3) *mul* et *mulat*, (4) *ṣḥab*, et distingués, pour les trois premiers groupes, par leur genre grammatical. Pour chaque groupe et en prenant en considération le genre du PR.SUP.DET l'article s'attache à décrire les *domaines sémantiques* couverts par les composés et, par ailleurs, il pose la question du signifié notionnel de la catégorie grammaticale *genre* en relation avec la différence sexuelle.

Mots-clés : composition nominale, pronom support de détermination, domaines sémantiques, genre grammatical-genre naturel, arabe algérien.

Préliminaires

Les noms et les verbes sont formés en arabe à partir du croisement d'une *racine* et d'un *schème*. Bien connu (Cantineau 1950, Cohen 1970), ce procédé de formation lexicale est prédominant mais, pour les noms, il subsiste une part du lexique qui y échappe, celle qui relève de la *composition nominale*. C'est à cette part du lexique que je m'attache dans cet article où je traite plus particulièrement des *composés nominaux* formés d'un *pronom support de détermination* (PR.SUP.DET) et d'un nom (N) afin, d'une part, de préciser

l'apport des différents PR.SUP.DET constitutifs de l'unité formée et, d'autre part, de décrire les particularités des composés.

Dans un premier temps, je résumerai ce qui caractérise la composition nominale (§ 1) et présenterai le corpus constitué pour cette étude (§ 2) ; puis, dans un deuxième temps, je discuterai la notion de *pronom support de détermination* (§ 3) et j'étudierai les *composés nominaux* en examinant les domaines sémantiques couverts par chaque groupe de PR.SUP.DET (§ 4.1) et les relations entre genre grammatical et genre naturel (§ 4.2).

1. La composition nominale

1.1.

La composition nominale est un procédé de formation lexicale qui se rattache à la *détermination nominale* qui, d'une manière générale, est exprimée au moyen de deux constructions. Dans l'une, la relation entre les deux nominaux est rendue par leur juxtaposition (*construction synthétique*), dans l'autre elle est explicitée par un morphème (*construction analytique*).

Dans ces constructions, il y a lieu de distinguer l'association d'unités qui aboutit à un *syntagme nominal* (*s.suma ntaʕ l.lḥam* "le prix de la viande"), de celle qui aboutit à un *synthème* (Martinet 1975) ou, plus couramment dit dans le cas présent, à un *composé*, qui fonctionne, au sein de l'énoncé, comme une unité syntaxique minimale mais qui peut être analysée en plusieurs unités significatives. Voir par exemple, ar. *lisan-ət.tur* "buglosse d'Italie", litt. langue DEF.bœuf (plante de la famille des boraginaceae, lat. *anchusa italica*) ou fr. *araignée-loup* (arachnide de la famille des araignées aranéomorphes, lat. *lycosidae*) qui désignent un seul Objet, en l'occurrence *une* plante, *un* arachnide, au moyen de deux nominaux conjoints.

On doit alors envisager "la composition nominale comme une micro-syntaxe" (Benveniste 1966 : 15) qui, à partir d'une association syntaxique libre, aboutit à une unité figée – objet d'un choix unique de la part du locuteur lors de la construction de l'énoncé – qui nomme un seul référent, ce qui la différencie du *syntagme*.

1.2.

En arabe algérien, globalement, la composition nominale s'inscrit dans ce cadre théorique : un nom est déterminé ($D^é$) par un nom/pronom (D^a) jouant le rôle de complément déterminatif.

Dans les composés formés par *construction analytique*, le morphème de relation (R) est *mtaʕ* (variantes : *ntaʕ*, *taʕ*, *taḥ*), soit : *warqa-ntaʕ-z.zyada*

“extrait de naissance” (litt. feuille R DEF.naissance). Le relateur *dyal* est aussi utilisé dans les constructions analytiques et, tout comme *mtaʕ*, il peut s’unir à un nom ou à un pronom suffixe (PR.SUF) dans les syntagmes nominaux : *əl.madama dyal l.film* “la femme du film” (litt. DEF.femme R DEF.film), *waš ra-hom l.wulidɛt taʕ-o … u l.mra dyal-ək* “comment vont ses enfants … et ta femme ?” (litt. INT ‘être’-PR.SUF.3PL DEF.enfants R-PR.SUF.3MSG ... et DEF.femme R-PR.SUF.2SG). Toutefois dans les sources utilisées pour constituer le corpus aucun composé avec *dyal* n’a été relevé (v. Boucherit 2014).

Parmi les composés formés par *construction synthétique* j’ai distingué trois sous-classes selon la nature du D[é] qui peut être :

- un *nom quelconque* : *ʕin-(əb).bəgra* “prune (sauvage), prunelle” (litt. œil (DEF).vache), *bit-əd.dyaf* “salon” (litt. pièce DEF.invités) ;

- un *nom d’unité* : *ḥəbba-(l).ḥlawa* “anis” (litt. graine (DEF).douceur), *ḥəbb-šbab* “acné” (litt. grains jeune) ;

- un *pronom support de détermination* : *bu-laḥya* “barbu” (litt. PR.SUP.DET-barbe), *ḏat-əž.žənb* “pleurésie” (litt. PR.SUP.DET-DEF.côté).

On trouvera d’autres exemples ainsi que des développements sur ces deux grandes classes dans l’article (Boucherit 2017) où j’analyse les composés en les considérant comme des processus syntaxico-sémantiques de transformation de la langue liés à l’activité du sujet parlant. Dans ce qui suit j’étudierai seulement la sous-classe des composés dont le déterminé est un PR.SUP.DET.

2. Le corpus

Le corpus a été collecté, pour l’essentiel, dans le *Beaussier-Bencheneb* et, à la marge, dans les sources citées en référence. Il contient 450 composés répartis en quatre groupes différenciés par leur PR.SUP.DET : (1) *bu* et *umm* (variantes *mu*) : 335/450, (2) *ḏu* et *ḏat* : 10/450, (3) *mul* et *mulat* : 70/450, (4) *ṣḥab* : 35/450.

Remarques

- Ces PR.SUP.DET sont, dans les composés, des morphèmes conjoints ; les mêmes formes sont utilisées par ailleurs comme unités autonomes (v. § 3.2).

- Dans le groupe (4) seul *ṣḥab* est PR.SUP.DET de composé ; *ṣaḥəb* (m.sg.), *ṣḥab* (m.pl.) et *ṣaḥba* (f.sg.), *ṣaḥbat* (f.pl.) le sont comme unités autonomes avec le sens de “ami, camarade, compagnon” (v. § 3.2).

- Les groupes (1) à (3) forment des paires distinguant les genres masculin et féminin – on verra (§ 4.2) quelle valeur attribuée à cette distinction.

- Les composés analysés sont des *noms communs* mais *bu* et, dans une moins bien grande mesure, *umm*, entrent également dans la formation de *noms propres* (nom de personne ou de lieu). Les sources dictionnairiques en mentionnent une vingtaine mais il suffit de consulter l’annuaire téléphonique

d'Algérie Télécom ou la liste des communes algériennes pour se rendre compte que leur nombre est beaucoup plus important. En très faible nombre *ḏu* et *ḏat* sont dans le même cas (v. § 4.1.b).

- Le corpus ne se veut pas significatif de la place de ce type de composés dans le lexique, mais des données chiffrées m'ont permis d'avoir une idée de la distribution des PR.SUP.DET et, en conséquence, de leur productivité et des caractéristiques des composés que chacun contribue à former.

- Il est probable que ce corpus, de nature dictionnairique, contient des composés qui n'ont plus cours et, qu'à l'inverse, d'autres, n'y figurant pas, ont cours. D'une part, parce que les besoins extralinguistiques, tout comme les langues qui les prennent en charge, sont en constante évolution ; d'autre part, parce qu'il s'introduit toujours un décalage chronologique entre le vocabulaire fixé par le dictionnaire et les usages de la langue.

- La création lexicale, ses motivations (besoins extralinguistiques), les raisons qui font que des néologismes se fixent et d'autres pas ne sont pas discutées ici (sur ces points v. Boucherit 2017). Je soulignerai seulement que ce mode *populaire* (vs *savant*) de création lexicale est encore très productif. Le grand écrivain algérien Kateb Yacine s'en est amusé, parfois, en glosant le nom des personnes dont il est question dans ses textes : "Boulahrouf n'est pas homme à oublier son alphabet. L'infatigable Boumendjel y va de sa faucille." (1961 : 1)[1] ; soit pour Boulahrouf : *bu-ḥruf*, "celui à, celui qui a des lettres (alphabet)" et pour Boumendjel : *bu-mənğəl* "celui à, celui qui a la faucille".

3. Le pronom support de détermination

3.1.

Cette notion est empruntée à Lionel Galand qui "appelle ainsi des pronoms dont la fonction la plus courante est de recevoir une détermination" (Galand 2010 : 97). Plus précisément, il en donne la définition suivante.

> Le nom de "supports de détermination" est donné ici à des éléments qui assument un double rôle, à l'instar du français *celui* : ils représentent un référent et ils reçoivent une détermination, qui peut être un localisateur "démonstratif" (*celui-là*), un complément déterminatif (*celui de l'homme*) ou une proposition relative (*celui que j'ai vu*). Il importe de ne pas confondre les supports avec leurs proches voisins, les

[1]. Le texte de Kateb, écrit en mai 1961, est un reflet de sa position sur une période de la guerre d'Algérie durant laquelle se négocièrent les "Accords d'Évian" qui mettront fin à la guerre menée par la France contre les indépendantistes algériens. Les deux hommes cités : Taïeb Boulahrouf (1923-2005), Ahmed Boumendjel (1908-1982) sont deux des représentants du Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne qui participèrent aux négociations.

“démonstratifs” et les pronoms personnels de la troisième personne. (Galand 1974 : 205)

Le rapprochement entre les unités du berbère rangées dans cette classe par Galand et celles qui, selon moi, en relèvent dans les composés en arabe algérien est basé sur le fait que l’on peut leur appliquer les mêmes critères définitoires – non pas tous les traits qui caractérisent leur fonctionnement, mais ceux qui les définissent comme appartenant à une classe d’unités.

Ce sont des *pronoms* car, dans l’unité qu’il contribue à former, ils se substituent à un nom (commun ou propre). En ce sens ils appartiennent à la classe des “représentants”, des *pronoms*, dont la fonction principale est de représenter un nom exprimé précédemment ou un élément de la situation.

Dans cette classe, comme les *pronoms personnels* de 3e personne, ils “prédiquent le procès de n’importe qui ou n’importe quoi hormis l’instance [du discours]”. De ce fait, et au contraire des pronoms de 1re et 2e personne (“indicateurs de personne”) qui ne réfèrent qu’à l’instance du discours, les PR.SUP.DET ont, comme les pronoms personnels de 3e personne, une fonction de “‘représentation’ syntaxique” (Benveniste 1966 : 255-256, 253, Galand 2002 : 357). Sur un autre plan, ils s’en distinguent car ils ne s’intègrent pas, comme la 3e personne, à un ensemble ternaire organisé en fonction de la personne grammaticale.

Les PR.SUP.DET sont également à différencier des “démonstratifs” parce que, dans la classe des “représentants”, ces derniers se caractérisent en propre par la valeur démonstrative qu’ils acquièrent via “l’adjonction d’un déictique (*-ci* ou *-là*)” (Galand 2002 : XIII) qui situe leur énonciation dans l’instance du discours notant la proximité ou l’éloignement dans l’espace ou le temps (Galand 2002 : 207).

Cela étant, on admettra que, dans la classe des “représentants”, le trait les caractérisant en propre est < SUPPORT DE DETERMINATION > et leur fonction est de “recevoir un complément déterminatif” (Galand 2002 : 120).

Dans l’emploi qui en est fait en arabe algérien, du moins à ma connaissance, on soulignera que leur usage est limité à la formation de composés, c’est-à-dire d’unités figées, dans lesquelles le PR.SUP.DET est un morphème conjoint fonctionnant comme une “micro-syntaxe” dans le cadre de “la composition nominale”.

3.2.

En arabe algérien, les nominaux PR.SUP.DET (*bu* / *umm*, *ḏu* / *ḏat*, *mul* / *mulat* et *ṣḥab*) sont, par ailleurs, employés couramment en syntaxe libre – ce n’est pas le cas de ceux retenus par Galand pour le berbère mais, pour autant, cela ne s’oppose pas à leur inclusion dans la classe des “représentants” car, comme le note Benveniste (1966 : 256), la fonction de représentation “ne s’attache pas

seulement aux pronoms ; elle peut être remplie par des éléments d'autres classes ... [et] s'étend[re] ainsi à des termes pris dans différentes 'parties du discours'".

Sémantiquement, en syntaxe libre, ces termes indiquent un lien de parenté (*bu* "père" / *umm* "mère"), un lien de dépendance entre individus ou de possession à des objets (*ḏu* (m.sg.) / *ḏat* (f.sg.) "possesseur", *mula* (m.sg.) / *mulat* (f.sg.) "maître, possesseur, propriétaire", *ṣḥab* (m.pl.) "compagnon, ami, camarade"). Dans leur ensemble, et en envisageant la notion de possession au sens large, ce sont des termes qui, globalement, dénotent une relation d'appartenance entre un possédant et un possédé : l'objet/la qualité nommés par le D[a] appartiennent à l'objet/la personne désignés par le D[é] ou s'y rapportent plus particulièrement (v. Boucherit 1997, 1999). Ce qui autorise à faire l'hypothèse que leur changement de catégorie en syntaxe figée est liée au sémantisme qu'ils ont en syntaxe libre et, en tant que PR.SUP.DET, ils exprimeraient une sorte de "possession démonstrative".

Syntaxiquement, ce sont des *morphèmes conjoints* qui établissent un *rapport de qualification* avec le nominal employé comme déterminant et qui individualisent un référent.

4. Les composés

Dans cette partie, faute de place, je n'ai pas systématiquement mentionné le mot-à-mot à la suite de chaque composé, mais il ne me semble pas que cela soit un inconvénient pour la compréhension des sujets qui y sont abordés. Je ne l'ai inséré que lorsque cela a semblé utile à mon propos ou pour définir un déterminant peu connu de l'arabe algérien et ne figurant pas dans les sources.

4.1. Domaines sémantiques

Les composés se répartissent dans des domaines sémantiques divers selon le PR.SUP.DET avec lequel ils sont formés ; ceux avec *bu / umm* et *ḏu* / *ḏat* nomment des *animés* et des *inanimés*, ceux avec *mul* / *mulat* et *ṣḥab* ne peuvent s'appliquer qu'à des *humains*.

a) Groupe 1 (335/450) : ***bu*** **(**295/335) / ***umm*** (40/335)

Ce sont les composés qui offrent la plus grande diversité. Les noms désignant des *animaux* et de *végétaux* sont les plus nombreux ; viennent ensuite ceux nommant des maladies affectant des humains ou des animaux et des objets surtout rapport avec le monde rural. On trouve ensuite des termes spécifiant un trait physique (humain/animal) ou un trait de caractère (humain) et, en plus faible nombre, des noms désignant des parties du corps (humain/animal) ou des noms de désignant un état, un métier et, enfin de

manière résiduelle des noms d'aliments comestibles élaborés : *umm-əl.ʕwinat* "espèce de bouillie", des états : *bu-təllis* "cauchemar", des actions : *bu-kəššaf* "opération magique pour découvrir l'auteur d'un vol". Les exemples ci-dessous donnent un aperçu de cette diversité.

- Animaux : *bu* (82) - *umm* (12)

bu-bziz "cigale", *bu-zənzəl* ou *bu-zəlzəl* "guêpe", *bu-ʕmira* "épervier", *bu-qəmrun* "crevette", *bu-nəffax* "couleuvre". *umm-əl.ḥasən* "rossignol", *umm-gorgor* "crapaud".

- Végétaux (dont qq comestibles) : *bu* (66) - *umm* (8)

bu-šnaf "églantier", *bu-ṣufa* "églantier", *bu-qərʕun* "coquelicot", *bu-mxarri* "aubépine", *bu-ḥarṭiṭ* "variété de raison noir", *bu-ṣərra* "bergamote". *mu-qəṣbaya* "cannaie".

- Maladie, affections corporelles : *bu* (40) - *umm* (6)

bu-šʕir "orgelet", *bu-məslam* "panaris", *bu-ṯura* "dourine" (cheval), *bu-rəkkab* "maladie empêchant les poules de marcher". *umm-əṣ.ṣubyan* "éclampsie, convulsions enfants".

- Objets : *bu* (35) / *umm* (1) :

bu-qəffaz "gant pour cueillir les figues de Barbarie", *bu-ṣəyyar* "tamis pour le son", *bu-žuwwaz* "tamis pour le couscous". *mu-kriša* "casse-tête ; espèce de sabre de bois".

- Trait physique : *bu* (20) - *umm* (6)

bu-bṭan et *bu-kərš* "pansu, ventru". *mu-snadər* "celle qui a de grandes dents"

- Trait de caractère : *bu* (18) - *umm* (2)

bu-xalfa et *bu-rayin* "irrésolu, incertain", *bu-niyya* "imbécile, naïf". *mu-lsan* "médisante".

- Partie du corps : *bu* (15) - *umm* (1)

bu-žəṭṭu "bout, queue de l'épaule de mouton coupée", *bû-šarb* "bec de lièvre". *umm-əš.šwaləq* "partie feuilletée de la tripe"

- État, métier, statut : *bu-* (13) - *umm* (1)

bu-qrun "cornard, cocu", *bu-šaqži* "armurier, coutelier". *umm-wald* "esclave, mère d'un enfant né des œuvres du maître et reconnu par celui-ci".

b) Groupe 2 (10/450) : ***ḏu*** (6/10) / ***ḏat*** (4/10)

Ils réfèrent à des *humains* : *ḏu-l.yəd* "détenteur" et des *inanimés* : *ḏat ər-riyya* "pneumonie". Ils se différencient de ceux du groupe (1) en ce qu'ils ne désignent pas d'*animaux*, du moins dans le corpus constitué, mais ils partagent avec eux la particularité de désigner des *inanimés* – ce que ne font pas ceux des groupes (3) et (4). En fait, ils sont si peu nombreux qu'il est difficile d'en dire davantage. Tout au plus signalerai-je que, pour désigner le même Objet, il y a alternance de PR.SUP.DET :

- "épineux (plante)" : *ḏu-šūk* et *bu-šuk* (*ḏu* est donné comme une variante de *bu* dans le *Beaussier*-Bencheneb, *ḏu* s'employant dans l'Est de l'Algérie).

- “riche” : *ḏu-mal* et *mul-mal*.

- “pleurésie” : *ḏat-əž.žənb* et *bu-žənb* (litt. PR.SUP.DET-DEF.côté) – noter l’alternance “croisée” *bu* / *ḏat* et non *bu* / *ḏu*. Par ailleurs, signalons que cette maladie est aussi appelée *žunab* ou *ḏat-ər.riya* (litt. PR.SUP.DET-DEF.poumon), *bu-žənb* peut signifier “pneumonie” et que “pneumonie” peut être rendu par *marḍ ər-riya* (litt. maladie DEF.poumon) ... *Le poumon vous dis-je* (Molière, *Le Malade imaginaire,* Acte III, scène 10). Je reviendrai très brièvement sur ces flottements à la fin.

Ces alternances, le peu d’occurrences collectées et le fait que, pour moitié, elles apparaissent dans du vocabulaire spécialisé et figé (*ḏu-l.ḥiǧa* et *ḏu-l.qaʕda* “12e et 11e mois du calendrier musulman”, seules entrées figurant, sous *du* et non *ḏu*, dans le dictionnaire de Madouni) et dans des noms de tribus, laissent entrevoir que comme PR.SUP.DET, *ḏu* et *ḏat* ne sont pas (plus ?) fonctionnels.

c) Groupes 3 : *mul* (65/70) **/ *mulat*** (05/70) **et 4** : ***ṣḥab*** (33).

Ces PR.SUP.DET entrent seulement dans la formation de termes qualifiant des *humains*, presque toujours des *hommes* (v. § d ci-après). Ils indiquent des traits de caractère : *mul-niyya* “consciencieux”, *ṣḥab-nəfs* “arrogant” (pas de référence à des particularités physiques) ou un métier : *mulat-əs.sənduq* “caissière”. L’alternance entre *mul* et *ṣḥab* est fréquente et provient sans doute de leur proximité sémantique en syntaxe libre : *ṣḥab-* / *mul-šiʕa* : “qqn de célèbre, décoré”, *ṣḥab-* / *mul-maʕruf* : “qqn de bienfaisant”, *ṣḥab-* / *mul-fəhm* : “qqn d’intelligent”, *ṣḥab-* / *mul nəfs* ou *ṣḥab-* / *mul-nif* : “qqn qui a de l’amour propre, arrogant”, *ṣḥab* / *mul hiba* “qqn digne de respect”.

d) Domaines sémantiques et genre naturel.

En rapport avec les domaines sémantiques couverts par les composés, on observe que lorsque le genre grammatical (*bu* vs *umm*, *ḏu* vs *ḏat*, *mul* vs *mulat*) coïncide avec le genre naturel, les composés au masculin sont toujours plus nombreux. C’est remarquable pour *mul* (65/70) et *mulat* (5/70) et c’est à mettre en relation avec le fait que ces composés nomment des fonctions traditionnellement réservées aux hommes : *mul-dbara* “conseiller”, *ṣḥab-mšawra* “consultant”, *ṣḥab-ṭabaʕ* “garde des sceaux”, ou des traits de caractère, généralement valorisant, qui leur seraient plus spécifiques : *mul-kəbda* “courageux” : [kəbda] “foie/cœur, courage”. En parallèle, sans doute pour les mêmes raisons mais de manière plus marquée, on observe qu’il n’y a pas d’équivalent féminin aux composés formés avec *ṣḥab* utilisé, pourtant, dans les mêmes domaines sémantiques que *mul* et *mulat* (voir § 2).

Du côté de la gent féminine, les composés formés avec *umm* désignent, certes, des femmes, mais il est intéressant de relever que, dans quelques cas, ils sont, à leur égard, dépréciatifs, péjoratifs – sorte d’augmentatif négatif désignant une “femme qui aime, qui apprécie [trop] qqc ou qqn” : *mû-šašra*[2]

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2. En tant qu’unité autonome *šašra* ne figure pas dans le *Dictionnaire* de Jihane Madouni d’où est extrait ce composé, ni dans aucune des sources citées en référence. Je remercie Jérôme

“celle qui aime les garçons”, *mû-rwâyäḥ* “celle qui aime les parfums (c.à.d. celle qui aime se parfumer)”, *mû-znoq* “celle qui aime les rues (celle qui aime être dans la rue)” (Madouni : 497). Seuls ces trois exemples ont été relevés mais il vaut la peine de souligner qu’avec cette connotation négative aucun équivalent masculin ne leur correspond.

4.2. Genre grammatical et genre naturel

Comme dans de nombreuses langues le genre grammatical se construit en arabe à partir des pôles *féminin* et *masculin* et la grande opposition de genre qui organise la langue est celle qu’exprime la distinction masculin-féminin de l’*animé*, distinction qui ne répond à aucune notion saisissable pour l’*inanimé*.

a) Lorsque *bu* vs *umm* et *ḏu* vs *ḏat* forment des composés désignant des *inanimés* la répartition entre masculin et féminin est totalement arbitraire et le genre grammatical est dépourvu de contenu notionnel. Dans certains cas, on peut penser que le genre du déterminant en syntaxe libre influe sur celui du PR.SUP.DET. Voir, par exemple, *umm-əš.šwika* “espèce de datte (Bou Saâda)”: *šwika*, n.f. “petite épine” et *bu-ʕrus* “espèce de datte (Sud)” : *ʕrus*, n.m. “fiancé, marié” mais cette distribution est loin d’être régulière. Dans d’autres, comme *umm-əs.swaləf* “saule pleureur”, *bu-ṣufa* “églantier”, il serait hasardeux d’avancer une quelconque hypothèse pour expliquer la présence de l’un ou l’autre genre, sauf à faire appel à la notion de *sexuisemblance* élaborée par Damourette et Pichon car il est probablement impossible de trouver les éléments susceptibles de valider leurs théories[3].

b) Pour ce qui est du genre grammatical du nom des *animaux* ses spécificités posent des problèmes qu’il n’est pas possible de développer ici. Ces spécificités découlent de ce que l’on a affaire à un vocabulaire qui concerne plusieurs types de nomenclatures (scientifique, technique, courante, vulgaire) où doit être considéré un entremêlement de plusieurs critères liés, entre autres choses, aux usages pratiques des animaux pour les humains : chasse, élevage, domesticité, alimentation, âge, taille (v. Mounin 1997). Aussi, quelle que soit la langue, circonscrire la catégorie du genre grammatical des noms d’animaux à la seule opposition mâle/femelle ne permet pas de rendre compte de la manière dont s’articule la répartition des genres (v. Dubois 1989).

Lentin d’avoir fait la recherche pour moi et de m’avoir orientée vers des sites et des dictionnaires d’arabe dialectal en ligne où on trouve que le terme الشاشرة désigne, dans l’Ouest algérien, des jeunes garçons ou des petits enfants mais aussi des hommes.

3. Selon eux, la valeur sexuelle de l’opposition des genres est pertinente pour **tous** les noms. Pour les *animés*, elle s’applique selon le critère naturel du sexe. Pour les *inanimés*, elle s’applique de manière métaphorique : le genre est attribué aux *inanimés* selon les traits masculin ou féminin que l’inconscient leur attribue (Pichon était psychanalyste). Sur cette approche, moins fantaisiste que ce l’on pourrait penser de prime abord étant donné les questions qu’elle soulève et les faits discutés, voir la synthèse éclairante de Cécile Mathieu (2017).

Et, en effet, bien que le genre grammatical et le genre naturel soient censés coïncider, nombre d'animaux sont pourvus d'un genre unique dans le langage courant en dépit de leur différenciation sexuelle: uniquement masculins (*ḥnəš* (s.m.) "serpent", *ʕaqrəb* (s.m.) scorpion), uniquement féminins (*zrafa* (s.f.) "girafe", *namusa* "moustique") et de nombreuses espèces animales reçoivent des noms masculins ou féminins sans rapport avec leur sexe. De fait, l'opposition avec dédoublement du nom : *kəlb* / *kəlba* "chien / chienne", *qaṭṭ* / *qəṭṭa* "chat / chatte" ou avec deux noms différents : *žməl* / *naga* "chameau / chamelle", est peu répandue.

Ainsi va l'attribution du genre des noms d'animaux des composés. Voir par exemple : *umm-gorgor* "crapaud", *bu-ǧaġlallu* "escargot", *umm-əl.ḥasən* (*mu-l.ḥasən*) "rossignol", *bu-šəqšaq* "cigogne", *bu-qəmrun* "crevette" mais *umm-žniba* (*mu-žniba, umm-žnib*) et *bu-žnib* "crabe" et aussi, *umm-əl.lil* et *bu-žlida* "chauve-souris" dans lesquels *bu-* et *umm-* ne sont en rien porteurs du genre naturel de l'animal nommé.

c) Lorsque les composés désignent des *humains* la coïncidence entre genre grammatical et genre naturel est régulière que ce soit pour les composés formés avec *mul* / *mulat* (fém.) : *mul-awlidat* "père de famille" et *mulat əd-drari* "mère de famille" ou avec *bu* / *umm* : *bu-ḥnak* / *mu-ḥnak* "un / une joufflu.e" (qui a des joues bien rondes), *bu-lsan* / *mu-lsan* "un / une médisant.e (mauvaise langue), *bu-wžuh* / *mu-wžuh* "un / une hypocrite" (personne à deux visages), *bu-wḏina* / *mu-wḏina* "quelqu'un / une qui aime écouter les bavardages malveillants".

Il est des cas où le figement du composé est tel que *bu* et *umm* perdent leur pertinence oppositive et la différence sexuelle n'est plus portée par le genre grammatical du PR.SUP.DET mais par le déterminant : *bu-žadi*, *bu-žadiyin* (m.sg., pl.) / *bu-žadiya*, *bu-žadiyat* (f.sg., pl.) "novice, apprenti.e.s, sans expérience, inexpérimenté.e.s, maladroit.e.s" (souvent péjoratif, v. fr. *plouc* "paysan, personne rustre qui manque de savoir-vivre").

Plus rarement encore, la différence sexuelle n'est pas marquée et l'opposition de genre est neutralisée. Ainsi *bu-xnuna*, désigne selon la situation, "un morveux" ou "une morveuse" mais l'opposition peut être maintenue par le biais du PR.SUP.DET : *bu-xnuna*, *bu-xnun* "un morveux" / *mu-xnuna*, *mm-axnun* "une morveuse", sans que le genre féminin de *xnuna* "morve" joue un rôle.

5. Remarques finales

Pour finir, et sans conclure tant il y aurait encore à dire, je terminerai par quelques mots à propos du traitement du déterminant quant à l'usage de l'article défini.

Le déterminant n'est quasiment pas précédé du défini dans les composés formés avec *bu-* ; seuls 6/295 sont ce cas, par exemple : *bu-l.ʕžəb* "homme extraordinaire, étonnant", *bu-l.ftuḥa* "conquérant", *bu-š.šʕor* "chevelu" mais on relève aussi, sans article, *bu-šʕor* et *mu-šʕor* "chevelu.e". En proportion leur nombre est plus élevé 9/40 pour *umm* : *umm-əl.buyya* "caméléon", *umm-əs.swaləf* "saule pleureur", *umm-əž.žlud* mais aussi *mu-žlud* "espèce de furoncle, de bubon".

La proportion est tout aussi réduite pour *mul* et *mulat* (5/70) : *mul-əd.dar* "maître de la maison" et *mul-beyt* "maître de la tente", c'est-à-dire, dans les deux cas, "chef de famille " ; elle est un peu plus importante pour *ṣḥab* (13/35) : *ṣḥab əl.msayel* "expert" et *ṣḥab-hba* "concessionnaire".

L'absence d'article peut résulter d'une assimilation phonétique qui se produit dans la chaîne parlée mais elle peut aussi être la manifestation d'une relation syntaxique plus étroite entre le D^{é} et le D^{a}, prélude à une perte de l'identité singulière des deux constituants et à leur intégration à la langue en tant que composé. Dans ce cas, le défini détermine le composé en tant que tel montrant ainsi qu'en synchronie, les deux constituants ne sont plus perçus comme dissociables : *bu-fəkrun* "tortue" et *əb.bu-fəkrun* "la tortue", *bu-blâš* "gratis" et *əb.bu-blâš* "le gratuit".

Un tout petit commentaire de fin. Ces flottements grammaticaux et ceux que j'ai signalées pour "pleurésie" par exemple, me semblent révélateurs de ce que l'on est en présence d'un vocabulaire qui est un témoin fidèle d'usages non normés de la langue.

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Khorasan Materials: The Phoneme /ā/

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Abstract

This paper primarily aims to contribute data regarding Khorasan Arabic. The linguistic material presented was collected in Iran in the years 2019 and 2021.

The transcribed texts exhibit a linguistic division of Khorasan Arabic along confessional lines. Shiite and Sunni Arabs have developed their own varieties: the Shiite dialect of the villages in Arabkhane and the Sunni dialect of Khalaf including a few neighbouring villages.

Although separated from the Arabic mainland for centuries, Khorasan Arabic has stood the test of time. Its early isolation preserved some (probable) archaic features like the adnominal linker *-in*, while Iranisms in phonology, syntax and lexicon are, as expected, ubiquitous. The corpus data suggest an affiliation with the Arabic exclave dialects of the Central Asian branch.

The most noticeable difference between the two main dialects of Khorasan is in phonology. While in Sunni Khalaf Arabic, all OA alveolar fricatives have been de-emphaticized and shifted to interdentals (OA *s*, *ṣ* > *ṯ*; *z*, *ẓ* > *ḏ*), the place of articulation has been retained in the Shiite Arabkhane dialects (OA *s*, *ṣ* > *s*; *z*, *ẓ* > *z*).

An intriguing linguistic phenomenon in the vocalic system concerns the long vowel *ā*. In Arabkhane the OA phoneme /ā/ was split into the phones *ā̄* and *â*, while the Khalaf equivalent is *ā* and *â*. The conditions for this sound change and the phoneme status of the variants are disputed.

Keywords: Khorasan Arabic, Central Asian Arabic, Arabkhane, Khalaf, peripheral dialect

1. Introduction

The presence of Arabs in Iran's Khorasan region harks back to centuries ago. The exact circumstances are a subject of debates (Seeger 2013:313).

Khorasan Arabs themselves believe to have settled here from the Arabian Peninsula, referring to Yemen, Oman, or the Persian Gulf as their place of provenance. Some Arabs from Arabkhane also claim an Iraqi origin, stating that their Arabic resembles the speech of their neighbouring country which they are exposed to during pilgrimages to Shiite shrines in Karbala or Najaf.

The transcribed excerpts presented here corroborate a typological affiliation with the peripheral Central Asian branch, namely the Arabic dialects of Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and the Khamsa Arabs. Among these linguistic features are the weakening of emphatic consonants, the development of an indefinite article, the partial coincidence of the paradigm of form I geminate verbs and form II final weak verbs, a new perfect tense, and some shared characteristic lexical items.

However, other traits of Khorasan Arabic are unparalleled within Central Asia. The most prominent difference is the affrication of OA **q* into *ǧ* and **k* into *č* in Khalaf and most of Arabkhane which is a typical east Arabian Bedouin-type feature of southern Iraq. Ingham suggests that the Khorasan dialect may therefore have, "separated from the main block more recently than those of Afghanistan and Central Asia" (Ingham 2003:22; 2006:28).

Khorasan Arabic is further singularized by its retention of the OA 3rd person pronouns and the object-only attachment to the active participle by means of the infixed *-in(n)-*. Seeger points out a number of other morphological traits which are not attested in the remainder of the Central Asian group described to date (Seeger 2013:316–317). His data from Khalaf are largely validated by my own materials from Khorasan.

2. Vowel phoneme /ā/

A question of phonology concerns the OA long vowel phoneme /ā/. Khorasan Arabic has two variants for the long vowel /ā/. In addition to the front realization, a back realization was introduced into the system, as is similarly documented in Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. The fronted realization in Arabkhane can be rendered as <ǟ>, its phonetic value lies between [æː] and [ɛː]. In Khalaf the front variant is <ā>, phonetically realized markedly differently from Arabkhane as [aː]. The backed variant of the long a-vowel in both Khorasan dialects is <â>, corresponding to IPA [ɑː], as observed by Seeger and Dahlgren (Seeger 2002:632; Dahlgren 2005:163).

The distribution of the two variants in Khorasan Arabic can be categorized according to their frequency and etymological class. Note that the bulk of the subsequent tokens are taken from the texts printed below, others originate from field notes.

1. *â* is the more frequent variant of the long vowel phoneme /ā/ and is predominantly attested in undoubtedly non-Arabic lexemes: *fâmīl* ‘family’ (1.4, 2.6), *hamsâyatna* (1.6) ‘our neighbour’, *kâr* (1.15, 2.9, 3.2) ‘work’, *be-nâm* (2.6) ‘named’, *Iṯfahân* (3.6) ‘Isfahan’, *Ahvâḏ* (3.6) ‘Ahvaz’. These are loanwords from Persian that retain their vocalic shape.

2. The front realizations *ǟ* or *ā* are the second most frequent variants. They are mainly found in hereditary Arabic lexemes: *šītnǟt* (1.3, 1.10) ‘things’, *kǟn* (2.1) ‘it was’, *zǟd* (1.6, 2.2) ‘(filler word) eventually’, *rāṯne* ‘our head’ (3.10), *ǧāy* (3.5) ‘you m.sg. have come’.

3. A third group of the Khorasan lexicon consists of hereditary Arabic lexemes which show the change of OA *ā* > *â*: *ummuhât* ‘mothers’ (1.11), *ikbâr* ‘old’ (1.1, 1.13), *ḏâlūk* ‘those’ (2.10), *vâḥid* ‘someone’ (2.4, 3.4), *gâl* ‘he said’ (1.12, 3.4).

4. A fourth group are Arabicized words of Persian origin, in which Persian *â* becomes *ǟ* and *ā* respectively: *yǟd* ‘memory’ (1.4), *nǟrǟḥa* ‘distressed’, *Īrān* ‘Iran’ (3.8).

5. Finally there is a group of hybrid formations in which both variants of the long vowel occur within one lexeme: *xâksǟriyya* ‘misery’ (2.4), *bâzǟr* ‘market’, *bīmâristǟn* ‘hospital’.

The vowels in these lexical units are fixed, that is the phones *â* and *ǟ* (or *â* and *ā* in Khalaf) are not in free variation. However, establishing a coherent set of rules beyond tendencies for the distribution of the back and front variant of the long *a*-vowel in the Khorasan corpus remains difficult. The evidence is contradictory and the occurrence of either *ǟ*/*ā* or *â* appears to defy regularity at least on a synchronic level.

Ingham suspects that the emergence of *ō* (variant of *ā* in Afghanistan) in words like *qōl* ‘he said’, *kōn* ‘he was’ and *salōs* ‘three’, “may be related to the disappearance of the emphatic consonant set”. The back variant’s function would be “to distinguish those instances of *ā* which were in an emphatic or guttural environment from those which were not”. Eventually he argues for an assimilation of Arabic to the “local pronunciation of *ā*” as *ō* in the Central Asian contact languages (Ingham 1994:112–113). Fischer observes a regional distribution of *ā* and *ō* in Uzbekistan (e.g. *kōjin* ‘to be’ in one dialect, *kājin* in another, *fōr* ‘to boil’ beside *fār*). He assumes that this contact-induced variation is not only based on phonetic conditions (Fischer 1961:234–235).

In Khorasan, morphologically identical forms display divergent vowel qualities. Adjectives of the *faʕlān* pattern have both *-ǟn* and *-ân*, apparently in complementary distribution, depending on the phonetic environment: *šabʕǟn*

‘sated’ (2.11), but *ǧūʕân* ‘hungry’ (2.12). The active participles-turned-perfect tense in form VI are *mitbā̃dil* ‘to change’ for the OA root **bdl* and *mitʕârik* for **ʕrk* ‘to argue’. In Khalaf form I of the hollow root **qwl* is *gâl* ‘to say’, while **nwm* is *nām* ‘to sleep’.

On the other hand, however, some free variants with *â* and *ã̄*/*ā* have emerged irrespective of the OA phonetic context: (OA **qrʔ*) *gâri* alongside *gã̄ri* ‘to read’ and (OA **ṭyr*) *târ* alongside *tã̄r* ‘to fall’ in Arabkhane.

The functional load of the opposition of *â* and *ã̄*/*ā* is low. Only a few minimal pairs can be identified which would establish a phoneme status. In Arabkhane an example is *tâ* ‘(classifier) piece’ (1.5) vs. *tã̄* ‘until; that’ (1.10, 2.8) (both *tâ* in Khalaf), in Khalaf *yâ* ‘or’ is in opposition to *yā* ‘with’ (3.8) (both *yã̄* in Arabkhane). Based on this latter opposition in Uzbekistan Arabic (*jā* ‘with’ : *jō* ‘or’), Fischer tentatively opts for an independent phoneme *ō* beside *ā* (Fischer 1961:235 fn.2). Dahlgren considers *â* and *ã̄* to be allophones in Arabkhane (Dahlgren 2005:163).

3. Transcription system

Note that in the texts from Khorasan, *ġ* represents both OA /ġ/ and Modern Persian /ġ/ (i.e. غ and ق alike).

4. Texts

Text 1: Arabkhane, Hasanâbâd (male, aged 38)
recording date September 16, 2019

1. *il al-… xatna... ġidīm fi sinn-o sâl masalán ikbârna hã̄č čã̄n in masalán ʕadil ǧašnin čibīr čīn yičukkūn misil faʕ-ʕirs taġrīban čīn yičukkūn.*

2. *daʕvatiyya čīn yintūn, va arzam be-ḥuzūrak, vâz hidya čīn yintūn.*

3. *assaʕak masalán šītnã̄t al fi aǧ-ǧarã̄ya čã̄yin, masalán fal-âḥid ʕanz čīn yinti, fal-âḥid ǧadi čīn yinti, ham aš-šītnã̄t čīn ʕinhum fi aǧ-ǧarya.*

4. *baʕdhâ šītn al ana yã̄d anti, zamân suġūrīti yã̄di-hu in daʕva sayyaw fâmīl. ġida intūlilhum yaʕni nahâr, nahâr intūlilhum va šâyad ǧirīb haftâd haštâd nafar fag-gubba daʕva sayyaw.*

5. *va... fal-… xudâ biyâmurz čã̄n ustâ Ḥâǧi čã̄n yigūlūleh, ham sâz-o idhil čã̄n yuzrub, ham xatna čã̄n yisayy, ham ârâyišgiriyya čã̄n yisayy, se čâr tâ isnūn čã̄n yiǧirr.*

6. *xob, kull kâr čã̄n yisayy. dã̄ daʕva sayyūh gubatna, do se tâ min iʕyã̄lã̄t hamsâyatna-hom čã̄n, ana zã̄d šiš-hafsâle šissâle kun misti.*

7. *kulli kun nibči. ʕidaw fi raddna, čakkūnna. fal-lungiyya-hom raššaw davurna.*

8. *avval ğaw, gutiʕaw al-ēš, yā̄ pamba-vo zaww ḥattaw, xulâsa xatna sayyaw. baʕd-hom fal-lungiyya raššaw davurna.*

9. *vâz se čâr pan rūz yā̄ lungiyya hamā̄č fah-haftā̄ya kun ninsīr. va xob, aʕ-ʕyā̄lā̄t xūf čā̄n ʕinhum min ax-xatna.*

10. *va kâdū čā̄n yintūlilhum masalán mâšīn, asbâbbâzi, šukulât, hā̄č šītnā̄tin čā̄n yintūlhum tā̄ yusuktūn-o masalán baʕzihâ zahab... ad-dowrobariyya zahab čā̄n yiḥuttūn.*

11. *al-ummuhât čā̄n yilammimán az-zahab, čā̄n yūsğanneh.*

12. *vali avâxir… masalán ana xudi dowrobariyya... masalán ğift valā̄d kun ʕinni, valā̄di šišrūzegiyya hafrūzegiyya zā̄d bass hanūz al-ēš čā̄n ad-duktur gâl in:*

13. *âġâ gabl al dâlū ikbâr yistūn-o pūsthum masalán sift yisti... ēš yisti, miččīn yisti, dâlū hanū mā̄ yufutnūn…*

14. *zang zurabna, fab-bandat rabb kâreh be-sūrat sunnatiyya, duktur mahu, vali xob nasl andar nasl, âġâ-ye Xâsse yigūlūleh.*

15. *baʕd min ustâ Ḥâği al xudâ biyâmurz marḥūm ista, xânevâdat Xâsse fi Bīrğand kâr ax-xatna inğâm yintūneh.*

16. *va ğā̄ fak-kīf sâmsūnit čā̄n ʕinneh, vasâyleh tulaʕhín, faʔ-ʔibra zurab ʕal čūl ar-ruzīʕ-vo bīḥiss sayyā̄h.*

17. *baʕd al bīḥiss sayyā̄h do tât ēšā̄t ḥâlat ġēčiyya... ğalam. yā̄ ğalam čakkā̄h, ğarrā̄h iğlâv, baʕd gâl útulʕu.*

18. *vaxt al tulaʕna zā̄d čā̄n gârzinneh, čā̄n gâtʕin dīč at-tikka-vo baʕd fač-čand tâ baxyā̄t-hom inta.*

19. *yā̄ ravišna farġ čā̄n yisayy. ravišna hā̄č baxya-vo ēš mā̄ čā̄n. yā̄ gutna-vo pamba dâġ čā̄n yiḥuttūn vağeh.*

20. *vali dā̄ ğā̄ čand tâ baxyā̄t-hom zurab-o arzam be-ḥuzūrak ġida.*

21. *iḥna-hom fağ-ğaʕba... sad hazâr tuman-hom masalán intēnā̄leh in ğā̄ hak-kâr sayyā̄h. sad hazâr tuman intēnā̄leh, ğirīb masalán dah dulâr. baʕd intēnā̄leh-o ġida.*

22. *baʕd kâr al sayyēna arzam be-ḥuzūrak in fağ-ğaʕba šīrīniyya ixazna. umm-o ubūy ğaw, uhum masalán kullâḥid fap-panğâh hazâr tuman kâdū inta, ixâvīleh, xâlā̄teh, masalán ham ad-dowrobariyya-vo ēš.*

23. *lā̄ zā̄d ğašnin, lā̄ rigīsin, lā̄ âhangin, lā̄ filân. ilē? be-xâtrin hanūz ar-ruzīʕ isġīr-hu, aslán mā̄ yidri ēš-hu al-ğaryân, guttiš...*

24. *be-xâtir hamdā̄. vali ham al-ân xayli-hum in yixallūn ar-ruzīʕ masalán dosâle yisti, yek-o nīmsâle, dosâle, sesâle yisti, hak-kâr yisūneh, ğaš yičukkūleh-o.*

25. *masalán fax-xrūf in yigūlūn… šā̄ yizibḥūleh-o... vo-fas-siri marâsim yičukkūleh misl aġ-ġidīm.*

26. *vali fi dowrobariyat xudna šītn al ğadīdán marsūm misti, ar-rizīʕ zā̄d fi hafrūzegiyya hašrūzegiyya nahâyatán gabl yeki domâhegīteh hal-… xatna yisūneh.*

27. *tā̄ be-ġowle maʕrūf ar-rizīʕ dard lā̄ yiğirr.*

28. *vo-dâk al-… b-iḥsā̄b lung-o… ilēšin xudna masalán šiš-hafsâle kunna lung kun inrišš masxara čā̄n yisūnna, yigūlūn: baḥḥ, misl ab-banā̄t-hu, misl ab-banā̄t dâman lā̄bis, čā̄n yizuḥkūn, yitiʕattimūn.*

1. As for circumcision... back in the days of our elders they were having quite a big festivity, they celebrated it almost like a wedding.

2. Invitations were extended and gifts were given.

3. Well, things that existed in the village. One gave a goat, another one a kid, just what they had in the village.

4. Later, what I remember, when I was little, I remember that they invited the family. They were invited to dinner, they were given a dinner. Perhaps up to seventy or eighty people were invited to the house.

5. There was a circumciser named master Ḥâği, God bless him. He played both oboe and drums and performed circumcisions. He was a barber, too, and also pulled one tooth or the other.

6. Well, he was up for anything. They invited him to our house, there were also two or three of our neighbours' children with us. I had turned about six or seven years old.

7. We cried a lot. They ran after us and grabbed us. They put an apron on us.

8. First they came and cut the thing off, and they (stopped the bleeding) with a piece of cotton, which was lit, they thus performed the circumcision. Then they put an apron on us.

9. We then walked around in aprons for three, four or five days or a week. And well, the kids were afraid of circumcision.

10. They were given gifts, toy cars, toys, chocolate, things like that were given to calm them down. Some also gave money, the close relatives gave money.

11. The mothers collected the money, they kept it (in a safe place).

12. But lately... I myself or my relatives... I had two sons, my sons were just six or seven days old, barely... then the doctor said:

13. Before they grow and their skin gets tough or something, before it hardens, and as long as they still don't notice anything…

14. We called someone who does the traditional circumcision. He's not a doctor, but he's been in the trade for generations. His name is Mr. Xâsse.

15. After master Ḥâği, God bless him, died, the Xâsse family performed circumcisions in Birjand.

16. He came, he had a Samsonite briefcase, took out his utensils. He administered an injection into the child's penis and numbed it.

17. After numbing it, he retrieved two things similar to scissors... a pair of scissors. He grabbed the penis with the scissors, pulled the foreskin forward and said: Get out.

18. When we went out he had already cut off the foreskin, he had cut off that piece (of skin). Then he sewed up the spot.

19. The method was different from ours. We didn't have stitches. With cotton... hot cotton was put on it.

20. But he came, sewed up the spot with a few stitches and left.

21. And we (got him) a box... we gave him a hundred thousand tomans for coming and doing the circumcision. We gave him a hundred thousand tomans, (the equivalent of) about ten dollars. We gave it to him and he left.

22. We also bought a box of candy. My parents came, each of them gave fifty thousand tomans as a gift, (my son's) uncles, his aunts, the close relatives.

23. There was no celebration, no dancing, no music, no nothing. Why? Because the child is still young, he doesn't understand what's going on, nothing...

24. Therefore. But nowadays there are many who wait until the child is two years old, a year and a half, two years, three years, and only then do they perform circumcision and have a festivity.

25. They sacrifice a lamb, that is, a sheep... and they have a series of celebrations like they used to.

26. But what has recently become common among our relatives is that circumcision is performed when the child is seven or eight days old, or at least before he is one or two months old.

27. So that the child, as they say, does not suffer pain.

28. And as for the apron... because when we were six, seven years old, we put on an apron and they made fun of us. They said: Look, he looks like a girl, he wears a skirt like a girl, they laughed and had fun.

Text 2: Arabkhane, Nowzā̄d (male, aged 74)

recording date September 30, 2019

1. *zamânin kā̄n in fi ham ag-garya raḥḥat âviyya kā̄yin, fi himā̄n. al-ân minzilhín, âṯârhín mušaxxas-hu.*

2. *vali zā̄d ḏīk az-zamân aġ-ġidīm kā̄yin. kam kam kam kam zā̄d ax-xalg gâm kūč yisūn.*

3. *gâm yaġadūlhum, iğlâv al-inġilâb, iğlâv… xayli iğlâv al-inġilâb. gâm yaġadūlhum, čūn mā̄ yugudrūn hā̄n yiʕabbrūn.*

4. *yaġadūn hânikât bilâxara yugudrūn… bi kull xâksā̄rīt al-hu kull vâḥid.*

5. *zamân al min hā̄n ġidaw, fag-garya min hā̄n ḥammal, sī xânevâr, sī xânevâr yalham ḥammilaw ġidaw, yalham ḥammilaw ġidaw it Tihrā̄n.*

6. *it Tihrā̃n ġidaw, min fâmīliyat xudna hâ! fag-garya-hi be-nâm Murze, al-ʕân taxliya-hi, gutt vâḥid mā̃ fīha. ḥattâ r-rā̃ʕi-hom ġidā̃leh, vâḥdin mā̃ vugaf.*

7. *ġidaw, kull se nafar čâr nafar fi fag-gubba, kā̃n yiğirrūn pardā̃t bēn ag-gubbt ad davâzdahmitriyya, do xâna kā̃n masalan kā̃n yuskun.*

8. *yiğirrūn pardā̃t-o tā̃ l ʕēn kam kam-o kam kam kā̃sibiyya savvaw. kā̃sibiyya kam kam kam kam kam kam, širaw israyyā̃t azyad-o bilâxara tawsiʕa ḥivaw.*

9. *al-ân kâr-o bârhum mâšâllâh zēn-hu. vali al hā̃n tilaw lā̃, al hā̃n tilaw lā̃.*

10. *ḏâlūk al hânikât ġidaw hom sâḥib israyy istaw hom sâḥib sirva istaw, hom sâḥib bilâxara kull ğūr.*

11. *vâḥd al gumt... gūyâ šabʕā̃n yikūn, al šabʕā̃n yikūn hom as-salâ mā̃ yinsā̃ha hom az-zakât mā̃ yinsā̃h, va hom darb ar-rabb mā̃ yinsā̃h.*

12. *vali vâḥd ağ ğūʕân, al ğūʕân...* […]

13. *vali maḥall al šabʕā̃n itkūn, hom ar-rabb fi nizirak-hu hom am-musḥaf fi nizirak-hu, hom bilâxara itčukk īd fav-vâḥdin. vali maḥall al xudi hom ğūʕân hast, hamsâyti hom ğūʕân-hu …*

1. There was a time when there was a water mill in this village, here. Its former location and remains can still be seen today.

2. But that was in earlier times. Gradually, people began to emigrate.

3. They started moving away, before the (Islamic) revolution, well before the revolution. They started moving away because they couldn't make a living here.

4. They moved there so they could… with all the misery each had.

5. When they left here, a whole village packed up, thirty families. Thirty families packed their things together and left. They packed up together and moved to Tehran.

6. They went to Tehran, people from our own family, mind you! There is a village called Murze, nowadays it is deserted, no one lives in it anymore. Even the shepherd left, no one stayed behind.

7. They went. Three or four of them (lived) in one room. They drew curtains across the twelve square meter room, two households lived (together).

8. They drew curtains until they gradually made money (from retail stores). They gradually made money, they more and more bought houses and finally expanded.

9. They're making good money today, thank God. But those who stayed here (in Arabkhane) no, who stayed here no.

10. Those who went there became homeowners and amassed wealth, and had all sorts of things.

11. One who is... sated, so to speak.... One who is (financially) sated does not neglect prayer, does not forget the alms tax, and does not stray from the path of God.

12. But one who suffers from hunger, who is destitute...

13. But when you are sated, you do not lose sight of God, nor of the Qur'an, and you can give someone a helping hand. But when I'm hungry myself and my neighbour is hungry...

Text 3: Khalaf (male, aged 70)

recording date October 24, 2019

1. *vaḏʕ ḏindigītne ḏēn mā čān, mā rowwunūni in darṯ agrâ.*

2. *ġidēt iṯtixdâm aṯti fi al-artiš, kullán bīṯt-o panğ tuman kâr kun miṯayy min ḏahab xudi.*

3. *panğ tuman intēt tâ Bīrğand ġidēt, pândah tuman tâ Mišhad ġidēt, iṯte bīṯt tuman.*

4. *panğ tuman uxre ili čin tāli. min al-utubūṯ al hubatt vâḥid gâl kâr tiṯayy? gult ī, kâr aṯayy.*

5. *ġidēt tâ mágarab kâr ṯēt, dāyir yūmah ġidēt in iṯtixdâm aṯti, gâlow dīr ğāy, yirad čâr mâh uxre tiği.*

6. *čâr mâh fi Mišhad kâr ṯēt, baʕd iṯtixdâm iṯtēt fi al-artiš. čâr mâh fi Turbat Ḥaydariye kunt, čâr mâh fi Iṯfahân.*

7. *min hūnak muntaġil ṯavūnne il Šâhrūd. Šâhrūd baʕd min bīṯt-o panğ rūḏ munḥall iṯtat, viğaʕne fi Ahvâḏ.*

8. *ṯanat haḏâr-o ṯīṯad-o panğ… čel-o haft, čel-o haft. ṯanat haḏâr-o ṯīṯad-o čel-o haft Ṯaddâm gâl kištiyyāt Īrān yā parčam ʕirâġ yirad fi Arvandrūd yiʕabbrán.*

9. *âmâdebâš ṯavūnne-vo vaddūnne il am-marḏ in agar ğilâv ak-kištiyyāt gúbiḏah ʕirâk šurūʕ yiṯti.*

10. *ṯū ṯâl fi am-marḏ kunne, ak-kištiyyāt ʕubirán, havâpeymâyāt ğan fi fūg rāṯne, at-tūppāt âmâde ṯēnāhinne in agar ğilâv ak-kištiyye yúgubḏah tīrandāḏiyye niṯayy.*

11. *ğilâv ak-kištiyyāt mā gúbiḏah, baʕd min ṯu ṯâl fayyēne il ap-pâdegân, il Ahvâḏ.*

12. *ane fi humū ğibhe-ham darṯ gurēt, kilâṯ haft-o hašt-o nuh fi ağ-ğibhe mutafarriġe gubaḏt, kilâṯ nuh-o dah-o yâḏdah ḏad šabâne il ak-kilâṯ ġidēt, tâ dīplumi gubaḏtah.*

13. *dīplumi al gubaḏtah gâlow tugdur tóġodi afṯar tiṯti.*

14. *min hūnak muntaġil iṯtēt il Tehrān, in il al-afṯariyye. haš mâh fi Tehrān dowre šift, hašt mâh fi Iṯfahân dobâre.*

15. *min hūnak gâlow agar kullaḥd al númritah axīrtar yikūn, kull šahr al yikūn yirīd yúgubḏah.*

16. *yamm Mišhad-o Bīrğand mā čān ʕindah, ane fi Kermânšâh viğaḥt.*

17. *Kermânšâh inġilâb iṯte. inġilâb iṯte, dū ṯâl fi Kermânšâh kunt, baʕd min dū ṯâl gâlow kullaḥd al yirīd tâ yóġodi il šahr xudah.*

18. *muntaġil iṯtēt il Mišhad, Mišhad maʕaḏ mā čān ʕindah, rowwunūni il Ġūčān.*

19. *Ġūčān panğ šiš mâhi kunt aʕ-ʕirâk šurūʕ iṯte. ʕirâk šurūʕ iṯte.*

20. *min Mišhad ğēne vağğ aġ-ġatâr. al-iṯbâbāt, at-tūppāt-o mâšiyyāt rukabnāhinne-o ġidēne il Ahvâḏ.*

21. *Ahvâḏ… Xurramšahr čān gâbḏunhe ḏad, mā gudarne nóġodi ğilâvah núgubḏah.*

22. *gâlow yirad toġodūn il Mâhšahr, min Mâhšahr toġodūn il Âbâdân in Âbâdân fi īd al-ʕirâġ lā tugaʕ.*

23. *ġidēne, il Mâhšahr al nihēne iṯnēn vâḥidāt al ğilâvne čānán ʕubirán ġidán ʕal ğaʕādat Mâhšahr Âbâdân. nūbatne al iṯtat ğaʕāde gubaḏhe ʕirâġ.*

1. Our living conditions were not good. They didn't send me to school (any longer).

2. I went to join the military. I had earned twenty-five tomans of my own money through work.

3. I spent five tomans and got to Birjand, fifteen tomans and I got to Mashhad. That made twenty tomans.

4. I was left with five more tomans. When I got off the bus, someone asked (me): Do you want to work? I answered: Yes, I want to work.

5. I went and worked until evening. The following day I went to enlist in the military. They replied: You are late, you have to show up again in four months.

6. I worked in Mashhad for four months, then I enlisted in the military. I was in Torbat-e Heydarieh for four months, in Isfahan for four months.

7. From there they transferred us to Shahrud. The (military base in) Shahrud was dissolved after twenty-five days, we landed in Ahvaz.

8. In the year thirteen hundred fift... forty-seven, forty-seven (i.e. 1968). In the year thirteen hundred forty-seven, Saddam said the ships of Iran must cross the Arvandrud under the Iraqi flag.

9. We were put on alert and transferred to the border to start the war should (Iraq) block the way of the ships.

10. We stayed on the border for three years, the ships crossed (the river), military planes came over our heads. We primed the artillery so that we could open fire if (Iraq) blocked the ships' path.

11. The ships' path was not blocked, after three years we returned to the barracks, to Ahvaz.

12. I continued to go to school at the front, finishing grades seven, eight and nine extra-curricularly. I attended grades nine, ten, and eleven in night school until I graduated.

13. When I graduated they said (now) you can go and become an officer.

14. From there I was transferred to Tehran for officer training. I attended officers' school for eight months, eight months again in Isfahan.

15. There they said: Whoever has the better grades can choose the city of service that they want.

16. In the area around Mashhad and Birjand there were no more free positions and I landed in Kermanshah.

17. A riot began in Kermanshah. A riot began. I stayed in Kermanshah for two years. After two years they said that anyone who wants to can move on to their own town.

18. I was transferred to Mashhad. There was no military base (lit. place) in Mashhad, I was sent to Quchan.

19. I was in Quchan for five or six months when the war began. The war began.

20. From Mashhad we came on the train. We loaded military equipment, artillery, military vehicles onto trains and drove to Ahvaz.

21. Iraq had taken Ahvaz... Khorramshahr. We could not go and cut them off.

22. They said you have to go to Mahshahr. From Mahshahr you must advance to Abadan, lest Abadan fall into the hands of Iraq.

23. We went. When we arrived at Mahshahr, two units ahead of us had passed us and managed to drive on the Mahshahr-Abadan road. When it was our turn, Iraq had taken the road.

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Cross-Generational Changes in Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic Color Terms Induced by Contact with Modern Hebrew

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Abstract

I show how Modern Hebrew color terms influence linguistic color categories in young native speakers of Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic who are also fluent in Modern Hebrew and exposed to Israeli culture and lifestyle. Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic is a Palestinian variety spoken in Israel. I compare basic color terms (BCTs) in Traditional Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic (TMA, speakers over age 65) and Neo-Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic (NMA, speakers under age 40). Results are compared to Modern Hebrew BCTs. Fourteen men and 14 women were tested for each group. Linguistic data came from spontaneous speech, direct questions ('What color is this object?' 'What has X color?'), and stimuli: 1. a naming task on the complete Munsell chart tested at three different levels of saturation (with chips submitted in a fixed random order), 2. director/matcher tasks, and 3. culture-specific stimuli to elicit BCTs' association with objects/materials. Results show that NMA has different BCTs than TMA. BCTs found in both TMA and NMA have slightly different foci and markedly different boundaries. TMA BCTs reflect desaturated and brightness-based categories, while NMA BCTs are hue-based and closer to those of Modern Hebrew. NMA color terms increase in number via associations with prototypical referents ('lemon-yellow') borrowed from Modern Hebrew. Acquisition of Modern Hebrew BCTs in adulthood reshapes NMA BCTs.

Keywords: basic color terms; Traditional Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic; Neo-Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic; Modern Hebrew; linguistic contact

1. Introduction

Different languages divide color spaces differently (Berlin & Kay 1969; Kay & Maffi 1999). Therefore, it is worth investigating chromatic distinctions in bilingual communities (Athanasopoulos 2009). I present a cross-generational survey of basic color terms (BCTs) in the community of Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic speakers in Israel.

Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic is a sedentary, rural variety of Palestinian Arabic spoken in the Israeli region called the Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u>, which extends along the border between Israel and the Palestinian Authority from the village of Kafr Qāsim in the south to the city of Umm el-Faḥm in the north (Jastrow 2004). I refer here to the variety spoken by the elders, over 65 years of age, as Traditional Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic (TMA), while I call the variety spoken by people under age 40 Neo-Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> Arabic (NMA). TMA and NMA differ in terms of the nature and number of BCTs, their foci, and their boundaries. I hypothesized that Modern Hebrew BCTs might be responsible for the current development of NMA BCTs, which are so different from those of TMA. Evidence of such influence would suggest that the color categories of a second language learned in adulthood can shape semantic representations.

To test my hypothesis, I surveyed BCTs in TMA informants and monolingual Israeli speakers of Modern Hebrew and compared the results of both control groups with the NMA data. Modern Hebrew may affect the chromatic representations of NMA speakers, as it is their second language, while elders are much less exposed to it and less proficient in it.

2. BCT systems in Arabic varieties

Arabic color systems are rich and complex. The Old Arabic word stock and pre-Islamic Arabic poetry attest to a large number of terms (Fischer 1965) in which BCTs relate to natural, desaturated categories (Borg 1999). A similar system of desaturated categories is observed in traditional varieties of Negev Arabic and related Bedouin languages (Borg 2007). The Old Arabic five-term color system (*abyaḍ* ‘white, bright’; *aswad* ‘black, dark’; *aḥmar* ‘red, light brown’; *axḍar* ‘green, blue, black’; and *aṣfar* ‘yellow’ [Fischer 1965]) forms the basis of most modern colloquial color paradigms. While urban Arabic vernaculars spoken in Cairo, Beirut, Jerusalem, and other locales display BCT systems that approximate Berlin and Kay’s eleven-term stage, co-territorial nomadic and semi-nomadic communities tend to retain archaic color paradigms, with fewer desaturated BCTs (*abyaḍ* ‘white, bright’; *azraq* ‘black, dark, grey’; *aḥmar* ‘red, brown, yellow’; *axḍar* ‘green, blue, dark’; *aṣfar* ‘yellow, pale’; *ašhab* ‘blue, grey’) alongside a rich non-basic nomenclature

that encodes ecological hues (*ṣīni* ‘blue, grey’; *aṭlas* ‘muddy-colored jackal’; *kaḥla* ‘goat with reddish ears or eyes’).

The experimental results shown here for the TMA control group reveal six basic desaturated categories (*abyaḍ* ‘white, bright’; *aswad* ‘black, dark, grey’; *aḥmar* ‘red, brown, yellow’; *axḍar* ‘green, dark’; *aṣfar* ‘yellow, pale’; *azraq* ‘blue, shining, transparent, grey’) alongside some ecological and artificial modern hues for more specific uses (*nīli* ‘electric blue’; *laymūn* ‘lemon [yellow]’). TMA BCTs are, therefore, more similar to the categories described for Old Arabic and Negev Bedouin Arabic than to those of Levantine, Egyptian, and Arabian urban varieties.

The BCTs of the urban southern Levantine Arabic vernaculars do not constitute a driving force that transforms NMA BCTs from a restricted set of desaturated categories to an extensive, hue-oriented system. Indeed, in preparation for the present analysis and to exclude the possibility of foreign influences other than Modern Hebrew, I conducted a background survey to investigate NMA BCTs in two groups of young Muṯallaṯ speakers, the first consisting of 30 NMA speakers of pre-university age and the second of 30 NMA speakers who did not attend Hebrew-speaking universities and were the same age as the NMA speakers who had graduated from Tel Aviv University. The two groups were tested in the experiments described in the methodological section of this paper. Data elicited in the survey show that the the BCTs of NMA speakers who did not come into contact with Modern Hebrew are similar to TMA BCTs, indicating that there are scanty external influences on NMA other than Modern Hebrew. Indeed, NMA speakers, born after the establishment of the State of Israel, are not influenced by urban Arabic varieties (Nablus, Ramallah, Haifa, Jerusalem). These were considered prestigious and were imitated to some extent by the rural and Bedouin populations in the pre-State period. Following the establishment of the State of Israel, Ramallah and Nablus, traditionally cultural references for the Muṯallaṯ area, remained beyond the border. The Muṯallaṯ villages developed into urban settlements, progressively losing their cultural and linguistic bonds with Palestinian urban centers and redirecting economic, commercial, and educational networks toward Israeli cities.

3. Modern Hebrew BCTs

Hebrew BCTs have evolved in three main historical stages: Biblical Hebrew, Medieval Hebrew, and Modern (Israeli) Hebrew (Brenner 1982; Sovran 2013).

The Modern Hebrew linguistic categories, detected experimentally for the purpose of this paper across gender, age groups, and sociolinguistic heritages,

are the following hue-oriented BCTs: *lavan* ‘white’; *šaḥor* ‘black’; *adom* ‘red’; *yaroq* ‘green’; *ṣahov* ‘yellow’; *kaḥol* ‘blue’; *afor* ‘grey’; *ḥum* ‘brown’; *katom* ‘orange’; *varod* ‘pink’; *segol* ‘purple’; *ḥaṣil* ‘eggplant’; *teḵelet* ‘light blue’; *ḥardal* ‘mustard’; and *turqiz* ‘turquoise.’

Preliminary observations revealed that Modern Hebrew has influenced the NMA spoken by graduates of Tel Aviv University in immediately perceptible ways. For example, like Modern Hebrew, NMA has an independent category for the color ‘mustard,’ and Modern Hebrew color names are frequently used.

4. Methodology

In this contribution, I show how and to what extent NMA BCTs are affected by the Modern Hebrew BCT system. NMA speakers are educated from elementary school in Hebrew as a second language, starting at age 7 or 8, yet Hebrew is taught in their village schools by Arab teachers who are non-native speakers of Modern Hebrew. The NMA informants who took part in the experiments described here had attended Tel Aviv University for at least five years, graduating from different departments in the humanities and exact sciences, not including design, architecture, visual arts, and fashion, where specific training in chromatic categories takes place in Modern Hebrew. At Tel Aviv University, they studied in Hebrew, resided in the city among its Hebrew-speaking majority, and often worked in Hebrew-speaking contexts. Their proficiency in Hebrew as a second language developed between the ages of 19 and 25. I used two control groups, one consisting of TMA speakers and one of Modern Hebrew speakers, both tested on the same linguistic stimuli as those used with the NMA informants. Fourteen men and 14 women were tested in each of the three groups.

Preliminary linguistic observations were collected during spontaneous speech interactions, both between speakers and myself and among speakers of the same language, and from direct impromptu questions that I asked the informants (e.g., ‘What color is this object?’ or ‘Which entity or material is X color?’). I never disclosed my research interests so as not to influence the speakers.

A series of visits to Mu<u>t</u>alla<u>t</u> villages and towns between 2015 and 2019 allowed me to collect a large amount of lexical material and thus establish the set of BCTs and their reference entities and materials. In particular, the presence of natural objects, different types of soil, wood, flowers and fruits, animal coats and plumages, and traditional fabrics and embroidery motifs that comprise the linguistic ecosystem of the elderly speakers helped to reveal archaic uses of the chromatic lexemes and determine the boundaries of the desaturated BCTs.

Linguistic testing consisted of three experiments. I used a preliminary naming task to test the center and boundaries of the BCTs in the three groups under observation. The stimulus kit is a booklet with 960 pages, each of which contains a single color chip. The stimuli are standardized Munsell colors used in the *World Color Survey*. The original kit contains 320 chips with 40 equally spaced hues, eight degrees of brightness, all with maximum saturation, and ten achromatic chips. I added two degrees of saturation (intermediate and low) to the entire chart. After a preliminary test for color blindness, all informants performed the naming task individually according to the protocol described by Majid and Levinson (2007) in natural morning light, with color chips submitted on a matte paper support, one after another, in a fixed random order. In line with Berlin et al.'s suggestion (1976), consultants were asked in their native language, 'What color is this?' since the term 'color' is present in TMA, NMA (*lōn*), and Modern Hebrew (*ṣeva*). Consultants were requested to produce the most concise codification of color names. Each response was analyzed for category and consistency across consultants. Special attention was devoted to the classification of non-prototypical modern hues and desaturated categories. Each informant was given four seconds to name each color chip.

The second experiment consisted of a director/matcher test. Each group of 14 consultants was divided into seven pairs, and the partners each played the role of director and matcher once. Each pair of partners sat at a table, one next to the other, divided by a screen and able to hear each other's voices but unable to see each other. Both received the same group of six chips, made up of colors similar in terms of saturation, brilliance, or hue, whose categorization and level of agreement among speakers were the target questions. The director received the chips set in a given array on the table before him and was asked to instruct the matcher, who had the same chips in random order, to replicate the same array within two minutes. Each pair completed the same six games, three for each director/matcher combination, all under the same morning light conditions.

The third experiment consisted of a variation of the naming task, individually performed on all informants under the same light conditions to elicit the association of BCTs with culturally salient objects/materials that characterizes TMA and other Arabic traditional varieties. This experiment revealed that TMA informants tend to refer to light brown soil as *aḥmar* 'red,' and dark brown soil as *axḍar* 'green,' as they assume it to be wet/fertile. The light brown color of a horse's coat, as seen as an abstract color square, is referred to as *asfar* 'yellow,' but once the stimulus appears as a horse, it becomes *aḥmar* 'red,' as the horse breed in question is defined by its redness. A set of ten ecological hues, based on animal coats and plumages, herbs and flowers, and soil nuances were submitted to each informant as an abstract color chip, as a chip representing a picture of the actual material, and as a

picture of the actual, entire object. Responses were analyzed for consistency across the three stimulus types.

5. Results

In the Munsell charts below, numbers are associated with color terms: 1 ‘white,’ 2 ‘black,’ and 3 ‘red,’ following Berlin and Kay’s stages. The data show a neat convergence of NMA BCTs toward the Modern Hebrew model in both average number and quality of basic chromatic categories. Figure 1, below, reports the combined results of the first two linguistic experiments (individual naming task and director/matcher communicative task) in TMA:

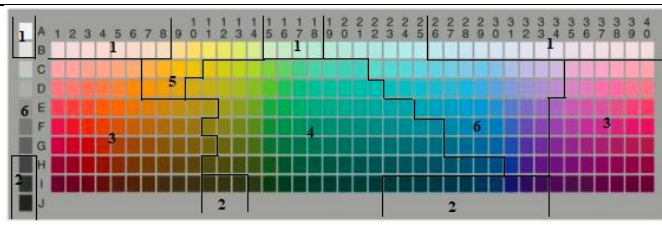
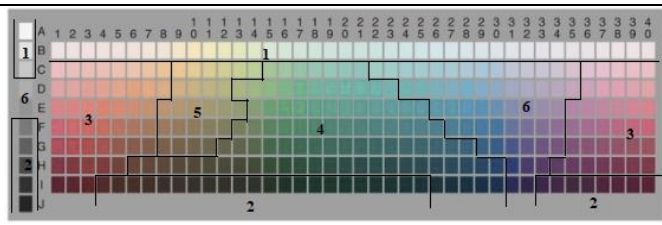
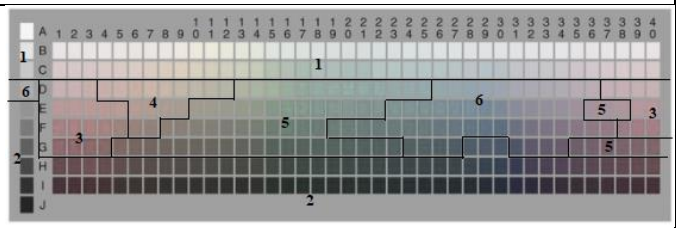
Fully Saturated	
Semi-Desaturated	
Highly Desaturated	

Figure 1. TMA Results of Individual Naming Task and Communicative Task

Figure 2 reports the combined results of the first two linguistic experiments (individual naming task and director/matcher communicative task) in NMA:

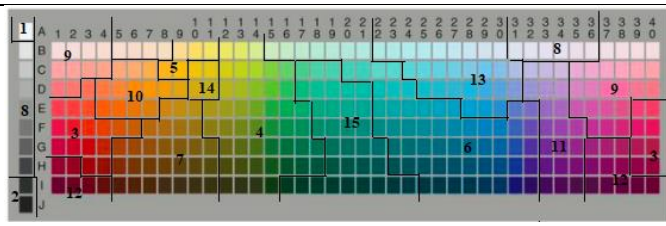
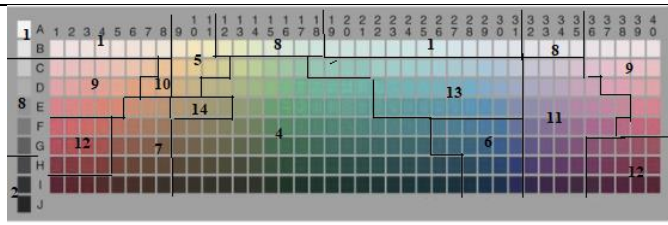
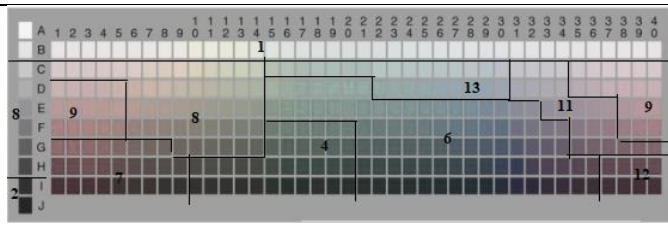
Fully Saturated	
Semi-Desaturated	
Highly Desaturated	

Figure 2. NMA Results of Individual Naming Task and Communicative Task

TMA data show that bright grey is called *azraq* ‘blue’ and bright brown is called *aḥmar* ‘red,’ while matte dark blue, grey, and brown are all called *aswad* ‘black.’ Many highly desaturated colors, whether red, green, or blue, are called *aswad* ‘black,’ while moderately desaturated colors are called *axḍar* ‘green.’ In contrast, NMA is clearly hue-oriented and shows no such brightness- or saturation-based differences.

Figure 3 reports the combined results of the first two linguistic experiments (individual naming task and director/matcher communicative task) in Modern Hebrew:

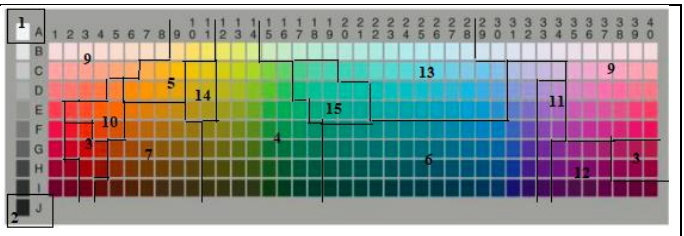
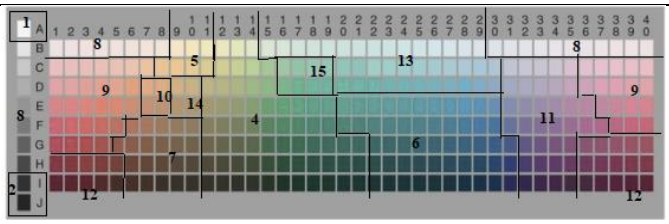
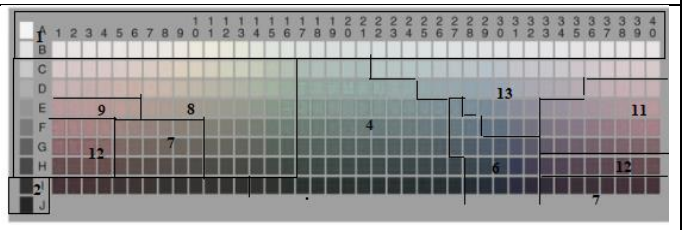
Fully Saturated	
Semi-Desaturated	
Highly Desaturated	

Figure 3. Modern Hebrew Results of Individual Naming Task and Communicative Task

Below, I provide descriptions and comments regarding the chromatic categories observed in each group in which I obtained agreement in at least 85% of the answers for each variety. I indicate in brackets the coordinates of the focal color of each BCT according to the first of the three Munsell charts provided for each group.

TMA BCTs reflect Stage V in Berlin and Kay's typology, while both NMA and Modern Hebrew are beyond Stage VII, showing the same number of basic linguistic categories, with strikingly similar boundaries and, in many cases, close, yet not identical, foci.

There are six BCTs in TMA: 1. *abyaḍ* 'white,' including several bright, light-colored chips (A); 2. *aswad* 'black' but also 'dark' and 'dull,' including several matte, dark grey, blue, green, and brown spaces and most of the highly desaturated colors (J); 3. *aḥmar* 'red' but also 'brown,' 'light brown,' 'pink,' 'orange,' 'intense yellow,' 'purple,' and even 'bright' and 'striking,' as it is sporadically used for semi-desaturated and highly desaturated stimuli, while it is very frequently used for fully saturated stimuli (G4); 4. *axḍar* 'green' but also 'dark' and 'semi-dull,' as it covers many dark colors and most of the grey

and dark shades of the semi-desaturated stimuli as well as ‘blue,’ as many TMA informants, especially in the communicative task, called bright, intense, blue chips *axḍar*, revealing the survival of a previous GRUE stage (G15); 5. *aṣfar* ‘yellow,’ which also covers bright-orange-golden nuances of brown and ecological light brown hues (B10); 6. *azraq* ‘blue’ but also ‘shining,’ ‘shimmering,’ and ‘iridescent,’ as it is the color of the plumage that covers the necks of doves, the shimmer of fish and snake scales, especially when in motion, and also ‘bright grey,’ ‘shining grey,’ and ‘silver’ (F31).

The situation of NMA and Modern Hebrew is different from that of TMA, especially because both modern languages have a large number of BCTs upon which speakers consistently agree, and their BCTs constitute neatly hue-oriented systems:

NMA: 1. *abyaḍ* ‘white’ (A); 2. *aswad* ‘black’ (J); 3. *aḥmar* ‘red’ (G3); 4. *axẓar* ‘green’ (E15); 5. *aṣfar* ‘yellow’ (C9); 6. *azraq* ‘blue’ (H31); 7. *bunni* ‘brown’ (I8); 8. *ramādi* ‘grey’ (F); 9. *zahri* ‘pink’ (C3); 10. *burtuqāni* ‘orange’ (E4); 11. *lēlaki* ‘violet’ (E34); 12. *biṭinğāni* ‘eggplant purple’ (I37); 13. *samāwi* ‘light blue’ (C28); 14. *ḥardal* ‘mustard’ (D11); 15. *turqiz*, ‘turquoise’ (G20)

Modern Hebrew: 1. *lavan* ‘white’ (A); 2. *šaḥor* ‘black’ (J); 3. *adom* ‘red’ (G2); 4. *yaroq* ‘green’ (E15); 5. *ṣahov* ‘yellow’ (C9); 6. *kaḥol* ‘blue’ (H31); 7. *ḥum* ‘brown’ (I8); 8. *afor* ‘grey’ (F); 9. *varod* ‘pink’ (C38); 10. *katom*, ‘orange’ (E4); 11. *segol*, ‘violet’ (F34); 12. *ḥaṣil* ‘eggplant purple’ (I36); 13. *teḵelet* ‘light blue’ (C27); 14. *ḥardal* ‘mustard’ (D11); 15. *turqiz*, ‘turquoise’ (D18).

The effect of Modern Hebrew BCTs on NMA informants was made evident by the fact that these speakers often resorted to Hebrew color names, especially in the communicative task, with a very high level of mutual agreement on each meaning. NMA informants often added further attributions, also in Hebrew, to the Hebrew BCTs, including referent entities and levels of brightness, e.g., *ṣahov limon* ‘lemon-yellow,’ *sagol kehe* ‘dark violet,’ or *adom bahir* ‘light red.’ The use of Hebrew has the advantage of immediately recalling the Hebrew color system, where ‘light red’ and ‘pink’ belong to different categories, not only to the broad, desaturated TMA *aḥmar* ‘red.’ This is not the case in the TMA color system.

In the experiment, semi-desaturated and highly desaturated stimuli were treated in TMA very similarly to the way in which the fully saturated series was treated, reaffirming the broad value of TMA BCTs, while both NMA and Modern Hebrew showed a different partition of the areas covered by each BCT between the full and the semi-saturated charts. In the highly desaturated TMA chart, the six BCTs appear in similar areas, as in the semi-desaturated and fully saturated charts. The same is not true in the case of NMA, where ‘red’ and ‘turquoise’ do not appear in the semi-desaturated chart, the blue area is restricted, and ‘white,’ ‘green,’ and ‘violet’ extend over wider areas than the fully saturated stimuli. In the highly desaturated stimuli, ‘yellow’ disappears from NMA BCTs. The same trends present in NMA are observed in Modern Hebrew responses over different degrees of saturation. Interestingly, in the

series of fully saturated stimuli, NMA speakers produced responses similar to the Modern Hebrew data, especially with regard to the foci of the categories, while the boundaries were interpreted somewhat differently, especially in the more basic colors (red, green, yellow, blue), attesting to the effects of the substratum of native categories of their mother tongue (TMA).

The third linguistic experiment, performed to elicit BCTs' association with culturally salient objects/materials, confirmed a series of preliminary observations on TMA differential perception of chromatic categories across entities and textures. Indeed, among TMA informants, the same chromatic value seen as an abstract color chip, a picture of an actual material (e.g., a horse's coat, fish scales), and a picture of an entire object, consistently produced divergent color terms, revealing the effects of cultural constraints and traditional symbolic structures expressed through desaturated and brightness-oriented categories. The same natural dark brown was presented isolated as a monochrome chip, a close-up picture of a clod of soil, and a picture of the surface of a field with some grass and pebbles. The first stimulus produced the answer *aswad* 'black/dark/dull,' the close-up of the soil texture elicited the response *aḥmar* 'colored/brown,' and the picture of the field's surface prompted the answer *axḍar* 'fertile dark (wet) soil,' based on cultural inference and symbolism. NMA speakers and Modern Hebrew speakers produced the same hue-oriented responses across stimulus types without traces of symbolic influences, cultural constructs, or desaturated categories. NMA distinguishes pink, purple, orange, and brown from red; grey, violet, and light blue from blue; and mustard from yellow.

6. Conclusion

BCTs found in both TMA and NMA have slightly different foci and markedly different boundaries. TMA BCTs reflect desaturated and brightness categories, while NMA BCTs are hue-based and closer to those of Modern Hebrew. NMA informants show how the BCTs of Modern Hebrew, a second language they have acquired through intensive training in adulthood, permanently shape their linguistic color categories. It should be noted that one third of the NMA consultants involved in this research completed their studies at Tel Aviv University at least ten years ago. The continued preservation of the structures acquired from Modern Hebrew following the period of intensive exposure to the language may be attributable to the modern hue-oriented color system that dominates the visual arts and the marketing of fashion, design, and beauty products. Ecological, desaturated, and brightness-oriented chromatic categories in use among TMA speakers are insufficient for describing the plethora of artificial industrial pigments and hues in use in contemporary digital technology and dying techniques and are used by NMA speakers. NMA color terminology increases via associations with prototypical referents

and the addition of degrees of brightness (*ṣahov limon* ‘lemon-yellow’>*limon* ‘lemon,’ *yaroq avoqado*>*avoqado*, *adom bahir* ‘light red,’ *yaroq kehe* ‘dark green,’ *ḥaṣil mat*, ‘matte purple,’ *yaroq mavriq* ‘glossy green’) borrowed from Modern Hebrew. To summarize, NMA shows a transitional BCT system that is gradually shifting from desaturated to hue-oriented categories under the influence of Modern Hebrew. The shift occurs initially in the foci of the color categories and, at later stages, in the boundaries.

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Auxiliary Words and Particles in Central Asian Arabic

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Abstract

The paper deals with the auxiliary words, expressions, and particles of the Qashqa-darya (QAD) and Bukhara Arabic (BAD) dialects in Uzbekistan. There are three categories:

1. Changes in the Arabic dialectal forms due to the centuries-long isolation from the Arab world.
2. Properly Central Asian dialectisms. Their existence is explained by the internal development tendencies of the Arabic language.
3. Tajik and Uzbek borrowings caused by linguistic contacts. Among them, there are found Arabized forms.

The paper is based mainly on the dialectological materials recorded by me in the Bukhara and Qashqa-darya Arabic-speaking kishaks of Uzbekistan since the 1980s. During this time, I have gathered materials, much of which, along with the linguistic analysis and comments, were published over the years in the form of monographs and articles.

The texts obtained as a result of the expeditions, both published and unpublished, contain interesting words and expressions, morphological markers, various forms, including auxiliary words and particles.

Keywords: Auxiliary words, particles, Central Asia, Bukhara, Qashqa-darya Arabic dialect.

1. Preface

From October 28th to November 12th, 2018 a dialectological expedition to Uzbekistan was held. The expedition aimed to identify the existing language

situation in Central Asia, namely in the Arabic kishlaks of Bukhara and Qashqa-darya regions, as well as to gather and process a dialectological material. This goal was achieved. The following paper deals with the evaluation and analysis of the current linguistic situation.

The linguistic characteristics of the peripheral Arabic dialects are highly noteworthy from the point of view of the comparative study of literary Arabic and the dialects. Works on peripheral Arabic cover a wide range of phonology, grammar, and vocabulary (Akhvlediani 1985; Arnold 1998; Chikovani 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006-2007, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2022; Grigore 2007; Ingham 1994, 2004; Jastrow 2005, 2014; Procházka 2000; Talay 1999-2003; Tsereteli 1941, 1947, 1937, 1954a, 1954b, 1956, 1970a, 1970b; Vinnikov 1962, 1969; Yushmanov 1931).

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

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

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

In the process of fieldwork, newly obtained linguistic materials, the revealed grammatical forms, markers, and vocabulary units have been compared to the 1930s (Tsereteli, Vinnikov) and 1980s, 1986s, 2000s (Chikovani) records. Such an approach allows us to define the ongoing tendencies in the language. It has been ascertained that the process of breaking an accurate grammatical system of the language is currently going on in both dialects, mostly in Qashqa-darya. It can be said that the number of speakers knowing native Arabic in Jeinau and Jogari has declined sharply since the 1980s. As for the current picture of morphological production, developed events in Central Asia caused by linguistic contacts can be estimated as a process of convergent and divergent language development. This is natural, as long-standing relationships produce similar and different signs in the languages in contact. Deviating from spoken language norms caused by interaction, in case of systematic repetition, is regarded as a characteristic of a language. According to the current linguistic situation, cases of interference are due to the influence of the Tajik and Uzbek languages. Language deviations, it can be said, inaccuracies are evident in some cases. While working in the field, recording dialectological material, more than once was

fixed that Arab informants, especially young people, have a better knowledge of the Tajik and Uzbek languages than their native Arabic. This is stipulated by the fact that lately communication in Arabic language in both Bukhara and Qashqa-darya Arabic-speaking kishlaks has been further restricted.

The texts and grammar materials recorded in Central Asia provide an opportunity to present the current state of form-building and word-building in the Arabic dialects of Central Asia.

Below are given auxiliary words and particles, their meanings, compositions, and origins. The examples are taken from the texts recorded by me during dialectological expeditions to Central Asia. Some of them are taken from the materials recorded by Prof. G. Tsereteli.

2. *mi* – Verbal Particle

mi'rifūn-ki min 'īd had fad šuġl zīn miği 'i-had miḥdünyū, pōšō misūnū (BAD) (Chikovani 2009: 56, 5).

"They know that this boy is skillful (good things come out of his hands), they take him and appoint (make) him as a Pasha."

anā ileykum fat naġzia masu himil manṭikum (BAD) (Chikovani 2009: 56, 7).

"I'll give you a good cargo (provisions)."

dük min dunya mᵃ'ber (BAD) (Chikovani 2009: 55, 12).

"He died, had passed from [this] world [to the other one]."

zalōm zallam, akaēnu eš sawāna mi'rifūn/mi'rifūnāt ma kun (BAD).

"It got dark, the brothers did not know what to do (they had no knowledge how to act, [i.e., they lost their way])."

One of the distinguishing features of the Bukhara Arabic dialect is the imperfective forms of the verb, its verbal particle *-mi*. It is used in allomorphs found in Egyptian, Palestinian and Syrian colloquial Arabic.

We have this particle parallel to the usual forms of the imperfective. So, on the other hand, we have imperfective forms of the verb without this prefix:

ana fat walad akūn (BAD).

"I am the only son (of yours)."

parizäta qālet: ana ilēk aqūl (BAD) (Tsereteli 1970: 291).

"Pari said, 'I tell you'."

There are cases where forms with and without the particle are used in one sentence:

waladi miği, qālẹt, ana ilēk azummik (BAD).

"My son will come, she said, I shall hide you."

dabti ašidda, maği (BAD) (Tsereteli 1970: 293).

"I shall tie my horse (and) I shall come."

The particle *m/mi* is absent in the forms III pers. fem. sing., II pers. sing. of both genders and also I and II pers. plural of sound triliteral verbs and verbs with sound first and second radicals. In these forms, the prefixal consonant is followed by a vowel, after which we have two radical consonants *tilbis, nilbis*, etc. (Tsereteli 1970: 293).

There are two versions of its origin:

1. It can be originated from the Persian *mi* (می), which expresses the continuation of an action. The argument is that Bukhara Arabic is greatly influenced by the Tajik language.
2. It is of Arabic origin. It can be connected with the particle *m*, producing the participle. I've fixed in my recordings the same forms used in some cases as imperfective verbs and sometimes as particles: *miʻrifūn* – "they know"/*miʻrifūn/miʻrifūnāt* – "experts".
   zalōm zallam, akaēnu eš sawāna miʻrifūn/miʻrifūnāt ma kun (BAD).
   "It got dark, the brothers did not know what to do (they had no knowledge how to act, [i.e., they lost their way])."
   miʻrifūn-ki min 'īd had fad šuġl zīn miği 'i-had mioḫdünyū, pōšō misūnū (BAD) (Chikovani 2009: 56, 5).
   "They know that this boy is skillful (good things come out of his hands), they take him and appoint (make) him as a Pasha."

In Persian, this particle می is merged with the form of the Present Tense. The verb is never used without it in the Present Tense. It is characteristic of the Tajik, both for the literary language and the dialects.

The same particle is also used for the Past Tense in the Persian and Tajik. As it is known, in the Persian the form *guft* corresponds with the Past Tense: "said". When the duration of an action is stated in the Past, then the particle می is added to this "Simple" form of the Past:

mi-guft	"was saying"
dād	"gave"
mi-dād	"was giving"
niṣast	"sat"
mi-niṣast	"was sitting"

In Arabic, we have a different situation. Here, in parallel with the Imperfective, forms without the particles also occur, which is characteristic of the Syria-Palestine and Egyptian dialects.

There are no cases in Arabic of using particles with Perfect, as occurs in Persian-Tajik.

The sentences of wish, request, or command usually use the forms without prefixes (*allāh iəsallimak* – "Let Allah welcome you").

3. Shortened Auxiliary Verbs: *-k < kēyn*

This type of auxiliary verb (*-k* < *kēyn*) is discussed by G. Tsereteli (Tsereteli 1941: 143).

fad yōm bōy min misr ǧāk (BAD) (Chikovani 2009: 61, 5).

"One day the Bey returned from Egypt."

ǧāk < ǧā' kēyyin.

bōy i ʝēt rūḥu ǧāk (BAD) (Chikovani 2009: 61, 6).

"The Bey went to his house."

aḫuyin izġīr i ʝmamlaka ġadak (BAD).

"The younger brother went to the kingdom."

The participle of a verb together with the auxiliary verb has a meaning of Past Indefinite of the Turkic languages slightly identical to *Plusquamperfekt*:

kẹn ʝāzi – "it turns out he took"

4. Shortened Auxiliary Verbs: *ta- < ta'āl*

ta-noġdi < ta'āl noġdi! "Let's go!"

ta-noġsa < ta'āl noġsa! "Let's take (it) right now!"

The Complex (Immediate) Future Tense is formed by the prefix *-ta*. It is added to the form of imperfect and wears the meaning of immediate action:

ta-noġdi "let us go", "we will go right now"

ta-noġsa "let us take it now"

ta-iktub "let him write right now"

ta-tilbis "dress right now"

zōka i ʝōi binta igūlya: ta-noġdi i ʝmadīna i ʝuḫōrō (QAD).

"He says to Bey's daughter: Let's go now to the town Bukhara".

ta is spread not only in the Central Asian Arabic dialects but also in the speech of Arabs of Syria and Mesopotamia.

ta < متى (Tsereteli 1937: 305).

ta < حتّى (Tsereteli 1954b: 19; Akhvlediani 1985: 92).

It seems that *ta* prefix is related and comes from the Arabic verbal form *ta'āl*, which is widely spread in Arabic dialects[1].

	Sing.	*Pl.*
II masc.	*ta'āl//ta'āla*	*ta'ālū*
fem.	*ta'ālī*	*ta'ālínna*

[1] Details about the origin of the *-ta* see Chikovani 2019: 50.

5. Other Cases of Formation of the Future Tense

rāḥ iktub – "let him write right now". Complex (Immediate) Future is formed by verbal form *rāḥ* (راح).

rāḥ iktub = سوف يكتب أو سيكتب فورًا

5.1. In the South of Iraq and Rarely in the QAD:

gā'id iktub "he will write now" – يعني يكتب الأن
gā'id iušrub "he will drink now" – يعني يشرب الأن
dilwaht pōšō ozōn kēyn ienṭi gā'id (QAD).
"At that time, the pasha was reading azan".
ğaddi, li intu iehāna ḫafa ṣoirinkum gā'idinkum (QAD).
"Grandpa, why are you here so frightened?" (Chikovani 2008: 77, 2).

5.2. In Baghdad:

The Complex (Immediate) Future is formed by the prefix *da*.

da-imši	"let him go now"
da-ašrub	"I will drink now"
da-aṭbux masgūf	"I will cook mazguf"

5.3. In Egyptian Arabic:

Future tense is formed by prefix *ḥa*:

ḥa-iktib	"he will write"
ḥa-ikūn	"will be"
ḥa-imši	"he will go"

Rarely, in some cases, is fixed full form *rāḥ*. Comp. *rāḥ uktub* (Chikovani 2019: 52).

6. Widely Spread Particles

-ki

The particle *-ki* is of foreign origin. There is no word for "which" (الذي). With this meaning in Central Asian Arabic is used the Iranian (Tajik) *-ki* - "that":

iḫlāf bōy i ɟalad qāl-ki buḫōro ib'īd hast (BAD).
"Then the Bey said to the boy that Bukhara is far away."
qāl-ki ilay salās iumāt qabrī qaraúlia sū! (BAD) (Chikovani 2009: 55, 1).
"He said (that), 'Guard my grave for three days!'"

dük qōl-ki - ana hai lēm mamūt (BAD) (Chikovani 2009: 58, 9).
"He said that he will die today (I'll die today)."
-mi
-mi is an Uzbek Interrogative particle. It is widespread in both – Bukhara and Qashqa-darya dialects:
āna min darb lageyta, ḫazeyta, ilāk-mi? (QAD)
"I found it on the road [and] took it, is [it] yours?"
ḫamsoyta gāl: -gidram imut-mi? (QAD) (Chikovani 2008: 106, 1).
"The neighbor said [asked], "Does the cauldron die?"
intum kīn baḥsinkum-mi? (QAD)
"Have you sent him anything?"

7. Prepositions, Conjunctions, Particles and Derivational Affixes (mainly of foreign origin):

The Tajik prepositions:
to – "until": *to-hōzir* – "until today"
az – of, out of": *az hağar* – "of stone"
zōka ḥōiṭa az hağar sawa (QAD).
"He built a palace of stone"
ba – expresses the direction and place of action:
ḫōnaba kint (QAD).
"I was at home."
bo – expresses simultaneity:
zōka bo-nāb ğawōb anṭa (QAD).
"He answered the old man."
agar – "if":
agar imūt la tuqdur imši (QAD).
"If he dies he will not be able to go."
The Uzbek derivational affixes:
bon – denoted the sphere of occupation:
boġbōn – "gardener"
darwōzabon – "door-keeper"
lar – is the plural-forming suffix:
kitōblār – "books"
ča is used to form adjectives and adverbs from nouns and pronouns:
uzbekča – "Uzbek
zōka rusča mā idrī, zōka arabča idrī (QAD).
"He does not speak Russian, he speaks Arabic."
gar – denotes profession:
sowdagar – "merchant"

kor is used with the same meaning:

binokor – “builder”

8. Prepositions, Prefixes, Interrogative and Negative Particles (mainly of Arabic origin):

il (classical الى) is very widespread. It often losses the consonant *(l)* and is often represented with the vowel only:

i ʿabūk - “your father”;

fad yōm i ḥaṭīb amīr qālki - “One day the Amir told the Khatib that...”;

dawa kēēina i ʿadrūnu - “The medicine was inside (*i* - فى):

i ʿsandūk ’ayyan übrūhu – “He looked inside the box himself”;

’ayyan, ki i ʿadrūn nāim zōǧ ummu – “He saw, that his mother’s husband was sleeping inside”.

More often are used Interrogative and Negative particles of complex structure:

ēšvo (Jogari) (اى شى هو)	“what (is) this?”
ēš (Jeinau) (اى شى)	“what?”
məen-wo (< məen huva)	“who is (this)?”
eškō (Jeinau)	“where?”
hīnu, hīna (Jogari)	“where?”
esāb (Tajik)	“where”
ešlōn	“how”

ki < kīf (كَيْفَ):

inta ki ġanī surf? (QAD)

“How did you get rich?”

ši-ni (< ši-li)	“why”

gaṭṭiš < gaṭṭ – eš – complex negative particle. It is spread in Central Asian Arabic.

sabī min nōm has. ’ayyan, gaṭṭiš mamin. ugūb way kokōyata i ʿdarb ṭala‘ (QAD).

“The boy woke. He looked around [sees], no one is there. Then he set off on the road with his brothers.”

For the negative are also used *māmin* (QAD) and *man* (BAD) – “no”.

There are cases when *mā//ma* is used in combination with pronominal suffixes *mā-hu, mā-hi* (BAD); *mā-haw, mā-hai* (QAD) – “he, she is not here”; *mānni, mānnak* (with geminated *n* between two consonants), etc.

dēw qāl-ki ana ‘abt mānni dia! (BAD)

“Diw said [that], “I’m not a slave”.

9. Diminutive

The diminutive is formed using the Iranian suffix *-ik*, e.g.:

insiki	"my little wife"
gidrikin	"cauldron"
halikak	"your situation"

Of Iranian origin must also be the suffix of some adjectives:

ğu'ankin – "miserable" < *ğu'ān* – "hungry"

zinkin – "kind" < *zēn* – "wonderful"

Iranian origin also has an adverbial suffix *-ha*, e.g.

namsiha – "in the evening" < *al-amsi* – "yesterday"

Worthy of attention are a type of complex particles *išqo* – "where?", *mišqo* – "whence?", *išwo* – "how?", consisting of *ēš* < *'ayyi šayyi'in* – "what kind of?".

10. Demonstrative Pronouns

hamat – "this". Also is used *hat:*

hamat ğeynāu sitt maḥallāt (QAD).

"In this Jeinau there are six districts (areas)."

hamzik//hamzōk – "this".

hamzik šayḫ ḫizmat asūiha (QAD).

"I'll serve this Sheikh."

ham – is the conjunction "and" of Tajik origin.

gidir-ham imūt-mi? (QAD)

"And does the cauldron (really) die?"

be – is of Tajik origin and expresses "absence", "lack":

be-'agl – "foolish", "mindless", "stupid", "silly".

11. Conclusion

Auxiliary words and particles of the Central Asian Bukhara and Qashqadarya Arabic dialects represent significant material for the study of the history of the Arabic language, its internal development tendencies, and the study of Arabic-Indo-European (Tajik) and Arabic-Turkish (Uzbek) linguistic relations.

In the current stage, there is a noticeable growth of code-switching cases in both dialects due to the increased recession in the communicative function of the Arabic dialect. It is worth noting that for the younger generation, Arabic is

gradually losing the status of a native language, although it still retains the function of a mother tongue.

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Linguistic Analysis of the Syrian Comic *Kōktēl* "Cocktail"

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Abstract

Following the Syrian revolution, art in its various expressions, has contributed as an instrument of information and criticism and as a vehicle for transmitting the desire for change. Since 2012 Syrian illustrators have started anonymously publishing their comics on the *Comic4 Syria* Facebook page. The collection focuses on the Syrian revolution and the country's social, economic and political problems.

In this work one of the comics entitled "Cocktail" (*Kōktēl*) belonging to the *Comic4 Syria* collection has been translated and examined from a linguistic and socio-linguistic point of view.

The cartoon under consideration is particularly interesting for the linguistic variety used, as the author also uses the Alawite dialect in addition to the urban Syrian Arabic (of Damascus).

Keywords: Syrian comics, *Comic4 Syria*, Alawite variety, Syrian Arabic.

1. Introduction

With the advent of the Arab revolutions, comics has spread even more and has also been used by artists to express dissent and criticism. In Syria comics immediately became, in many cases, an essential tool in favor of the Syrian people dragged into the vortex of revolution and civil war.

Since 2012 a new generation of Syrian illustrators and graphic designers has started anonymously posting their comics on the *Comic4 Syria* Facebook page, in which comics highlight the terrifying Syrian situation.

In this paper, we examine the *Comic4 Syria* collection and focus on the linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis of the *Kōktēl* "Cocktail" comic, analyzing colloquial expressions and idioms and paying attention to some features of the Alawite variety used in the text.

This research has two goals: to provide a preliminary and concise overview of recent comic book productions in Syria following the revolution with a particular look at the *Comic4 Syria* collection and to analyze the Syrian Arabic used in the comic *Kōktēl* "Cocktail", an interesting case because the author uses Alawite variety of the coastal area, whose studies are not yet many.

2. Overview of contemporary comics in Syria

The Arab revolutions has strongly influenced the spread of comics which have represented an instrument of information, denunciation and dissent. Before the revolutions, magazines and various types of printed publications were for a long time the only platform for reading comics, whose publication was controlled by the State. Comics have always suffered from limited dissemination due to lack of financial support; aside from the state-run periodicals, the comic book albums for adults were self-produced and independently financed.

There are studies on comics and humor in Arab countries, among which we mention: Ghaibeh (2015), Millet (1987), De Angelis (2015), Douglas / Douglas (1994), Avallone (2011), Branca, De Poli, Zanelli (2011), Di Marco (2011), Gameel (2014), Bank (2012), Damlouji (2016), Dozio (2021). Many of these studies are focused on the analysis of the development of comics in Egypt, while little bibliography exists on the artistic genre of comics in Syria.

In the past the Syrian government, realizing the important role of comics in influencing the younger generations, had already forbidden comic magazines in the 70s and 80s, allowing the diffusion of *ʔUsāma*, created in 1972. Although, for many years, there has been an active scene regarding comics in Syria, so far not many graphic novels have been published. Several attempts to start adult comics magazines failed due to a lack of sponsorship (Bank 2012).

The new young cartoonists express their art mainly through the Internet[1] (blogs, Facebook, YouTube, and other social networks), but also through traditional channels, such as magazines or collections.

[1] Documentations by various artists on the Syrian revolution can be found at the following site: https://creativememory.org/.

During the revolution in Syria and later during the civil war, art immediately became an essential tool for denouncing abuses and criticizing the regime.

One of the best-known Syrian cartoonists is Ḥamīd Sulaymān with his graphic novel *Mustašfā l-ḥurriyya* "Freedom Hospital" (2018) published in France and then translated into English. The heart of the story is a clandestine hospital, a sort of makeshift aid center in a small provincial town controlled by the Al-ʔAsad regime in northern Syria. Established by the protagonist Yasmine, the hospital soon becomes a reflection of the complexities of Syrian society.

Another Syrian artist who wrote graphic novels about Syria is Riyāḍ Saṭṭūf. Currently residing in France, Riyāḍ Saṭṭūf becomes famous for his autobiographical comic book *l'Arabe du future (1978-2011)* (2014) of which there are currently five volumes, all written in French.

A separate case constitutes *Tīn Baʕl maǧalla sūrīyya šahrīyya li-l-yāfiʔīn*[2] "Fig. Syrian magazine for young people", a comic for children and teenagers (published between 2015 and 2017). In Arabic *Tīn Baʕl* is a fig watered with rainwater, *baʕl* means naturally irrigated plant, not artificial. It's a word pun between *Teen*, abbreviation of the English *Teenager* and *Tīn* which in Arabic means "figs". A comparison is made between the fruit and the boys who have yet to become ripe, just like figs.

3. *Comic4 Syria* Facebook page

Comic4 Syria[3] كوميك لأجل سوريا (*Kūmīk li-ʔaǧl Sūriyyā*) was born as a Facebook page on 6 July 2012 in response to the brutality of the Al-ʔAsad government against the Syrian people.

To date, the page has 19.131 "likes" and 19.300 followers[4]. The number of comics varies, as new comics are added periodically and some are sometimes removed.

In creating the stories of their comics, the young artists refer to real events, press articles, demonstrations and protests. In the information section of the page, the authors have inserted a sentence that summarizes the reasons of this comic collective, that is: "Stories and anecdotes inspired by the great Syrian revolution, written, sketched and drawn by free people, dedicated to every soul that yearns for freedom and dignity anywhere in the world".

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2 https://www.facebook.com/teenbaal.

3 https://www.facebook.com/Comic4Syria.

4 Date of last consultation: 12/09/2022.

In the "photos" section we can find all comics; they are numerous and share the issues, which generally concern the violence of the government and the police on citizens, demonstrators and the repercussions that war has on people's souls, in particular on children.

The designs and styles are all different from each other, this may be a clue that many illustrators have worked on the project. Unfortunately the names of the authors are unknown and the comics are anonymous for political reasons.

The comics are all written in Syrian Arabic, among those currently present on the facebook page we find: *Šahīd… qiṣṣa qaṣira* "Martyr… a story" (2012); *Kātū l-mīlād* "Birthday cake" (2012); *Qannāṣ ʕindamā taqtul… taqtul nafs-a-ka* "Sniper: When you kill… you kill yourself" (2012); *Bard* "Cold" (2012) accompanied by the description of the post: "A true story that happened at the beginning of the revolution… it took place in Darʕa"; *Al-qiṭṭa* "The cat" (2013); *Al-ʔumm* "The mother" (2013). Many of the stories present in *Comic4 Syria* are inspired by real events and we can give some of these a date and a place, for example: *Kīmāwī* "Chemist" (2013), by virtue of its title and story, relates to the episode of 21 August 2013 in Ġūṭa, in which Baššār al-ʔAsad strikes with missiles containing the chemical agent sarin some rebel areas in the southern part of Damascus during the war.

In the Syrian comic strips the content is all about social criticism and the government complaint and the use of the image allows a simplification of the message, accentuated by the adoption of the Arabic dialect.

4. *Kōktēl* "Cocktail"

Inside the FB *Comic4 Syria* page we find the comic *Kōktēl* (2013)[5] which narrates, in nine pages, the friendship between an Alawite boy Ḥussayn and a Sunni Aḥmad. Friends from childhood, the two protagonists find themselves related to the two faces of Syria, one pro Bashar and the other pro revolution. After the childhood spent together, the two boys will move away because of their different origins and political ideas, one loyal to the Alawite government, the other activist and pro-revolution. In the end, however, they will find themselves united by the same feelings and will toast their friendship with a Cocktail. More information on the origin of the two young men is given at the end, in which Hussayn claims that he comes from Jable and Aḥmad from Aš-šuġūr a neighborhood located in Damascus.

The author of the comic plays with varieties of the Syrian Arabic, using for Hussayn the Alawite dialect because the character comes from the coastal town

[5] It can be found, in the English version, in the text Syria Speaks winner of the EnglishPen 2018 award.

of Jable, which has an Alawite majority. The Alawites moved down from the mountains and from the surrounding rural areas to province on the western coast, most concentrated in the Latakia but also Tartus, Jable, etc., though there are small numbers in Turkey, Israel, Lebanon.

The Alawite dialect is a rural variety and is included in the group of coastal dialects of Syria. Concerning the studies on the dialects of the west coast, Procházka (2013) collected data and provided a linguistic analysis on the dialect of the island of Arwād. Behnstedt (2009) in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, under the entry ˊSyria', dedicates a section to the coastal dialects of Syria. Other sources on the *sāḥil* dialects are represented by the dictionary *Mawsūʿat al-ʿāmmiyya s-sūriyya* written by ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm (2003) and from the information provided by Behnstedt *Sprachatlas von Syrien* (1997).

Among the studies on Alawite communities and their dialect it is worth mentioning Procházka-Eisl, Procházka (2010), Procházka (2015), Behnstedt (1997) who presents an accurate classification of the Arabic dialect of Latakia in the Coastal Dialects group (in his *Sprachatlas von Syrien*), Klimiuk (2011, 2015) who dealt with the Arabic of Latakia with considerations also on the Alawite variety and Werner (1998, 2006) who examined the Arab of the province of Antioch making references to the Alawite variety[6].

In addition to using the language spoken every day, the artist also uses standard Arabic in some contexts: in the case of the reproduction of the news, the author adopts a high register that tends to standard Arabic.

4.1. Notes

In the transcription of Arabic spoken by characters of Alawite origin (Husseyn and family, military), the phoneme / q / is rendered as a uvular [q], a typical feature of the Alawite dialect and not as a voiceless laryngeal occlusive [ʔ] (as in general occurs in the urban speeches of the Mashreq).

Regarding Ahmed's speech, clearly a Sunni boy, from the phonetic and phonological point of view some typical characteristics of the Damascus variety have been reproduced.

About the graphematic aspect, having no formal recognition, the various Arabic dialects are affected by a lack of spelling conventions: this factor is also manifested in the texts of comics, in which each author invents a graphematic rendering.

The phoneme / q / at the graphematic level is always reported, even when Ahmed (from Damascus) speaks, but in this case in the phonetic transcription

6 Dima Wannus in her novel الخائفون *Al-ḫāʔifūna (2017) The Frightened Ones* inserts the Alawite dialect. She describes the life of a young woman in Damascus during the civil war who receives a manuscript by a former lover who fled to Germany.

/q/ has been rendered as voiceless occlusive laryngal /ʔ/. The graphematic aspect is mostly influenced by the phonetics of the dialect as in the case of interdentals which are made occlusive, for example *ktīr* كتير with / *t* / instead of *kṯir* كثير with / *ṯ* /.

In other cases, on the contrary, it is Standard Arabic that interferes in writing: the writing reflects the interdental of Standard Arabic as in the case of the verb ثبت *ṯabat* "to demonstrate" written by the interdental /ṯ/.

The original comic will be reproduced below with the transcription and the translation then an analysis of the text will be carried out.

Fig. 1

- *M-aqəl-lak ʕammel-lī bās la-hōnī…!*
- *Fašarət… žarreb tāḫod-ha mən-nī*

- I'm telling you to pass me (literally: give me a lift) here!
- You wish… Try getting it!

Fig. 2

- *W-lāk Ḥusseyn! qūm ᵃṭlāʕ ktōb waẓāyef-ak … yʕaddem-nī yā-k!*
- *Dēr bāl-ak!*

- Hey you, Husseyn! Come up and do your homework, damn you!
- Be careful!

Fig. 3

- *Bə-ḥaẓẓ-ī ənn-ak kwayyes… akalt əš-šaḥḥāṭa ʕan-nī.*
- *[Baʕda kam sana]*
- *Ēmāt bədd-ak ᵃtḥalleṣ muḥāḍara? ʕāzem-ak ʕā-kōktēl!*
- *W-mən-lak əl-maṣārī w-lā?*
- *La-(h) yā šrīk, maʕ-ī 120 līra.*

- I swear you're a good (boy), you took the slipper for me!
- [A few years later]
- When do you finish class? I would like to offer you a cocktail (lit.: I invite you to a cocktail).
- Do you have the money (lit.: where do you get the money from) or not?
- I have it, my friend, I have 120 lira.

Fig. 4

- *[ʔaḏār 2011 ġurfat Ḥussayn]*
- *Lak ya zalame rašš-(h)ōn rašš bə-Darʕā!! Nās ṣarḫet ḥərriyye! Lak šū yaʕnī?*
- *W-lak maʕqūl ᵊmṣaddeq ha-l-ḥakī!? Žēš-nā a-byaʕmel hēkī…*
- *Baʕdēn šū hayy l-ḥərriyye llī bədd-on ya-hā?*
- *Lak ṭūl ʕəmr-ak dəbb... ṣəbb matte la-šūf…*
  [Bayt Aḥmed]
- *Ləssā l-ḫṭūṭ maʔṭūʕa...! əl-ʕamā kīf bədd-ī aṭṭamman ʕalā əḫt-ī bə-Dūmā?*

[March 2011, Husseyn's room]

- In Daraa they made a shower of bullets at people shouting "freedom"! What do you think?
- And do you think it is logical to believe this story? Our army doesn't do that!
- And then, what is this freedom they want?
- You've always been an idiot... pour me some Maté, come on...
  [Ahmed's house]
- - The phone lines are still off! Damn how can I reassure me about my sister in Douma?

Fig. 5

[Bayt Ḥussayn]

- *TV: ḍabaṭat al-ǧihāt al-muḫtaṣṣa nafaq-^{an} yaḥtawī ʕalā l-ʕadīd min al-ʔasliḥa wa ḏ-ḏaḫā'ir… yaṣilu bayna Darʕā wa l-ʔUrdun… wa ʔalqat al-qabḍ ʕalā al-ʔirhābīyyina…*
- *ēh mā qaṣṣartū bə-hā-l-ᵊklāb hadōlī…!*
- *Maʕqūlī qəṣṣat ən-nafaq?*
- *Ṭabʕān maʕqūlī…!*
- *Ḥussayn! ana nāzel muzāhara*
- *Šū? Bədd-ak tənzel maʕ hadōlī l-mužrimīn?*
- *Rūḥ ʕan-nā yaaa!!!!!*

[Husseyn's house]

- (TV): *The* competent authorities have located a tunnel that contains a large amount of weapons and ammunition and which reaches between Daraa and Jordan and carried out the arrest of the terrorists.
- Well done (lit.: you haven't done wrong) with these dogs!
- Does the tunnel story make sense?
- Of course it makes sense!
- Husseyn, I'm going down to protest!
- What? Do you want to join these criminals?
- Get out of here!

Fig. 6

[ḥərriyye, ḥərriyye]
- *ʾMsəkū-lī ha-l-kərr…!*

[Freedom, freedom!]
- Bring me that donkey!

Fig. 7

- *La-ʕamā!! M-yəqtulū Aḥmed…!*
- *A-bīṣīr hēk ya šabāb!*
- *A-bīṣīr hēk mā yā ḥaywān!! Wahhhuu*

- Damn, they're killing Ahmed!
- Come on guys, don't do that!
- "Don't do this" how? Take that
animal!! Wah!

Fig. 8

- *W-lak šū žāb-ak la-hōn?*
- *Kənt žāyē asbet-lak ənn-ō l-amʾn a-byaʕmlū hēk…*
- *Mən wēn ənte?*
- *Mən əš-Šāġūr*
- *W-ənte yā ḥaywān?*
- *Mən Žable yā sayyed-ī…*
- *Mən Žable yā kərr...? Wallahi la-faržī-k qīmt-ak.*

- What are you doing here?
- I was coming to show you that security forces don't do that...
- Where do you come from?
- From Al-Shagour.
- And you, animal?
- From Jable, sir.
- From Jable, donkey! I'll show you your value.

Fig. 9

- *[ʔamām al-qaṣr al-ʕadliyy… baʕda 60 yawm]*
- *Ḥamdulillah ʕā-s-salāme šrīk*
- *Yā zalame mabsūūūūūṭ, lā tasāl-nī lēš...! Bass mərtāāāāāḥ…*
- *Šū…kōktēl w mā saʔalnā?*
- *Ēh fī bə-žēbt-ī 150 līra*
- *Lā, ṭābeš-ha ktīr… yəfdaḥ ḥārīš-ak šū andabūrī*

[60 days later, in front of the courthouse]
- Thank God we're safe man.
- Friend, I'm happy, don't ask me why! But I'm relieved.
- So… Cocktail and to hell with it all?

- Yes… yes… I have 150 lira in my pocket.
- (No), you exaggerate (lit.: you have expanded)! Damn you, poor fellow!

5. Analysis

5.1. Morphological aspects

A distinctive feature of the Alawite dialect is the rendering of the concomitant present by the preverb *m-* rather than *ʕam-*. This characteristic is also found in the dialect of the island of Arwād, as evidenced by the study by Procházka (2013).

Examples taken from the *corpus*:

Fig. 1

- *m-aqəl-lak* "I'm telling you".

Fig. 7

- *m-yəqtulū* "they are killing".

Another peculiarity consists in the negation of the verbal sentence by *a-* followed by the verb, instead of *mā-*. In the corpus there are examples of the Alawite characters which use *a-* for the negation, as shown in the following sentences:

Fig. 7

a-bīṣīr (lit.) "it doesn't happen".

Fig. 8

a-byaʕmlū "they don't do".

Fig. 4

a-byaʕmel "it doesn't do".

5.2. Lexical aspects

At the lexical level we find the interrogative pronoun *ēmāt* (Fig. 3) typical of rural dialects, instead of the common *emtā* used mostly in urban varieties.

In general, in the corpus we find a loan only once: in the expression *ʕammel-lī bās* (Fig. 1), the word *bās* is a loan from the English "pass". The word *Kōktēl* entered in Arabic vocabulary (and in all languages).

5.3. Colloquial expressions and idioms

About colloquial expressions and idioms we report below some examples taken from the corpus:

Fig. 1

- *fašarᵊt* "You wish" is an exclamation used in Syrian Arabic, it is comparable to standard Arabic: *ḫasiʔta* "go away!".

Fig. 2

- *yʕaddem-nī yā-k!* "damn you!", literally "may God deprive me of you"; it is a curse, sometimes used by mothers against their children as in this case.

- *dēr bāl-ak!* "Pay attention" (lit.: "turn your attention, mind"), is a very common expression used throughout the Syrian-Lebanese and Palestinian area.

Fig. 3

- *bə-ḥaẓẓ-ī ənn-ak kwayyes* "I swear you're a good (boy)". *Bə-ḥaẓẓ-ī* "I swear" (Barthélemy, 1935: 400).

- *akalt əš-šaḥḥāṭa ʕan-nī*: "you took the slipper in my place"; it is a way of saying, lit.: *akalt* means "you ate". The use of the verb "to eat" as a substitute for "take, receive" slaps, blows, kicks is widespread, as in the expressions: *akalū kaff* in the sense of "they took a slap" (lit.: "they ate a hand") or *akal ḍarbe* in the sense of "he took a blow" lit.: "he ate a blow".

Fig. 4

- *lak ṭūl ʕəmr-ak dəbb... ṣəbb matte la-šūf...* "You have always been an idiot... pour me some Maté[7] come on...", literally *dəbb* means "bear". The comparison with the bear has a negative meaning as the bear is considered an animal with little intelligence.

-*la-ʕamā!*: "damnation" (it literally means "blindness"); it is repeated twice in the comic and is an imprecation, conventionally used to curse someone.

Fig. 6

- *kərr* "donkey" repeated several times in the text is a term used in Syrian Arabic in an offensive way.

Fig. 8

- *wallahi la-faržī-k qīmt-ak.* "I'll show you your value". The quadriconsonantal verb of the final weak *faržā* means "to show", *la-* before the verb gives a sense of the immediate future.

Fig. 9

- *šū…kōktēl w mā saʔalnā* "So… Cocktail and to hell with it all?": this expression used in common jargon literally means "we didn't ask" in the sense of "let's just do it", "we don't need to ask anyone".

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7 Mate is a drink originating from Central and South America, used mostly in western Syria.

-*lā ṭābeš-ha ktīr*...: it is a common saying and it can be translated as “you exaggerate”, (“you’re too generous”).Consulting the dictionarie Barthélemy (1935: 409): *ṭabaš yəṭboš* “throw something on the ground”; *ṭabaš əl-bāb*: “slam the door”; *ṭabbaš* “break”.

- *yəfdaḥ ḥārīš-ak* “You’ll be damned”, “damn you” or also “shame on you”. The sentence is used in an offensive, derogatory way, in this case in a playful and good-natured sense, but it is difficult to render in another language. The original expression is *yəfḍaḥ ḥarīm-ak* (*fadaḥa* “burden on, oppress, ruin”); the word *ḥarīm* means “women of the family”, this statement literally means “may your woman be dishonored (may God dishonor your wife)”. Due to the very offensive meaning, the expression is rephrased as *yəfdaḥ ḥarīš-ak*, with the term *ḥarīš* “centipede”, thus creating an assonance to avoid vulgar expression.

- *šū andabūrī*: a term widely used in the Arabic spoken in the Syrian-Palestinian area which means “man without money”, “poor man” (Chaker-Sultani & Milelli 2010: 52). It is probably a word that comes from the Turkish which means precisely “poor”, “homeless” and indicates the one who went around the neighborhood with a drum. The word *andabūrī* is often used in conjunction with *nūrī*, that is *nūrī andabūrī*.

6. Conclusion

During the Syrian revolution comics became an essential tool for the artists to express their ideas, their dissent and often to report the events that occurred during the war.

Halasa, Omareen, Mahfoud (2014) points out that the anonymous web group *Comic4 Syria* led a growing artistic revolutionary movement that encouraged dialogue, debate and free expression.

In this work we analyzed *Comic4 Syria* collective in particular the comic *Kōktēl*, considered particularly significant both in terms of language and content.

Through the analyzed corpus it is possible to make linguistic and sociolinguistic reflections. We can conclude with the following considerations:

- the characters express themselves in the Arabic dialect of their area. The author was careful to emphasize the Alawite variety spoken by one of the two protagonists, his family and the military; it is significant because it indicates not only religious but also political belonging to the leader, unlike the other Sunni character speaks an urban dialect, exactly the Damascus variety.

- TV characters use standard Arabic.

What emerged therefore respects the division of the communicative functions of the two registers of the Arabic language. The language used in the comic analyzed reflects the reality of the linguistic situation in the Arab world.

Furthermore, the text can represent a source for linguistic reflections on the Alawite dialect used in the western regions of Syria. Among the peculiar features of the Alawite variety we find: the preverb *m-* to render the concomitant present and *a-* followed by the verb to express the negation of the verbal sentence.

The collection of this kind of texts can become a resource for morphological, syntactic and lexical information about Arabic dialects.

From the analysis of the corpus, colloquial expressions and sayings emerge. In the daily life of the Arab world, idiomatic expressions play a very important role (greetings, requests, thanks, wishes, various exclamations, curses); even the idioms of popular tradition can reveal further aspects of Arab culture.

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Tell a Joke, Teach Arabic Dialects

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Abstract

The paper deals with jokes that are fully or partially dialectal and thematically selected in such a way that they – in addition to a joke on a given concrete topic – contain puns, word play and reflect the differences between the literary language and dialects, and attitude of the Arabs to the sensitive nuances of the Arabic diglossia. These contemporary jokes were collected from Arab informants and from social network without standardization. It is not superfluous to include them in the teaching courses of the Arabic dialects, since a person speaks a language well if he understands a joke in that particular language and can tell a joke himself: to understand and perceive a joke, rich stock of words and grammatical basis is not sufficient – it is necessary to understand the cultural and political realities of the people, the specifics of family arrangement, norms of social ranking and many other nuances, related to people's existence. At the same time, knowledge of the language should be at a level that allows understanding of the play on words, the figurative meaning of thought, etc.

Sometimes, the jokes even better then theory reflect the sociolinguistic reality of the Arabophonic world or the grammatical peculiarities of the language.

Keywords: Arabic, dialect, joke, grammar.

It is believed that a person speaks a language well if he understands a joke in that particular language and can tell a joke himself. The basis of this assumption is that in order to understand and perceive a joke, rich stock of words and grammatical basis is not sufficient – it is necessary to understand

the cultural and political realities of the people, the specifics of family arrangement, norms of social ranking and many other nuances, related to people's existence. At the same time, knowledge of the language should be at a level that allows understanding of the play on words, the figurative meaning of thought, etc.

The topic of jokes has always been one of the popular topics in Arabic folklore. For example, we can recall the jokes, the hero of which is Juha, who sometimes appears as a mole, sometimes as a faqih. Various old or modern editions try to convey these short funny stories, because they do not lose their relevance (see, e.g.: ad-Dusuqi 1990; Diyab 2000, etc.). Juha (in some Arabic countries, Khukha, or Haha) is also the hero of dialectal folk verses (Ejibadze 2008, 86). The subject of Arabic jokes has attracted scientific interest (see, e.g., Muhawi 1994, 155-178). In some of this jokes, Arabic sociolinguistic nuances are also reflected, because it is impossible to imagine the Arab society without a diglossic situation. Closely related to the diglossic topic is the issue of Arabic grammar and Arabic grammar scholars, which is expressed in Arabic dialectal proverbs (Taymour 1986: 358; al-Khadim 1993: 107) and in samples of modern Arabic literature (see below). The topic of the relationship between the literary language and dialects stands out with such relevance, because it is a very painful issue, the regulation of which requires such complex approaches that it is still unattainable.

The paper deals with jokes that are fully or partially dialectal and thematically selected in such a way that they – in addition to a joke on a given concrete topic – contain puns, word play and reflect the differences between the literary language and dialects, and attitude of the Arabs to the sensitive nuances of the Arabic diglossia. These contemporary jokes were collected from Arab informants and from social network, and are presented without standardization. The author of the article believes that such jokes are informative not only for a better perception of the Arabic sociolinguistic picture, but have its importance in terms of improving knowledge in the Arabic language, in this particular Arabic dialect; it is not superfluous to include them in the teaching courses of the Arabic dialects.

مدرس اللغة العربية قال للطلبة: لما ييجي مفتش التربيه اتكلموا معايا باللغه العربيه الفحصى. دخل المفتش.

وقال الأستاذ لتلميذ: أَغْلِقِ الْبَابَ يَا زَيْدُ.

فقال زيد: نعم يا أمير المؤمنين!

حاليا الأستاذ مسجون بتهمة تأسيس جماعه إسلاميه.

The Arabic teacher said to the students: When the education inspector comes, speak to me in literary Arabic. The inspector entered.

The professor said to one student: close the door, Zaid.

And Zayd said: Yes, O Commander of the Faithful!

The professor is currently imprisoned on charges of creating an Islamic community.

It is clear from this joke that the pupil has a distant idea of literary Arabic and also that speaking in these lessons is never presented in a literary language: even when the teacher informs the pupils that it will be necessary to speak in the literary language, he addresses them in the dialect. This is exactly how the lessons and lectures of literary Arabic in Arabic schools and universities usually take place: in the role of the medial language the local dialect comes out, with the help of which the grammatical features of *al-Fuṣḥā* are explained.

Approximately the same is evident from the next joke:

طلبت معلمة العربيه من الأولاد يكتبوا نص عن الموضوع: سافرتم مع أسركم إلى ضواحي المدينه وفصادفتكم العراقيل! فكتب طالب: "سافرت مع أسرتي إلى ضواحي المدينة فصادفتنا العراقيل. فقتل أبي عرقولة كبيرة وهربت بقية العراقيل وعشنا في التبات والنبات!"

The teacher of Arabic asked the children to write a text on the topic: you traveled with your families to the outskirts of the city and were encountered with *al-ʕaraqīl.* A child wrote: "I traveled with my family to the outskirts of the city, and we ware encountered with *ʕaraqīl*, so my father killed a big *ʕarqūla,* and the rest of them fled and we lived happily ever after."

al-ʕaraqīl means – the problems. But since this word is never used in dialects, the child does not know its meaning and thinks that it is some kind of animal, while teacher does not explain to the children the meaning of the word. This is the main problem: neglecting the importance of understanding when teaching literary Arabic to Arab children. This problem is so important that it is even embedded in the works of classics and other Arabic writers as Yusuf as-Sibaʔi, Beyram at-Tonsy, etc. For example, we can recall few passages from the fiction:

ويش حال بقى العيل اللى عمره ست سنين لما يقعدوه ويقولوا له "كانا فعلون ماض ناقصون مبنيون على الفتحى لا محلا لهو من الإعرابى" (at-Tonsi 1992: 84)

What state is a six-year-old child, when they sit him down and say to him: "*kāna* is a R_3 weak past tense verb with an unchanging ending -*a*, not taking part in a grammatical connection of words".

The very graphics of this quote, with purposefully lengthened endings, shows an attitude towards the norms of grammar and probably indicates that endings of external inflection are as redundant to Arabic as such graphics are to writing (by the way, in reality, of course كان is R_2 weak verb).

Or:

مش ضرورى تعرف... انت عليك انك تحفض من سكات ومن غير غلبه... فاهم والا لا...

(as-Sibaʔi 1965, 116-117)

You don't have to know. From you it is required to memorize silently and without superfluous.

These two small passages from modern Arabic fiction, which refer to the lessons of the Arabic language in schools, well reflect the existing problem. And the problem remains practically unchanged over time. When the study of discipline is based not on comprehension but on memorization mechanism, it is not surprising that students do not like neither the given discipline, nor the teacher. Exactly this phenomenon is reflecting on the next jokes:

انتحار أستاذ اللغه العربيه بسبب الأسئله التاليه:

- الضمير الغائب إمتى ناوي يرجع؟
- الضمير المتصل فيه حد رد عليه؟
- التاء المربوطه فيه حد فكها؟
- إن وأخواتها اتجوزوا والا لسه؟
- الفتحه جاي في السقف والا في الحيط؟
- الحروف الساكنه ساكنه بالإيجار والا بالتمليك؟

The Arabic language teacher committed suicide because of the following questions:

When Absent conscience (III person pronoun) is about to return?

Did anyone answer to the pronoun that calls (pronominal suffixe)?

The bount T, did anyone untie him?

Did *ʔinna* and her systers married or not yet?

Is the hole (vowel *a*) in the ceiling or in the wall?

Living sounds (consonants) are living by rent or by ownership?

Is clear that the goal of the student is to make fun of the teacher, showing how unimportant the topic of his lessons is to him, for which he applies grammatical terms using word play, since almost all grammatical terms in Arabic also have other meanings in ordinary, everyday language.

Or:

طالب سأل مدرس اللغه العربيه: ليش كلمه "خمسة" من أربعة أحرف وكلمه "أربعة" من خمسة أحرف؟ وليش كلمه "مع بعض" منفصله وكلمه "منفصلة" مع بعض؟ وليش "كلمة واحدة" من كلمتين وكلمه "كلمتين" من كلمه واحده؟

الأستاذ ترك التدريس وفتح محل الفلافل. بس الطالب ما تركه ولحقه عالمحل وسأل: شو مفرد الفلافل؟

A student asked an Arabic language teacher: why is the word *xamsat* (“five”) made of four letters and the word *ʔarbaʿat* (“four”) made of five letters? And why is *maʿa baʿḍ* (which means “together”) separate, while *munfaṣil* (which means “separate”) is together? And why *kelma waḥda* (which means “one word”) is from two words, while *kelmatēn* (which means “two words”) is from one word?

The professor quit teaching and opened a falafel shop. But the student did not leave him, followed him to the store and asked: what is the singular of *falāfel*?

Or:

دخل نحوي على دكان بقاله فسأل صاحبها: بكم هاتان الرمانتان اللتان دونهما السفرجلتان وفوقهما التفاحتان؟

فرد البقال: بلكمتان وصقعتان وضربتان! اذهب وإلا أنسيتك ظرف الزمان والمكان وجعلتك مع خبر إن أو اسم كان....

A grammarian entered a grocery store and asked the owner: for how much are these two pomegranates under which are the two quince and above them the two apples?

And the grocer answered: for two punches and two strikes and two hits! Go, or else I will make you forget the circumstance of time and place, and make you predicate of *ʔinna* and noun of *kāna*.

It is known, that the dual forms are almost never used in dialects, at least they are not used in other parts of speech, except for the noun. The grammarian put all the words in the dual number while speaking in "correct Arabic", which annoys the seller. So, he shows a negative attitude towards the norms that are rejected by the spoken language. However, it also seems that the seller is at least somewhat familiar with the grammar of the literary language, since in this aggressive response he recalls some grammatical terms, while uses the dual number grammatically incorrectly (he used the nominative after the preposition, instead of the genitive).

Not to get away from the topic of grammar – this funny joke that was posted on Facebook:

From the viewpoint of the Arabic grammar, it is clear, that decipherment of the puzzle is as follows:

There are a lot of special jokes about a grammarian wife or a grammarian husband, and the family life with the grammarians; one of them:

سأل أستاذ اللغه العربيه زوجته: ماذا تعرفين عن النحو والصرف؟

قالت: هو أن تصرف راتبك على النحو اللي يرضيني!

An Arabic language teacher asked his wife: what do you know about grammar (direction) and morphology (waste of money)?

She answered: it is to spend your salary in a way that pleases me!

Even if the wife understood what the husband meant, she shows an ignorant attitude to the subject, emphasizing what is important for her to manage the family, using a possibility of a word play: double meaning of the words.

It would be possible almost endlessly to cite jokes on this topic; Arabs can extrapolate any topic to a joke of grammarian plan:

For the first rime,
the regular masculine plural is compatible
with the broken plural.

In grammar – the agglutination regular masculine plural and the flexional broken do not meet in one and the same case, but in real life, they can match (for comparison, the feminine regular plural can match with the broken plural in one and the same word, thereby creating a new lexical unit: sing. خَلْقٌ "creations of Allah, humans" > broken pl. أَخْلَاقٌ "temper, nature" > reg. fem.

pl. أَخْلَاقِيَّتٌ “moral standards”; sing. سِلْكٌ “line, wire” > broken pl. سُلُوكٌ “behavior, manners” > fem. reg. pl. سُلُوكِيَّاتٌ “norms of behavior”).

The very fact that the topic of grammar and people’s attitude to it represents a separate direction in Arabic jokes, indicates that *al-ʕāmma*, regardless of education, are well aware of the sociolinguistic picture and adequately perceive it.

Finally, we can conclude: a) the fact remains that dialects represent a native languages of Arabs, while knowledge of literary Arabic implies a formal education that is not sufficiently provided (despite the efforts of Arab governments); b) in order to love, it is needed to understand, but since literary Arabic is not known enough, it is not loved enough, from here and all those jokes that were beaten higher; c) in the context of teaching Arabic (among them, Arabic dialects) to nonnative speakers, jokes can become an important addition to theoretical material, since they sometimes even better reflect the sociolinguistic reality of the Arabophonic world or even the grammatical peculiarities of the language.

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Borrowings and Suppletion in Cypriot Maronite Arabic

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Abstract

This article addresses the percentage of loanwords in Cypriot Maronite Arabic. It examines how loanwords have developed in Cypriot Maronite due to contact with other languages, specifically Cypriot Greek and, to a lesser more recently, Cypriot Turkish. First, Cypriot Arabic's linguistic and historical context will be established. The work will then go on to explain the notion of loanwords and illustrate the different types that exist in Cypriot Maronite Arabic. This presentation discusses the percentage of loanwords identified in the data collected in two fieldwork expeditions to the village of Kormakiti in 2019. In addition, it will examine their occurrence in the different semantic fields. This work constitutes a part of the research done in the context of a master's thesis at the INALCO in Paris and the context of the World Loanword Database (WOLD). The preliminary results suggest a predominance of borrowings in some semantic fields, for example, the physical world or the modern world, and cases of suppletion.

Keywords: language contact, loanwords, borrowings, suppletion, Loanword Typology project.

1. Introduction

When languages come into contact, they tend to borrow words from one another and incorporate them into their vocabulary. This process of borrowing occurs at different levels of language in contact. The situation of Cypriot Maronite Arabic (CMA), also known by the glottonym Sanna, provides an excellent example that illustrates numerous effects resulting from language

contact with Cypriot Greek and, to a lesser extent, Cypriot Turkish. Tsiapera provided a phonological sketch, while Roth (1976, 2004) conducted a description of the verbal system with a focus on aspects. She also described the lexicon, particularly the one related to kinship and cooking. Borg (1985) investigated phonology and the lexicon, compiling a lexicon through his work. Additionally, Hadjidemitriou's (2009) research focused on sociolinguistic features among Sanna speakers and speakers of Armenian in Cyprus. This paper will present the socio-historical background of the Maronite community in Cyprus. Then the methods used to collect and process data will be discussed. Finally, borrowings by semantic field and the bilingual suppletion phenomenon will be investigated.

2. Cypriot Maronite community: Historical and sociological background

2.1. The language and its speakers

The Maronite community is recognised as a linguistic and religious minority in Cyprus. However, we differentiate between speakers of Sanna, or those with historical ties to Sanna speakers, and Lebanese people who have recently settled in Cyprus. The first mentions of Arabic speakers in Kormakiti by the Maronite community dates back to the late 19th century (Beaudoin 1884: 11). Nevertheless, there was writing evidence confirming the existence of the community on the island of Cyprus in the 13th century. De facto, according to a letter cited in Laodicea Nicolas Murad Maronite Archbishop's historical notice about Maronites (1844: 23), they were around 182000 Maronites in Cyprus in 1249[1].

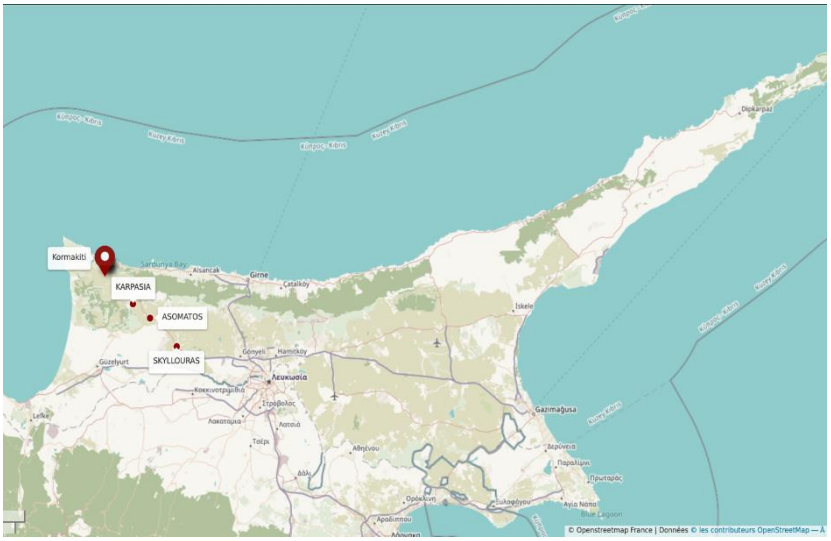
Sanna is a vernacular language spoken by a part of the Cypriot Maronite community. Its speakers are in the village of Kormakiti. Sanna is still spoken in two villages on the north-western side of Cyprus, Karpasia and Kormakiti. However, only Kormakiti's inhabitants are entirely Maronite; in Karpasia, Maronite members live with Turkish inhabitants. In addition, Kormakiti and Karpasia Maronite inhabitants are known for their rural lifestyles. Their lives are still regulated by rural practises such as cheese making (Halloumi and more), kišk linked to the Iranian and Kurdish practise of kašk, kešk (a dish made from dried braked weed grains with rotten milk used in soups), honey,

[1] "Lorsque, dans l'année 1249, saint Louis aborda Chypre, déjà une colonie considérable de Maronites, au nombre d'environ cent quatre-vingt-deux-mille âmes, se trouvait dans l'île, […]. Les Maronites, en effet, devinrent le principal appui et la force réelle des princes de Lusignan, rois de Chypre, et investis même alors du titre de roi de Jérusalem."

and olive oil production. Furthermore, there are still older male and female shepherds and farmers.

2.2. Sociolinguistics localisation

Once spoken only by a small portion of the ethnic Maronite community in Cyprus. Sanna has become a vernacular language within the community. But it also serves as a means of expressing group dynamics and identity. Although they may constitute a majority among Kormakiti inhabitants.



Map 1: Last Maronite villages in Cyprus (May 2020) framcarte.org (El-Shazli 2020: 29).

The estimated number of Sanna speakers is less than 1995 speakers (Glottolog). They at least speak Cypriot Greek and use it in a natural speech widely. However, only a few of them are fluent in Cypriot Turkish (El-Shazli 2022: 93, 95), (Al-Wer et al. 2022: 184). Additionally, as mentioned above, the majority of these speakers are living in the village of Kormakiti. This toponym's etymology has not been outlined yet, but I have asked speakers about it. Two hypotheses were mentioned. Most of the responses were connected to the possibility of an original Maronite village located between the actual Lebanese/Syrian territories, "Qur" village. The second hypothesis was linked to an old Maronite village near the northwest coast of Cyprus, in the Kormakiti Cap. I attempted to investigate both hypotheses: the first one was unsuccessful, but the second one was (El-Shazli 2022: 31–32). One speaker

mentioned the ancient Kormiya village, which is now known as the Turkified Kermia and is situated in the northwest of Kormakiti.

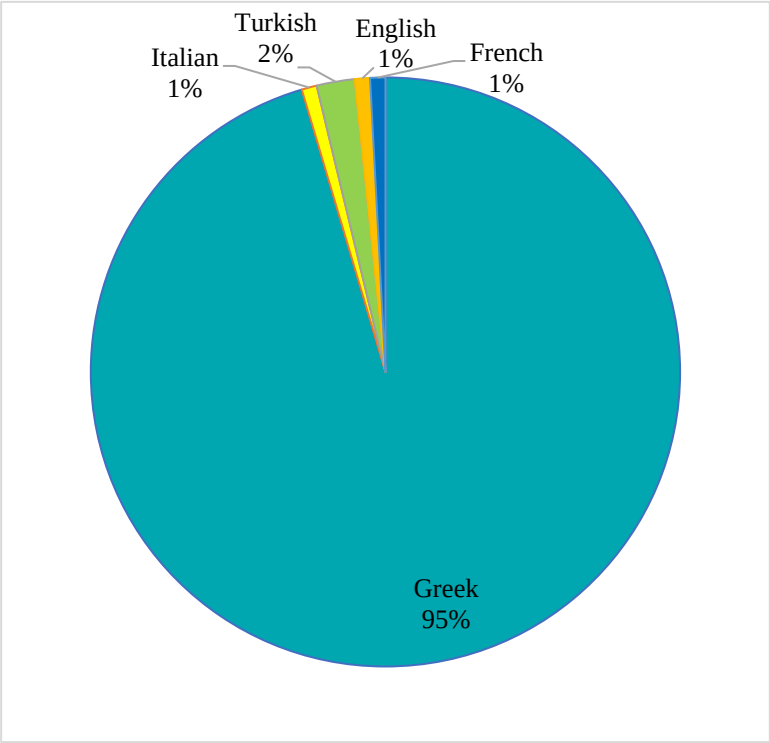
3. Methods and corpus

This study aims to understand the effect of language contact on the Sanna lexicon. Several methodological approaches have been used during the fieldwork. The study is mainly based on data derived from the analysis of the recordings collected during different fieldwork in March and August 2019, using various recordings and data collection methods. Thus, three types of recordings were produced and collected. The first type corresponds to recordings with questionnaires, which took different forms here are examples: A list of terms, vocabulary, or expressions from the World Loanwords database and the Swadesh list. The questionnaire was used with speakers who know English or French because conducting interviews in Sanna was not possible at this stage of Sanna learning to conduct the interviews in Sanna and I could not yet use Greek as an intermediate language and for the sake of data veracity and spontaneity. I did not use here, my Arabic dialect background here to communicate with Sanna members. The second type of recording was semi-directional interviews. Some of the data also comes from the glossary compiled by Alexander Borg (2004) and from Borg's transcriptions in Sanna phonology description (1985). Thus, a table in list form was compiled, and the corpus data was classified by semantic field. The occurrence numbers of each lexeme or expression within all corpora were specified. In addition, the consideration was limited to lexemes expressions that had a minimum of three occurrences in the corpus for the sake of representability. Then the sample was analysed. Additionally, the interviews were conducted with various speakers including women, men, religious individuals, and two retired English professors. Furthermore, the model list used for reference is the semantic fields list established by Uri Tadmor and Martin Haspelmath in 2009 on the Loanwords Typology Project with the World Loanwords Database website. This list consists of 22 semantic fields and 1406 "terms of meaning", but for the analysis, it was limited to 14 semantic fields and 450 "terms of meaning". These semantic fields include the physical world, animals, the body, food and drink, kinship, time, the modern world, sense and perception, miscellaneous function words, housing/home, verbs and motions, spatial relations, quantity, religion, and beliefs.

4. Borrowings in Cypriot Maronite Arabic: quantitative results

4.1 Borrowings by language source

Determining the direct source language of many borrowings in Sanna does not present significant difficulties; it is quite simple. Cypriot Greek appears to have exerted a strong influence on the Sanna lexicon (Roth 1977, Borg 1985, 2004, Kossmann 2008, 2010) and has spread across various semantic fields. For instance, the semantic fields related to kinship, the modern world, and the physical world contain a considerable number of Greek words. In addition, certain categorical functions appear to be prone to borrowing and exhibit greater "permeability." In the sample, the majority of the borrowed words were identified as Greek words. De facto, 95% of them originated from Greek. Moreover, other donor languages were identified, including Italian and French, which were unexpected. It was anticipated that there would be some Turkish and English words.



For the Turkish ones, *ormán* was found for ‘forest/woods’, *rúmša* for Greeks/ or the Greek language, and tširingíri for ‘Roms’ and the singular form *šingíni* for ‘Rom’, respectively from the Turkish forms Çingeneler and Çingene. The English words were *žínžèr* for ‘ginger’, títšər for ‘teacher’, *candíla* for ‘candle’. As suggested by reviewers, the latest is quite ambiguous regarding other possible origins. It could originate from the Italian word candela ‘candle’, or it could also come from the Greek word κανδῆλα for ‘lamp’. The Italian origin seems to be more plausible, as the actual word used in Cypriot Greek for ‘lamp’ is λάμπα as in Modern Greek. *Kandíla* was likely introduced in Sanna during the Venetian period 1489-1571 in Cyprus through contact with Cypriot Greek.

By identifying borrowed words and their donor languages, the mainly affected semantic fields have also been identified.

4.2. Borrowings quantitative representation into semantic fields

This table represents the overall proportion of loanwords identified in Sanna through the sample.

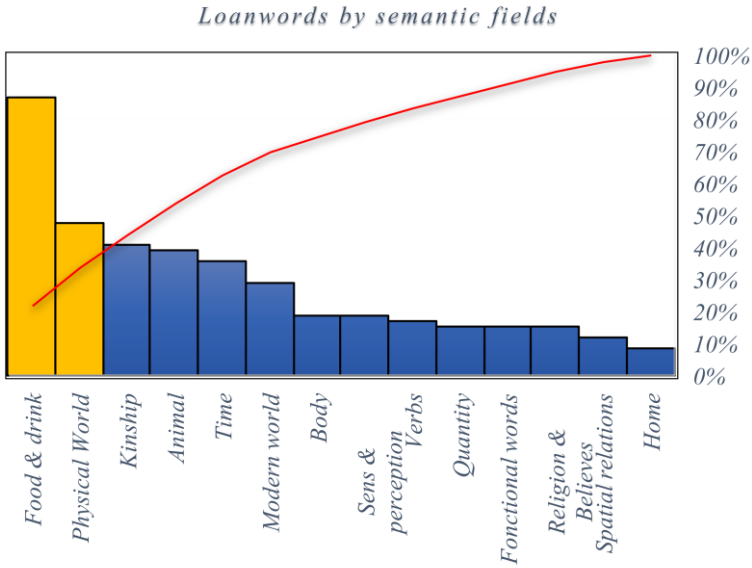


Table: Loanwords by semantics fields (El-Shazli 2020: 50).

According to this Pareto charter, 40% of the borrowings found in the sample of 450 terms of meanings concentrated in three semantic fields. These

semantic fields are food & drink, the physical world and kinship (El-Shazli 2020, 2023).

Furthermore, according to Haugen (1950) and Sing (1981) borrowability hierarchy models, *Sanna*'s borrowings primarily remain as nouns, with few adjectives occurring, especially in the case of bilingual suppletion (El-Shazli 2020, 2022, 2023). Additionally, based on Fields borrowability hierarchy model (Fields 2002), which is based on morphological features, some borrowed functional words occur (El-Shazli 2020: 60, 2023: 4).

In the religious and beliefs semantic field, Greek borrowing occurs. For example, the following terms expression occur *Vodiyya de Rabbi* 'God Willing', *yioksaso ḏeos* 'son as God' (El-Shazli 2022: 124). It is also interesting to note the use of *Kurani* to refer to the 'Bible or evangel'. The speaker repeated the following sentence twice when discussing the religious practices of the Kormakiti inhabitants inside the village church:

(1)	*kurani*	*kan*	*yisall-ux*	*elenika*
	the bible	AUX	to read-2M.SG.PST	greek (language)

"They were reading the bible in Greek."

A significant difference has been observed in the semantic fields of kinship compared to Roth's work in kinship (1981). Out of the 27 terms she analysed, only 9 were borrowed from Greek. In contrast, in the current data (2019, 2020), 49 terms were analysed, and 24 of them are Greek forms, such as *mitria* for 'stepmother' (El-Shazli 2020, 2023).

4.3. Some cases of suppletion in *Sanna*

During the processing and analysis of the data, another relevant phenomenon emerged. When analysing the numeral system and adjectives, several cases of suppletion, including bilingual suppletion, were found (El-Shazli 2022: 107-110). According to Yaron Matras bilingual suppletion occurs in Jerusalem Domari in certain discourse constructions, which require the use of Arabic items (Matras 2012: 34).

Pavlou did previous work on suppletion in *Sanna* (2018). At the morphological level, there are Cypriot Greek diminutive suffixes for both singular and plural stems. Borg also attested that, "many nouns and certain adjectives in KA [Kormakiti Arabic] have diminutive forms; the relevant morphological markers have, however, been borrowed from CG [Cypriot Greek]; KA reflexes of Arabic diminutives appear to be extremely rare and tend not to retain their original diminutives meaning" (1985). For example, the term *korombu-ḏkiya* literally 'small sprouts" is used to refer to 'Brussels sprouts', while *koloku-ḏkiya* is used for 'small pumpkin'. The suffix *ḏkiya* in

these words is derived from the Greek diminutive suffix form for the feminine plural.

Sanna, being a peripheral dialect of Arabic (Borg 1985, Grigore 2019, Akkuş 2018), exhibits some instances of suppletion that have not occurred yet in any other peripheral Arabic dialects. Some of them shows instances of borrowings from other languages in their numeral system. Thus, for example, Maltese for cardinals as far for ordinals, Arabic utterances appear. For instance, in *Sanna*, Greek numerals are used for numbers above 10 when modifying nouns or not.

We observed this type of suppletion in the following example:

2)	*yé*	*kant*	*enenindaeks xronon*	*enenindaeks xronon*	*enenindaeks snīn*
	yes	to be.2SG.F.PST	ninety-four years	ninety-four years	ninety-four years

"yes, she was 94 years, 94 years, 94 years!" (El-Shazli 2022: 63)

Here the speaker mentions his sister's age twice in Greek, and on the third mention, he uses the Arabic word for 'four'. As suggested by Herin Bruno during a previous presentation, it is likely that the speaker's use of the word snīn was an utterance of accommodation. De facto, he tried to let me understand the term *xronon* 'years' in Greek.

3)	*ye*	*lini*	*ḏozéka*	*onkoniya*	*lini*	*sítte litsán gona*
	yes	POSS.1SG	twelve	great-children	POSS.1SG	Six great-great children

"Yes, I have twelve great-children, I have six great-great-children." (El-Shazli 2022: 108)

4)	*yé*	*kant*	*enenindaex*	*xronon*
	yes	to be. 3SG.F	ninety-six	years

Yes, she was 96 years. (El-Shazli 2022: 109)

In these two instances, it seems that the use of Greek numerals implies the use of Greek forms for the counted item, as in Domari with "the use of Arabic numeral that implies de facto Arabic form for the counted item" (Herin 2018:26). Additionally, there are cases of adjectival suppletion in *Sanna*.

We also found instances of numeral suppletion without explicitly mentioning the counted item, but it implies.

5)	*xayt-i*	*to*	*l-afriki*	*u*	*ʔazʕar*	*o*	*ḏenta tria*
	brother-1SG	DET	DET-Africa	and	small.ELA	3M.SG	sixty-three

"My brother is in Africa, and he is younger. He is 63." (El-Shazli 2022: 108)

6)	*tel-i*	*proti*	*marra*	*tahep*
	REL-1.SG	first	women	to love.1SG.PRS

"The first women I loved." (El-Shazli 2022: 128)

Also, some imperative verbal form does exist in *Sanna*. For example, the verb *come* took its root from the Greek verb *éla, eláte* "come!" for the singular masculine, singular feminine and plural forms (Borg 1985: 91).

Meanwhile, if we consider Herin's statement on Domari (2018) that " these cases of bilingual suppletion are only found in the speech of speakers whose Arabic is dominant, it is quite obvious that they favour this strategy because it allows them to fulfil efficiently the communicative task they are engaged in", that suggests the need to analysis and keep in consideration both linguistic competences of speakers in Sanna and Cypriot Greek, as well as the interactional context that implicates this type of phenomenon.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to provide an overview of the sociohistorical background of Sanna speakers but also of borrowings and suppletion phenomena that occur in Sanna. It was also set out that most semantic fields appear to be affected by borrowings. Moreover, the adjectival and the numeral systems show their penetrability faculty to going through suppletion changes. There are several limitations to consider in this study. One question that needs to be raised is Quid to the speaker's linguistics competence and what are the main interactional mechanisms that can go through those phenomena.

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Navigating Arabic Varieties: Code Switching, Code Mixing and Hybridity in Omani Radio Programs

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Abstract

In this case-study of two Omani radio programs, I aim to provide an example of code mixing and hybridity in Omani Oral Media Arabic by linguistically analysing the two programs. The diglossic situation of the Arab world, where Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is used in formal settings as opposed to a local dialect used in informal settings, has for some time attracted scholarly attention. Oral Media Arabic serves as a good example of the potential intersection and overlap of these two seemingly opposite varieties, due to the blending of formality and informality in settings like radio or television programs. In its analysis, the article is primarily intended as a contribution to sociolinguistics. However, while Media Arabic has been fairly well researched for some regions in the Arab world, this is not the case for Oman. Thus, this article's secondary aim is to contribute to closing a gap in the literature on Media Arabic with a geographical focus on the Arabian gulf region.

The data used for the analysis includes speech samples of five speakers from Oman. The results of the analysis illustrate that, while the speakers make use of both standard and vernacular, they also use a 'hybrid' variety combining features of MSA, different local or regional dialects and in some cases English.

Keywords: Oral Media Arabic, code mixing, hybridity, Omani Arabic.

1. Introduction

The diglossic situation in the Arab world, where Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is used in formal settings as opposed to a local dialect used in informal

situations, has attracted significant scholarly attention. While authors such as Ferguson (1959) speak of two opposing varieties with little in-between, others describe the different varieties of Arabic as a continuum, with MSA on one end of the spectrum and the vernacular on the other. Especially in the context of Arabic oral media, where the lines between formal and informal can often be blurry, the latter approach describes reality much more accurately. Therefore, in this paper I want to contribute to an understanding of Arabic varieties as fluid and overlapping as opposed to the dichotomy of two extremes.

While Arabic varieties in general and media Arabic in particular have been fairly well researched for some parts of the Arab world, this is not the case for Oman. However, this makes it all the more interesting to look at Oman in particular. Thus, with this case-study of two Omani radio programs, I provide an example of code mixing and hybridity in Omani oral media Arabic by linguistically analysing the two programs. My contribution aims to help illustrate that the language used in oral media is a collage of features from different varieties (Eid 2007: 410).

First, I give a brief overview over diglossia and code mixing, media Arabic and the state of research on Omani dialects. Next, I discuss the methodology of the paper and subsequently I present and analyse my data.

2. Literature review

2.1. Diglossia and Code Mixing

Although the concept of diglossia has until now been widely used in the discourse of Arabic linguistics, its insufficiencies to describe a complex reality have brought forward numerous other theories. Eisele (2002) lists several of them, including two of the more widely discussed approaches: "Educated Spoken Arabic" on one hand and the 'levels approach' on the other hand (Eisele 2002: 13). Eid's (2007) premise of a hybrid in-between variety is similar to the level approach. According to Eid (2007: 405) it is in hybrid contexts, such as television interviews, that a hybrid variety is required. She defines hybrid as "a global feature of text or discourse. It applies to forms of language that look more like a 'collage', created out of two or more linguistic codes where the borders between language varieties are blurred or no longer distinct" (Eid 2007: 410).

A different concept that nevertheless can be used to describe a similar linguistic situation is diglossic code mixing or code switching. Mejdell (n.d.) defines code switching in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* as the practise of using items of at least two different languages or

varieties of one language in the same language act. When this happens intrasententially, it can also be referred to as code mixing. In the Arabic context, Mejdell states that diglossic "*code-switching* as well as *code-mixing* – intersentential and intrasentential – indeed frequently occurs in many communicative situations," so that it can sometimes overlap with what is often termed levels or variation.

2.2. Media Arabic

Media Arabic has been the subject of scholarly attention for decades. Nevertheless, no universally applicable definition of the term has been asserted yet. While the term is often used to refer to written media (e.g., Versteegh 1997: 183), there are also numerous publications on its oral counterpart. One of the first studies on oral media Arabic is Harrell's (1960), which focuses on news broadcasts on Egyptian radio. The data used in Harrell's study are news pieces consisting mainly of read aloud texts in standard Arabic, and thus differ quite substantially from the data used in my paper both in genre and also in the varieties used. However, more recent studies of oral media Arabic are increasingly attentive to how different varieties are used in different formats of broadcast programs (mostly television, but also radio; e.g., Eid 2007 and Bassiouney 2009). The diversity in these programs' formats allows for situations where the formal and the informal merge, so that the need for an appropriately flexible and hybrid language arises (Van-Mol 2010: 68).

2.3. Omani dialects

The dialects found on the northern part of the Sultanate of Oman, excluding the Ḍofār region, share a few characteristics. This dialect bundle distinguishes them as a dialect group among the other dialect groups of the Arabian Peninsula (Holes 1989: 447-448).

Recent research on Omani Arabic includes studies of specific local dialects, such as Brockett's (1985) study of the dialect of the coastal town of Khābūra in the Bāṭina region. Furthermore, there are studies on certain dialectal features such as Bettega's (2017) on agreement. In addition, there are also more general publications, namely Holes 1989, in which he divides the Omani dialect group into two sedentary (H1 and H2) and two Bedouin (B1 and B2) dialect subgroups. This categorisation excludes the Capital Area due to its varied population groups that influence each other and make it a linguistic melting pot. Despite this limitation and the fact that it is generally a rather rough classification, Holes' categorisation is still the most useful and widely applied classification of Omani dialects and is used in most of the recent research. Another significant contribution to the field is Holes' (n.d.) entry on Omani

Arabic in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* as it gives an overview of the Omani dialect group and its most important features.

3. Methodology

As stated above, the objective of this paper is to show that Omani oral media Arabic is a varied and hybrid collage of features from different varieties. As basis for the analysis, I chose excerpts from two interviews on different radio shows. Although they were both broadcast on their respective channels, they were also uploaded on Youtube, where I accessed them.

The first interview was produced by Radio Muscat as a part of the *hunā_masqaṭ* series and aired on 13 January 2021. The host, Mūsā al-Farʕī (speaker B), interviews famous blogger Muʕāwiya ar-Rawāḥī (speaker A).

The second interview was produced by the news outlet Shabiba, which includes a daily newspaper, an online news platform and a radio program. It was aired on 14 February 2021. The host interviews his guests on the topic of fame on social media. Since the interview is very long and the number of callers and guests over the phone is high, including them all would go beyond the scope of this paper. Thus, the data I use for my analysis comprises the first 15 minutes of the interview, starring the two guests, Hassan al-Mullā (speaker D) and ʕAwaḏ al-Hāšimī (speaker C), who are both considered to be famous on social media in Oman and therefore experts on the topic.

The interviews were chosen for their broad and rather unspecific topics that can be discussed without much expertise and without the restrictions of too many *termini technici*, thus enabling the speakers to freely use their preferred codes.

The speakers make up a quite homogenous group: they are all male, aged approximately between 30 and 50 and seem all to come from a sedentary as opposed to Bedouin background. Judging from their professions, they all seem to be at least fairly educated and economically well-off. Of course, this somewhat narrows down the applicability of this paper's findings; to get a more comprehensive idea of Omani spoken media Arabic, studies with a much broader group of speakers must be conducted for comparative purposes. Nevertheless, while searching for suitable programs to use in this paper, most interviews I found online included speakers of this very profile, so to include them in my study seemed like a useful starting point for a paper of this scope.

Establishing the linguistic background of the speakers turned out to be quite a challenge, since there is no reliable information on the speakers' exact places of origin or residence on the internet. The data presented below confirms that speakers A to D use pronunciation system 5 (Holes 1989: 451) placing them into the dialect group H1 (Holes 1989: 453), speaker D uses system 3 which

most likely places his speech in the mixed dialects of the bāṭina coast (Holes 1989: 452, Brockett 1985: 12-15). However, for this study the speakers' exact local and dialectal affiliations are not of primary interest, since they are all Omanis speaking an Omani dialect.

4. Data and Analysis

In the following section I present and analyse three data samples that I chose out of initially six segments, due to limited space in this paper.

4.1. Interview Radio Muscat

1) 26:30-27:38 Speakers A & B

A – Lākin iḏa kān hāḏa yixallīna axsar an ašūf wālidti wa-aglis maʕa awlād axawāti wa-ašūf šmāgi fa-la-yiḏhab hāḏa li-l-gaḥīm yaʕni…

B – Awwal marra ḥad yaʕni ḏakar šmāgah bi-l-xēr (ḍaḥk).

A – Lā, ana šmāgi rayʕīn wa-aḥibbuhum kṯīr yaʕni!

B – ṭayyib. Ma innak ḏakart ə̄l-wālda, yaʕni laḥḏa liqāʔik bi-l-wālda baʕda kull hāḏa l-iġtirāb ha-l-ʕaḏābāt wa-kānu fi-l-wāžiha ayḏan hum...

A – Kanit tudrik... al-wālid, miskīn yaʕni yutṣul bi, anāzʕuh w-ʕād waṣal yaʕni... yaʕni, šūf, lamma šaxṣ ykūn ʕindu ḥāla maraḏiyya yaʕni gasīma, titaqlim maʕa l-waqt innu mā yaqṣid kullma yaqūluh, innu aḥyānan al-alam illi yšʕur b-dāxlu fōq ṭāqtu, fōq ṭāqtu li-daragat innu tafawwah b-ašyā yaʕni... ṭfāgaʔani ana wāḥdi... wa-ana wāḥdi atfāgaʔa minha.

A – But if that lets me miss out on seeing my mother and being with the children of my sisters and seeing my in-laws, it can all go to hell...

B – This is the first time someone mentions their in-laws in a good way (laugh).

A – No, my in-laws are great, I like them a lot!

B – Good. Because you mentioned your mother, I mean the moment you met your mother after all this estrangement and the pain, they were in the foreground…

A – She understood…. My father, the poor man, he (would) call me, I (would) fight with him, until he reached... I mean, look, when a person has a serious health condition, with time you get used to the fact that he does not mean everything he says, that sometimes the pain that he feels inside surpasses his ability, surpasses his ability to a degree that he says things, I mean… I surprised myself… I myself was surprised by them.

In terms of phonology, we can see that speaker A constantly realises ج as g without differentiating between purely dialectal words such as *šmāgi*, or gahīm, a word that at the very least can be considered closely tied to MSA due

to its strong religious connotation. Speaker B on the other hand constantly uses ž with the only exception being the purely dialectal word *šmāg* which he uses jokingly after it was mentioned by speaker A. However, this does not necessarily mean that speaker B is more inclined to assimilate towards an MSA pronunciation, since in the H1 dialect as described by Holes (1989) the realisation of ج can vary between g and ž. In this case, the switch from the usual ž to g in *šmāg* would be a mixing of different dialect varieties rather than dialect and MSA. This is the only example where speaker B varies from his ž pronunciation, hence it seems most likely that this is the way he usually realises ج even when he uses dialect.

Generally, in this segment we can find some very mixed parts, for example in the first sentence the MSA complementizer *an* is directly followed by the verb *ašūf* which clearly belongs to the dialectal lexicon, or the verb *yiḏhab* which I consider a hybrid due to its being a MSA verb with a dialectal vowel pattern.

4.2. Interview Shabiba

2) 7:29-8:18 Speaker C

– Baʕḍ an-nās yidaxxilu wasāyil tawāṣul igtimāʕiy aš-šuhra hiya l-hadaf. Li-ḏālik tḥaṣṣluh yitxabbaṭ bēn al-muḥtawayāt li-daragat annu l-baʕḍ yafʕal ašyāʔ muzrīya, musīʔa, muxilla faqaṭ li-ʔanna š-šuhra hiya l-hadaf – naʕam – kēf in-nās bititkallim ʕanni lāzm asawwī šey gadīd lāzm asawwī šey... aaaa... txalli n-nā... ʔaṯīr l-gadal fīh. Lākin iḏā kān əl-muḥtawa huwa l-hadaf satuṣbiḥ aš-šuhra hiya l-wasīla. Lamma tkūn dāxil fi <u>sošal mīdya</u> w-ʕindak inta muḥtawa b-ġaḍḍ an-naḏar ʕan aṭ-ṭarīq illi rāḥ tqaddamha b-šakl ṭabʕan muhaḏḏab nitkallam, b-ġaḍḍ an-naḏar rāḥ tūṣal li-š-šuhra, il-yōm, mā l-yōm, bukra, baʕd sana, lākin ʕindak muḥtawa <u>ṯ</u>qīl fi <u>sošal mīdya</u>. Lākin lamma inta tkūn dāxil <u>as-sošal mīdya</u> ʕalašān bas "waḷḷah arīd in-nās tkallam fīni, waḷḷah arīd iʕlānāt, arīd flūs, arīd mā tarāh wēš", taʔakkid annu hāḏa š-šaxṣ mā yihtam wāgid.

For some people who enter social media their goal is fame. Because of that he ends up wandering about between contents to an extent where some do disgraceful, unpleasant, shameful things, only because their goal is fame – yes – how will people talk about me, I have to do something new, I have to do something… aaa… that causes a debate. But if the content is the goal, the fame becomes the means. When you are in social media and you have content, regardless of the way you are presenting it, we are talking about in an appropriate way of course, regardless, you will reach fame, today, not today, tomorrow, after a year, but you have significant content in social media. But if you are in social media only because "I really want people to talk about me, I

really want ads, I want money, I want whatever" it is certain that this person does not care a lot.

This segment has some very interesting features as regards code mixing in different varieties, although its general tendency is dialectal. While in terms of phonology this tendency is confirmed by the accumulation of dialectal features, in terms of morphology, the segment contains more mixing. The best example for that are the future markers, since in this segment we find both an example of the Omani *ba-* and one for MSA sa-. However, the segment also contains two occurrences of the future particle *rāḥ* which is not specifically Omani but is common in the Gulf dialects generally (Zack n.d.) and, therefore, is hard to place in the dichotomy of standard versus local dialect.

Regarding lexicon, the most notable dialectal lexical item in this segment is probably *tarāh* which is very commonly used in vernacular speech in Oman. Reinhardt (1894: 124) lists terā + suffix in his chapter about fillers, which he describes as words that "the speaker uses often unnecessarily in his speech without connecting it to a specific thought". A similarly interesting item is *tūṣal* although for morphological rather than lexical reasons. According to Al-Balushi (2016: 104) the form *tūsal* is the regular imperfect of waṣal, as the glide turns into a long vowel in glide-initial verbs in some Omani dialects.

Last but far from least, we find in this segment an example of borrowing from an entirely different code: English. While in the other segments there are single non-Arabic words at most, here the English phrase "social media" or as transcribed <u>*sošal mīdya*,</u> is used three times. The Arabic equivalent of *wasāyil tawāṣul igtimāʕiy* on the other hand is used only once, a fact that speaks clearly to the preference of the speaker. The fact that he does not feel the need to translate the term into Arabic shows the speaker's assumption of its widespread use among the programs target audience, i.e., the Omani public. Another indicator pointing to the term's prevalence, at least in our speaker's vocabulary, is the fact that in the last example found in the segment the speaker attaches the definite article to it, thus treating it like a regular Arabic noun and fully incorporating it into the grammatical structure of the sentence.

3) 10.12-10:35 Speaker D

– ...Inta trīd ətsawwa flūs ma lāzm tṣīr mašhūr. Yaʕni fi wāyid ašyā mumkin ətsawwīha.

(host)– *Lā, ana atkallam ʕan in-nās illi daxalu wasāʔil tawāṣul ižtimāʕiy li-tṣir mašhūr ʕa-l-asās inna huwa yistafīd māliyyan, yikūn ʕindah flūs. Yaʕni hāḏa ḥaqq mašrūʕ taʕtaqid?*

– Huwa ḥurr, iḏa mā taʕaddā l-ādāb il-ʕāmma iḏa mā xaraqa l-qānūn iḏa mā xāliža l-ḥayāʔ, tartībah, Lākin yufaḏḏal yikūn ʕindak muḥtawā liʔanna miṯəl mā ḏakar ustāḏ ʕawwaḏ. Gāl baʕdēn satuflis yaʕni lāḥiqan ʕāžilan am ʔāžilan. Illi yaḥṣul al-ʾān ʕindama nažʕal aw naxluq min al-ḥamqā mašāhīr,

naḥnu naxluq wāžiha li-l-balad lʔan illi ytabʕūna baṛṛa ḥāliyyan mā-ḥad yišūf tilvisyūn wāyid, – ēh naʕam – yišūf hāḏi l-mašāhīr yigūlu hāḏa illi yagṣur ṣūrat il-mužtamaʕ al-ʔān.

– ...If you want to make money, you don't need to become famous. I mean there are lots of things you can do.

– No, I am talking about the people who entered social media to become famous on the grounds that he benefits (from it) financially, so he gets money. Do you think this is a legitimate right?

– He is free, if he does not violate general rules of conduct, if he does not break the law, if he does not offend modesty, it's his business. But it is preferable that you have content, like Mr. ʕAwwaḏ said. He said, later they will fail, subsequently, sooner or later. The thing that is happening now, when we are making or creating famous (people) out of the stupid ones, is that we create an image of the country because the people who follow us from abraod do not watch TV much, – yes – they see those famous (people) and they say: "this is what damages the depiction of the society now".

Phonologically speaking, this segment is remarkable insofar as it is the only segment that includes examples of phonological system 3 as described by Holes (1989: 451), namely occurrences of ج realised as y and ق as g. The former occurs twice in addition to six instances of ž, the latter three times next to six occurrences as q. Compared to the other speakers who use pronunciation system 5 (Holes 1989: 451), speaker D seems to use the dialectal pronunciation of ج far more rarely. This could indicate that their H1 dialect is more prestigious or more commonly used than speaker D's, and thus making it necessary for him to accommodate towards MSA.

The negative *mā*, being a technically ambiguous or shared item, illustrates very well how the surrounding can influence a linguistic item. Through their respective surroundings, one of them can be seen as clearly dialectal *mā lāzm*, while the others occuring in the phrase *iḏa mā taʕaddā l-ādāb il-ʕāmma iḏa mā xaraqa l-qānūn iḏa mā xāliža l-ḥayāʔ* seem quite MSA leaning. The aforementioned phrase is additionally interesting from the perspective of code switching since it ends with the very dialectal *tartibah*, which coincides nicely with the meaning: When talking about customs and law he uses the formal language MSA, but as soon as he says 'it's his business' he switches to the more informal variety.

Moreover, the use of idiomatic phrases and collocations is an important component not only in this segment, here namely *ʕāžilan am ʔāžilan*, which is included in Wehr's (1979) dictionary and is clearly leaning towards MSA.

5. Conclusion

As can be seen from the analysis above, code switching and/or code mixing appear in every segment and – more often than not – they are so frequent and the shared items so numerous that it is hard to distinguish seperate varieties, especially when considering different linguistic levels. Thus, I can conclude with reasonable certainty that the data reflects the concept of a hybrid variety. Another aspect which is clearly illustrated by the data is how short the idea of two opposing varieties falls of describing the reality of Omani oral media Arabic. In the presented data alone we find items of at least five different codes: MSA, two different Omani dialects, a more general Gulf dialect and English. This indicates that the hybrid variety used in Omani oral media Arabic is quite diverse, drawing from many different codes.

The conclusiveness of this paper is obviously limited in two significant ways, both having to do with its scope. First, it does not analyse enough data closely enough to allow a full picture of Omani oral media Arabic. Second, the selected data is not heterogeneous enough. For instance, it does not include speech samples of women. Nonetheless, the evidence presented above tentatively suggests that code switching and code mixing do indeed occur frequently enough in Omani oral media that often a hybrid variety with a collage of different features emerges.

To get a more comprehensive picture of Omani oral media Arabic, a great deal of further research will have to be conducted, especially given the lack of prior studies in this particular field. First, collecting and analysing a larger amount of data including a more heterogeneous group of speakers and a more diverse array of formats is desirable. In addition, a few interesting topics that require further investigation include the questions of (1) reasons for code switching in Omani oral media contexts, (2) how different Omani dialects interact when they meet in oral media contexts, and (3) what role idiomatic expressions originating in one specific variety play in a hybrid variety of Omani oral media. To conclude, while Omani media Arabic is mostly unknown terrain, this leaves a great many interesting questions for future research.

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Comparing Four Levels of Linguistic Variation: New Dialectological Data from Temara, Morocco

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Abstract

Temara is a Moroccan town which has been attracting huge immigration fluxes from other regions in Morocco; for this reason, it has been chosen as the site for a study of dialect contact in Moroccan Arabic. Two field studies dedicated to data collection (recorded conversations with and among Arabic speakers) have led to the identification of three linguistic variables: one phonological, one phonetic and one lexical. Following a mixed variationist-interactionalist approach, the alternations among the linguistic features involved were first analysed separately, in order to find out the extra-linguistic factors that guided the speakers' choices between alternative forms. The separate analyses revealed important, although partial information on the relevance of age, social network and town of residence on inter-speaker variation, and of the signalling of information structure in verbal interactions on intra-speaker variation. In order to advance hypotheses on the outcomes of dialect contact in Temara and how they have followed one another in time, the focus is now being enlarged to cross-compare the results obtained so far, also with the addition of a fourth (morpho-lexical) variable. Indeed, the cross-analysis seems to point towards different times of spread and adoption of the winning features, particularly in connection with the urbanisation stages of Temara, and even allows to circumscribe the features that may have been used by the tribes who inhabited the area prior to the beginning of the immigration.

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Keywords: Moroccan Arabic, dialect contact, koineization, linguistic variation, urban sociolinguistics.

1. Introduction

The present paper will summarise the results obtained from a study on variation in Moroccan Arabic (henceforth, MA) carried out in the framework of doctoral research. This study aimed at describing the outcomes of dialect contact[2] in Temara, a Moroccan urban centre with an overwhelming majority of immigrant households. The paper will focus on issues of linguistic variation, dialect contact and koinéisation while paying less attention to issues of social meaning and indexations, which were also dealt with in the doctoral thesis.[3] First of all, a short presentation of the town of Temara will be provided, in order to highlight the interest of carrying out a study on dialect contact and linguistic variation there. Afterwards, the data and methodology will be presented, with a focus on the mixed quantitative-qualitative approach that was adopted. The results of the analysis of each of the three variables chosen for the study will then be illustrated in a concise fashion, putting forward the diachronic processes that can be inferred, or posited, from the variation observed in synchrony. Finally, a cross-analysis of the results obtained for the different variables (plus a fourth one) will be carried out in order to propose a historical account of the koinéisation of MA in Temara.

2. Temara and similar cases of dialect contact

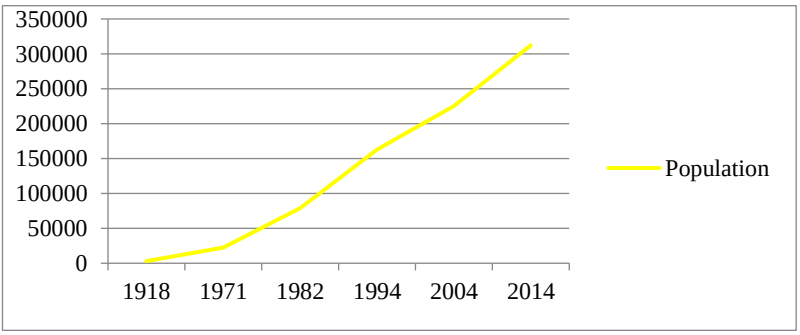

Figure 1 - Temara's population over 96 years

[2] Dialect contact is defined as "contact between varieties of language that are mutually intelligible at least to some degree" by Trudgill (1986: 1).

[3] Cf. Falchetta (2019) for the entire work.

Situated on the Atlantic coast and bordering the south-western side of Rabat, the community of Temara used to be a part of the capital's rural outskirts. Up to the beginning of the French protectorate (1912), it was only inhabited by few thousands of people belonging to two Arabic-speaking tribes, the *Ūdāya* and the *ʕrəb*,[4] whose early speech is unattested.[5] Before and after Morocco's independence (1956), the area attracted a gradually increasing number of immigrants as job opportunities increased locally, and as the residential areas of the close-by Rabat, which the protectorate's authorities had chosen as the country's capital (and therefore also attracted important immigration fluxes), became saturated. In 1983, Temara was officially declared an urban municipality; since then, it slowly took the shape of a modern urban centre with adequate housing and services. As shown in Figure 1, all this led to a demographic growth that saw Temara's inhabitants increase to over 300,000 in about a century.

As all Moroccan regions contributed immigrants, Temara's linguistic landscape is relatively varied, with families speaking different regional varieties living next to each other. In situations such as these, phenomena of dialect contact can easily be observed in the form of e.g. levelling, simplification and fudged forms, at times leading to koinéisation and/or the formation of new dialects (cf. Trudgill 1986). A very well-known case of contact leading to a new dialect in the Arabic-speaking world is the one of Amman, Jordan, studied by Enam Al-Wer (e.g. 2007). The case of Temara also resembles that of Milton Keynes, a government-designed town in south-eastern England which was erected from scratch starting from 1967. The linguistic outcome of the encounter of the thousands of immigrants that came to live in this innovative urban project is summarised in Kerswill & Williams (2000). Indeed, the main goal of the choice of Temara was to compare the linguistic phenomena observed there to those found in Amman, Milton Keynes and other similar situations in and out of the Arabic-speaking region.

3. Data and methodology

The present paper is based on a corpus collected during two field studies carried out in Temara and Casablanca between September 2015 and August 2017. The data consist of MA speech recorded in the course of spontaneous conversations between native speakers, group interviews conducted by the (non-native) researcher and one-to-one interviews carried out by a native

4 Cf. Mission Scientifique du Maroc (1918)

5 The late Peter Behnstedt (2021) published a contribution on the speech of a fraction of the same tribe called *ʕrəb Səbbāḥ*. A member of the Temara fraction mentioned this as the tribe's previous place of residence.

speaker. Ca. 38 hours of recordings – involving 60 informants – have been analysed so far. Most of the present paper will be focused on the 53 residents of Temara who are in this sample. These have been divided into two age ranges, 38 and younger (henceforth referred to as "younger informants") and 39 and older (henceforth referred to as "older informants"). The younger group is made up of 39 informants, all men, while the older group consists of twelve men and two women.

The methodology adopted combined variationist (Labovian) and interactionalist approaches and techniques. As is common practice in variationist studies, a number of linguistic variables (three) was selected after the first field study to gain an insight into the dynamics and outcomes of dialect contact. The selected variables were:

1. A phonological one: the alternation of /q/ and /g/ as a historical reflex of old Arabic /q/
2. A phonetic one: the allophonic variation of /t/ (particularly [t͡ʃ])
3. A lexical variable: the alternation of /hdəṛ/ *vs* /dwa/ (semantically similar to the English verbs "to speak" and "to talk")

These were chosen among the linguistic forms that were found to vary not only in the corpus collected, but also in a sample of TV series in Moroccan Arabic, as this coincidence was taken to indicate that they were probably salient for the Moroccan population at large. Correlations between the variables and the informants' social profiles were then made in order to identify which social factors were relevant to the linguistic variation (this was not sought for the lexical variable, as occurrences were not sufficient to that purpose).[6] However, contrary to standard variationist practice, the correlations identified quantitatively did not undergo statistical confirmation, but were subject to a qualitative discussion as will be shown *infra*.

The first and third variables were also analysed through an interactionalist approach by comparing each micro-interaction in which different variants were employed and by identifying the speaker's discourse strategies that motivated their choice of form in that interaction.[7]

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6 The social data gathered for each informant included age, places of birth and upbringing, family's regional origin, area of residence, educational level, present and (if relevant) past occupation.

7 Discourse strategies, as defined by Gumperz (1982: 35), are "the strategies that govern the actor's use of lexical, grammatical, sociolinguistic and other knowledge in the production and interpretation of messages in context".

4. The phonological variable

The phoneme that corresponds to proto-semitic *k' and to old Arabic /q/ (ق) has given way to a great number of etymological allophones in the modern varieties of spoken Arabic. In Temara, the only two attested allophones are /q/ and /g/; these are also the most frequent ones in Morocco.[8] They enjoy phonemic status as they distinguish between different lexemes (e.g. /qərʕa/ "bottle" *vs* /gərʕa/ "courgette"), at least in Temara and the surrounding areas. However, a number of other lexemes can be pronounced with both /q/ and /g/, such as /qbīla/ *vs* /gbīla/ "a while ago", /fūq/ *vs* /fūg/ "above", /qənṭra/ *vs* /gənṭra/, "bridge", etc. Such oscillation is observable at both the inter- and the intra-speaker level. Since every lexeme seemed to vary independently, five particularly frequent lexemes were selected for the analysis, following the same procedure as for the choice of the three variables:

1. **/wāqəf/ vs /wāgəf/** (act. participle, *"standing", "still"*)
2. **/wqəf/ vs /wgəf/** (verb *"to stop", "to stand up"*)
3. **/qəddām/ vs /gəddām/** (preposition, adverb or noun; *"in front of", "opposite", "forward"*)
4. **/lqa/ vs /lga/** (verb, *"to find"*)
5. **/qbəl/ vs /gbəl/** (preposition or adverb; roughly corresponding to English *"before"*)

All the occurrences were counted manually for each of the informants in the corpus and were then correlated to the informants' social data. Age and connection to urban social networks proved to be the social factors most relevant to the patterning of the /q/ ~ /g/ alternation. Figure 2 shows the average percentage of the occurrences of each lexeme with /g/ for the two age ranges indicated (percentages of /g/-occurrences will henceforth be referred to as "/g/-rates"). It is clear that younger informants have a stronger preference for /q/, even in the three lexemes which older ones assigned to the /g/ phonological class more than half of the times.

The importance of the other factor – connection to urban social networks – emerged from the results of a test specifically developed by the researcher to elicit more occurrences of the five lexemes from the younger population.[9] As it turned out, informants that reached a higher /g/-rate during their test performance were those who, considering their "adult" social networks (i.e. those linked to their profession and/or other type of activities not related to studying), had fewer opportunities of getting in touch with speakers from

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8 A third reflex found in some varieties is /ʔ/ or /ʔˤ/. In some cases, this is a recessive variant, giving way to /q/.

9 However, only the first three lexemes listed above were retained in the analysis of the test results, as the other two were almost invariably pronounced with /q/ by the test-takers. Details on the test are found in Falchetta (2019, 2022).

bigger towns, such as Rabat or Casablanca. This was taken to indicate that urban social contacts exert a pressure to adjust to certain linguistic norms, among which, apparently, is using /q/ instead of /g/ in some salient lexemes. A confirmation of this can be found in the already noted higher use of /g/ by the older informants, most of whom either grew up in rural areas or in Temara at a time when the latter was not well connected with the nearby Rabat through public or private transportation. The younger generation's dramatic move towards /q/ is therefore interpreted as a case of levelling induced by accommodation to a set of norms external to the community.

As 16 out of 34 test-takers (47%) switched between /q/ and /g/ for at least

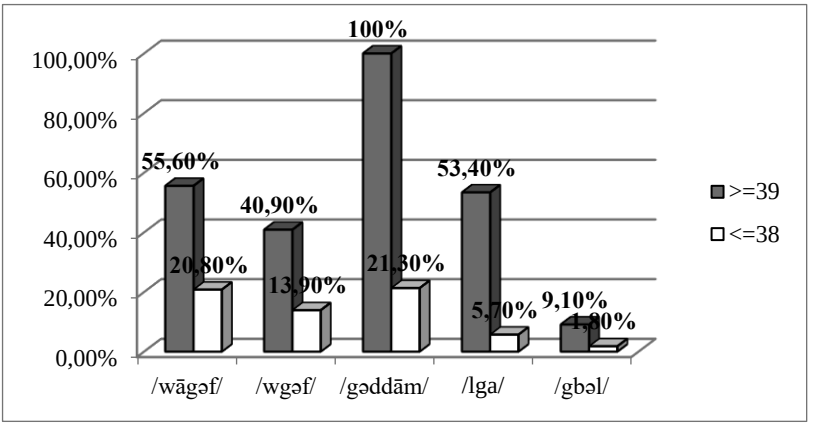

Figure 2 - Generational difference in the patterning of the phonologic variable

one of the lexemes, an interactional analysis was also made by taking into account every single interactional context in which the 16 participants used the lexeme(s) concerned by the phonological alternation. The main result of the analysis is that, in 69% of the contexts, the two phonemes were used with the pragmatic purpose of distinguishing focused (/q/) from presupposed information (/g/).[10] The pragmatic functionalisation of a seemingly recessive variant appears to represent yet another type of reallocation to be added to those described by Trudgill (1986: 110-125).

5. The phonetic variable

Lenited reflexes of the phoneme corresponding to Old Arabic *t are especially attested across Maghrebi Arabic varieties. For Moroccan varieties

[10] Falchetta (2022) illustrates these findings in detail.

(Brunot 1950: 37; Cantineau 1960: 37), lenition has most often been described as alveo-dental affrication ([tˢ], [t͡s]). However, Ziamari *et al.* (2020) first signalled that the unmarked realisation of /t/ among young speakers in the Casablanca-Rabat-Sale conurbation (which also includes Temara) is an alveo-palatal (AP) affrication [t͡ʃ] (Ziamari *et al.* 2020: 32), highly similar to the realisation of, e.g., <ch> in English or Spanish. According to the authors, this feature was typical of the local working class before characterising youth speech (32).

In Temara, the analysis aimed at providing a detailed account of the allophonic spectrum of /t/ in the local residents' idiolects. The focus was set on the realisations of /t/ in several inter-vocalic and post-vocalic, pre-pausal positions, i.e. in those environments in which the influence of other consonants was minimum.[11] A number of allophones were impressionistically chosen as discrete variants. Occurrences were counted manually for each informant until reaching a minimum number of occurrences for each phonetic environment. For this reason, only the twelve younger informants from whom enough speech was recorded to reach this minimum number are taken into account.

Figure 3 and Figure 4 show the relative occurrences of each variant for the two age ranges. As it clearly emerges, the number of allophones is greatly reduced in the younger population, with the most lenited variants being also the most (and quasi-exclusive) realisations. This process of focusing therefore also accompanies an increase of the lenition of this phoneme, which almost reaches a fricative manner of articulation by the new generation.

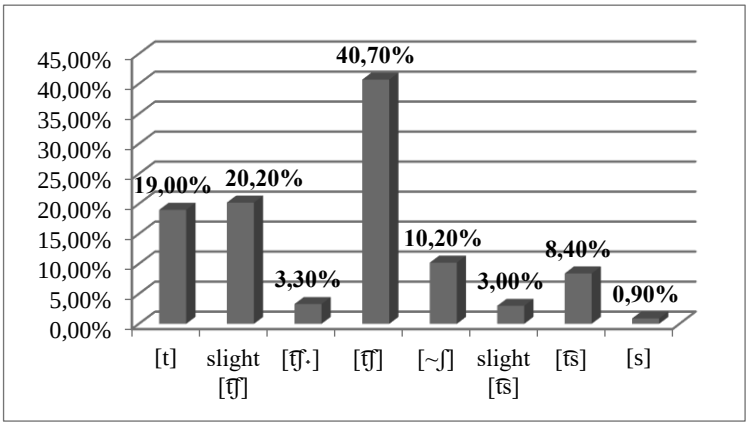

Figure 3 - Allophones of /t/ and rates (speakers >=39)

[11] Cf. Falchetta (2019) for the list of the phonetic environments taken into account.

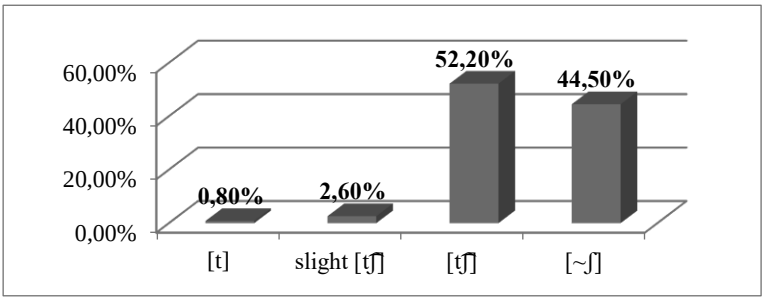

Figure 4 - Allophones of /t/ and rates (speakers <=38)

However, if one looks closely at the allophones used by the two generations, one realises that the ongoing change may not be as linear as it seems. Most of the allophones recorded can be placed along two phonetic continua as shown below:

Continuum (a): [t] → [tʲ] → [t͡ʃ] → [ˡʃ] (from plosive to quasi-fricative)

Continuum (b): [t] → [tʲ] → [t͡ʃ˖]

↘ [t͡ʃ] (from plosive to different affricates)

Continuum (a) covers the spectrum of allophones found in the speech of all younger and two older informants, and continuum (b) that found in the speech of the majority of older individuals. Apart from the failure to get as close to fricatisation as continuum (a), continuum (b) is also characterised by the oscillation of the affricate between a plain AP one and a more advanced one [t͡ʃ˖], which can hardly be distinguished from [t͡s] possibly because its place of articulation is halfway towards an alveo-dental.

One wonders if this double difference (failure to reach the quasi-fricative and variable place of articulation for the affricate) could be indicative of a fundamentally different quality (depending on, e.g. degree of stricture) of the affricates of the two continua, whereby the one in continuum (a) is more loosely constricted and therefore more inclined to approach a fricative under certain prosodic conditions than the one in continuum (b). If this should be the case, it would mean that the realisation of /t/ is not simply focusing on the most lenited AP allophones, but that this type of pronunciation has been imported from outside the community of Temari speakers (maybe Casablanca), which would explain why the younger informants' AP affrication (continuum (a)) is of a fundamentally different nature if compared to that of the majority of older informants (continuum (b)).

6. The lexical variable

In Behnstedt's (2014: 386) *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte*, the two lexemes, /hdəṛ/ and /dwa/, are considered variants for the meaning expressed by the German *sprechen*. As occurrences of the two lexemes were scarce in the data, the analysis focused on finding out the recurring semantic meanings which speakers assigned to either of them in the context of the interaction, and on identifying which informant used either lexeme at least once with one of those meanings.[12] The results globally showed a strong preference for /hdəṛ/ by Temara residents, although a few instances of /dwa/ were also recorded; in particular, five of them used this form as a semantically unmarked lexeme, i.e. either in alternation with /hdəṛ/ to express the same meaning, or instead of it for all the meanings identified. More on these /dwa/ users will be said in the following section.

A short recording (20 minutes) of a spontaneous conversation among four young (18-20) male speakers raised in Casablanca was also taken into account in the analysis of this variable, as it appeared to bring to the surface an unexpected inter-urban diversification. Indeed, all four youth regularly used /dwa/ with those same semantic meanings which were assigned to /hdəṛ/ in Temara most of the times. The data at hand are not sufficient to state that /dwa/ is the majority form in Casablanca – although use of /hdəṛ/ has also been reported to be sanctioned as "not Casawi" there (Ziamari p.c.). Gathering a bigger corpus of speech from this town would allow to make stronger claims on the existence (or not) of a divergent push within the inter-urban koinéisation trend which has otherwise been observed in Morocco, and on the possibility that use of /dwa/ in other towns (such as Temara) indexes social features attributed to Casawis.

7. Discussion and cross-analysis with /kā-/ *vs* /tā-/

In this section, an account on the outcomes of dialect contact in Temara will be attempted. In order to do this, the results of the analyses of the three variables will be crossed among them and with some data available on a fourth, morpho-lexical variable, i.e. the one that represents the alternation between /kā-/ and /tā-/. These are two pre-verbal prefixes adding aspectual (usually habitual, progressive or gnomic) value to the action or state semantically expressed by a verb. No difference in meaning exists between the two forms, which means that they are inter-changeable in every single semantic context in which they can be employed.

[12] For a full list of the semantic meanings identified, cf. Falchetta (2019: 321-326).

In order to advance hypotheses on the outcomes of dialect contact in Temara, the analysis of this variable was limited to the 29 Temaris (sixteen younger and thirteen older individuals) for which a consistent amount of data was available. Each of them was simply classified according to whether they employed /kā-/ or /tā-/ categorically, or alternated between them.[13]

	%[t]	#[t]	ka	ta
OUD5	92.9%	13		√
HN1	91.9%	34	√	√
MW	69.2%	18		√
OUL	36.1%	13		√
OUD3	21.1%	8	√	√
MH	19.2%	5	√	√
OUD2	16.7%	6	√	√
OUD4	16.1%	5	√	√
LTm	15.0%	6	√	√
AL	13.9%	5	√	

Table 1: Top 10 non-/t/-affricators and the morpho-lexical variable.

Table 1 compares the performances on two variables of the ten informants who affricated /t/ the least. A tendency can be noticed for individuals with most plosive /t/'s to only use /tā-/. Two of these, OUD5 and OUL, are members of local tribes, as are (on lower ranks) OUD3, OUD2 and OUD4, also in the top-10 and also having produced a relatively high number of plosives. On the other hand, a sixth tribe member also used /tā-/ categorically (but affricated /t/ to a much greater extent). These partial results, although based on a small number of informants, might point to plosive /t/ and /tā-/ being two forms employed by the original inhabitants of Temara before any contact with immigrants took place.

Another interesting result emerges from the cross-analysis of the phonological and the lexical variables. Out of the five Temaris that used /dwa/ with no semantic distinction from /hdəṛ/, four obtained a high /g/-rate considering all the contexts in which they were recorded: among these are two youth who obtained a /g/-rate of 64.3% and 33.3% respectively, i.e. quite higher than the average calculated for the younger Temari informants (14.7%). The other two are again local tribe members, whose /g/-rate, calculated on the speech they produced during their individual interviews, respectively reached 94.1% and 56.3% – the average for the older informants being 46.7%. On the basis of this cross-comparison, if use of /q/ seems to be encouraged by pressure received from urban norms, then also use of /hdəṛ/ might be due to the same type of pressure. However, since /hdəṛ/ is also widespread among most of the older informants, it will be suggested that its alternation with /dwa/ dates back to a time prior to the urbanisation of Temara (and possibly even the Protectorate).

[13] Some informants who used both prefixes but appeared to use either of them in rare, limited cases were grouped with the categorical users of the other prefix.

Variables	Phonological[14]	Phonetic	Lexical	Morpho-lexical
Original tribes' variety	dominant /g/	plosive /t/	/dwa/ ~ /hdəṛ/	/tā-/ only
First stage of dialect contact	dominant /g/	weak AP /t/ affrication	/dwa/ ~ /hdəṛ/	/kā-/ ~ /tā-/
Younger generation(s)' koine	dominant /q/ (but with reallocation of /q/ and /g/)	strong AP /t/ affrication, almost fricatised	/hdəṛ/ (possible reallocation of /dwa/)	/kā-/ ~ /tā-/

Table 2: Possible koinéisation stages in Temara.

Table 2 attempts to reconstruct the stages of koinéisation in Temara in apparent time, i.e. on the basis of the synchronic data collected during the two field studies. The first stage of dialect contact (illustrated in the second row) is thought to have followed the first immigration fluxes and to represent the situation prior to the improvement of connections with Rabat and other towns, i.e. at least until the 1980s. A second stage (illustrated in the third row) can therefore be identified in the speech of (at least male) individuals born from the end of the 1970s onwards, who grew up in an urbanising or urbanised Temara.

The hypothetical stages posit different accommodation speed rates and time-spans for the four variables. AP affrication of /t/ is thought to be the imported form that has spread the most quickly, although the older generation of informants do not lenite the consonant as much as the younger one. As was observed, this change must not have been linear, if the hypothesis that informants aged 38 or younger have adopted a qualitatively different kind of AP affrication is confirmed. In any case, the fact that a few younger informants (not reported in Table 1) do not mix the two verbal prefixes while invariably affricating /t/ suggests that /t/ affrication naturally tends to be acquired more easily than unfamiliar prefixes. By virtue of this, the adoption of /kā-/ alongside /tā-/ by the children of categorical /tā-/ users (and vice versa for the children of categorical /kā-/ users migrating to Temara) must have been slower and more gradual. The most recent dialect contact phenomena are those that seem to take urban norms as targets, as this has been made easier by the improvement of connections, which has only taken place in the last few decades: the dramatic move from /g/ to /q/ (in salient lexemes) and the progressive abandonment of /dwa/, with both regressive forms being possibly reallocated to new pragmatic functions (and therefore being saved from total disappearance).

[14] Refers to realisation of all five of the lexemes targeted.

8. Conclusion

The hypothetical koinéisation stages outlined above are based on a few trends in apparent time found out in the data corpus collected from 2015 to 2017. All these trends arguably provide interesting threads that further dialectological research may try to confirm or, at least, take into account to define the outcomes of dialect contact in this and other urban contexts in Morocco. Apart from that, more data on geographical areas that MA dialectology has not covered so far will shed more light on the varieties brought in by the different immigrant communities and, possibly, on the co-occurrence of forms at the national or regional (Maghrebi) level, with much ensuing benefit for the discipline of historical dialectology.

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A Voice for the Marginalized: Egyptian Arabic in *Mahraganāt* Songs

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Abstract

Mahraganāt is the Arabic plural for 'festivals'; it is a popular Egyptian genre of contemporary electronic music initially associated with local community gatherings, family special occasions and celebrations (weddings etc.), and other informal ceremonies. The social and cultural status of *mahraganāt* songs implies the use of a variety of Egyptian Arabic understood as low and most informal. This paper attempts to shed light on two aspects: 1) dialectological (the Egyptian Arabic code used in lyrics associated specifically with the genre) and 2) sociolinguistic (identity markers as reflected in them).

The lyrics of the *mahraganāt* are mostly about unprivileged beings, who despite their dire conditions are proud of their neighborhood. Recently, newly emerging *mahraganāt* stars have found their ways to YouTube and music broadcasting services and the number of their listeners (and viewers) has changed the fortune of many. The genre's popularity among young Egyptians evokes criticism of traditionalists and older generations in general, while professionals start taking the genre quite seriously (even banning artists from performing and imposing fines).

The paper provides translation and interpretation of 2 pieces of lyrics of the most listened to *mahraganāt* songs of the recent years, paying attention to vocabulary and meaning, while focusing also on the *mahraganāt* as a genre that reflects linguistic form and practice, initially associated with marginalized social classes, but currently influencing a much broader spectrum of Egyptian Arabic speakers, through functioning as an evolving popular culture phenomenon.

Keywords: song lyrics, language attitude, identity, *mahraganāt*.

Popular songs give listeners the romantic terms in which to articulate and experience their emotions (Frith 1986: 102). Song lyrics have appeared in the focus of linguistic research as they often form specific discourse or highlight distinct features of language variation within a certain genre. Researchers direct attention to metaphor (Crossley 2005, Kreyer 2012), the image of the artist (Donze 2011), or identity (Frith 1993, Donze 2011), often utilizing corpus based methods for gathering data (Bértoli-Dutra 2014, Kreyer 2012). In cultural sociology, the study of popular music (including texts) has become an established contemporary sub-disciplinary field of research (Back et al. 2012: 151).

Often referred to as *mahraganāt šaʕbiyya*[1] or *electro-šaʕbī*, the genre started humbly by the onset of the century and was restricted to certain classes, conditions and areas. Yet with liberalization processes and social media development during and after the Egyptian revolution in January 2011, it was regenerated and extended almost to all social classes and went beyond its limitations.

Mahraganāt is a relatively young genre, therefore it may seem quite possible to trace its origins and describe its emergence and expansion on the music scene and, eventually, the music market in Egypt. Though the aim of this paper does not involve a need to detect exactly or prove the time and the place of the genre's emergence, it is worth mentioning that there are several popular claims on its origin. Predominantly they adhere the origin of *mahraganāt* to one of the suburbs of Cairo, but there are also claims that first songs of this kind were actually produced in Alexandria (Šafīq 2020).

Owing to the possibilities that modern technology gives to artists and producers, *mahraganāt* gained rapid and significant success in reaching wide audiences in Egypt and beyond. *Mahraganāt* is one of the categories listed in all the major audio streaming services (like Spotify, YouTube Music etc.) rivaling biggest Arab pop artists. At the same time, the commercial success of producers of *mahraganāt* barely corresponds to their popularity as they usually have limited access to official radio and TV as well as major stages and concert halls. These restrictions are imposed both by official (like the Egyptian Musicians' Syndicate) and unofficial (like "reputable" public figures, local social and religious leaders etc.) social powers that refer to the genre in generalizing terms of "inappropriateness". These evaluations, among others, come from language attitudes to the characteristic discourse of *mahraganāt* lyrics, which constitutes one of its main genre-constructing features and implies its specific narrative rules. More often than not these songs are telling passionate stories of affection and love, which is nothing new to pop or folk

[1] Though *šaʕbī* is an important class marker for the *mahraganāt* genre, it should not be confused with the *šaʕbī* music genre, with which it has root connections (for an outline of *šaʕbī* music see Gilman 2014).

songs, but the public opinion attributes them to lower culture contrary to the later. Nevertheless, a range of *mahraganāt* hits top Egyptian wedding party playlists regardless of the status of the gatherings or the social class of the public (which remains an important factor in the Egyptian society). What then makes these socially "inappropriate" songs appropriate for some social practices or, to paraphrase Frith's (1986) question, "why these songs have these words?".

The *mahraganāt* genre, due to its origins, is heavily associated with public performance during social gatherings (weddings, felucca trips, parties). Also, *mahraganāt* songs often voice their place of origin and related social class, and thus have a very local flavor. In these terms, the performance of *mahraganāt* is a social activity, in which both the singers and the audience are involved. Staged performance involves agentive use of language, which is grounded on social meanings, and tends to be linguistically stylized, pushing the limits of language creativity [Bell, Gibson]. Originally, the genre is rooted in the spontaneous performances of the presenters and artists invited to weddings (Hassan 2020), especially the craft of the entertainer (*nabaṭšī ʔafrāḥ*).

In these activities, the entertainers act as associated personas. As Bell and Gibson put it, performers rely on identifiable speech styles to index social meanings and construct associated personas [Ibid]. Persona is a character type, often associated with a particular genre category [Donze 2011: 45]. Through these character types, consumers of music make sense of place and identity.

The language of the *mahraganāt* is referred to as *ġarīb* "strange" (Zeid 2019; ʔAbū Rayā 2020), *hābiṭ* "vulgar" (ibid), in many cases – *kalām lā yuʔaddī ʔilā ʔayy maʕnā* "meaningless" (Hassan 2022: 98) of *mutawāriya* "vague", *ġeyr mustasāġa* "unpalatable" (ʕĀmir 2019), but also – *qarība ʔileyhim* "close to them [the people]" (Ibid: 20) or *bitiʕkis nabaḍ iš-šāriʕ* "reflecting the pulse of the street" (Ibid: 81).

Positive and negative attitudes towards the language of *mahraganāt* can be determined by both status (class, official position, professional reputation) and perspective (academic interest, listener's taste, previous experience/age) factors. On negative attitudes and comprehensive outline of the public controversies related to *mahraganāt* see Kitzler (2021).

Nevertheless, the popularity of *mahraganāt* songs is obvious as they are literally permeating the public space: they appear on satellite channels in Egyptian movies and dramas, commercials and advertising, specialized radio channels, public transport (tuk-tuk, minibus, taxi, felucca), cafés, restaurants, clubs, etc. Despite of being at first a local genre produced for and consumed by the urban lower classes, it has expanded both geographically and socially.

Dina Farouk Zeid conducted a survey of 100 university students from "rich districts in Cairo". The results of her research showed that all the respondents like to listen to *mahraganāt*. Concerning their parents' attitudes, most of them

(96%) do not respect local (*šaʕbī*) songs "due to their vulgar and unethical lyrics" (Zeid 2019: 1).

The respondents told that what they like in *mahraganāt* lyrics are: 1) "strange and weird words" (96%), 2) "funny ideas" (94%), 3) "courageous and free topics" (82%), 4) "showing problems of the poor" (80%), 5) "usage of Egyptian slang words" (76%) 6) "learning poor areas' language and slang through songs" (70%) (Zeid 2019: 3).

In what follows, we will present a translation and interpretation of two of the most popular *mahraganāt* songs: 1) "ʔIxwātī" by El Swareekh: Dokdok&Fanky, Zuksh, Shehta Karika (over 400 MM views on YouTube); 2) "Bint il-gīrān" by Hassan Shakosh and Omar Kamal (over 624 MM views on YouTube). The second song has generated many controversies due to explicit language about using drugs and alcohol, while the first one may be called the most socially accepted *mahraganāt* dance hit played publicly during weddings by all social classes in Egypt. It must be noted that *mahraganāt* performers are almost exclusively male and that the song lyrics within this genre have predominantly male-centric nature.

1) "ʔIxwātī":

Transliteration[2]	**Line-by-line translation**	**Commentary\ Interpretation**
ʔabṭāl il-gumhūriyya ʕaddū ḥdūd il-ʕālamiyya	heroes of the republic, who crossed world boundaries	i.e., gained international recognition
ʕāmlīn fikra gahannamiyya	we are having a crazy (lit.: hellish) idea	
ha-nġanni-l-kum taḥt il-māyya	we will sing for you from under water	this may refer to the 'catchy' character of the songs
harbānīn mi(n)-(i)l-ʕabbāsiyya	we have run away from the Abbasiyya [mental hospital]	oldest mental health hospital in Egypt and household name for mental disorders
mrayyiḥīn baʕd il-ʕamaliyya	taking a break after the operation	*ʕamaliyya* may refer both to medical or criminal 'operation'

[2] (q) denotes ʔ for q. Other symbols in parenthesis stand for omitted consonants and vowels (as sung by the performers) and the interconsonant short [i].

Transliteration[2]	Line-by-line translation	Commentary\ Interpretation
il-(q)uṭṭa btāʕtī l-mišmišiyya	my ginger (lit. apricot) cat	referring to an attractive girlfriend (dating, pre-marriage relationship); also, a popular nursery rhyme *(q)uṭṭa mišmišiyya*
(q)āʕda gambī fi-l-ʕarabiyya	is sitting beside me in the car	private vehicles as luxurious items for the underprivileged classes
hātl(i)ha kebda w-wāḥid sugu(q)	I got her a liver sandwich and a hot-dog	street food shop areas as a place for dating; not popular among higher classes
ḥatta l-bebs(i) maxadtiš bū(q)	as for me, I did not even take a sip of Pepsi	*bū(q)* also alludes to a kiss
yallā yā zū/okš ʔanā hinā mi(n) (i)ṣ-ṣubḥ	come on, Zuksh, I am here since morning	friends in popular areas call each other from the street; they refer to each other by nicknames
yallā yā šaḥta (i)nzil b-il-bū/oks	come on, Shihta, come out in your boxers	*boks* is a localized word for the borrowed 'boxers', pronounced by speakers from upper classes as *bokser* or *boksers*; also, *boks* as a word from professional (music) dialect; *boks* may also allude to police trucks transferring prisoners
fīn il-fank wi-fīn id-du(q)	where is the funk[?] and the beat	*il-fank* and *id-du(q)* refers to drumbeat (professional dialect/jargon)
il-ʕarabiyya ʕaṭlāna bi-nzu(qq)	the car is broken we'll push it	the car is not a fancy one and needs a push to start the engine
baṣṣī/ēt wisṭ il-maʕmaʕa	I looked into the crowd fighting	The 'popular' areas are overcrowded and usually situations like this gather some looky-loos

Transliteration[2]	Line-by-line translation	Commentary\ Interpretation
šūft samaka w(i)-middallaʕa	I saw a fish and she was pampered	another reference to an attractive female (fish as appetizing and delicious dish)
(q)alb-ī b(i)-yi-nhār yā gamāʕa	hey, guys, my heart is falling apart	
yā ṭabīb hāt is-sammāʕa	hey, doctor, get your stethoscope	
yā ṭabīb …	hey, doctor [repeated many times]	calling upon the doctor is a signal for love and is used often in high-culture songs
ʔanā (q)alb-ī kawāfīr	my heart is a hairdresser	a metaphor to show he easily (and often) falls in love
dāxlīn xārgīn laylātī	they enter and leave every night	referring to sexual activity (showing off)
iṭlaʕī l-ī b-aṣanṣīr	take the elevator [to come to me]	referring to meetings in private
w(i)-ṭanṭ(i) tib(q)ā ḥamātī	and the old woman becomes my mother-in-law	here, *ṭanṭ* refers to the mother; implication to pre-marriage relationship
fī-l-faraḥ wagabāt kīntākī	in the wedding there will be KFC	financial ability to offer KFC lunchboxes to the guests at his wedding
ʔanā ha-ṣraf ʔaxallaṣ fī šīkātī	I will spend from my check books	check books as better financial ability than credit cards
w-il-faraḥ yimšī ka-l-ʔātī	the wedding ceremony will go as follows	self-confidence
miš ha-ʕzam bas ġeyr ʔixwātī	I will only invite my brothers	denotes close relationship with his peers from the neighborhood
ʔixwātī …	my brothers	
xadt ir-riggāla w (q)allabt	I took my men and made a fight with my wife	fight with his wife and leave his home to spend time with his friends out

Transliteration[2]	Line-by-line translation	Commentary\ Interpretation
ʕašān il-wa(q)t (i) mʔassar fīyya	because time presses on me	
ʔanā muxxī b-yi(q)fil gumʕa w-sabt	my brain shuts down on Fridays and Saturdays	patriarchal culture, where the man is the one who needs to take a break during the weekend
ʕašān ʔagāzāt rasmiyya	because [they are] official holidays	
il-(q)uṭṭa l-(q)uṭṭa l-(q)uṭṭa	that cat x3	
rākba maʕānā fi-š-šanṭa	riding with us on the [car] trunk	a common 'fun' activity
ʕāmla ḥ(i)kāya b-is-salaṭa	[she] making stories with salad	'Salad' may refer to combos with beans sandwiches and salad (things that happen together)
ʕāmla ḥ(i)wār ʕalá šafṭa	making a [whole] discussion because of one sip	*šafṭa* alludes to relationship with the opposite sex
hōbā hōbā hōbā	wow	*hōbā* is an exclamation word to show an amazing situation
šāfit-nī bi-ʕīnhā l-(q)uṭṭa	the cat saw me with her own eyes	referring to the attractive female
(q)ālit-lī dā-nta sukkar	she said: "hey, you're sugar"	you are nice/funny
(q)ultilhā ḥabībt-ī šukr-an	I told her: "thank you, habibi"	probably used in a sarcastic manner
tīgī gamb-ī nu(q)ʕud nitsallá	come sit with me, let's have fun	
n(i)ḍayyaʕ wa(q)t (i) nrūḥ il-villā	lose some time and go to the villa	i.e. spend time together
n(i)lumm ḥāgat-nā n(i)lumm iš-šilla	grab our things, grab our gang	both *lamm* and *šilla* may be used in other styles and contexts with a more

Transliteration[2]	Line-by-line translation	Commentary\ Interpretation
		neutral meaning, like "pack, gather" and "group", but here they receive a YL character; *šilla* often denotes a group of children, too
n(i)gīb kāramīllā (ʔa)nā gibt(i) ʔāxir-ha	we'll get some candies, I just got the last one	*kāramīllā* is considered to be low-variety
ma-ṣāḥibš(i) farāfīr	I never hang out with sissies	praising and demonstrating masculinity (machismo); *farāfīr* – street language
ḥattá law rākbīn fīrārī	even if they ride Ferrari	
ʔanā ṣāḥib it-ta(q)dīr	I have respect	
ḥattá law h-arkab ʔatārī	even if I [only] ride on Atari	*ʔatārī* video games system popular in 80s and 90s; Egyptian working migrants or those going to Umras used to bring them from Saudi Arabia
ʔa tārī d-dunyā ʔatārī	if life was like Atari	*ʔa tārī* - *ʔatārī* puns are common in Egyptian popular creativity (folklore, other popular genres)
miš ḥilwa zey illī f(i)-bālī	[it's] not as beautiful as in my mind	*bālī* considered to be low-variety
miš kull illī tšūfū-(h) ġālī miš ha-(q)dar bass ġeyr ʔixwātī	not everything you see is precious I will respect only my brothers	a clear conclusion-like statement of place and identity

2) “Bint il-gīrān”

Transliteration	Line-by-line translation	Commentary\ Interpretation
sukkar maḥallī maḥṭūt ʕalá krīma	sweetened sugar over cream	*krīma* alludes to “cream of the [high] society”; refers both to being attractive and having “class”
kaʕbik maḥannī w-il-ʕūd ʕale(yh) (i)l-(q)īma	the heal of your foot dyed with henna and your shape has value	*kaʕbik* alludes to Mohamed Rushdi’s song *kaʕb al- ġazal ya mitḥannī* – a *šaʕbī* classics; *ʕūd ʕale(yh)* is a recurred description of sexually attractive female bodies; *il-(q)īma* is a high-variety lexeme for something valuable
wi-tgīnī tilā(q)īnī lissa b-xārī	and you come to me and find me still fine	*tgīnī tilā(q)īnī* is a cliché in Egyptian classical songs (like Aziza Galal’s *mistanniak*); *lissa b-xārī* has sexual connotation referring to ability
miš ha-tib(q)á li-ġārī	you’ll never belong to another	patriarchal expression of feelings
ʔeywa (ʔa)nā ġeyrī mafīš	[because] yes, there is no other but me	
bint il-gīrān šaġlāla (ʔa)nā ʕneyyā	the neighbor’s daughter is occupying my eyes	the neighbor is usually the first contact with the opposite gender for many Egyptians in ‘popular’ areas, where balconies are in very close proximity
wa-nā fī-l-makān fī xal(q) ḥawāleyyā	and I am in the place, there are people around me	*makān fī xal(q)* is a common expression used in Alexandria
miš ʕāyiz ḥadd(i) ye-xud bālū(h) mi(n)-ll(ī) (ʔ)anā fī(h)	I don’t want anyone to notice what I am going through	relationships are kept a secret, for fear of scandals

Transliteration	Line-by-line translation	Commentary\ Interpretation
		and gossips undermining honor
šūft il-(q)amar sahharnī layālayyā	I saw the moon enchanting my nights	cliché in classical Egyptian songs (Abdel Halim Hafez *il-(q)amar*, Um Kulthum *yā mishharnī*)
wa-hamūt ʕalīkī rabbī l-ʕālim biyyā	I will die for you, god knows me	*ʕalīkī rabbī l-ʕālim biyyā* is an archaic way to swear, used also in classical songs
sībī šubbākik maftūḥ lī la-tiqfilī(h)	leave your window open, don't close it	to peek through her window
bi-hawāyā ʔintī (q)āʕda maʕā-yā	I swear with my love, you are sitting with me	*bi-hawāyā* here is a subjunctive expression
ʕayney-kī li-yā mirāyā yā gamāl mirāyat il-ʕeyn	your eyes are my mirror, oh how beautiful are the mirrors of the eyes	traditional reference to the true feeling of love
xallī-kī law ha-timšī (h)-anādī-kī	stay, if you go, I'll call you [all night]	traditional love song cliché
ʔintī li-yā ʔanā lī-kī ʔiḥnā l-ʔitnīn (q)āṭiʕīn	you are mine and I am yours and we are both for each other	*(q)āṭiʕīn* meaning two halves of one whole; regional lexeme
t(i)sībī-nī akrah ḥayāt-ī w-sinīn-ī	if you leave me, I'll hate my life and years	Cliché
h-atawwah wa-miš ha-la(q)ī-nī w-(ʔ)ašrab xumūr wa-ḥašīš	I will lose myself and drink/take alcohol/drugs and weeds	*xumūr* can refer to drugs in general; as alcohol is much expensive and less popular, here *xumūr* probably denotes drugs
ʕalē-kī buṣṣa t(i)xallī l-ʕā(q)il magnūn	you have that look that turns the sane to insane	
dawwibtī (q)alb-ī b(i)-xaṭwa min rigl-ik	you melted my heart with just one step of your leg	alludes to tinkling anklets as a traditional female accessory in Alexandria
siḥabti rūḥ-ī sabit-nī wa-rāḥit-l-ik	you took my soul, it left me to go with you	
ʔanā bī-kī w-lī-kī w-maʕā-kī lāzim h-ākūn	I am for you and with you and need to be with you	

Transliteration	Line-by-line translation	Commentary\ Interpretation
šaġlā-lī miš h-a(q)ūl-l-ik tānī	you are occupying me, I won't repeat again	
law ʔalf (i) ḥāga wagaʕā-nī b-ašūf ʕaynē-kī artāḥ	if thousand things are hurting me, I see your eyes and feel relief	cliché; Alludes to Umm Kulthom's *ʔinta ʕumrī*
yā malāk-ī turūḥ ḥayāt-ī fadā-kī	my angel, I sacrifice my life for you	cliché
ʔafḍal warā-kī warā-kī fī ʔeyy(i) makān yitrāḥ	I will go after you in any place you go to	
buṣṣī-lī hezzī wus-ik mī-lī sībī ʕeyn-ik tiḥkī-lī	look at me, shake your belly, come close, let your eyes tell me	
w-(q)ūlī-lī fihimti ʔē min ʕēn-ī	and tell me what did you understand from my eyes	
w-ʕa(~~lá~~) s-suʔāl gāw(i)bī-nī law tiḥibbī-nī (q)ūlī-lī	and answer my question if you love me, tell me	
fihimta ʕēn-ī min (q)abl(i)-ma (a)tkallim	you understood my eyes before I had spoken	refers to absence of direct verbal communication between opposite sex
miš ʕāyiz ġeyr-ik ʕalē-k (ʔa)nā muṣammim	I don't want anyone else and I insist on you	
ʕūdī gamāl-ik kull illī fī-kī yitḥabb	your body, your beauty and everything in you is to be loved	
damm-ik xafīf w(i)-ḍaḥkit-ik šarabāt	you have such a sense of humor	*ḍaḥkit-ik šarabāt* refers to traditional way for sense of humor; *Šarabāt* is a sweet drink that used to be common in weddings
zeyy il-ʕasal rūḥ-ik yā ḥalāwiyāt	you are like honey, my heart, [like] sweets	
ʕašān ḥubb-ik miḥtāg li malyūn (q)alb	for your love, I need million hearts	

As demonstrated above, both texts signal identity markers: text 1) *kebda w-sugu(q), il-ʕarabiyya ʕaṭlāna bi-nzu(qq), ʔixwātī, iš-šilla, farāfīr, ṣāḥib it-ta(q)dīr, arkab ʔatārī* (class, social group); text 2) *bint il-gīrān, wa-nā fī-l-*

makān, makān fī xal(q), sībī šubbākik maftūḥ, xumūr wa-ḥašīš (neighborhood, local/regional).

Both texts demonstrate use of food-related metaphor referring to attraction and sexuality: *samaka w(i)-middallaʕa, bū(q), šafṭa, kāramīllā, sukkar maḥallī maḥṭūt ʕalá krīma, zeyy il-ʕasal rūḥ-ik yā ḥalāwiyāt.*

As already mentioned above, the text are male-centric and praise traditional masculinity (machismo): *ʔabṭāl il-gumhūriyya, (q)alb-ī kawāfīr, xadt ir-riggāla w (q)allabt, ma-ṣāḥibš(i) farāfīr, tilā(q)īnī lissa b-xārī, (ʔa)nā ġeyrī maftš, w-(ʔ)ašrab xumūr wa-ḥašīš, miš h-a(q)ūl-l-ik tānī.*

In text 2, there is extensive use of cliches known from traditional and classical love songs (interestingly, Badawī notes that the first feature characteristic of what he labeled as *ʔāmmiyyat al-ʔummiyyīn* is, in fact, the use of ready-made expressions or cliches (*taʕbirāt žāhiza*) (Badawī 1973: 189).

Though text 2 deals explicitly with taboo topics, it is highly traditional in word choice. These traditions, though, are not associated with conventional high culture, but are much closer to traditions of *šaʕbī* ('low') culture. Paradoxically, being popular among younger generations, it does not utilize foreign (borrowed) lexemes, slang, or other 'fancy' language. In its turn, text 1 demonstrates usage of what may be referred to as youth language (foreign words, street language, non-standard exclamations etc.)

The performers' speech signals their membership in particular social group (usually more than one performer), while listeners may have positive or negative attitude towards their use of language. In the case of *mahraganāt* culture, it is noticed that non-standard usage of language is often associated with positive attitudes of youth (covert prestige). As Miller notes, youth languages tend to resort to non-standard 'vernacular' features rather than standard features (Miller 2020: 202). *Mahraganāt* songs are mostly admired by younger generations and as it is, by and large, a dance-and-sing-along type of music its lyrics find the way to the hearts and lips of most of the predominantly young population of Egypt.

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Some Moroccan Dialectal Features on a Letter by Yaḥya u-Taʕfuft (16th Century)

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Abstract

This study aims to describe, from a diachronic perspective, the vernacular features of Moroccan dialectal Arabic from the Doukkala territory, precisely Safi, based on a letter from the commander Yaḥya u-Taʕfuft to the King of Portugal Manuel I in the early 16th century. The original manuscript (PT/TT/CART/891.2/46), written in Maghribi script, is preserved in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo and stands out for the colloquialisms contained in the text and the apparent lack of mastery of literary Arabic on the part of the author, allowing the identification of archaic features corresponding to modern dialectal forms. The phonological features found in the text demonstrate the lack of Saharan Bedouin type traits, since we can notice the loss of the interdentals *ḏ* and *ṯ*; and the predominance of [q] realization of **qāf*, alongside with a single occurrence of [g], represented by ڨ – a sign used in Morocco to this day. Although the text is attributed to a Bedouin (or central) type territory, many sedentary (or northern) features are identified in it, perhaps due to the influence of the dialect of Safi – an important port and urban center in the region by that time. Some of them are: devoicing of *ḍ* to *ṭ*, the inflexible relative الدي (**əddi*), the reflexive particle روح (**rūḥ*) and the adjective الولي (**l-lŭwwli*) "first". The most salient Bedouin trait is the genitive particle متع (**mtāʕ*). As for the lexicon, I highlight غشت (**ġŭšt*) "August", a modern loanword from Spanish or Portuguese.

Keywords: Arabic dialectology, diachrony, manuscript, Safi, Yaḥya u-Taʕfuft.

1. Introduction

This study is part of a recent but still incipient trend of approaching Moroccan Arabic dialects from a diachronic perspective based on written sources. In recent decades, very few studies have been dedicated to the vernacular marks in medieval and modern sources of this region, such as Vicente (2012). The general focus has always remained on medieval texts in Andalusi Arabic produced in the Iberian Peninsula (e.g. Corriente 1977), which, despite of its importance, cannot be considered representative of the situation of vernacular Arabic in this part of North Africa.

The texts preserved in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo in Portugal, more precisely those located in *colecção de cartas 1499/1690*, under the category *Documentos em caracteres árabes provenientes dos lugares de África*, have proved to be a rich source for understanding the modern history of dialectal Arabic in the territory that today corresponds to Morocco. Many of these documents written in Middle Arabic between the 15th and 16th centuries reveal colloquialisms and orality in writing. Guerrero (2022) was pioneer in providing us with a preliminary description of what himself calls "Luso-Moroccan letters" concerning the Middle Arabic in which these texts were written, as well as the identification of primitive forms of some contemporary dialectal traits in Morocco.

In this context, this study follows in the wake of previous works with the objective of describing the traits of dialectal Arabic contained in the manuscript (PT/TT/CART/891.2/46) – from now on Ms 46 –, analyzed for the first time in depth from a linguistic point of view. The document dates from the first half of the 16th century and consists of a letter, written in what is now Morocco, by Yaḥya u-Taʕfuft to his lord, King Manuel I of Portugal. The text was originally written in Middle Arabic, but what makes it more interesting, from the Arabic dialectology perspective, is the strong reflection of dialectal Arabic in the written language, compared to other documents from the same period preserved in the archive.

2. On Yaḥya u-Taʕfuft correspondence

Yaḥya u-Taʕfuft[1] is an important figure in the history of the Portuguese presence in southern Morocco. His name is associated with the city of Safi, on

[1] I chose this spelling to follow the transcription of his own name in Arabic يحيى وتعفيت as we can see in this manuscript and in his signature in other Arabic letters attributed to him (cf. Ms 45 and Ms 67 – PT/TT/CART/891.2). In the Portuguese and aljamia documents, there are different spellings for the name, with the particle *ben* "son of" (e.g. Bentafufa).

the Atlantic coast, which was under Portuguese rule from 1508 to 1541[2] . He was commander (*alcaide*) and captain of the field (*capitão do campo*) in the service of the Portuguese Crown, being in charge of the entire Doukkala[3] territory twice at different moments[4], until he was assassinated in 1520. He was held in high esteem by King Manuel I of Portugal due to his important military and diplomatic role as an intermediary between Portuguese, Moors and Berbers, what led him to be appointed as the main authority among the so-called "Moors of peace" (*mouros de paz*)[5], being above other local tribal leaders.

There are evidences in Portuguese sources of that time that u-Taʕfuft was seen as *bárbaro* "Berber" and not *alarve* "Arab" (Cruz 2002: 40). Another indication of his "Berber" background would be the origin of his name, as pointed out by Cenival (1939: 482-483), in which *u-* would indicate the land where he was born and not filiation as expected, and "Taʕfuft" would refer to the village of *Tafuf* or *Tanfut* – in Portuguese spelling –, a clearly Berber toponym likewise the prefix *u-*. Apparently, the first reference to this toponym is found in the work of the Portuguese chronicler Damião de Góis[6], who refers to the village as *aldea de Tafuf* (*Chronica*, 1567, III, ch. 48, Fol. 91). Furthermore, the fact that Góis often spells the name of u-Taʕfuft as "Iheabentafuf" seems to confirm the character's link with this place.

Despite his possible "Berber" background, it is very likely that u-Taʕfuft was an Arabic speaker, since Doukkala territory had a population mostly Arab (Boucharb 1984: 76), due to the migratory movements of different Arab tribes that settled there over the centuries. The village of *Tafuf* (in the Portuguese spelling) was situated in the territory of *Xerquia* (الشرقية), near Azemmour, an area belonging to the Arab tribe of the Ūlād Faraž[7]. However, it is known that Arabs and Berbers would have been in close contact in the region since at least the 13th century, and that until the 16th century it was possible to distinguish

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2 For the History of the Portuguese occupation in the city of Safi and Doukkala territory, cf. Farinha (1999).

3 The Doukkala territory (دكالة) in the 16th was considered the area between the rivers Oum er-Rebia (أم الربيع) and Tensift (تانسيفت) by the Atlantic coast (Boucharb 1984: 7).

4 Cruz (2002: 40) explains that u-Taʕfuft may have played a necessary role in the institution of a Portuguese protectorate in the plains of southern Morocco, comprehending a vast field of "Moors of peace", which initially included the lands called by the Portuguese *Garabia* [الغربية], *Abida* [عبدة], and after the conquest of Azemmour (1513), *Xerquia* [الشرقية], that is the whole region of Doukkala.

5 Local tributaries to the Portuguese Crown.

6 Portuguese chronicler and historian who lived from 1502 to 1574. His work *Chronica do Feliçissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (1566–1567) is one of the main historical sources on the Portuguese presence in this part of North Africa, bringing detailed information about the territories, historical facts, characters and the tribes living in the Doukkala territory.

7 According to Boucharb (1984: 77) the territory of this tribe was located east of Azemmour and south of the Oum er-Rebia river.

two groups with their own linguistic identities, that is, an Arab and a Berber (ibid. pp. 71-75).

The Ms 46 is one of the few remaining documents attributed to u-Taʕfuft[8]. It is a letter most likely written on August 1, 1517 (Cenival 1939: 132) addressed to the king complaining about the intrigues woven against u-Taʕfuft by the Jews – intermediaries between the Portuguese and the Arabs[9] – and by local Portuguese authorities who were uncomfortable with his growing power in Doukkala territory with the endorsement of the King of Portugal. He writes the letter shortly after returning from Portugal, where he had been between 1514 and 1516, and a few years before being murdered in an ambush.

The document comprehends eight folios, including the Arabic original and a translation of it to Middle Portuguese. The document was edited and translated into French by Cenival in *Les Sources Inédites de L'Histoire du Maroc* (1939: 133-136). The letter also presents a version in Portuguese aljamia edited by Lopes (1897: 72-77).

As the Arabic text is written in Maghribi script, we find all over the text the use of ب instead of ف for /f/; and the use of ف instead of ق for /q/[10]. I draw attention to the representation of the sound /g/ by *kāf* with three superscripted dots ڭ (cf. table F), a graphic sign used in Morocco to this day. As mentioned above, the text is written in Middle Arabic with many colloquial traits and a rudimentary command of literary language. It can be said that one of the most salient features of this document and other ones by the same author[11] is the frequent omission[12] of long vowels: *ʔalif* [ا] (e.g. كن < كان)[13] , *ʔalif maqṣūra* [ى] (e.g. بف < بفى)[14] , *yāʔ* [ي] (e.g. اسبب < اسبي)[15], and to a lesser extent *wāw* [و] (e.g. اليهد < اليهود)[16] . Furthermore, diacritics are omitted in almost the entire

8 At least fourteen documents attributed to Yaḥya u-Taʕfut are known, all edited by Cenival (1939), Lopes (1897) and Sousa (1790).

9 On the intermediary role played by the Jews between the Portuguese and the locals, and their divergences with u-Taʕfuft, cf. Rosenberger (1993: 32).

10 All transcriptions of examples taken from the Arabic text in this article will adopt the use of ب (=f) and ف (=q).

11 As observed in Ms 45 and Ms 67.

12 Most likely as a reflection in writing of the instability of the vowel system of Moroccan Arabic dialects and/or the linguistic perception of the speaker himself who ends up getting confused as to the length of vowels, leading him – especially in the case of long vowels – to the mistake of not writing them down.

13 Cf. Ms 46, fol.1. l.2.

14 Cf. Ibid, fol. 1. l. 12.

15 Cf. Ibid, fol. 1. l. 12.

16 Cf. Ibid, fol. 3. l. 2.

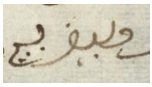
document with rare exceptions, except for single occurrences of: *fatḥa* (e.g. يَفل)[17], *ḍamma* (cf. table F) and *šadda* (e.g. فِيّ)[18].

In the following section, I describe some of the vernacular traits found in the text that allow us to reconstruct partially the Arabic spoken in Moroccan territory by that time, as well as verify the link between these archaic forms and current dialectal variants of Arabic in the area today.

3. Vernacular traits

3.1. Phonology

3.1.1 Devoicing of pharyngealized *ḍ* to *ṭ* can be seen in the examples of table A: طيفن *ṭyfn[a]* < **ḍyfn[a] (*ḍīfna ~ ḍăyfna)*[19] "our master"[20]. And the same is attested in طيف *ṭyq* < **ḍyq (*ḍəyyəq)* "to press (3s. perf.)".

Table A	
fol.4, bottom	*fol. 2, l. 3*
	
طيفن الصلطن	طيف فِي

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

This phonological phenomenon is dominant in northern Morocco and Jewish Tafilalt[21]. However, Heath (2002: 159) points out that the lexical item *ḍīf* "guest" is only attested in ṭ-form in Branes (Muslim) and Sefrou (Jewish).

3.1.2. Loss of interdentals *ṯ > t and *ḏ > d. For *ṯ : اكتر (**ăktăr* "more") and كتير (**ktīr*, adv. "much"); and *ḏ: هد (**hād*) (cf. table D).

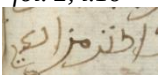
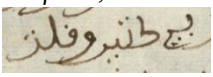
17 Cf. Ibid, fol. 1. l. 8.

18 Cf. Ibid, fol. 2. l. 8.

19 The forms between parentheses after transcription of the manuscript text indicate always a possible Modern Moroccan dialectal form corresponding to the older form.

20 Literally "guest". The meaning of "master" is attested in current Moroccan dialects: *sīdi u ḍēfî* "*il est mon seigneur et maître*" (Prémare *et al.* 8: 228).

21 Heath (2002: 160).

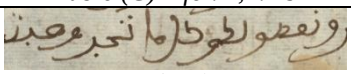
Table B	
fol. 2, l.16	*fol. 2, l. 3*
	
اكتر من الدي	في كتير وفلت

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

The loss of interdentals is dominant in southern Moroccan dialects of Bedouin type, distinguishing them from Bedouin-Saharan type dialects[22]. Precisely in the Atlantic strip, we find in the neighboring Chiadma territory *ktīr* "a lot" (adverb and adjective)[23].

3.2. Morphosyntax

3.2.1. The 1.pl. imperf. verbal form *n-…-u* is found very often on the text, such as in the following cases: *nʕṭw* (**nəʕṭu~ nəʕṭīw*) "we will give" and *nmšw* (**nəmšu ~nəmšīw*) "we will go" (cf. tables C and I).

Table (C) – fol. 2, l. 19

ونعطو لكم كل ما تحب

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

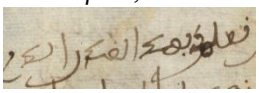
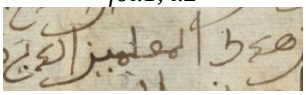
3.2.2. Demonstratives. In many parts of the text, it is found what seems to correspond the invariable demonstrative *hād*, found in modern Moroccan dialects, such as in: هد الفدر (**hād əl-qḍəṛ*) "this fate"; بهد الش (**b-hād əš-ši*) "with that"[24]. And also, an equivalent form of the current *hādūk* (pl.): هدك المعلمين (**hādūk l-mʕəllmīn*) "those rumormongers[25]".

22 Cf. Francisco (2021).

23 Akermoud (Francisco 2019: 86), Essaouira (Francisco 2022b: 353).

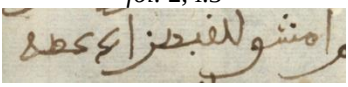
24 Cf. Fol. 3, lines 15/16.

25 Lit. "artisans", but in this specific context "schemers" or "rumormongers" (cf. Cenival 1939: 137, footnote 3). The Portuguese version of the letter written in aljamia says "*officiaes que teceram os mexericos*" (Lopes 1897: 73).

Table D	
fol.1, l.1 	*fol.1, l.2* 
نعلمك بهد الفدر الدي	هدك المعلمين

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

3.2.3. The relative particle الدي occurs all over the letter and it is inflexible, not agreeing with neither gender nor number[26]. There is an alternation between the written forms الدي (**aldi*) and اد (**adi*) (cf. table E) that seems to indicate the coexistence of two pronunciations of the relative particle – with and without *l* –, as attested before the 16th century in Andalusi Arabic: *allaḏí* ~ *a/iddí*, *a/iḏḏí* [27]; and in north African colloquial Arabic of the 14th century: *addi*[28]. The form اد (**adi*) might indicate an older form of the current relative particle *əddi*~ *di*, attested in pre-Hilali dialects[29].

Table E	
fol. 2, l.12	*fol.* 2, l.3 
الدي	امشو للفبطن اد عطه

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

3.2.4. The genitive particle متع (**mtāʕ*) occurs frequently in its suffixed form: الفبطن متعك *(*l-qəbṭān mtāʕk)* "your captain"; or preceding a noun: متع اگُز [الود] (** l-wād mtāʕ Aguz*) "the Aguz[30] river".

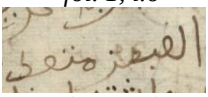
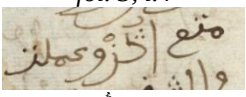
26 This inflexible relative particle is very common in many texts of the same period in Torre do Tombo (cf. Guerrero 2022: 4) and also in Spanish Archives (cf. García-Arenal *et al.* 2002).

27 IISUZ (2013: 80).

28 Turner (2022: 44).

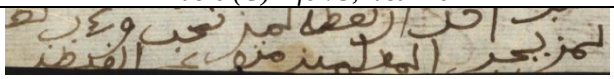
29 This variant is found mostly in current Moroccan Jewish dialects, such as for Fez: *di/dẹ* (Lévy 2009: 234); and Essaouira: *di* (Francisco 2022b: 346). In Muslim dialects, we find it in northern Morocco as a contracted relative *d*, as attested in Jebala (Vicente 2010: 153) and Taza (Colin 1921: 75).

30 Aguz, today Souira Guedima, was a little fortress at the mouth of the Tensift river.

Table F	
fol. 1, l.6	*fol. 3, l.4*
	
الفبطن متعك	متع اكْز

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

The plural form of the particle is also found in: المعلمين متوع الفبطن (**l-mʕəllmīn mtāwəʕ l-qəbṭān*) “the rumormongers of the captain” (cf. table G).

Table (G) – fol. 3, last line

المعلمين متوع الفبطن

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

The use of this particle is attested in other letters attributed to u-Taʕfuft and in documents by different authors from the same period[31]. It seems that *mtāʕ* consists of the archaic form of the current variants *ntāʕ* ~ *tāʕ*. In the modern Moroccan vernaculars, there is a single register[32] of *mtāʕ* in a speaker from Essaouira, registered by Socin (1893)[33]. Currently, there is no register of such archaic form in the Essaouira region[34] nor in Doukkala territory[35].

The letter (Ms 45) from u-Taʕfuft to the King Manuel I, dated to the same year, presents a punctual use of the genitive particle الديل (**aldil[i]* < **aldi* + *l-* + *i*)[36] “of mine”[37], which I consider an archaic form of the closely related particles *əddī-li* “mine”[38] and *dyāl*[39].

31 Cf. Guerrero (2023: 104).

32 Cf. WAD, vol.4, map 472b (*Genitivexponent, Marokko*).

33 In Socin’s transcription and translation: *hādi fīhā zēn ʕḍīm, mā-hī ĕmtāʕt lĕkútĕl* (p.176, line 17) “*die ist sehr schön, die darf man nicht umbringen*“ (p.177).

34 The oral texts collected by Socin (1893) for Essaouira were dictated to him by one single informant. In his texts, we can find both genitive particles *ntāʕ* (p.184, lines 4, 7) and *dyāl* (p.158, l.9), confirming the current situation of genitive particles in the region of Essaouira: *dyāl, d-* ~ *ntāʕ, tāʕ* (Francisco 2022b).

35 Safi: *dyāl* and *tāʕ* (Singer 1995: 242).

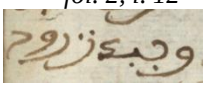
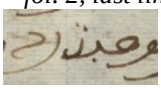
36 We should consider the possibility of *aldi* pronounced *ad[i],* as I highlighted in the previous section about the relative particle.

37 الخدم الديل *al-xdm aldil[i]* “my servant(s)” (Ms 45 – Fol.1, last line).

38 Found in Jijel combined with different clitic pronouns: *əddī-li, əddī-lk, əddī-lu* “*qui est à moi, à toi, à lui (mien, tien, sien)*” (Marçais 1956: 512).

39 To be examined in more detail in a forthcoming study.

3.2.5. The reflexive particle is always روح (**rūḥ*): جبدت روح (**žbədt ṛūḥi*) “I escaped” (lit. I pulled myself) ; صبت رح (**ṣəbt rūḥi*) “I found myself”.

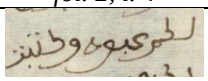
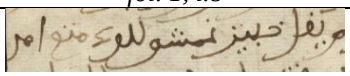
Table H	
fol. 2, l. 12	*fol. 2, last line*
	
وجبدت روح	صبت رح

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

Currently, the reflexive particle *rūḥ~ṛōḥ* is found especially in northern Morocco in the localities near Tanger, Chaouen, Taza and Oujda. Very few occurrences are registered for Casablanca, Rabat and Marrakesh[40].

3.3. Lexicon

3.3.1. Verbs commonly found in modern Moroccan dialects can be found in the text: عبوه (**ʕəbbūh ~ ʕəbbāwh*) “they took him”, نمشو (**nəmšīw~nəmšu*) “we go” (3pl. imperf.).

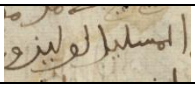
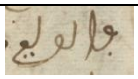
fol. 2, l. 4	*fol. 1, l.8*
	
عبوه	نمشو

3.3.2. “First” and “last”. In table (K) we can see the use of الولي (**l-lŭwwli*) “first” and its plural form لولين (**lŭwwlīn*). According to Heath (2002: 458), the singular nisba form **l-lŭwwli* is attested currently in Jewish dialects from the Atlantic strip (e.g. Safi and Essaouira), through Marrakesh to the southwest[41], and in Muslim dialects occurs strictly in the north, except for 19th century Essaouira[42].

40 Cf. WAD, vol. IV, map 471c (*Reflexivwörter und Intensifikatoren, Marokko*).

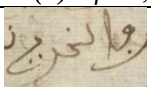
41 Cf. Francisco (2021).

42 In his transcription: *děḥal elḥōš elauwelī* (Socin 1893: 174, line 15). Translation: *betrat den ersten Hofraum* (p.175).

Table (K)	
fol. 1, l.3	*fol.1, l.4*
	
المسليل لولين[43]	بالولي[44]

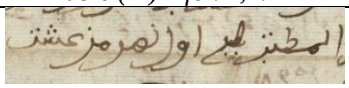
Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

"Last" appears in table (L) بالخري (**f-əl-ləxxri*) with the sense of "last time". Its modern distribution is very similar to * *l-lŭwwli*, being prevalent in Jewish dialects of the Atlantic strip and rare in Muslim dialects[45].

Table (L) – fol.1, l.5

بالخري[46]

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

3.3.3. August (month). The letter is concluded with: المكتب بي اول نهر من عشت "written on the first day of August".

Table (M) – fol. 4, l. 14

المكتب بي اول نهر من عشت

Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 2, n. 46. Image provided by ANTT.

I claim that عشت (**ġŭšt*)[47] consists of a loanword from Spanish – or even Portuguese – *agosto* "august" (< Lat. *Augustus*), that probably entered Moroccan dialects in modern times, 16th century, and not earlier than that, given that the oldest register of the name of the month is *agoch*[48], a romance loanword in Granadan Arabic of the 15th century. The latter dropped the original Latin *t*, which was preserved in other romance forms[49]. Regarding the

43 Translation: "the first rumors".

44 Translation: "at the first (time)".

45 Heath (2002: 459).

46 Translation: "at the last time".

47 The dot on the غ *ġayn* is missing. The correct form غشت is found in Ms 67 (fol.4, last line).

48 P. de Alcalá, *Vocabulista*, fol. 67.

49 *Agóxt*, *Agóxto* (Simonet 1888: 5).

form عشت found in the letter, we can observe the preservation of *t* and the dropping of the initial *a*, exactly as in *ġŭšt* attested in modern Moroccan dialects[50]. Therefore, this might be one of the former registers in north Africa of the colloquial name of the Christian month.

4. Conclusion

Assuming that Yaḥya u-Taʕfuft was originally from the Doukkala territory and spent most of his life there, especially in the city of Safi and rural surroundings, and assuming that the language of his letter is full of colloquialisms and vernacular traits, we can take this document as a representative source of the Arabic spoken in that territory in the early 16th century. This is clear from the frequent occurrence of the main Maghreb isogloss 1pl. imperf. (*n*-...-*u*), in addition to the verbs **mša* "to go" and **ʕəbba* "to take" which continue to be frequent in modern Moroccan dialects.

As for phonological aspects, the text does not allow us to infer much about the type of dialect in question. However, it is evident that the dialect does not belong to the Saharan Bedouin type, given the loss of interdentals *ḏ* and *ṯ* and the realization of **qāf* as *q*, represented by the letter ف in Maghribi script throughout the document. The use of ڭ to represent the sound *g*, as in the toponym "Aguz" may indicate the distinction between *q* and *g*. These phonological data are common for both Bedouin (or central) and old urban center dialects.

On the other hand, the almost exclusive use of the archaic genitive particle **mtāʕ* – scarce in modern Moroccan dialects – gives a more Bedouin color to the dialect of the text. However, as mentioned above, other documents by the author also indicate the occurrence of an archaic genitive particle that would have preceded the current particle *dyāl~d-*. The alternation between both variants is a feature of the dialects of this part of the Atlantic coast to this day.

Yet the most interesting feature is the use of vernacular features that correspond to modern variants associated with *citadin* or northern-type dialects: the devoicing of *ḍ* to *ṭ*, the reflexive particle **rūḥ* and the inflexible relative pronoun **əddi*. Moreover, adjectives in nisba form **l-lŭwwli* "first" and **əl-ləxxri* "last", predominant in Jewish dialects, occur in the text indicating an earlier usage of it among Muslims, which cannot be attested anymore.

All these vernacular traits seem to reconstruct a moment of Moroccan Arabic when northern traits were much more common further south on the Atlantic coast, even in a territory currently considered rural and Bedouin from

[50] Prémare *et al.* (9: 381).

a dialectal point of view. This can be explained as a reflection of Safi's old urban dialect in the speech of u-Taʕfuft, when the city was still one of the most important ports in Morocco.

Finally, I highlight the month *ġŭšt* “August”, which differs from the Romance form in Granadan Arabic *agoch* (15th century), which leads us to believe that it consists of a modern loanword from Spanish or Portuguese into Moroccan Arabic dialects in the context of military and diplomatic relations between the two shores of the Atlantic. It must also be considered that u-Taʕfuft addressed King Manuel I shortly after returning from a stay of two years in Portugal.

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A propos du suffixe pronominal expressif –(*i*)*n*(*a*) en arabe préhilalien

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Résumé

Beaucoup de parlers maghrébins appartenant au type préhilalien présentent un suffixe pronominal expressif/augmentatif -(*i*)*n*(*a*). Le pronom le plus fréquemment concerné par ce suffixe est celui de la seconde personne du singulier, qui adopte le plus souvent les formes augmentées *ntin* ou *ntina*, contre les formes courtes *nta* et/ou *nti*.

Nous proposerons comme origine de -(*i*)*n*(*a*) un emprunt au berbère. En effet, la majorité des langues berbères, qui constituent le substrat linguistique de l'arabe maghrébin, présentent des suffixes similaires phonétiquement et fonctionnellement. Le parler berbère tasahlit des Aït Segoual par exemple, présente pour le pronom de seconde personne du singulier féminin une forme augmentée *šəkkina* contre la forme courte *šəkk*. Par ailleurs, ce suffixe -*in*(*a*) trouve une origine interne en berbère à travers la grammaticalisation du verbe *ini* "dire".

Nous avons procédé à une enquête sur la distribution et les fonctions des suffixes pronominaux expressifs en arabe préhilalien et en berbère, en mobilisant les données dialectologiques. L'hypothèse de l'emprunt du pronom -(*i*)*n*(*a*) au berbère nous amènera à discuter l'histoire de l'émergence de l'arabe préhilalien et les caractéristiques du contact médiéval entre l'arabe et le berbère.

Mots-clés : arabe, contact, préhilalien, berbère, Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie, expressivité.

1. Introduction

La tradition arabisante opère une distinction en Afrique du Nord entre les variétés d'arabe ayant pour origine les parlers des conquérants de la première vague de conquête arabo-musulmane (VIIe - VIIIe siècle) et des parlers ayant pour origine les conquérants de la seconde (XIe et XIIe siècle). Les parlers de la première couche, ou parlers préhilaliens, en opposition à ceux de la seconde couches dénommés hilaliens, sont à leur tour subdivisés entre des variétés citadines et villageoises de même qu'entre les variétés du Maghreb occidental et oriental (Marçais et Guîga 1925).

Cette classification en partie établie à partir de la littérature des historiens médiévaux est aujourd'hui remise en question (cf. Mion 2018, Benkato 2019, Magidow 2021). Il existe en effet très peu de traits linguistiques partagés par l'ensemble des parlers préhilaliens permettant de continuer à supporter l'hypothèse que ceux-ci partagent une origine commune. Nous allons toutefois nous intéresser ici à l'un des rares traits attestés par un grand nombre de parlers préhilaliens, à la fois citadins et villageois.

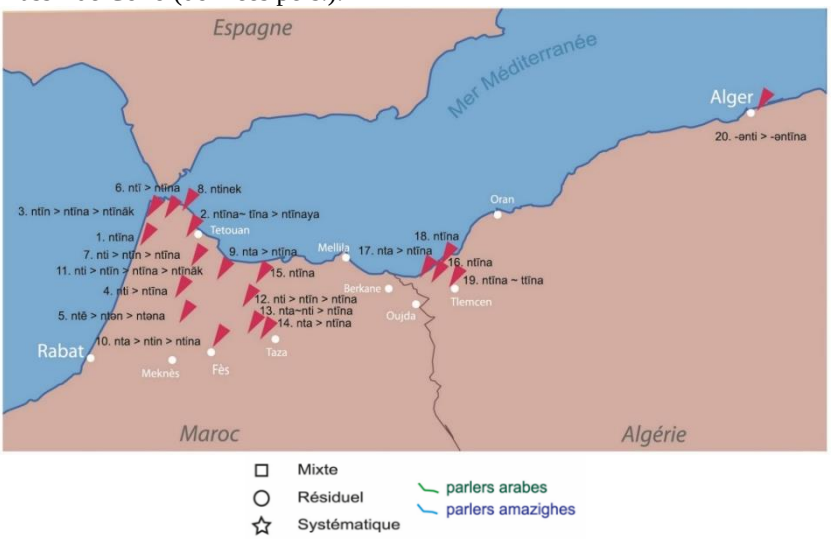
Le suffixe –(*i*)*n*(*a*) est un augment à valeur expressive attesté parmi un grand nombre de parlers préhilaliens (Magidow 2021) pratiqués de la côte nord-atlantique marocaine jusqu'à Tunis. Dans la majorité des variétés, ce suffixe n'est observé qu'à travers le pronom de la seconde personne du singulier, où il permet la plupart du temps d'opposer une forme courte (non-expressive), d'une forme ou de plusieurs formes augmentées, expressives ou toniques. Dans quelques parlers, ce suffixe se retrouve également auprès d'une ou de plusieurs pronoms pluriels ou encore auprès d'éléments adverbiaux.

Ce suffixe est présent sous les mêmes formes et pour les mêmes fonctions expressives dans un grand nombre de parlers/langues berbères, dans toute l'Afrique du Nord occidentale et méridionale. Ces correspondances interrogent immédiatement la possibilité d'un phénomène de contact : l'arabe et le berbère étant en contact depuis près de treize siècles dans ces régions, influençant chacune des deux langues à tous les niveaux langagiers (Lévy 1996, Kossmann 2013).

Nous chercherons dans le présent papier à déterminer l'origine et l'étymon précis du suffixe –(*i*)*n*(*a*) en arabe et en berbère, après avoir présenté sa répartition et ses fonctions. A partir de cette démonstration, nous disctuterons de l'importance de cet élément pour la dialectologie arabe et l'histoire des contacts arabe-berbère.

2. Distribution en préhilalien[1]

Le suffixe expressif pronominal -(*i*)*n*(*a*) est caractéristique des parlers préhilaliens du Maghreb occidental (Algérie et Maroc). A l'exception d'une attestation dans le parler juif de Tunis[2], celui-ci est inconnu à l'est de la Kabylie orientale en Algérie et n'a jamais été recensé parmi les variétés siculo-maltaises et andalouses. La carte suivante présente la répartition et les formes de ce suffixe au nord du Maroc[3], en Algérie centrale et occidentale. En Algérie orientale, le suffixe pronominal -(*i*)*n*(*a*) n'est attesté qu'en arabe bougiote et jijélien jusqu'à la rive occidentale de l'Ampsaga marquant la frontière avec le massif de Collo (données pers.).



1. Asilah	Amraoui 2017	11. Ghomara	Naciri-Azzouz 2021
2. Tanger	Heath 2002	12. Oulad Boumalek	Chalfi 2019
3. Anjra	Vicente 1996	13. Tsoul	Benabbou 2017
4. Ouezzane	Moscoco 2004	14. Ghiata	Bedra 2017
5. Ouargha	Lévi-Provençal 1922	15. Bni Msek	Caubet 2018
6. Tétouan	Bouchrit et Lentin 1989	16. Ghazaouet	Hocini 2011
7. Chefchaouen	Natividad 1998	17. Nédroma	Ammour 2012

1 Nos transcriptions des pronoms arabes ne prennent pas en compte les traits d'ordre phonétique ainsi que l'opposition de longueur vocalique en raison des divergences en termes de choix de transcription des différents auteurs.

2 Cohen D. (1973) pour Tunis, cité par Bouchrit et Lentin (1989 : 23).

3 Signalons l'existence du suffixe -(*i*)*n*(*a*) au sud du Maroc dans les parlers préhilaliens de la région du Tafilalet (Heath 2002).

8. Ceuta	Vicente 2005	18. Honaïne	Aïd 2015
9. Talambote	Sadni, Ziani et Brigui 2017	19. Tlemcen	Marçais 1902
10. Fès	Caubet 1998	20. Juif Alger	Cohen 1912

Carte 1 : répartition et formes du pronom personnel de la seconde personne du singulier en arabe préhilalien du nord du Maroc et du centre et de l'ouest de l'Algérie.

Le suffixe -(*i*)*n*(*a*) permet l'obtention de formes toniques. Si celui-ci s'oppose le plus souvent à une forme courte ou non-tonique, dans certains parlers, l'usage de la forme tonique s'est imposé au point de faire disparaître la variante dépourvue de suffixe[4]. Plusieurs parlers présentent à une même personne plusieurs pronoms contenant l'augment -(*i*)*n*(*a*), parfois combinés à d'autres éléments suffixés[5]. Dans ce cas, les différentes formes augmentées varient en termes de longueur phonétique et par conséquent en ce que nous appellerons le degré d'expressivité[6]. Dans la plupart des parlers, -(*i*)*n*(*a*) est uniquement observé comme augment à la seconde personne du singulier, cependant quelques variétés l'attestent aux différentes personnes du pluriel (cf. tableau 2 et section Quelques développements secondaires) et exceptionnellement auprès d'éléments adverbiaux[7].

Les deux tableaux suivants présentent des pronoms attestés dans différents parlers attestant du suffixe -(*i*)*n*(*a*), en comparant leur productivité en termes d'opposition de degrés d'expressivité[8].

Maroc & Algérie		Maroc			Algérie		
		Ghomara (Naciri-Azzouz)	Tanger (Heath)	Fès juif (Brunot)	Ghazaouet (Hocini)	Tlemcen (Marçais W.)	Bni Sekfal[9]
2SG	-	*nti*	*nta ~ nti*	*nt**in***	*nta*	*tt**in** ~ nt**in***	*nta*
	+	*nt**ina***	*nt**ina** ~ t**ina***	*nt**ina***	*nt**ina***	*tt**ina** ~ nt**ina***	*nt**ina***

4 Ex. de Tlemcen (cf. tableau 1), Tunis juif (cf. tableau 2) et de Fès juif (cf. tableau 2).

5 Ex. de Tanger (cf. tableau 1) et de Bni Sekfal (cf. tableau 1). Nous nous pencherons sur les suffixes combinant *-(i)n(a)* à d'autres éléments comme *-ina=ya* (cf. Tanger, tableau 1) ou *-ina=t* (cf. Bni Sekfal, tableau 1) dans un travail futur.

6 Nous avons pu confirmer l'existence de variations en termes de degrés d'expressivités dans les parlers villageois algériens cités. Pour les autres variétés, les indications concernant la valeur des pronoms augmentés sont souvent sommaires voire inexistantes dans les monographies, il conviendrait à l'avenir de vérifier leur fonctions précises dans chaque variété.

7 Ex. Jijel-ville *təmm ~ təmma ~ təmm**in** ~ təmm**ina** ~ təmm**ina**tik* "là" (données pers.).

8 Les pronoms non-toniques sont situés dans la ligne (-), le niveau tonique correspond à la ligne (+) et les niveaux toniques supérieurs correspondent aux lignes (++) et (+++).

9 Données pers.

	++	*nt**ina***	*nt**ina**ya*	*ø*	*ø*	*ø*	*nt**ina**t*
	+++	*nt**ina**k*	*ø*				

Tableau 1.

Algérie & Tunisie		Ghazaouet (Hocini)	Tlemcen (Marçais W.)	Alger juif (Cohen C.)	Tunis juif (Cohen D.)
2PL	-	*əntum*	*əntum*	*ntœm*	*əntuma**n***
	+	*əntuma*	*əntuma*	*ntœma*	*ø*
	++	*əntuma**n***	*ø*	*ntœma**n***	
3PL	-	*uma**n***	*huma*	*hœm*	*uma**n***
	+	*ø*	*huma**n***	*hœma*	*ø*
	++		*ø*	*hœma**n***	

Tableau 2.

3. Distribution en berbère

L'existence d'augments expressifs pouvant venir suffixer les pronoms personnels est un fait pan-berbère attesté par presque tous les parlers des sous-familles septentrionale, méridionale et occidentale. Seules les langues berbères orientales (Libye et Egypte) les ignorent complètement. Ces augments peuvent venir suffixer plusieurs personnes, parfois toutes. Leurs formes peuvent varier selon la personne et le plus souvent, les suffixes attestés aux personnes du singulier sont différents de ceux employés aux personnes du pluriel. Dans certaines variétés, il existe plusieurs niveaux d'allongement de ces suffixes et donc différents possibles degrés d'expressivité comme le présente le tableau suivant :

	Degré d'EXP	Tamachek (Algérie) Kel Ahaggar (De Foucauld 1951)	Tamazight (Maroc) Ayt Wirra (Oussikoum 2013)	Tasahlit (Algérie) Aït Hassaïn (données pers.)
1SG	-	*năkku*	*nəkk*	*nəkk*
	+	*năkku**nan***	*nəkk**in***	*nəkk**ina***
	++	*ø*	*nəkk**intin***	*nəkk**inta***
	+++		*ø*	*nəkk**intat***
2SG:M	-	*kăyyu*	*šəyy*	*šəkk*
	+	*kăyyu**nan***	*šəyy**in***	*šəkk**ina***

	++	*ø*	*šəyy**intin***	*šəkk**inta***
	+++		*ø*	*šəkk**intat***
2SG:F	-	*kămmu*	*šəmm*	*šəmm*
	+	*kămmu**nan***	*šəmm**in***	*šəmm**ina***
	++	*ø*	*šəmm**intin***	*šəmm**inta***
	+++		*ø*	*šəmm**intat***

Tableau 3 : les pronoms de deux premières personnes du singulier parmi trois langues berbères.

Les suffixes expressifs pronominaux berbères peuvent présenter des formes assez différentes d'un parler à un autre. Prasse (1972 : 180-181) distingue quatre types, nous avons revisité sa typologie et proposerons pour notre part les types suivants pour le berbère septentrional :

- 1er type **-i(nV)** : *i ~ in ~ ini ~ ina*, etc.
- 2nd type **-it(V)n** : *itən ~ itin*, etc.
- 3ème type : **-n(V)t(V)** : *int ~ inti ~ intən ~ intin ~ intini ~ inat ~ inət*, etc.
- 4er type : **-n**

Nous ne nous intéresserons ici qu'au premier type qui correspond au suffixe -(*i*)*n*(*a*) de l'arabe préhilalien. Notons néanmoins que les troisième et quatrième types sont aussi attestés localement[10].

4. Fonctions

L'expressivité est un parent pauvre des sciences du langage, situé à cheval entre la sémantique et la pragmatique (Français & Legaulois 2020). Celui-ci est resté pratiquement vierge que ce soit parmi les études sur le berbère ou sur l'arabe parlé.

L'opposition entre des éléments grammaticaux courts/non-expressifs et augmentés/expressifs est un trait très fréquent et productif en arabe maghrébin notamment auprès des pronoms personnels, il n'est pas propre à cette aire[11]. Selon Dror (2012) en arabe, l'utilisation même des pronoms indépendants est parfois liée au domaine de l'expressivité, ce qui assure l'existence d'un lien ancien entre l'utilisation des pronoms et la pragmatique dans cette langue.

10 Cf. tableau 1 parler des Bni Sekfal pour le type 3 et les quatre parlers du tableau 2 pour le type 4.

11 Cf. exemple de l'opposition entre le pronom de troisième personne du singulier masculin court *hū* et long *hūta* dans différents dialectes en dehors du Maghreb.

Notre connaissance du fonctionnement précis des suffixes pronominaux expressifs du berbère et de l'arabe préhilalien est encore lacunaire. Ceux-ci peuvent marquer divers sentiments ou émotions selon le contexte. Ces augments présentent potentiellement des comportements différents selon les parlers et il est envisageable qu'ils aient pu perdre leur valeur expressive initiale dans certaines variétés pour rejoindre une autre fonction[12].

Nous avons vu qu'en arabe préhilalien, ces suffixes étaient le plus souvent présents à la seconde personne du singulier, plus rarement aux seconde et troisième personnes du pluriel et exceptionnellement à la première personne du pluriel (cf. section Quelques développements secondaires), jamais aux première et troisième personnes du singulier. Cette hiérarchie interroge :

- L'absence de -(*i*)*n*(*a*) à la première personne du singulier pourrait éventuellement s'expliquer par la contrainte phonétique avec le pronom arabe correspondant : (*y*)*ana*.
- A la troisième personne du singulier, il faut noter que le berbère propose très rarement de suffixe expressif et même lorsque c'est le cas, il ne s'agit jamais des types -*n*, -*i*(*nV*) ou -*n*(*V*)*t*(*V*). Il est possible que le préhilalien ait calqué ce comportement qui trouve son origine dans le statut et l'étymon particulier des pronoms de troisième personne berbères (cf. Galand 1994).

Si ces éléments peuvent expliquer l'absence de -(*i*)*n*(*a*) aux première et troisième personnes du singulier, ils ne résolvent pas la spécialisation opérée par ce suffixe à la seconde personne du singulier. Nous pensons que ces questions concernant le ou les rôles précis de -(*i*)*n*(*a*) pourraient être éludées au moyen d'une enquête fondée sur un corpus interactionnel dans des échantillons comparatifs de parlers berbères et arabes préhilaliens.

5. Étymon

Marçais Ph. (1956 : 436) est à notre connaissance le seul auteur à s'être penché sur l'étymologie du suffixe pronominal du -(*i*)*n*(*a*). Celui-ci à la suite de son analyse des données du parler de Jijel y voit une analogie de la désinence verbale de l'inaccompli suffixée -*na*. Cette hypothèse contient selon nous plusieurs défauts :

- Premièrement, une analogie d'un marqueur verbal de la première personne du pluriel sur (le plus souvent) le seul pronom de seconde personne du singulier n'est pas évidente.

[12] Ce qui est au moins le cas des variétés ayant remplacé un pronom sans augment non-tonique par un pronom augmenté comme le tlemcénien à la seconde personne du singulier (cf. tableau 1).

- Cette théorie n'explique pas l'origine de l'élément vocalique [i]. En effet selon nous, [i] fait partie intégrante de l'augment, puisque tous les parlers préhilaliens concernés par ce suffixe, qu'ils présentent une forme non-tonique *nti* ou *nta* ou les deux, l'opposent à un pronom tonique *ntin(a)* et nulle part ∄ *ntana*.
- L'analogie proposée n'explique pas les formes sans [a] final comme *ntin*.
- Enfin, nous pensons que cette hypothèse peut être définitivement écartée à la vue des correspondances de formes et de fonctions entre ce suffixe pronominal en arabe préhilalien et en berbère.

Les suffixes expressifs pronominaux du berbère appartenant au type -*i*(*nV*) ont une origine interne. Ces suffixes sont les résultats de la grammaticalisation du verbe *ini* "dire" à partir de la forme conjuguée à la troisième personne du singulier masculin (tasahlit *inna* "il a dit"). Cette grammaticalisation est parallèle ou liée à celle du même verbe dans le déictique marquant l'anaphore ou la convergence référentielle, parfois traduit par "ce dont on a parlé" (Naït-Zerrad 2004) : tasahlit : -*inn* ~ -*ənn* (données pers.), rifain -*in* ~ -*nna* en rifain (Lafkioui 2007), tamachek du Mali -*n* ~ -*nnín* (Heath 2006), etc.

En arabe préhilalien, les formes les plus fréquentes du suffixe expressif pronominal sont -*ina* -*in* et -*n*. Ces variantes sont également toutes attestées en berbère et coïncident avec ce que l'on attendrait d'une grammaticalisation du berbère *inna* "il a dit" avec différents degrés de perte phonétique. Notre hypothèse est donc que le suffixe pronominal expressif -(*i*)*n*(*a*) correspond à un emprunt de l'arabe préhilalien par rétention substratique au berbère.

6. Quelques développements secondaires

Plusieurs évolutions soit en cours, soit anciennes, viennent affecter la répartition et possiblement les fonctions du suffixe pronominal expressif –(*i*)*n*(*a*).

Premièrement, il est important de signaler que plusieurs pronoms porteurs de suffixe pronominaux expressifs semblent avoir disparu :

- Mouëtte (1683) donne dans son lexique[13] une forme *intinan* pour le pronom de la seconde personne du singulier, vraisemblablement dotée d'un augment -*inan* que nous n'avons retrouvé dans aucune description contemporaine.
- Guerrero (communication pers.) nous a communiqué l'existence d'un pronom de première personne du pluriel *nəḥnin* dans l'arabe médiéval du Souss qui est suffixée d'un -*in*.

[13] Vraisemblablement basé sur un parler préhilalien du nord du Maroc (cf. Guerrero 2021).

- Larbi (2022) a découvert dans des manuscrits datant du XVIe siècle rédigés à Tlemcen, une forme de première personne du pluriel **ḥn(V)n*, sans doute augmentée d'un *-n*[14], disparue aujourd'hui (Marçais W.).

Ces deux derniers exemples sont les seuls que nous ayons trouvé de pronoms de la première personne du pluriel augmentés. Leur disparition est sans doute le résultat des siècles de nivellement linguistique amenant à la disparition des caractéristiques de parlers préhilaliens devenus minoritaires face aux koinès mixtes.

Ce nivellement est également à l'origine d'un autre phénomène en préhilalien : la réintroduction de l'opposition de genre à la seconde personne du singulier. La perte de cette opposition est l'une des rares caractéristiques attestées parmi l'ensemble des parlers préhilaliens du Maghreb oriental et occidental. Cette réintroduction provoque des changements considérables dans la valeur associée aux pronoms augmentés. Heath (2002 : 270) en donne plusieurs exemples pour des parlers marocains. À Nédroma, où Ammour (2012) a démontré à partir d'une étude de corpus statistique que les nédromis d'âge mûr emploient *nta* ~ *ntina* sans opposition de genre, là où les jeunes locuteurs associent *nta* au masculin et *ntina* au féminin. Nous pensons que cette évolution de la valeur de *ntina* trouve son origine dans sa vocalisation en /i/, réinterprétée dans le pronom féminin (*V*)*nti* des koinès et/ou de l'arabe classique.

Enfin nous avons noté dans certains cas une distribution sociolectale des pronoms contenant -(*i*)*n*(*a*). D'une part à des sociolectes dits féminins (Bouchrit et Lentin 1989), comme le serait le pronom *ntinak* dans le parler des musulmans tangérois (Heath 2002 : 270). D'autre part à des sociolectes juifs, puisque dans plusieurs villes comme Alger ou Tunis[15] seuls les Juifs font ou faisaient usage des pronoms augmentés (Cohen C. et Cohen D.). La distribution particulière de ces formes entre plus largement dans la tendance qu'ont ces sociogroupes, en raison de leur ségrégation sociale, à mieux conserver certaines caractéristiques anciennes appartenant parfois aux traits préhilaliens.

7. Conclusion

Nous avons proposé l'hypothèse que le suffixe expressif *–(i)n(a)* de l'arabe préhilalien corresponde à un élément morphologique à valeur pragmatique

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14 Cf. tableaux 1 et 2 pour les pronoms suffixés du tlemcénien.

15 L'originalité de cette expansion du suffixe *-(i)n(a)* au Maghreb occidental doit être remarquée, puisqu'aucun autre parler préhilalien de cette région ne le connaît. Il est possible que cette attestation trouve son origine dans le contact intra-dialectal entre parlers judéo-arabes ou qu'elle signale une présence ancienne de *-(i)n(a)* au Maghreb occidental.

hérité de son substrat berbère. Ce suffixe expressif est très largement attesté dans les parlers préhilaliens citadins comme villageois du Maghreb occidental, où y est parfois attesté avec un usage réduit aux sociogroupes féminins et juifs.

Nous savons que l'arabe préhilalien s'est développé sur un substrat le plus souvent berbère, à une époque où cette langue était encore majoritaire dans toute l'Afrique du Nord et où le bilinguisme arabe-berbère était plus répandu. Au Maghreb occidental, le préhilalien en contact intense avec le berbère, a procédé à des emprunts au berbère majeurs, lesquels constituent certaines de ses caractéristiques saillantes. Il nous reste à identifier le processus et la localisation du ou des sites d'émergence de ces parlers. Le caractère pan-berbère de *–(i)n(a)* rendant difficile la localisation du centre d'arabisation à l'origine de son emprunt, il nous apparaît que seule la superposition des caractéristiques de ces parlers, corrélée aux données historiques, pourra nous permettre de faire progresser cette problématique.

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Onomatopoeia in Baghdadi Arabic

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Abstract

The onomatopoeia – considered to be a sub-type of interjection – is generally defined as a word generated by the imitation of sounds, noises, associated with things or actions that these onomatopoeias relate to, but it is not a genuine acoustical imitation of these because it is conditioned by the phonological system of a language. Therefore, the same natural sound will be reproduced differently in each language.

In this paper I will present an analysis of the onomatopoeia – with its multiple facets – in Baghdadi Arabic, analysis based on a corpus of data gathered by me in the recent years, during my visits to Iraq. The present analysis discusses types of onomatopoeia in correlation with the main fields that it can be associated with: a) *inarticulate sounds produced by humans: hahaha (hahaha)(laughing sound), xxx* "zzzz" *(snoring sound); b)* sounds produced by animals: *ʕaw- ʕaw* "woof-woof" (a dog's bark), *ʕā*, *ʕāā* "moo" (a cow's low), *māʕ* "baa" (a sheep/lamb's bleat), *maʔaʔaʔ* "maa" (a goat's bleat), *wāq-wāq* caw (a raven/rook's caw), *hāʕīʕ-hāʕīʕ-hā*, *ʕīʕī-ʕīʕī* "cook-a-doodle-doo" (a rooster's crow); c) general noises in nature or inanimate objects: *tak-tak-tak* "plip-plop, plip-plop" (noise of ***rain*** drops on ***window glass***), *dum* "thud" (heavy noise made by a heavy object falling to the ground.), *diš* "bang" or "kaboom" (noise of glass object that falls and breaks), *šak-šik-šak* "chooga chooga chooga" (noise of the train), *rrrrr* "vroom" or "brum" (noise of a car revving up), etc.

Onomatopoeias are often used repeatedly, sometimes with the same form – *ʕaw-ʕaw* "woof-woof" –, sometimes with slight variations, by increasing the vowel quantity: *ʕā-ʕāā* "moo-moooo", etc.

The onomatopoeias are used independently, but sometimes they are integrated in the grammatical structures having a syntactic function, even though their form remains unchanged (inflexible). It can be the subject of the sentence: *čān yiṭlaʕ xaxx, xaxxx min taḥet ič-čerpāye*

"There was a zzz zzzz coming from under the bed"; or its predicate: *čiqčiqčiq is-sayyāra w rāḥ*; or a direct object: *ma gidaret anām. ṭūl il-leyl simaʕet ʕīʕī-ʕīʕī... hā d-dīč mā sikat w-lā dagīga* "I could not sleep. All night long I heard cock-a-doodle-doo, cock-a-doodle-doo… This rooster was not silent for a minute"; or an adverbial complement: *il-qiṭār wuṣal li-l-maḥaṭṭa šuk-šuk-šuk.* "The train arrived at the station chooga chooga chooga".

Keywords: Arab dialectology, Baghdadi Arabic, Onomatopoeia.

المدخل

المحاكاة الصوتية أو محاكاة الأصوات أو حكاية الصوت، مجال لغوي لم يدرس بما فيه الكفاية في كتب وصف اللغة العربية فصحى كانت ام عامية، بل هنالك مرور سريع على هذا النوع من الكلمات. في بعض الحين يوصف مع التعجب بتصنيفه كجزء فرعي له، وفي حين اخر، يكرس له باب مستقل. بينما يشير التعجب عموما الى عواطف ومشاعر، المحاكاة الصوتية هي عبارة عن لفظ مشابه للصوت من الأصوات المسموعة في الطبيعة، مثل الضوضاء والضجيج أو أصوات الحيوانات، أصوات الظواهر الطبيعية مثل المطر والريح والرعد ونحو ذلك الكثير، أي أن صوت كلمة ما مأخوذ من صوت حقيقي لحدث طبيعي. وهنا من الضروري أن أشير إلى أن كلمات المحاكاة مهما تكن هي كلمات تقلد صوتيا وتشبه او يوحى الصوت الذي يصفه هي مقيدة بالمنظومة الفونولوجية لغة وعليه ينبغي أن تكون مؤلفة من فونيمات تلك اللغة! تقليد صوت بصيغة طبيعية لا يعتبر محاكاة صوتية بل عمل فني! من اجل ذلك، نفس الصوت من الطبيعة قد يكون له صيغ مختلفة في لغات مختلفة وحسب منظوماتها الصوتية (Cuddon 1999: 614; Drabble 2000: 743; Holman 2000: 309).

في علم اللغة، توصف المحاكاة الصوتية على أنها رمزية للصوت الذي يتم تفسيره وإعادة إنتاجه في سياق اللغة، وعادةً ما يكون ذلك من خلال تقليد الصوت بمراعاة القواعد الصوتية لتلك اللغة. خلاصة القول يمكننا تعريفها كما يلي: إن المحاكاة الصوتية ليست إلا تقليد نوع من الأصوات غير المفصلية (non-articulated sounds) باستخدام الأصوات المفصلية (articulated sounds) للغة، مثل زقزقة عصفور يتم تقليدها بصوت "زقزقة". بمعنى آخر، توصف بأنها ظاهرة صنع كلمة جديدة تمامًا.

جمع المعلومات

عند جمع المعطيات لهذا البحث واجهت عدة مشاكل وهي:

كلمة واحدة تغطي الكثير من الأصوات الطبيعية أحيانا باختلاف بسيط بين تمديد او تقصير الصوائت:

أحيانا إن كان المخبر خريج مدرسة هو يضرب لي امثلة مأخوذة من العربية الفصحى. هنا لفت نظري الخنخنة او شخير الخنزير يعني خن خن! في حين، الخنازير غير مألوفة في المنطقة من أسباب

معروفة للجميع والذي يتكلم عن صوت الخنزير لم ير خنزيرا في حياته، معنى ذلك أن هذه المعلومة مأخوذة من العربية الفصحى، من مسرحيات مترجمة أومن أغاني أطفال إلى اخره.... بنفس الاتجاه، سجلت "سكويك" كصوت فأرة ولكن فيما بعد أدركت أن لا أثر لهذه الكلمة في المحادثة باللهجة البغدادية.

شيء أخر، عندما طرحت هذا السؤال "شلون يسوي الحصان، لو الواوي لو الهايشه" هم حاولوا أن يقلدوا الصوت بشكل غير لغوي (non-linguistical) وهذا خارج نطاق البحث.

محاكاة عدة أصوات في العربية البغدادية

وسجلت عدة كلمات تدل على محاكاة الأصوات ومنها على سبيل المثال:

أصوات إنسانية غير مفصلية (non-articulated sounds):
الشخير، الصوت الذي يطلعه الانسان في نومه أحيانا: خخخ (*$x^a x^a x$*).
الضحك بصوت عال: ههه (*$h^a h^a h^a$*).
صوت النفس العميق: همم (*$h^a mm$*).

أصوات بعض الحيوانات
زقزقة العصافير البرية او الصيصان أو فراخ الدجاج: ويص- ويص (*wīṣ-wīṣ*).
نقنقة الدجاجة: (خصوصا بعد ما تبيض بيضة أو تكون خائفة من شيء) بق بق بقيق (*baq-baq-baqīq*).
أولما تريد أن تبيض: قاق قااق قاق قااق (*qāq-qāāq, qāq-qāāq*).
الزئير، وهو صوت الأسد من صدره أو صوته بشكل عام: وااع وااع (*wāāāʕ-wāāāʕ*).
صوت الهر (البزونه) عندما يحذرك وينفخ بوجهك: بففف بففف (*bifff-bifff*).
خوار البقرة (الهايشه):عاا عاا (*ʕāāā-ʕāāā*).
ثغاء الغنم او الخروف: مااع، مااع (*māāāʕ-māāāʕ*).
ثغاء العنزة (السخلة) أو الماعز: مءء-مءء (*meʔeʔe-meʔeʔe*).
صوت الغراب: واق واق (*wāāq-wāāq*).
هديل الحمامة: كوكووختي- كوكووختي(*kūkūūxtī-kūkūūxtī*).
ملاحظة: هذه المحاكاة الصوتية وجدتها في عبارة شعبية: كوكوختي، وين اختي؟ بالحلة. وشتاكل؟ باگلة. وشتشرب؟ ماي الله.)
طنين البعوضة: بمممم (*bimmm*).
أزير الذبابة: ززززز، ززززز (*zizzzz-zizzzz*).
صوت جناح الطير عندما يطير بسرعة: پررر أو فرررر(*pirrr* or *firrr*).

أصوات من الطبيعة أو يطلعها أشياء جامدة (inanimate objects)
صليل السيوف في المبارزة: چاق چيق چاق چيق چاق جيق (*čāq-čīq, čāq-čīq, čāq-čīq*).
صرير الباب أو السرير (الچربايه): جييق، جييق (*čīīq-čīīq*).
أصوات الهواء والرياح:
حفيف الريح بين اوراق الشجر: ححح (*ḥaḥḥḥ*).
أو فوق كثبان رملية: ففففف (*fifff*).
صوت تحرك سيارة: رررر(*rirrr*).
صوت عجلات القطار على السكة الحديد: شَك شِك شك شك (*šak-šik, šak-šik*).

صوت كسر الزجاج: دشش أو تشش (*dišš* or *tišš*).
صوت الزيت الذي يغلي في القدر (الجدر) على النار: چق چق (*čiq-čiq*).
صوت صفارة القطار: طووط-طووط (*ṭūūṭ-ṭūūṭ*).
صوت تشغيل السيارة: چق چق چق (*čaq-čaq-čaq*).
صوت ضرب الحديد: جاق جاق جاق (*čāq-čāq-čāq*).
صوت ضرب الخشب: طق طق طق وكذلك ضرب الباب (*ṭoq-ṭoq-toq*).
صوت ضرب الأرض: طب طب طب (*ṭub-ṭub-ṭub*).
صوت المشي: طب طَب طَب (*ṭab-ṭab-ṭab*).
صوت ضرب الطبول: ططب ططب ططب أو دُم دُم دُم (*ṭaṭab-ṭaṭab-ṭaṭab or dum-dum-dum*).
صوت الة موسيقية وترية: دن دن دن (*din-din-din*).
صوت آلة موسيقية نافخة: ططا – ططا (*ṭaṭā-ṭaṭā*).
صوت بوق السيارة الصغيرة: طاط - طاط (*ṭāṭ-ṭāṭ*).
صوت بوق الشاحنة، أو بيب - بيب (*bīb-bīīb or pīp-pīīp*).
صوت ثقب إطار السيارة (البنچر): تسس(*tiss*).
صوت انفجار قنبلة وغيرها: بوم (*būm*).
صوت وقوع شيء كبير: دُمم (*dumm*).

ملاحظة
المحاكاة الصوتية تستخدم في الكثير من الأحيان بترديد نفس الصيغة لتشديد معناها:
مثلا:
- شك شك شك (صوت عجلات القطار على السكة الحديد).
- عو – عو (نباح كلب).
- عا – عاا (خوار البقرة).

الوظائف النحوية للمحاكاة الصوتية في العربية البغدادية

عموما تستخدم المحاكاة الصوتية مستقلة، خارج سياق جملة، دون أي ربط بالكلمات الأخرى، لكن أحيانا هي مندمجة كل الاندماج في التراكيب القواعدية مكتسبة بذلك وظيفة نحوية واضحة مهما تظل صيغة جامدة، غير قابلة لأي صرف (inflexible).
من الوظائف النحوية التي تكتسبها نذكر على سبيل المثال:

فاعل (subject) :
چان يطلع خخخ خخخ من تحت الچربایة. خفت هوايه، بعدين عرفت السبب.
čān yiṭlaʕ xxx, xxxx min taḥet ič-čerpāye, xufit hwāye w baʕden ʕurafit is-sabab.
يعني كان يطلع شخير من تحت السرير، فخفت كثيرا ومن ثم عرفت السبب.

فعل (predicate):
چق -چق -چق السيارة وراح مثل مخبل والله.
Čaq-čaq-čaq is-sayyāra w rāḥ mi<u>t</u>il muxabbal wa-lla.

شغّل السيارة وانطلق مثل مجنون، والله

مفعول مباشر (direct object):

ما قدرت انام، طول الليل سمعت عيعي - عيعي.... ها الديج ما سكت ولا دقيقة.

gidaret anām. ṭūl il-leyl simaʕet ʕīʕī-ʕīʕī... hā d-dīč mā sikat w-lā dagīga

لم أستطع النوم، طوال الليل سمعت كوكو كوكو، هذا الديك لم يسكت دقيقة!

مفعول ظرفي (adverbial complement):

القطار وصل للمحطة شك شك شك.

il-qiṭār wuṣal li-l-maḥaṭṭa šak-šik-šak.

وصل القطار إلى المحطة رويدا رويدا.

كعنصر في تركيب الإضافة

اختي طبخت اليوم تمن ومرقة بط بط

uxtī ṭubxet il-yōm timmen w margat baṭ-baṭ

اختي طبخت اليوم رزا وحساء البط.

ملاحظة: في الجملة أعلاه المحاكاة الصوتية *بط-بط* ترمز إلى البط نفسه، أو بالأحرى الصوت يدلّ على المعنى (Perrine 1978: 744).

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Le parler de Berkane entre hier et aujourd'hui : variation intergénérationnelle dans une variété de l'Oriental

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Résumé

Cet article se propose d'explorer la variation intergénérationnelle dans un parler arabe du nord-est marocain. Située près de la frontière algéro-marocaine, Berkane est une ville majoritairement arabophone en territoire berbérophone (Behnstedt 2002, Kossmann 2000a). Ce contexte doublement frontalier fait de Berkane un terrain de recherche très intéressant pour la sociolinguistique de l'arabe maghrébin. Notre étude est basée sur un corpus d'enregistrements et d'interviews réalisés en décembre 2019 lors d'une enquête de terrain effectuée dans la région de Berkane. Il convient de souligner que les parents de la plupart de nos informateurs sont bilingues arabe-berbère (dialecte des Beni Iznassen), ce qui semble suggérer que la ville de Berkane n'a été arabisée que très récemment[1]. Dans notre étude, nous analyserons les différents traits qui font l'objet de variation en fonction de l'âge des informateurs dans le but d'identifier les variantes phonétiques, morphosyntaxiques et lexicales qui semblent être abandonnées par les locuteurs les plus jeunes.

Mots-clés : sociolinguistique, Berkane, arabe marocain, variation.

[1] Pour un exemple de l'influence de l'adstrat berbère sur le parler d'Oujda, voir Lafkioui 2013.

1. Introduction[2]

Comme son titre l'indique, cet article se propose d'explorer la variation intergénérationnelle au sein d'un parler arabe de l'extrême nord-est marocain, à savoir celui de la ville de Berkane. La pertinence du choix de ce terrain par rapport à notre objet de recherche se justifie par les arguments suivants :

a) Tout d'abord, par la méconnaissance dont souffrent les variétés dialectales parlées dans cette région du Maroc. En effet, les parlers de l'Oriental semblent n'avoir guère attiré l'attention des dialectologues. Si l'on excepte les enquêtes menées dans la région par Heath (2002) et Behnstedt & Benabbou (2002, 2005), ainsi que les travaux de Benítez Fernández (2017) et d'Elbaz (1980) sur Oujda, on peut affirmer que, par rapport au reste du pays, le nombre d'études portant sur les parlers arabes du nord-est marocain reste toujours assez restreint[3]. En revanche, les parlers berbères de la région ont fait l'objet d'importantes monographies et travaux de recherche, tels que Basset (1898), Renisio (1932), Elkirat (1987, 2000) et Kossmann (1997, 2000a, 2000b).

b) L'intérêt sociolinguistique de la ville qui nous occupe est qu'elle est située au croisement de deux axes frontaliers. D'un côté, on constate que Berkane se trouve à seulement 23 km de la frontière algérienne et à 97 km de l'enclave espagnole de Melilla. De l'autre, Berkane est la capitale de la tribu berbérophone des Beni Iznassen dont le territoire historique s'étend de l'Oued Kiss à la Moulouya et dont la variété dialectale est nommée rifain oriental par les berbérisants. Paradoxalement, la langue qu'on entend le plus souvent dans les rues de Berkane n'est pas l'amazighe, mais l'arabe. D'ailleurs, la plupart de mes informateurs sont arabophones, même s'ils affirment pouvoir comprendre plus ou moins la langue maternelle de leurs parents. Aussi, pouvons-nous dire que Berkane se situe près d'une frontière linguistique, en l'occurrence celle séparant l'arabe du berbère[4]. Dans notre étude, nous partirons de l'hypothèse que ce double caractère frontalier de la ville de Berkane exerce un impact important sur les pratiques langagières de ses habitants.

c) Un second aspect de l'intérêt sociolinguistique que revêt notre terrain d'étude renvoie à l'histoire du développement de la ville. Située sur la rive droite de l'Oued Cherraa, Berkane, qui était à l'origine un petit village né

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2 Cet article a été écrit avec le concours du projet de recherche espagnol "Variación diastrática en las variedades habladas del árabe vernáculo de Marruecos FFI2017-87533-P (AEI/FEDER, UE)" qui est coordonné par Montserrat Benítez Fernández.

3 On peut ajouter à cette liste, le recueil de contes collectés dans l'est du Maroc par Bezzazi (1993). Je remercie Maarten Kossmann d'avoir attiré mon attention sur l'existence de ce travail.

4 Pour une carte permettant de visualiser les limites entre ces deux aires linguistiques, voir Behnstedt 2002 : 12.

autour du mausolée du Saint Sidi Ahmed Aberkane, est devenu aujourd'hui la troisième plus grande ville de la région de l'Oriental ainsi qu'un important centre agricole. À l'instar d'autres villes marocaines telles que Casablanca ou Kénitra, Berkane s'est développée tout au long du XXe siècle grâce aux afflux de population provenant des campagnes environnantes.

2. Corpus

Les données employées dans notre étude ont été extraites d'un corpus d'enregistrements et de questionnaires dialectologiques recueillis lors d'une mission de terrain effectuée à Berkane entre le 6 et le 13 décembre 2019. Notre enquête a été menée auprès de huit informateurs qui ont en commun le fait d'être de sexe masculin et d'avoir au moins un géniteur berbérophone. Nous avons tenté sans succès d'enregistrer des femmes.

Afin de rendre plus facile l'analyse de la variation intergénérationnelle au sein de notre échantillon nous avons regroupé nos informateurs en deux catégories différentes. D'un côté, ceux ayant moins de 40 ans, et d'un autre ceux ayant dépassé cet âge.

Informateur	**<40**	**Âge**	**>40**
N	17		
O	25		
M.D.M	30		
A	33		
M.S	36		
H			43
Y			55
J			62

Tableau 1 : Âge des informateurs.

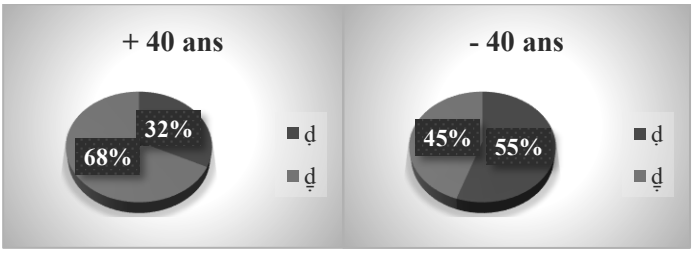
3. Analyse linguistique

Dans la partie qui suit, nous analyserons certains des traits phonétiques, morphosyntaxiques et lexicaux qui font l'objet de variation intergénérationnelle dans le discours des informateurs de notre enquête.

3.1. Variation phonétique

Sur le plan phonétique ne sera analysée qu'une seule variable, celle de la réalisation du *ḍād* et du *ḍāʔ* de l'arabe ancien. Il est bien connu que ces deux phonèmes sont souvent confondus dans la plupart des dialectes arabes. Pour ce

qui est des principales variétés de l'arabe marocain, la perte généralisée des interdentales a fait que ces deux emphatiques se soient fondues dans une occlusive dentale sourde pharyngalisée /ḍ/. À Berkane, nous constatons la perte de */ṯ/ et */ḏ/[5], par contre la fricative interdentale pharyngalisée */ḏ̣/ semble être bel et bien vivante, ce qui va dans le sens des conclusions de notre analyse des chansons du rappeur Amine So9rat (Guerrero 2019). Néanmoins, nous avons relevé plusieurs cas où ce phonème est réalisé comme une occlusive dentale non spirantisée [ḍ]. Dans notre échantillon, ce sont les informateurs âgés de plus de 40 ans qui présentent le plus de réalisations interdentales. Ces données indiqueraient que la fricative interdentale pharyngalisée [ḏ̣] est une variante en régression dont l'effacement progressif pourrait être motivé en partie par un phénomène de convergence vers les variétés parlées le long de l'axe urbain Rabat-Casablanca [6].



		[ḍ]		[ḏ̣]	
Âge	Informateur	Occurrences	Fréquence %	Occurrences	Fréquence %
	N	1	100	0	0
- 40	O	0	0	10	100
	M.D.M	4	66,6	2	33,4
	A.S	31	63,2	18	36,8
	M.S	7	46,6	8	53,4
	H	4	33,3	8	66,7
+ 40	Y	10	41,6	14	58,4
	J	2	22,2	7	77,8

Tableau 2 : Taux d'occurrence des variantes phonétiques [ḏ̣] et [ḍ].

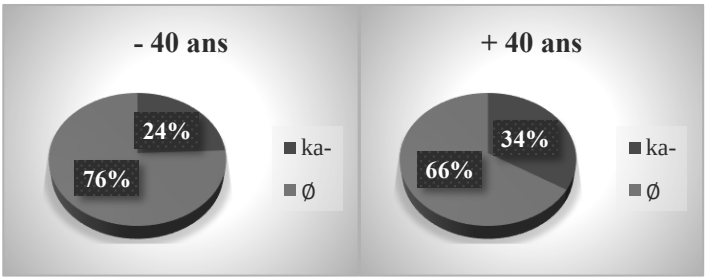
5 Nous avons trouvé quelques occurrences de la fricative sourde, alors que */ḏ/ semble avoir complètement disparu. Sur cette question, voir Guerrero 2023 : 74-75.

6 Pour une étude approfondie de la variation intergénérationnelle affectant la prononciation des interdentales dans le parler arabe de Berkane, voir Guerrero 2023.

3.2. Variation morphosyntaxique

3.2.1. Emploi d'un préverbe d'inaccompli

Sur le plan morphosyntaxique, le premier trait qui saute aux yeux est probablement celui du préverbe. Il est bien connu des dialectologues que la plupart des parlers arabes marocains font usage d'une particule qui précède le verbe à la conjugaison préfixale[7]. Ce préverbe a, le plus souvent, une valeur d'actualisateur temporel et aspectuel. Dans notre corpus, les formes nues alternent avec celles à particule préverbale *ka-*. De plus, une telle variation est aussi attestée chez un même locuteur. C'est ainsi que notre informateur Y dit aussi bien *mnīn nəmšīw l-Mlīlya* que *mnīn ka-nəmšīw l-Mlīlya* "lorsqu'on va à Melilla", sans que l'emploi de *ka-* n'apporte aucune nuance de sens. Comme on peut l'observer dans les diagrammes ci-dessous, le taux d'utilisation des formes à préverbe *ka-* semble être plus haut chez les locuteurs les plus âgés.



D'ailleurs, il convient de préciser aussi que l'immense majorité de parlers algériens ignorent l'emploi d'un préverbe de l'inaccompli.

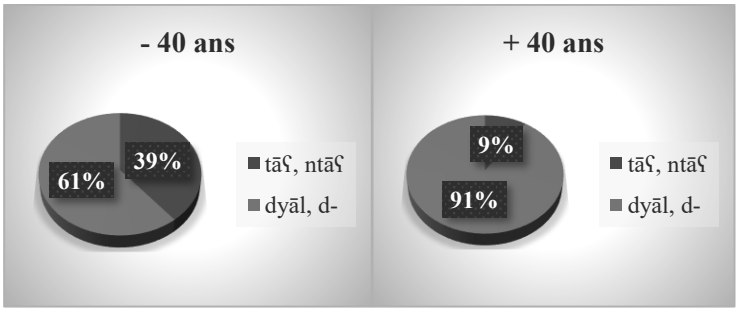
		ka-		***Ø***	
Âge	Informateur	Occurrences	Fréquence %	Occurrences	Fréquence %
- 40	N	0	0	5	100
	O	10	38,5	16	61,5
	M.D.M	1	3,2	23	95,8
	A.S	18	22,8	61	77,2
	M.S	32	57,1	24	42,9
+ 40	H	31	43,6	40	56,4
	Y	30	11,9	223	88,1
	J	6	50	6	50

Tableau 3 : Taux d'occurrence des particules préverbales *ka-* et *ta-*.

[7] Les principaux préverbes dans les parlers arabes marocains sont *ka-* et *ta-*, voir Heath 2002 : 210.

3.2.2. Particule d'annexion

Pour ce qui est des constructions du génitif analytique, nous avons relevé quatre exposants dans le corpus d'enregistrements. Sur la base des critères étymologiques et typologiques, nous avons fait le choix de regrouper ces quatre particules d'annexion dans deux catégories :



		tāʕ, ntāʕ		*d-, dyāl*	
Âge	Informateur	Occurrences	Fréquence %	Occurrences	Fréquence %
	N	2	50	2	50
- 40	O	3	50	3	50
	M.D.M	0	0	9	100
	A.S	23	71,8	9	28,2
	M.S	4	23,5	13	76,5
	H	2	5,4	35	94,6
+ 40	Y	1	1,1	83	98,9
	J	1	14,2	6	85,8

Tableau 4 : Taux d'occurrence des particules d'annexion *tāʕ, ntāʕ* et *d-, dyāl*.

Dans ce cas, il est frappant que la variante *tāʕ/ntāʕ*, la plus usitée dans les parlers bédouins du nord-ouest algérien, soit beaucoup plus fréquente chez les locuteurs de moins de 40 ans[8]. Un tel fait ne concorde pas avec les résultats obtenus à partir de l'analyse des autres variables, qui indiquent que la variante la plus usitée dans les parlers bédouins de l'Oranie[9] prédomine largement chez les locuteurs de plus de 40 ans.

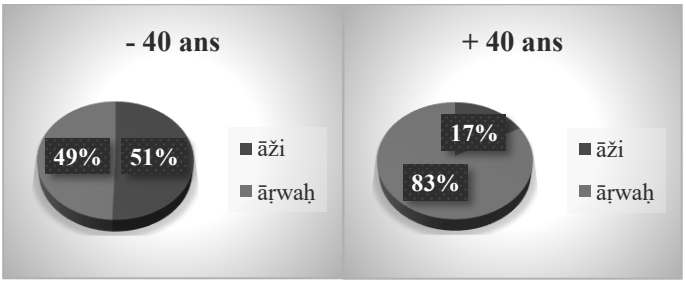
8 Veuillez noter que la particule du génitif *dyāl/d-* est aussi connue de certains parlers algériens comme celui d'Alger. Sur les particules d'annexion en usage en Algérie, voir Marçais 1977 : 168-169. Pour l'arabe marocain, voir Heath 2002 : 460-461.

9 Le terme "Oranie" désigne une région socioculturelle et historique du nord-ouest algérien comprenant entre autres les villes de Tlemcen, Oran, Mascara, Saïda et Sidi Bel Abbès. Veuillez noter que le parler citadin de Tlemcen et les variétés villageoises des Trāra et des

3.3. Variation lexicale

Il semblerait que la variation soit plus prédominante au niveau lexical. Par la suite, nous analyserons cette variation à travers une série de doublons dont le premier élément correspond au terme typique des parlers bédouins de l'Oranie et le second à la variante la plus répandue au Maroc.

3.3.1. Impératif du verbe 'venir' *āṛwaḥ* ~ *āži* "viens !"[10].



		āṛwaḥ		*āži*	
Âge	Informateur	Occurrences	Fréquence %	Occurrences	Fréquence %
	N	0	0	0	0
- 40	O	6	60	4	40
	M.D.M	5	83,3	1	16,6
	A.S	6	50	6	50
	M.S	3	60	2	40
	H	2	66,6	1	33,4
+ 40	Y	10	83,3	2	16,6
	J	5	100	0	0

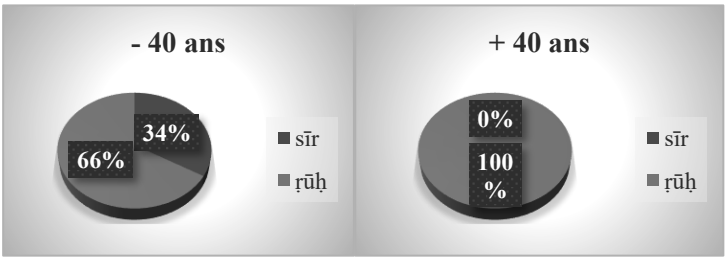
Tableau 5 : Taux d'occurrence des variantes lexicales *āṛwaḥ* et *āži*.

Nous pouvons observer dans le tableau ci-dessus que la variante lexicale *āži* est beaucoup plus fréquente chez les locuteurs de moins de 40 ans, tandis que la forme *āṛwaḥ* prédomine très largement chez les locuteurs les plus âgés.

Msīrda (Ghazaouète, Honaine, Nedroma) appartiennent à la catégorie des parlers sédentaires pré-hilaliens et diffèrent considérablement des dialectes de type bédouin parlés dans le nord-ouest algérien.

10 *āṛwaḥ* est la forme la plus usitée pour "viens !" dans les parlers bédouins du nord-ouest algérien. Sur la distribution géographique des variantes *āṛwaḥ* et *āži* au Maroc et en Algérie, voir Behnstedt & Woidich 2014 : 91.

3.3.2. Impératif du verbe ‘aller’ *ṛūḥ* ~ *sīr* “va ! va-t’en ! dégage !”.

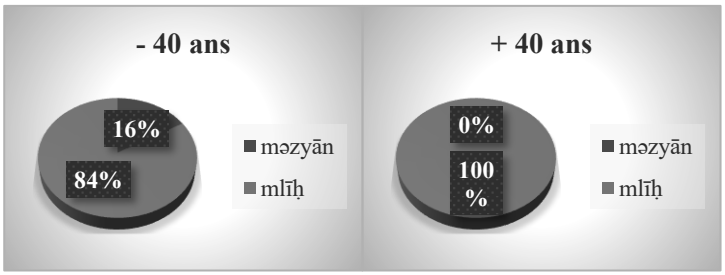


		ṛūḥ		***sīr***	
Age	Informateur	Occurrences	Fréquence %	Occurrences	Fréquence %
	N	3	75	1	25
- 40	O	6	60	4	40
	M.D.M	4	80	1	20
	A.S	6	60	4	40
	M.S	4	57	3	43
	H	2	100	0	0
+ 40	Y	6	100	0	0
	J	5	100	0	0

Tableau 6 : Taux d’occurrence des variantes lexicales *ṛūḥ* et *sīr*.

L’analyse de la variable *ṛūḥ/sīr* nous apporte des résultats plus nets concernant les différences qui existent entre les parlers de nos deux groupes de locuteurs. Il en ressort que la variante *sīr* est totalement inusitée chez les informateurs ayant dépassé la quarantaine. Cela pourrait signifier qu’ils ne connaissent que la forme *ṛūḥ*, retrouvée dans la plupart des parlers bédouins du nord-ouest algérien.

3.3.3. Adjectif *mlīḥ* ~ *məzyān* “bien”[11].

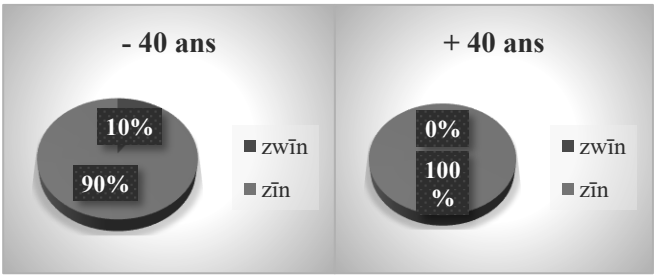


		mlīḥ		***məzyān***	
Âge	Informateur	Occurrences	Fréquence %	Occurrences	Fréquence %
	N	1	100	0	0
- 40	O	4	80	1	20
	M.D.M	5	83,3	1	16,7
	A.S	6	75	2	25
	M.S	4	80	1	20
	H	5	100	0	0
+ 40	Y	3	100	0	0
	J	3	100	0	0

Tableau 7 : Taux d’occurrence des variantes lexicales *mlīḥ* et *məzyān*.

Une fois de plus, nous constatons que la variante dite “marocaine” (*məzyān*) n’apparait que dans le discours des plus jeunes locuteurs.

3.3.4. Adjectif *zīn* ~ *zwīn* “beau”[12].



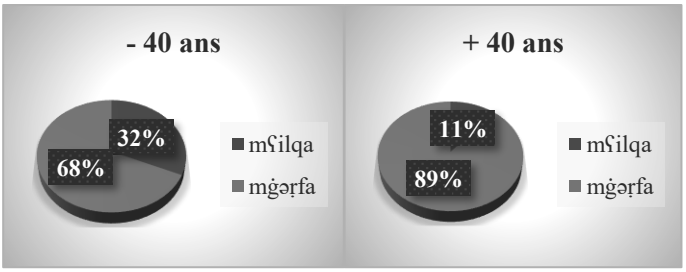
[11] Sur la distribution géographique des variantes *mlīḥ* et *məzyān* au Maroc et en Algérie, voir Behnstedt & Woidich 2014 : 530.

[12] Sur la distribution géographique des variantes *zīn* et *zwīn* au Maroc et en Algérie, voir Behnstedt & Woidich 2014 : 536.

		zīn		*zwīn*	
Âge	Informateur	Occurrences	Fréquence %	Occurrences	Fréquence %
	N	4	100	0	0
- 40	O	5	100	0	0
	M.D.M	5	100	0	100
	A.S	9	75	3	25
	M.S	10	76	3	24
	H	2	100	0	0
+ 40	Y	8	100	0	0
	J	5	100	0	0

Tableau 8 : Taux d'occurrence des variantes lexicales *zīn* et *zwīn*.

3.3.5. Substantif *mġəṛfa ~ mʕilqa* "cuillière"[13].



		mġəṛfa		*mʕilqa*	
Âge	Informateur	Occurrences	Fréquence %	Occurrences	Fréquence %
	N	2	100	0	0
- 40	O	3	75	1	25
	M.D.M	1	100	0	0
	A.S	2	66,6	1	33,4
	M.S	0	0	0	0
	H	2	66,6	1	33,4
+ 40	Y	2	100	0	0
	J	1	100	0	0

Tableau 9 : Taux d'occurrence des variantes lexicales *mġəṛfa* et *mʕilqa*.

13 Sur la distribution géographique des variantes *mġərfa* et *mʕilqa* au Maroc et en Algérie, voir Behnstedt & Woidich 2012 : 130.

Nous avons obtenu des résultats très similaires pour d'autres doublets "Oranie bédouine – koïné marocaine" comme par exemple : *nəftāḥ* ~ *sāṛūt* "clé", *ḥāmi* ~ *sxūn* "chaud", *ḏuṛki* ~ *dāba* "maintenant"[14].

4. Limites de l'étude

Notre étude comporte un biais méthodologique important. Tout d'abord, il faut avouer que, en raison de sa taille, l'échantillon analysé n'est pas suffisamment représentatif. Ainsi, le groupe d'informateurs de plus de 40 ans ne comprend que trois individus. Une autre limite est celle de la longueur des enregistrements qui constituent notre corpus. Certains ne durent que quelques minutes et nous pensons que s'ils avaient été plus longs les résultats auraient pu être différents.

D'ailleurs, nous soupçonnons que parmi les locuteurs interviewés certains se sont accommodés à notre façon de parler. Pour faciliter la compréhension ou pour des raisons d'insécurité linguistique[15], ils auraient essayé d'imiter notre accent qu'ils perçoivent comme étant *ġəṛbi*[16]. À Berkane, ce terme désigne de manière imprécise la partie occidentale du Maroc. Ainsi, que l'on parle avec l'accent de Tanger ou de Casablanca, le locuteur de Berkane tendra à nous attribuer l'étiquette de *ġəṛbi*.

5. Conclusions

Deux pistes de réflexion émergent de cette étude préliminaire dont les résultats doivent être interprétés avec beaucoup de précaution.

5.1. Corrélation entre l'âge et la variation diatopique

Nous avons vu comment certains des phénomènes de variation analysés dans cette étude peuvent être mis en relation directe avec la diatopie. En effet, la longue liste de doublons relevés à Berkane pourrait s'expliquer par sa proximité de la frontière algérienne. Dans ces doublons, le premier terme est caractéristique des variétés bédouines du nord-ouest algérien, tandis que le second est propre aux parlers du centre du Maroc et à ceux des plaines atlantiques qui s'étendent au sud de Larache. Grâce aux travaux de Behnstedt & Benabbou, Heath, et Benítez Fernández, on sait que certaines variétés du

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14 Sur ces termes, voir Behnstedt & Woidich 2012 : 174 ; 2014 : 605 ; 2021 : 276.

15 Pour l'étude d'un cas d'insécurité linguistique à Tadla (Maroc), voir Bennis 2003.

16 *ġerbi* "de l'ouest, occidental". *l-ġaṛb* "l'ouest" est le terme utilisé à Berkane pour désigner la partie occidentale du Maroc. En rifain, le même mot (*erġarb*) désigne tout le Maroc.

nord-est marocain sont liées génétiquement et typologiquement aux variétés bédouines du nord-ouest algérien. Notre analyse des variables lexicales semble corroborer cette affirmation : les locuteurs de plus de 40 ans emploient presque exclusivement des termes très usités dans les dialectes bédouins de l'Oranie, alors que chez les locuteurs de moins de 40 ans on constate la pénétration lente et progressive de nombreux termes empruntés au lexique des variétés qui constituent la soi-disant koïné marocaine. Si notre interprétation n'est pas fausse, cette variation indiquerait que le parler de Berkane était autrefois plus proche des variétés bédouines du nord-ouest algérien. Néanmoins, il convient de noter que nos résultats sont dans leur ensemble et en quelque sorte contradictoires car, pour les deux variables morphosyntaxiques analysées, le taux d'occurrence de la variante dite "marocaine" est toujours plus important chez les locuteurs de plus de 40 ans. Nous ne saurions pas trouver une explication pour une telle asymétrie dans nos résultats, mais quelqu'un pourrait y voir les traits d'une variété mixte.

5.2. Variété mixte ou transitionnelle ?

Cela nous amène à notre seconde conclusion qu'on formulera sous la forme d'une question : est-ce que le berkani est une variété mixte où des éléments marocains se combinent avec des faits linguistiques algériens ? Ou est-ce qu'on a plutôt affaire ici à un dialecte transitionnel ? Une réponse à cette question pourrait nous donner quelques pistes pour expliquer les dynamiques de la variation intergénérationnelle dans le parler de Berkane. Si le parler était mixte, la variation serait due à la rencontre et à la concurrence actuelle de différents types de parlers. Par contre, s'il était transitionnel, la variation dont il témoigne ne ferait que refléter la nature même de ce parler. Il faut dire que ce n'est pas facile de distinguer entre variété mixte et variété transitionnelle, surtout parce que toutes les deux peuvent apparaître dans des zones de transition. Un indice qui permet d'identifier un parler transitionnel est le degré d'intégration de traits divers. Contrairement aux parlers mixtes, les transitionnels présenteraient un certain degré de nivellement interne (Jacobs 2005 : 79-80). Malheureusement, nous ne disposons pas de données suffisantes pour entreprendre l'analyse que requiert une telle étude.

Pour conclure, cette étude préliminaire a le mérite de fournir quelques données dialectologiques sur un parler arabe qui était jusqu'à présent méconnue, tout en nous permettant d'observer les dynamiques de changement linguistique qui semblent être à l'œuvre dans la ville de Berkane. Néanmoins, pour répondre de façon plus assurée aux problématiques posées par notre étude, il serait nécessaire d'approfondir l'analyse en augmentant le nombre d'enregistrements et d'informateurs pour que le l'échantillon soit plus représentatif du parler étudié.

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Arabic Verb Forms in Senhaja Berber (Northern Morocco)

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Abstract

Senhaja Berber (northern Morocco) has been greatly influenced by Arabic. Together with borrowed lexemes, Arabic morphology has found its way into the language. Senhaja borrowed many Arabic verbs with corresponding form II (often causatives). In Berber, causatives are normally formed with the prefix *s-*. In Senhaja, native verbs often have suppletive Arabic form II causatives. Occasionally, native verbs form causatives by C2 gemination, as Arabic form II. The paper traces how, through borrowed Arabic derived forms, some Arabic morphological patterns were introduced into Senhaja and applied to the native lexicon.

Keywords: Senhaja Berber; Morocco; contact linguistics, morphological borrowing; pattern borrowing.

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the morphological (pattern) borrowing from Arabic into Senhaja Berber.[1] Senhaja Berber is spoken by the Senhaja de Srair tribe confederation in the western part of the Rif mountains in northern Morocco. This tribe confederation consists of ten tribes, which correspond to ten varieties (see map in Gutova 2021: 17). The number of Senhaja speakers can be

[1] This paper uses the transcription system common in Arabic and Berber studies. Senhaja Berber has three plain vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*) and a central vowel schwa (ə), written here as <e>. The following abbreviations are used for Senhaja varieties: K – Ketama, T – Taghzut, S – Seddat, H – Hmed, B – Bunsar, Z – Zerqet, M – Mezduy. The main publications on Senhaja are: Renisio 1932; Ibáñez 1959; Lafkioui 2007; Kossmann 2017; and Gutova 2021.

estimated at ca. 85,000. Most Senhaja speakers are bilingual, speaking Berber and Moroccan Arabic. Senhaja is among the Berber languages that have most been influenced by Arabic. Together with borrowed lexemes, some elements of Arabic morphology have found their way into Berber. Senhaja borrowed many Arabic verbs with corresponding form II. In Berber, verbs normally form causatives with the prefix *s*-. In Senhaja, many verbs have suppletive Arabic form II causatives. Occasionally, native verbs form causatives by the gemination of C2, the second radical of the root, following the Arabic pattern. While Arabic is known to have profoundly influenced Berber, this type of contact-induced change has so far been reported only for Senhaja.

Besides form II, the Arabic forms V (*t*- x II) and VII (*n*- x I) are frequent in Senhaja. The two passive prefixes, *t*- and *n*-, are common to Berber and Arabic, but in Berber, *n*- is normally an allomorph of *m*-. The two prefixes are found with verbs of Arabic and Berber origin, and can be prefixed to both form I and II, leading to new (crossed) patterns *n*- x II and *t*- x I. Such examples may be derived from native Berber verbs. The paper investigates how, through borrowed Arabic derived forms, some Arabic morphological patterns were introduced into Senhaja and applied to the native material. Section 2 provides an overview of derivation and suppletion in Senhaja. Section 3 is devoted to the causatives, while Section 4 discusses the passives. The final section provides a summary and draws conclusions.

2. Derivation and suppletion in Senhaja

The following major types of voice modification are found in Senhaja:[2]

1) causatives, with two sub-types: a) Berber derivation with the prefix *s*-; b) form II causatives, cognate or suppletive to the base;

2) passives: a) derivation with the prefixes *t*-, *n*-, (rarely) *m*-; or *ttya*-, *ṭṭuya*-, *ttwa*- (and variants); b) suppletive (with the passive prefixes).

Senhaja shares the major means of verb derivation with other Berber languages. At the same time, Senhaja is different from other Berber languages in its use of suppletive causatives and passives. All prefixes in Senhaja are found with both etymologically Berber and Arabic verbs.[3] Some verbs allow for multiple causative or passive counterparts.

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2 On derivation in Berber, see Chaker 1973; 1995; Galand 1964; 2002: 323-329; 2010; Cadi 1987, 2006; Mettouchi 2004; Taine-Cheikh 2005; Kossmann 2012.

3 This is different from Ghomara, where only *s*- can be attached to the Berber verbs, and where *s*- is normally not combined with Arabic verbs (Mourigh 2016).

2.1. Arabic derived forms in Senhaja

The following table presents an overview of Arabic derived forms found in Senhaja, which are the same as in Moroccan Arabic.[4] Form II is the most frequent form, followed by forms V and VII. Form IV in its original form does not occur synchronically in Moroccan Arabic or Senhaja.

	Example	**Translation**	**Related verb(s)**
II	fehhem	make understand	I *fhem* "understand"
III	fahem	explain	I *fhem* "understand"
V	tʕemmeṛ	be made full	II *ʕemmeṛ* "make full", I *ʕmaṛ* "be full"
VI	tfahem	understand each other	III *fahem* "make understand", I *fhem* "understand"
VII	nnežreḥ[5]	be wounded	I *žreḥ* "to wound"
VIII	feṭṛeq	become divided	I *fṛeq* "separate, divide"
IX	ḥmar	become red	---
X	stexḏem	use, make work	I *xḏem* "work"

Many derived forms have a cognate base (Arabic loan), while some are suppletive to the native verbs. Another category consists of Arabic forms derived from native Berber verbs – pattern (PAT) borrowing in Matras & Sakel's terminology.[6] According to the etymology of the base verb, the following categories within Arabic forms in Senhaja can be distinguished:

1) *cognate-Arabic*: Arabic derived forms cognate to the Arabic base;
2) *suppletive*: Arabic derived forms suppletive to the native base verb;
3) *PAT borrowing*: forms derived from native Berber verbs.

Categories 1 and 2 are the majority, while 3 is the minority.

2.2. Suppletion

Many causatives and passives are suppletive to the Berber base verbs.[7] Kossmann (2015) uses the term *systematic suppletive borrowing* and defines it as "systematic use of borrowings in order to provide a native word with a derived counterpart". In Senhaja, suppletive passives are not as systematic as

4 For more details and more examples, see Gutova 2021: 162-175.

5 In many Senhaja varieties, the underlying schwa is realized as *a* before the back consonants (Gutova 2021: 116). We write the underlying schwa as *e* in this article.

6 Matras & Sakel 2007a and 2007b; Sakel & Matras 2004.

7 In Senhaja, this suppletion is comparable to Arabic verbal nouns corresponding to native Berber verbs. On suppletion in Berber, see Brugnatelli 2011 and Kossmann 2013: 243; 414.

in Ghomara (Mourigh 2016) or Tadaksahak (Christiansen-Bolli 2010: 285ff).[8] Nevertheless, suppletion plays an important role in Senhaja. There is an increase in suppletive forms in Western Senhaja, which may indicate an ongoing shift from the native derivation.

3. Causatives in Senhaja

3.1. Overview

Causatives can be defined as verbs which refer to a causative situation, i.e. a causal relation between two events.[9] A common way to derive causatives in Berber is by the prefix *s(s)-*.[10] Senhaja also employs this prefix: *ḵšem* "enter" > *ssekšem* "make enter". However, there are also causatives with a geminated C2 – the Arabic form II.[11] In many cases, both the base verb and the form II are borrowed. For native Berber verbs, the corresponding form II causatives are often suppletive, e.g. *ffeġ* "exit" > *xeṛṛež* "make exit".

There are three major categories of causatives in Senhaja: 1) *s*-derived; 2) cognate form II; and 3) suppletive form II. Within the second category, there are form II verbs borrowed from Arabic (majority), and derived from native verbs (minority). Senhaja is different from Ghomara (Mourigh 2016), where *s*- normally combines only with Berber native verbs, while form II causatives occur with Arabic base counterparts. The situation in Ghomara can be described as the *Parallel System Borrowing* (Kossmann 2010; Kossmann 2013: 420), where some morphological processes are introduced with, and remain restricted to borrowed lexemes. In Senhaja, the *Parallel System Borrowing* is not observed for the causative derivation. First of all, the prefix *s*- can be applied to both native (1) and borrowed (*2*) verbs:

(1) *rkem* "be wet" > *sserkem* "make wet" (Seddat, Hmed, Bunsar);[12]

(2) *ʕum* "swim" > *sʕum* "make swim".

Secondly, albeit more rarely, form II can be derived from native verbs. It is perhaps not surprising that a Berber derivation can apply to Arabic loans. However, it is remarkable that the Arabic derivation can apply to native verbs. Synchronically, Arabic form II causatives compete with *s*-derivation.

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8 Ghomara borrows passives from Arabic, and Tadaksahak from Tuareg Berber.

9 On causatives, cf. Comrie 1976; 1985; Haspelmath 1993; Kulikov 2001; 2011.

10 The prefix is realized short when it is followed by another consonant. The same rule applies to the prefixes *t*- and *n*-. See Taine-Cheikh 2008 on *s*- in Berber.

11 On the form II in Moroccan Arabic, cf. Marçais 1977; Harrell 1962: 31-32; Caubet 1993: 44-46. In Arabic, cf. Holes 2004; Ryding 2005; Cuvalay-Haak 1997: 97ff.

12 For examples that are not valid for all Senhaja, the varieties where they have been found are indicated.

3.2. Form II causatives suppletive to the base

Many Berber verbs have suppletive form II causatives, for example:

Base	Translation	Form II	Translation	Variety
ffeġ	exit	xeṛṛež	make exit	K/H/B/Z
rwi	flee	herreb	make flee	K/S/H/B
ssen	know	ʕeṛṛef	make know	K/T/S/H (Z)

Many form II causatives optionally take the prefix *s-*, for example:

Base	Translation	Form II	Translation	Variety
ttru	cry	(s)bekki	make cry	S/H/Z
skurem	sit	(s)gelles	make sit	S/H/Z
eččˇ	eat	(s)wekkel	make eat	T/S/H

In such examples, the prefix *s-* does not have the function, as in some other Berber languages, to make the verb unequivocally transitive. In rare cases, the prefix *s-* with form II verbs denotes a causative of a causative, e.g. *sdeḥḥek* (H/Z) 1) "make smb. laugh"; 2) "make smb. make smb. else laugh". Such examples are rare, and normally, *s-* is optional with form II causatives.

3.3. Form II causatives cognate to the base

Among cognate form II causatives, there are two categories: 1) Arabic loans (a majority), and 2) causatives derived from the native verbs (a minority).

3.3.1. Form II causatives with the Arabic base

In many cases, both the base verb and form II have been borrowed. The most frequent pattern is: *CCC* > *CC:C*. Verbs of the type *CuC* and *CiC* derive form II in the following ways: 1) *CuC* verbs have *ww* in form II; and 2) *CiC* verbs have *yy* in form II. Some examples follow.

Type	Base	Translation	Form II	Translation	Variety
CCC	lseq	stick (intr.)	lesseq	stick (trans.)	pan-Snh.
CuC	ẓuṛ	visit	ẓuwweṛ	make visit	K/H
CiC	ʕiš	live	ʕiyyeš	make live	pan-Snh.

Such causatives can also take the optional prefix *s-*. Examples in the following table have two base forms: native (suppletive) or Arabic (cognate).

Suppl. base	Cognate base	Translation	Form II	Translation	Variety
bded	wqef	stop	(s)weqqef	make stop	H
kker	fiq	get up	(s)fiyyeq	make get up	S/H
ani	rkeb	ride	(s)rekkeb	make ride	H

3.3.2. Form II causatives with the Berber base

Due to the large number of Arabic form II causatives, this pattern has been introduced into Senhaja. Templatic morphology is known to be harder to borrow than concatenative morphology (Souag 2020; 2021). In Berber, pattern morphology exists as well. The Berber root can be consonantal.[13] To form the Imperfective, C2 gemination often takes place: *ḵrez* > Imperfective *ḵerrez* "plow". It is possible that the existence of this pattern in Berber has facilitated the transfer of C2 gemination from Arabic with a different function. The following table lists all the examples of this type attested. Form II causatives derived from native verbs may also be preceded by the prefix *s*-.

Base	Translation	Form II	Translation	Variety
bdeḏ	stop	(s-)beddeḏ	make stop	H
ḵšem	enter	ḵeššem (K), (s-)ḵeččem (H)	make enter	K, H
mġi	sprout	(s-)meġġi	make sprout	T/H
rkem	be wet	(s-)rekkem	make wet	H
nġeḏ	be threshed	(s-)neġġeḏ	thresh	H/Z
sis	boil (intr.)	siyyes	boil (trans.)	K

4. Passives in Senhaja

4.1. Overview

There are several mechanisms that derive (medio-)passives or middles.[14] Passives are normally derived with prefixes. There are two prefixes that are

[13] Cf. Galand 2002: 87-99 on Berber roots and vowel schemes. Cohen (1993: 170) proposes to include vowels in the root. Galand (2010: 85) addresses this problem. Cf. Kossmann 2012: 35.

[14] The middle is sometimes described as the semantic domain extending between reflexives and passives. On the cross-linguistic study of the middle, see Kemmer 1993. See Haspelmath 2003 for a semantic map for reflexive and middle functions. On the middle voice in Berber and Arabic, see Taine-Cheikh 2007.

common to all Senhaja: *t(t)-* and *n(n)-*.[15] While *n-* in many Berber languages is a conditioned variant of *m-*, this is not the case in Senhaja, where *m-* is marginal. There are also dialect-specific prefixes *ttya-* (Ketama), *ṭṭya-* (Taghzut), *ttuya-* (Seddat/Bunsar), *ṭṭuya-* (Hmed), *ttwa-* (Zerqet/Mezduy).

The prefixes *t-* and *n-* are found both in Berber and Arabic.[16] In Ghomara (Mourigh 2016), all *t-* and *n*-derived verbs are Arabic loans. The *t*-derivation corresponds to the Arabic forms V (*t-* x II) and VI (*t-* x III), while *n-* corresponds to form VII (*n-* x I). In Senhaja, the prefixes *t-* and *n-* can be found with native and borrowed verbs. Since both Arabic and Berber languages have *t-* and *n-*, it is impossible to state whether the use of these prefixes in Senhaja is due to the Arabic influence.

Suppletive Arabic passives usually appear with the prefixes *t-* or *n-*, sometimes with *ttya/ttwa-* etc. Some verbs allow for multiple passives.

4.2. Prefixes *n-* and *t-*

In many Berber languages, the prefix *n-* is a conditioned variant of *m-* restricted to verb stems that include a labial consonant (except *w*): *m*, *b*, or *f*.[17] In Senhaja, the prefix *m-* is rare, and *n-* cannot be regarded as its allomorph. Also, in Senhaja, *n-* is combined with stems that do not contain a labial. In Arabic, *n-* has no combinatory restrictions. It is possible that in Senhaja, *n-* became generalized from an allomorph of *m-*. Some examples follow.[18]

	Prefix *n-* with native Berber verbs			**Prefix *n-* with Arabic loans**		
a	nne-ġzem	be hurt	H	nne-fṛeq	be separated	pan-Snh.
	nne-mger	be harvested	S/H	nne-sbeġ	be painted	pan-Snh.
b	nne-ġṛeṣ	be cut	H/Z	nne-žreḥ	be injured	pan-Snh.
	nne-k̲rez	be plowed	K/T/S/H	nne-ẓṛeʕ	be sown	pan-Snh.

Examples in *(b)* based on native verbs without a labial are special, as the prefix *n-* here cannot be an allomorph of *m-*. In such examples, *n-* could be an analogical extension of the allomorph of *m-*.

Not all Arabic loans that take *n-* in Senhaja are found with *n-* in Arabic (and not all are form VII), e.g. *nḥelles* "be saddled" < *ḥelles* "saddle" (T/S/H); *nġerbel* "be sieved" < *ġerbel* "sieve" (K/T/S/H). Such derivations are not

15 The prefixes are realized as a short when they are followed by a consonant.

16 For the study of passives (including *t-* vs. *n-*) in Arabic dialects, see Retsö 1983; Taine-Cheikh 2017: 25-26; Heath 2002: 356; Aguadé 2008: 292.

17 See Prasse 1972: 54-55; Galand 2010: 149; Bensoukas 2014. Cf. Taine-Cheikh 2019 on Zenaga, that has some exceptions to this general rule.

18 Verbs are divided into groups according to their etymology (Berber vs. Arabic) and the presence of a labial in the stem: stems in *(a)* involve a labial, vs. stems in *(b)* without a labial.

found in Arabic. That is to say, the prefix *n-* in Senhaja is used in a more general way than in both Arabic and other Berber languages. The generalization of *n-* could have been strengthened by contact with Arabic, but the prefix itself is not a borrowing.

The following table shows some examples of *t*-derivation.

Prefix *t-* with native Berber verbs			**Prefix *t-* with Arabic loans**		
tte-nġeḏ	be threshed	K/H/Z	tte-fṛeq	be separated	pan-Snh.
tte-z(z)yu	be slaughtered	K	tte-ʕzel	be separated	pan-Snh.
t-ġez	be dug	H	t-ʕelleq	be hung	pan-Snh.

Many verbs take *t-* or *n-* in free variation. Consider the following examples:

Prefix *t-*			**Prefix *n-***		
t-žeṛṛ	be pulled	K/T/S/Z	n-žeṛṛ	be pulled	K/T/S
t-riyyeš	be defeathered	K/T/S/H/Z	n-riyyeš	be defeathered	K/(S)/H
tte-lqeḏ	be plucked	H/S/Z	nne-lqeḏ	be plucked	S/H

4.3. Other passives

The prefixes *ttya-/ttwa-* (and variants) and a rare prefix *m-* are of Berber origin, but can be found with verbs of both Berber and Arabic origin.

4.3.1. Prefixes *ttya-*, *ttuya-*, *ttwa-* and variants

The shape of the dialect-specific passive prefixes is an isogloss. In most varieties, the prefix contains *y*: *ttya-* (Ketama), *ṭṭya-* (Taghzut), *ttuya-* (Seddat/Bunsar), *ṭṭuya-* (Hmed). Zerqet and Mezduy have *ttwa-*, as Tarifiyt Examples follow:

Native Berber verbs			**Arabic loans**		
ttya^si	be lifted	K	ttya-bni	be built	K
ttwa^kʷer	be stolen	Z	ttwa-qleʕ	be uprooted	Z
ṭṭuya-wweṭ	be hit	H	ttuya-ġleb	be defeated	S/B

4.3.2. Prefix *m-*

The prefix *m-* is found in many Berber languages and is generally used to derive medio-passives and middles, especially reciprocals, as e.g. in Central

Moroccan Berber.[19] This prefix is not productive in Senhaja. This could be caused by the extension of *n-*. Alternatively, the demise of *m-* could have triggered the spread of *n-*. The prefix *m-* is found with three verbs in Senhaja:

- *mnez* (T/H), *mmenz* (S/Z) "be sold"; *nez* "be sold" is found only in Ketama;

- *mmečč* "be eaten" (S/H/Z) < *ečč* "eat". Compare *tmečč* (T/H/Z), *nmečč* (T) "be eaten". These derivations also have the sense "be worn out, blunt".

- *mʕuṛṛež* "to limp" (Z), from the Arabic root *ʕṛž*. A cognate verb *ʕeṛṛež* has the meaning "make someone limp" (causative).

4.3.3. Suppletive passives and special cases

Some borrowed passives are suppletive to the native verbs. These passives can have any passive prefix. In Senhaja, in many cases, the prefix *n-* can be substituted by *t-*, while *t-* can be substituted by *n-*. This leads, in addition to variation between forms V and VII, to crossed derivations *t-* x I and *n-* x II:[20]

- *t-* x I: *ttekteb* (~ *nnekteb*) "be written", *ttežreḥ* (~ *nnežreḥ*) "be wounded";

- *n-* x II: *nḥelles* "be saddled", *nxelleṣ* "be paid".

4.3.4. Arabic forms derived from Berber verbs

The Arabic form V (*t-* x II) is frequent in Senhaja. In some cases, this derivation applies to native verbs. This is especially true for Central Senhaja. In this case, the double derivation (form II and form V derived from it) took place within Berber. Alongside form V, three other passive derivations from the same verbs are used: form VII (*n-* x I), and the crossed patterns *t* x I and *n-* x II. Consider the following examples (Hmed variety):

Intransitive		**Transitive**		**Passive derivations based on I and II**			
Base	**Transl.**	**II**	**Transl.**	**V**	**VII**	***t-* x I**	***n-* x II**
nġeḏ	be threshed	neġġeḏ	thresh	tneġġeḏ	nnenġeḏ	ttenġeḏ	nneġġeḏ
rkem	be wet	rekkem	make wet	trekkem	nnerkem	tterkem	nrekkem
bdeḏ	stop	beddeḏ	stop	tbeddeḏ	nnebded	ttebdeḏ	nbeddeḏ

[19] Generally, in Berber, the semantics of the prefix *m-* is more irregular than that of *t-*.

[20] On crossed patterns in Arabic, see Lentin 2020.

5. Conclusions

In Senhaja, as in Berber in general, derivation can be achieved by prefixes: valency-increasing *s*-, valency-decreasing *t*-, *n*- (rarely *m*-) or dialect-specific *ttya/ttwa*-. All derivational prefixes are found with both native and borrowed verbs, although they may be certain tendencies depending on the verb and the prefix. Next to the use of prefixes, there is a wide use of borrowed Arabic derived forms that may correspond to the borrowed Arabic base verb, or may be suppletive to a native verb. Most frequent Arabic forms in Senhaja are forms II (with the gemination of the second radical of the root), V (*t*- x II) and VII (*n*- x the base). While forms II, V, and VII are Arabic patterns, their ubiquity in Senhaja has led to the application of the Arabic morphological patterns to the native lexicon (PAT borrowing). Forms V and VII are intransitive, usually passive, and are often used interchangeably. There are also crossed forms such as *t*- x I and *n*- x II. In Moroccan Arabic, one may also find variation between forms V and VII, as well as the crossed patterns. However, some specific examples of crossed patterns attested in Senhaja have not been found in Moroccan Arabic.

This study has focused on the influence of Arabic on Senhaja, but the influence of languages has been mutual. Within Moroccan Arabic, the widespread use of the prefix *t*- might have been caused by the Berber substrate (cf. Heath 2002: 356). Although the prefix is not a borrowing, its use in Arabic could have been strengthened by the fact that it is found in Berber. While the mutual influence of Arabic and Berber is beyond doubt, some specific questions remain unresolved. Thus, it seems that at least in parts of Senhaja (Zerqet), *n*- (rather than *t*-) tilts towards a medio-passive interpretation, while this is the opposite in Arabic, where *n*- tilts toward an external agent (cf. Heath 2002: 356). When examining specific examples, the picture appears rather complex, as some verbs have preferred passives, while others show variation. This could be caused by a mix of different factors (including phonological and semantic).

The study of contact-induced changes can be relevant for the study of all languages involved. The study of unusual derived forms in Senhaja can shed light on the appearance of new forms in Arabic dialects, with crossed patterns or combinations of several morphemes. Generally, this study aims to contribute to the field of Arabic in contact and various outcomes of contact-induced changes.

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Non-Canonical Morphosyntactic Occurrences in Highly Affective Contexts in Lebanese Arabic: Deviations from Rules or Informationally Triggered Tools?

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Abstract

The present study explores different morphosyntactic occurrences found in highly affective communicative contexts in Lebanese Arabic that are generally considered non-canonical or simply remain understudied in the literature. By taking a closer look at these occurrences along with their discursive and situational contexts, this study suggests the existence of potential pragmatic and informational motivations behind them.

Keywords: information structure, affect, discourse, agreement, relative clauses.

1. Introduction

Speakers package information in different ways depending on the communicative context and on their own interest at specific moments of speech. 'Information packaging', first coined by Chafe (1976) refers to the structuring of sentences by syntactic, prosodic, or morphological means that arises from the need to meet the communicative demands of a particular context or discourse. Specific communicative contexts imply specific communicative demands, which may, in turn, naturally trigger different information packaging strategies.

The present work is part of a broader study aiming to shed light on some of the strategies used for information structure in highly affective communicative contexts in Lebanese Arabic (LA), given that the spontaneous nature of the

linguistic data produced in this kind of contexts makes it an excellent representation of natural spoken language.

The study of natural spoken language has been considered irrelevant by some linguistic traditions, which understand language as the object of an ideal speaker who is

> "unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (Chomsky 1965: 3).

Real spoken language is often considered as corrupt given that records of natural speech "will show numerous false starts, deviations from rules, changes of plan in mid-course and so on" (Chafe 1976: 4). It is precisely in what other consider uninteresting "deviations" and irrelevant "shifts of attention and interest" that the present study will focus on.

1.1. Highly affective communicative contexts in Lebanese Arabic

During the last three years, Lebanon witnessed a series of crucial events that inevitably marked the history of the country. In October 2019, Lebanese citizens from all social and sectarian backgrounds came together in a joined attempt to show their anger and desperation along with their wish for a new political system during the so-called October Revolution (*ṯawrət tišrīn*). The protests lasted for some months then slowly faded away due to the violent repression of the Lebanese army and security forces, the risk that posed the COVID-19 pandemic and the pressure from the worsening economic crisis. On August 4th, 2020, a massive explosion in the port of Beirut destroyed the majority of the city, causing more than 200 deaths, wounding thousands and leaving hundreds of thousands homeless.

These major events were covered by both local and international media, where it became usual to see impromptu interviews where reporters would inquire citizens on their opinions or feelings on a specific (often highly emotional) topic and during especially intense moments. In these situations, speakers usually drift into an improvised monologue where they spontaneously express their emotions, often taking the opportunity to send a public message to the authorities while giving way to their anger and frustration. The improvised, spontaneous, and monologic nature of these interviews make them an excellent resource for the study of linguistic realization of information packaging in highly affective contexts.

Affective communicative contexts are characterized by the speaker's emotional involvement in the communicative exchange, while affective salience is directly related to an increase of attentional control (Biggs et al. 2012). This makes highly affective contexts expected to contain a variety of

tools for attention management. Through the linguistic study of a linguistic corpus including data recorded in highly affective contexts, this study intends to provide some preliminary insights on the relation between the pragmatic and discursive idiosyncrasies of affective communicative contexts and their linguistic features.

2. Data and Methodology

The main source of data for this preliminary study consists of a corpus of six interviews[1] that were broadcasted and shared on social media by both Lebanese local television channels (LBC, MTV, Al-žadīd) and independent journalists (see Table 1). Despite the many interesting informational strategies displayed in these texts, due to spatial constraints, I have decided to limit the analysis here to non-canonical morphosyntactic occurrences. The analysis of this study stays away from isolating analytical approaches to IS and thus considers preceding and subsequent discursive context of annotated utterances, as well as their overall communicative contexts.

[1] The interviews were selected carefully according to two parameters. First, the participants needed to show a highly emotional state in the moment of the interview. Secondly, the excerpts selected for the analysis present no interaction between the interviewee and neither reporters nor fellow interviewees. This was decided to prevent the S's flow of informational packaging to be conditioned by the informational requirements of any incoming emergent message.

Table 1: Details on Interviews and Participants.

VIDEO	MIN	GENDER	AGE *est	CONTEXT	DATE
Woman Karantina	5:03	Female	50-60	Port explosion: interviewed at her house 1 day after the explosion	August 5th 2020
Young woman	5:16	Female	23	October Revolution – interviewed during a special live program in Martyrs Square	October - December 2019
Rami's wife	4:44	Female	30-40	Port explosion – interviewed at her house 3 days after her husband's death	August 7th 2020
Man1	2:49	Male	30-40	October Revolution – spontaneously interviewed during a live connection.	October - December 2019
Mohammad's Brother	1:43	Male	40-50	Port explosion – spontaneously interviewed near the Port 2 days after his brother's death	August 6th 2020
Man2	2:35	Male	30-40	October Revolution – not interviewed. Filmed during a demonstration screaming at members of the Lebanese security forces	October - December 2019
TOTAL	22:10				

3. Data Analysis

The data analysis has been grouped in three different sections illustrating non-canonical occurrences on different phenomena: demonstratives, agreement, and relative clauses and topicalization.

3.1. Demonstratives as *ḍamīr al-faṣl*

Topic–Predicate (T-P) verbless sentences accept, in most varieties of Arabic, the optional insertion of a *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, i.e. a personal independent pronoun inserted between topic *(mubtadaʔ)* and predicate *(xabar)* whose main pragmatic function is to place the focus on the equational relation between T and P. Although this pronoun tends to agree with the topic, it may also agree with the predicate (Brustad 2000).

My LA data shows several occurrences of demonstratives occupying the place of a *ḍamīr al-faṣl*. The following example (1) takes place in a festive environment, in the middle of a peaceful and joyful demonstration in Beirut:

CONTEXT: Right before uttering (1), the speaker was commenting on how she disagreed with Lebanese politicians who qualified the October Revolution as "Lebanon's funeral", since she believed the revolution was rather like "Lebanon's wedding", e.g. a reason for celebration:

(1)Ləbnēn *hayde* farḥətna
Lebanon this.F.S joy.our
"(This) Lebanon (here) is our joy!"

Here, the use of a demonstrative instead of a pronoun adds a deictic value to the T – P relation, and therefore succeeds in anchoring the utterance to its specific situational context (Brustad 2024). The proximal F.SG demonstrative *hayde*, which agrees with the P (*farḥətna*), links both Lebanon and the speaker's (reason for) joy both to the moment of the utterance and its situational context, a festive gathering of all Lebanese citizens. Informationally, the use of the demonstrative reinforces the contrast between *her* Lebanon, i.e. the festive one she witnesses and experiences in that specific moment, and *the politicians'* mournful Lebanon previously mentioned in the discourse. The simultaneous expression of the focus on the equational relation and the deictic reference would have not been possible by using the canonical alternative: *Ləbnēn huwwe/hiyye farḥətna*.

The additional deictic value achieved by this use of demonstratives[2] reflects the high level of reliance on the situational context that speakers tend to show in highly affective contexts, where the implicit situational context often

[2] See also example (5).

becomes a necessary element for the correct interpretation of linguistic information, as it plays an active role in the process of information update.

3.2. Agreement

My data shows numerous cases of F.SG. agreement with masculine human controllers. This type of agreement has already been described in the literature and therefore remains far from being non-canonical. I, nonetheless, found some occurrences of this agreement in my data worth commenting on, given their semantic and pragmatic contexts, where the notions of individuation and collectiveness are especially salient for speakers.

In their seminal study on agreement, Bettega & D'Anna support previous claims (Brustad 2000, Procházka & Gabsi 2017) on the use of F.SG. agreement and conclude that this type of agreement

> "represents an alternative agreement option for plural controllers, available to nouns belonging to all three classes that are perceived by the speaker as non-individuated" (Bettega & D'Anna 2022: 122).

This is also evident in the following two examples from my data, where the controllers *šabēbna* and *wlēdna* are treated as collective abstract entities and show a F.SG agreement:

(2) šabēb-na səʔy-**ət** əl-ʔarəḍ bə-damm-**a**
youngsters-our water-PFV.**3FS** DET-earth with-blood-**her**
"Our youngsters have watered the earth with their blood".

(3) wlēd-na ʕam bə-**t**-hēžər,
children-our PROG HAB-IPFV.**3FS**-emmigrate
wlēd-na ṣār-**ət** barra
children-our become-PFV.**3FS** outside
"Our children are emigrating. Our children are all abroad now".

The collective perception of a group often comes and in hand with the use of the quantifier *kəll* "all", which has been proved to strongly favor the occurrence of F.SG agreement in a variety of Arabic dialects (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017: 272, 283; Procházka & Gabsi 2017: 245; Bettega & Leitner, 2019: 26; Berlinches Ramos, 2021; Bettega & D'Anna, 2022: 95). This is also evident in my LA data:

(4) *kəll* ən-nuwwēb saḥab-**ət** maṣriyyēt-a mən əl-ᵊbnūke
all det-MPs water-PFV.**3FS** blood-**her** from det-banks
"All the MPs have withdrawn their money from the banks".

Examples like (2), (3) or (4) support the argument that agreement is neither solely dependent on syntactic information nor only sensitive to semantic properties of the controllers, but also partly dictated by speakers and their varying perceptions throughout discourse. As Procházka & Gabsi (2017) already pointed out, speakers may use different agreement options "to vary

what we can call perceptual salience and textual prominence" (Procházka & Gabsi 2017: 241).

The following example, which shows an intra-sentence agreement shift from F.SG *(hayd**e**)* to M.PL *(kəll**on**)*, illustrates how speakers may indeed modulate agreement as the informational status of the entity designated by the controller evolves through discourse, irrespective of sentential boundaries.

(5) ma baddi ʔaʕrəf mīn li ʕaməl hēk…
NEG want.I IPFV.know.1s who REL PFV.do.3ms this.way
məš šaxəṣ, məš šaxəṣ, məš šaxəṣ
NEG person NEG person NEG person
hayde[3] **əd-dawle əl-ləbnēniyye *kəllon!***
this.**F.S** DET-state DET-Lebanese all.them.**M.PL**
kəll**on,** maʕ nuwwēb-on, maʕ li byrabbi daʔən
all.them with MPs.their with rel hab.IPFV.grow.3MS beard
maʕ li byšīl əd-daʔən, **hənne**
with rel HAB.IPFV.grow.3MS DET-beard they
li badd**on** mašnaʔa, badd**on** mašnaʔa žamaʕīye
REL want.they hanging want.they hanging collective.F

"I don't want to know who did this. It is not one person, it's not one person, it's not one person! It's the whole Lebanese state! All of them, including its MPs, including the one who has a beard and the one who shaves it. They are the ones that should be hung. They should be hung collectively."

In (5), *əd-dawle* (the state) first shows a F.SG agreement, which echoes the singular number of the main entity in the previous sentence *li ʕaməl hēk* (who did this)[4], while successfully portraying all politicians as belonging to one an abstract unified entity, i.e. to one unique (criminal) group. Once the "Lebanese state" entity is introduced to the discourse, its already given status allows the speaker to further explore this entity as a highly individualized group in the subsequent sentences.

Discursively, the highly individualized perception of the entity— partly achieved by the shift to M.PL agreement— paves the way for the subsequent enumeration of specific individuals within the entity. Semantically and pragmatically, this agreement shift reinforces the previously introduced notion that the responsibility of the Port Explosion does not fall upon one person (*məš šaxəṣ*, *məš šaxəs*), but is rather considered by the speaker to be the collective work of many different individuals, all of them perceived by the speaker as equally guilty.

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3 See section 3.1.

4 This is probably echoing the Lebanese government's first speeches after the Port Explosion where they repeatedly promised they would tirelessly search for "the responsible person".

These instances suggest that agreement variation is used by the speaker also to manage the pragmatics and semantics of relevant entities, as it contributes to the expression of the speakers' evolving perceptions of the communicative salience of these entities throughout discourse.

3.3. Relative clauses and topicalization

Traditional Arabic grammars generally establish that relative pronouns are used to relativize definite nouns, but not used to relativize indefinite nouns. However, the situation has been proven to be more complex in the spoken varieties of Arabic, where the presence or absence of a relative pronoun is not predictable on the basis of its referent's definiteness marking (Brustad 2000: 94).[5] In fact, the presence or absence of a relative pronoun is better understood when we take into consideration factors such as the referent's degree of individuation (Brustad 2000: 96) and its referential and informational status in the discourse. In the following example, the definite referent *l-māmā*, appears followed by a non-restrictive relative clause without a relative pronoun:

(6) tēne šaġle badde ʔəl-l-a *la-l-māmā* **Ø**
Second.f thing want.1s IPFV.1s.say-to-her to-DET-mum
ṭūl ʕəmr-a mən əṣ-ṣaff əl-ʔawwal
throughout life-her from DET-class DET-first.M.SG
tʕalləm-ne t-tanšiʔa l-madaniyye
IPFV.3FS.teach-me DET-education DET-civil

"Secondly, I want to tell my mum, (who) has been teaching me civil education since first grade."

In (6), the referent *l-māmā* is introduced practically as a proper noun, coreferential to the referent "my mother", which was already introduced in preceding discourse, making it an anaphoric definite.[6] As such, it seems that when the referent's informational status is sufficiently given and the relation between the RC and the referent both semantically and pragmatically clear, the presence of a relative pronoun is not obligatory.

The absence of relative pronouns in these pragmatic and informational circumstances attenuates the already thin line between relativization and

5 "The inability of the definite/indefinite marking dichotomy to predict the occurrence/absence of the relative pronoun /illi/ shows that specificity is a feature that can extend beyond the noun to the noun phrase as a whole, affecting the interaction of the nouns with its modifiers" (Brustad 2000: 94).

6 Anaphoric definite (AD) "refers to the status of a noun that the speaker presumes identifiable to the listener because the referent has already been explicitly introduced or implied in the present discourse" (Turner 2021: 4, according to Dryer's 2014 "Reference Hierarchy").

topicalization,[7] as it results in a variety of structures featuring a fronted given entity followed by a clause generally including a resumptive pronoun or other anaphoric element that refers back to the topicalized entity/referent. In this line, the following example could have at least two possible analyses:

(7) ʔənte *ʕəzzət* *nafsik* hiyye Ø
You.F.SG esteem soul.your.F.SG she
ḥa-twaʔʔf-ik ʕa-ʔəžrey-ke
FUT-IPFV.make.stand-you.F.SG on-feet.dual-your.F.SG
'It's your self-esteem what will bring you back on your feet'

A first analysis of (7) would interpret the omission of a relative pronoun introducing the restrictive relative sentence *ḥa-twaʔʔfik ʕa-ʔəžreyke,* as marked by Ø in the example. A second, more informational analysis could understand the sentence as a multiple topic structure where the sentential topic *ʕəzzət nafsik* appears nested into the relevance participant topic *ʔənte*,[8] in order to comply with the previous relation requirements established by the preceding discourse (i.e. a contrast between *hənne* and *ʔənte* across discursive segments). In this line, the presence of *hiyye* would be explained as an anaphoric element necessary for the marking of an exhaustive focus that specifies that the referent *ʕəzzət nafsik* (coreferential to *hiyye*), is the only alternative that can fulfil the event expressed in P.

In this light, relativization can be better defined as a syntactic process that heightens the topicalization of a discursively salient entity with the purpose of further specifying it (Brustad 2024). Canonically, the topicalized entity (referent) is followed by a relative clause, led or not by a relative pronoun. The following example shows, however, an occurrence of a referent *(ʔənto)* appearing after the relative pronoun *(yalli).*

(8) w iza ḥada ʕaza *ḥada* *mən-kon*
and if someone PFV.hurt.3MS someone from-you.PL
yalli **ʔənto** ʔēʕdīn fōʔ bə-byūtkon
REL you.PL PTCP.sit.PL up in-houses.your.PL
naḥna b-ʔažsēdna mnəḥmīkon
we with-bodies.ours HAB.IMPF.protect.1S.you.PL
"And if someone (were to) hurt anyone of you who are sitting up there, in your houses, we will protect you with our own bodies".

The non-canonical presence of the independent pronoun *ʔənto* after the relative pronoun *yalli* can be explained in the light of previous and subsequent

[7] "Topicalization shares both formally and functionally essential properties with relativization" (Owens 1993: 95).

[8] Relevance topics' main function is to create a coherent discourse when discursive coherence cannot be established without the addition of the RT's independent speech act (Repp 2019: 484). Participant RTs have been documented to ensure discourse coherence by maintaining topic continuity within a discursive segment (Iriarte Díez 2023).

discursive context. One could say that the syntactically designated referent of the relative pronoun *yalli*, should be *ḥada mənkon.* However, in this example we find the speaker interest shifted into further specifying the 2PL referent expressed in *mən**kon***, rather than the 3MS in *ḥada mənkon* — presumably to create the subsequent 2PL - 1PL contrast with the later referent *nəḥna* (us), which functions as a contrastive topic in the following sentence. By inserting *ʔənto* after the relative pronoun, the speaker shifts the referentiality of *yalli* to the desired referent at the same time she creates a T–C structure, parallel to the subsequent T–C ***(naḥna** b-ʔažsēdna mnəḥmīkon)*, therefore highlighting the contrast between their respective plural topics. This complex and simultaneous shift of reference, paired with the structural parallelism would have arguably been impossible to express by means of a single "canonical" relative clause.

This should, nevertheless, presumably vary in spoken or written instances within contexts that entail a lesser level of participants' involvement and where S has a longer time to plan and organize macro-discourse coherence. In such contexts, it would not be surprising to find a greater variety of RTs— beyond participant RTs.

4. Concluding Remarks

The unplanned spontaneous nature of highly affective contexts, seconded by the high emotional involvement of the speakers and their increased reliance on the situational context tend to trigger quick and unexpected interest and attention shifts. My data shows that (1) these shifts may be concerned with the referential, semantic and/or pragmatic properties of an entity within discourse and that (2) speakers may resort to "non-canonical" morphosyntactic elements to efficiently express interest shifts as well as to increase the attentional control in order to guarantee the addressee's engagement throughout these shifts.

In this sense, this study aimed at shedding light on the interface between the discourse properties of speech in highly affective contexts and some of their localized morphosyntactic features in LA. Moreover, and notwithstanding its limitations on scope and data, I hope this study serves as a reminder of the staggeringly rich morphosyntactic variation that we may find within Arabic dialects when considering data from a wider range of communicative contexts.

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Notes sur l'arabe de Tlemcen au XVIe siècle à partir d'une lettre zianide

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Résumé

L'arabe de Tlemcen (et l'arabe algérien en général) est peu documenté avant le XIXe siècle. Cette étude entend contribuer à décrire un état de langue plus ancien de ce cette variété d'arabe préhilalien et à le comparer à la monographie de W. Marçais (1902), la seule description du parler à ce jour. Le choix d'un texte épistolaire présente l'avantage de dater les faits linguistiques observés. Des correspondances du même type existent dans différents fonds d'archives en Espagne et nous les étudierons dans de prochains travaux. L'examen de la lettre ci-étudiée révèle que plusieurs traits typiques des parlers préhilaliens sont déjà en place au début du XVIe siècle comme le relateur *əddi* ; une conjugaison de type maghrébin à l'inaccompli et une réalisation [ṭ] du correspondant de *ḏ** et *ḍ** étymologiques confondus. La variété étudiée présente également des traits originaux comme le pronom personnel 3PL *ḥnan* ; un inventaire graphémique réduit à 25~26 lettres ; une conjonction *w.xtn* "puisque ; étant donné que" et une conjugaison de l'ancien verbe *hamzé ʔamara** "commander ; demander" *mār*/ymīr* avec chute de la *hamza*, resyllabisation et un allongement compensatoire de la voyelle. Cette étude a permis de reculer l'apparition de certains traits linguistiques de quatre siècles au moins et d'en découvrir d'autres, originaux.

Mots-clés : Correspondances, arabe de Tlemcen, Zianides.

Si plusieurs des variétés arabes d'Algérie ont été étudiées à partir du XIXe siècle, les états de langue plus anciens sont encore aujourd'hui peu connus car peu attestés à l'écrit. En effet, partout où l'arabe est devenu langue officielle, il semblerait que ce soit la variété savante ou moyenne qui ait été utilisée quasi-systématiquement à l'écrit, en Algérie. Cependant, de plus en plus d'historiens

éditent des correspondances rédigées en arabe moyen ou vernaculaire[1]. Le constat est que les correspondances en arabe dialectal ou moyen existent, au côté de correspondances en arabe classique et il est donc possible de connaître certains aspects de l'arabe algérien entre le XVIe et le XIXe siècle, dans le registre épistolaire à tout le moins.

Dans la présente étude, nous allons décrire quelques traits à partir d'une lettre datée de 1535 (désormais L1535) qui est remarquable par son registre qui tend fortement vers le pôle dialectal du continuum diglossique. Ceci est rare comparativement aux dix-huit autres lettres en notre possession de la même époque, rédigées à Tlemcen ou par un Tlemcénien et qui sont de facture classique ou moyenne. Dans le présent travail, nous donnerons d'abord un bref aperçu historique, ensuite, nous relèverons quelques points relatifs à l'écriture qui semble très phonétique, et enfin, nous tenterons de vérifier si les caractéristiques phonologiques, morphologiques et lexicales décrites par W. Marçais au début du XXe siècle sont déjà présentes dans le parler représenté dans L1535. Ceci nous permettrait de reculer leur date d'apparition de quatre siècles au moins.

1. Aperçu historique

La lettre qui nous intéresse est datée du 3 février 1535 et émane d'un certain عبد ارحمن بن رطوان (dorénavant ʕabd-ər-raḥmān Bən Rəṭwān), *məzwār*[2] au royaume de Tlemcen. Il se trouve également être un des beaux-pères du roi de Tlemcen et grand-père de l'un des princes zianides, Bū-ʕabd-Allah Muḥammməd. La correspondance est adressée à Charles Quint depuis Oran, possession espagnole depuis un quart de siècle et auprès de laquelle Bən Rəṭwān demande l'asile suite à sa fuite après la guerre de succession de 1534. En effet, à la mort du roi ʕabd-Allah Muḥammməd ət-Tābti, de nombreux prétendants au trône, fils ou frères du défunt roi, tentent de prendre le pouvoir. Or, si le prince Mḥammməd s'allie aux Ottomans, maîtres d'Alger depuis 1516EC, Bən Rəṭwān s'allie aux Habsbourg, au nom des intérêts de l'autre prétendant au trône, Muḥammməd, et qui se trouve être son petit-fils et le demi-frère de Mḥammməd.

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1 Voir les correspondances éditées par Chantal de La Véronne (1981) dans le cadre d'une étude historique et non linguistique et les travaux suivants : Amara Allaoua (2012) ; Abdou Elimam (2004) ; Carmen Barceló (2005) et Mohamed Meouak (2016) qui ont traités les aspects linguistiques.

2 Il a pour charge de lever les troupes et gère la maison du souverain (La Véronne 1983 : 84). Marçais rattache ce titre au berbère "*amzouarou*" signifiant "premier" de la racine "*ZOUR"* et rapporte qu'il était encore porté par les "chefs de douars" en Petite Kabylie (Marçais 1902 : 234, note 1).

2. L'enseignement de l'arabe sous les Zianides

Sous les Zianides, les secrétaires de chancellerie reçoivent une formation spécifique qui comprend un enseignement de la grammaire de l'arabe entre autres matières. Pourtant, les règles de l'arabe classique ne se reflètent pas dans la lettre ci-étudiée. Grâce au chroniqueur des rois zianides, ʔabū Zakariyyā bnu Xaldūn (m.1379), le frère de ʔabdu-r-Raḥmān (auteur de la Muqaddima), nous savons que l'arabe classique était enseigné dans diverses écoles coraniques et écoles d'élite, héritées des Almohades ou construites par les Zianides eux-mêmes (Tanasī 1852 : XLI). Et grâce au lettré al-Qalṣādī, qui effectua un voyage scientifique dans plusieurs cités musulmanes durant la deuxième moitié du XVe siècle, nous savons même quels précis de grammaire étaient consultés et en circulation à Tlemcen durant la dernière période zianide (Marin 2004 : 300). Aussi, il est très peu probable que l'auteur de la lettre n'ait pas eu des notions d'arabe canonique. Si les lettrés connaissaient l'arabe classique, cela signifie que l'auteur de L1535 est un semi-lettré[3] ou bien que la rédaction de la correspondance en arabe vernaculaire était un choix stylistique, avec une fonction précise qui reste à déterminer[4].

3. Écriture et phonétique

L'écriture est en graphie maghrébine, caractérisée entre autres par une notation du *fāʔ* à l'aide d'un point souscrit ڢ et du *qāf* à l'aide d'un seul point suscrit ف. Les graphèmes relevés sont au nombre de 25 entre consonnes et semi-consonnes, 26 si l'on considère que la seule occurrence de la *hamza* en est bien une, dans أكثر. En effet, les graphèmes ذ et ض n'ont pas été relevés tandis que *ḏ** et *ḍ** sont systématiquement notés ط dans يطرب "il bat" ; طل "ombre", ce qui indique une réalisation occlusive et alvéolaire que Marçais avait relevée et attribuée à une influence berbère (Marçais 1902 : 15). La confusion des deux phonèmes en un seul remonterait donc au moins au XVIe siècle dans ce parler. De plus, *ḏ** est systématiquement noté ظ dans هظا "ce" (2 occ.).

À l'instar de W. Marçais (*Idem* : 16), et de Carmen Barceló (2005 : 102) qui a étudié deux lettres datées de 1692EC en arabe algérois, un autre parler

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3 Éventuellement d'origine espagnole/morisque puisque nous savons que parmi l'ambassade de Bən Rəṭwān, un secrétaire converti à l'islam du nom de Yaya de Alcántara était présent.

4 D'ailleurs, Khan rapporte le cas documenté d'un interprète juif, Brahim Cansino, qui officia en qualité d'interprète auprès du gouvernement espagnol, est connu pour avoir été renvoyé de la fonction d'interprète à cause de son incapacité à lire les écritures latines et arabes. On peut imaginer que les interprètes juifs et chrétiens au service des rois de Tlemcen étaient dans le même cas, ce qui imposa peut-être l'usage de langues d'échange qu'ils maîtrisaient le mieux et qui se trouvent être, dans ce cas précis, l'arabe vernaculaire et l'ibéro-roman.

préhilalien, nous avons relevé une interversion entre *s** et ***ṣ* noté tantôt ص comme dans نصركم “vous fasse triompher” et انصرا *an-n.sra* “soutien”, tantôt س, dans سبو “ils ont trouvé” (4 occ.), à rattacher à la racine ṢWB exprimant l’idée “d’atteindre sa cible (à l’aide d’une flèche)” et qui signifie ici “trouver”. Mais le graphème classique correspondant à س est préservé dans les autres mots où il apparaît comme dans اسكا *sikka** “monnaie” ; ياسند de la racine SND “s’appuyer contre quelque chose/sur quelqu’un». Plus généralement, Johann Fück, cité par Grand’Henry, relève une “confusion entre consonnes emphatiques et non emphatiques”, un phénomène qu’il considère comme étant l’une des caractéristiques du moyen arabe (Grand’Henry 1981). Quant à Vicente, elle relève “l’emphatisation de quelques phonèmes consonantiques” parmi lesquels le س noté ص entre autres consonnes (Vicente 2001 : 138). Dans son article consacré au moyen arabe, Jérôme Lentin relève le même phénomène (Lentin 2011).

Nous notons également l’absence de la *hamza*, sauf peut-être en position initiale dans une seule occurrence de l’adjectif élatif أكثر mais pas dans اخير “mieux” ; انا “je” et حببنا > *ʔaḥbābu-na** “nos alliés” et cette liste n’est pas exhaustive.

Le marquage du nom féminin se fait systématiquement à l’aide d’une *ʔalif* et non d’une *tāʔ marbūṭa* : اسكا “la monnaie” ; الموطعاونا “l’entraide” et انصرا “le soutien”. Cependant, à l’état construit, le nom modifié se termine par une *tāʔ maftūḥa* : من جهت مفم كم “de la part de Votre Majesté”.

Au XVIe siècle, la notation des voyelles brèves à l’aide des signes diacritiques reste limitée au texte coranique, à quelques rares ouvrages savants (Kouloughli 2007 : 54) et aux correspondances de chancellerie en prose rimée[5]. Cependant, dans L1535, des semi-voyelles semblent noter des voyelles brèves. Ainsi, Cordoue est notée فورطوبا *qūrṭūba*, dans خودمكم *xūd.m-km* “vos serviteurs”, le premier *wāw* semble guider vers une lecture correcte du schème nominal pluriel *C1uC2C2āC3*, relevé au XXe siècle (Marçais 1902). De même dans جوهدو “ses forces”, كول “tout” et توركي “turc” où les voyelles seraient des *matres lectionis* aidant à vocaliser correctement le mot, phénomène existant en arabe classique mais qui est en arabe moyen une “convention orthographique” très répandue (Lentin 2012). Les voyelles mériteraient une étude à part à partir du corpus le plus large possible car l’écriture en caractères arabes, souvent défective, mais pas toujours comme l’a très bien démontré J. Lentin pour le moyen arabe (*Idem*), ne renseigne pas systématiquement sur le vocalisme.

q connait une réalisation [x] dans le seul mot وختن qui pourrait se traduire par “lorsque”, “parce que” ou “étant donné que” (4 occ.). Il se rattacherait à la racine *WQT* “temps”. ***q*** serait passé à [k] à partir d’une réalisation sourde dans

5 Voir la lettre du prince tlemcénien ʿabd allāh al-mutawakkil ʿalā Aḷḷah ʔamīr al-muslimīn ʿabd allah b. ʔamīr al-muslimīn ʔabī ʿabd Allāh à l’impératrice Isabelle, régente en l’absence de Charles Quint, AGS PTR LEG 11 205 de l’*Archivo general de Simancas*.

un premier temps, puis à [x], soit une évolution *wxtn* < **wktn* < **wqtn*.[6] Même si la spirantisation du *q** est très commune dans les dialectes de l'arabe pour la racine *WQT*, وختن n'a pas été relevé ailleurs, à notre connaissance.

4. Morphologie

Le point le plus original de cette étude est très certainement le relevé d'une forme peu commune du pronom personnel pluriel حنن *hn.n* "nous" (3 occ.) au côté d'une forme حنان *ḥnan*, soit avec une *mater lectioni*, et احنا *aḥna*. Il est à noter également que Marçais relève des pronoms personnels de deuxième et troisième personne du pluriel qui ont le même *-n* final que *hn.n*, à savoir *ntsūmān* "vous" et "ils/elles" (Marçais 1902 : 120) et à Ghazaouet, une localité proche de Tlemcen où l'on pratique un dialecte de villageois, Hocini relève en 2011 "[ntœm(a)]" et "[ntœman]" et également "[hœm(a)]" et "[hœman]" (Hocini 2011 : 73). Lentin et Boucherit citent eux aussi les formes *əntūmā̃n* et *ūmā̃n* à partir d'une étude du parler juif de Tunis par David Cohen (Boucherit et Lentin 1989 : 23). Nous avons par ailleurs nous-même relevé *hūmān* lors d'un entretien réalisé avec une locutrice tlemcénienne en juin 2022.

Dans son article sur les pronoms personnels des premières personnes, Andrzej Zaborski, à la suite de David Cohen, émet l'hypothèse que les formes du pluriel ne possédant pas *nV-* pourraient remonter au protosémitique (Zaborski 1995b : 292). Ces formes seraient même répandues dans le groupe chamito-sémitique puisque le beja a *henén* et que le syriaque connaît *ḥnan* (*Idem*), de ce fait, حنن *hn.n* ne serait pas nécessairement une innovation de l'arabe de Tlemcen mais peut-être une forme ancienne qui n'aurait pas été retenue par les grammairiens arabes mais qui aurait survécu à Tlemcen jusqu'au XVIe siècle au moins. Il est à noter que Zaborski l'inclue dans sa reconstruction du paradigme des pronoms personnels protosémitiques sans l'avoir effectivement retrouvée dans un dialecte arabe moderne ou ancien (Zaborski 1995a : 270).

Les pronoms personnels autonomes et suffixes relevés sont :

Singulier	Pluriel	Singulier	Pluriel
انا 1	حنن/حنان/احنا	-ي	-نا-/ ن
هو 3m		-و	-كم
هي 3f			-هم

Comme attendu dans un dialecte de type préhilalien, le pronom personnel suffixe 3SGM après une consonne est *-u* et non *-h* comme le démontre la notation de جوهدو *ǧūhd-u* "sa force" ; de مالو *māl-u* "sa fortune" et de يحرفو "il le brûle".

6 Je remercie M. Jérôme Lentin pour ses précieuses informations concernant le mot وختن.

Lorsqu'un nom en modifie un autre pour exprimer un rapport de dépendance ou d'annexion, le modifieur peut être précédé du morphème *mt.ʕ* ou *ə.di* : الفبطن متعكم "votre commandant [de navire]" et البلد ادي وهران "le pays d'Oran".

La conjonction *b.š* citée par Marçais est déjà utilisée dans L1535 pour introduire une proposition circonstancielle de but : حنن نعطيو العراب ملنا بش يانسحو في خدمتكم "nous, nous donnons aux Arabes notre argent afin qu'ils vous servent au mieux".

Le paradigme des verbes défectueux a les désinences *-āw* ou *-īw* aux personnes du pluriel, comme en tlemcénien moderne et dans les parlers préhilaliens en général, à l'inaccompli : نعطيو "nous donnons" ; نرجاو "nous espérons". Et le verbe sain trilitère connaît une désinence *-um* et non *-u* عرفتم "vous avez su". Si ce n'est pas un classicisme, il se peut que ce soit une conservation, soit comme en arabe andalou, une langue encore vivante au début du XVIe siècle et qui était au contact de l'arabe de Tlemcen car pratiquée par les réfugiés andalous.

Le relativiseur ادي *ad.i* (2 occurrences) subsiste au début du XXe siècle (Marçais 1902 : 175). Il est utilisé avec un antécédent nominal dans les deux occurrences : الفايد الحسب لويش فردنش ادي يعرفن و يعر[7] خدمتن في مفمكم "l'honorable *alcaide* Luys de Cardenas, qui nous connaît et connaît notre œuvre au service de Votre Majesté" et و المفم ادي يعطينا الله مهو الى ليخدمتكم "le rang que nous accordera Dieu n'est que pour vous servir". Il est à noter qu'il a été relevé dans l'arabe d'Alger à la fin du XVIIe siècle (Barceló 2005 : 105) mais semble être aujourd'hui sorti de l'usage.

tmīr "commander, ordonner ; envoyer" semble provenir du verbe *ʔamara** qui aurait subi une chute de la *hamza*, une resyllabisation et un allongement compensatoire. Et les verbe *ḥb*. "souhaiter, vouloir" et *ʕml* "faire", typiquement préhilaliens figurent dans L1535.

5. Lexique

La date est formée avec le nom de mois *h.brāy.r* هبراير, et non comme attendu, avec un nom de mois du calendrier hégirien. La forme arabe viendrait de *hebrero* (relevé dans la traduction contemporaine) correspondant de l'ibéro-

[7] Il semblerait que le scribe ait voulu écrire يعرف car cela correspond au mot de la traduction romane.

roman **febrero*, “la forme populaire pour février” (Corominas et Pascual 1980 : 877-78).[8]

“Mon père” se dit بابا *bābā*. Cette forme était inconnue à Tlemcen au début du XXe siècle. C’est *bbw̆á* qui y était usitée (Marçais 1902 : 199).

ḥ.rk.<*ḥarka** dans le texte arabe semble avoir encore le sens que Pellat note pour l’arabe marocain de “contingent fourni par les tribus qui avaient fait allégeance au Sultan” (Pellat 2012) ou “expédition”. La forme participiale حارك désignait encore au XIXe siècle chez le chef militaire Bouamama (1833-1908EC) “[celui qui] arrive à la tête d’une garnison militaire” (Zūzū 2010 : 54, note 1).

6. Conclusion

Certains traits typiques de l’arabe de Tlemcen et des parlers préhilaliens en général étaient déjà en place au XVIe siècle à Tlemcen, chez le scribe de L1535 comme la réfection du paradigme du verbe défectueux ; la construction du génitif à l’aide de *.di*, une réalisation occlusive de *ḏ* et ḍ** et le pronom personnel autonome احنا “nous” connaissait une variante حنن. Ceci prouve que des correspondances de personnages de haut rang en arabe de Tlemcen existent. Pourtant, sous les Zianides, les secrétaires de chancellerie reçoivent une formation spécifique qui comprend un enseignement de la grammaire de l’arabe classique. Or, cette norme ne se reflète pas dans la lettre étudiée. Deux éléments peuvent expliquer le recours à la variété vernaculaire de l’arabe : l’absence d’”un idéal linguistique” classique partagé par le destinataire (hispanophone) et l’expéditeur (arabophone), un style concis est préféré aux formules fleuries et rimées des correspondances de chancellerie, mais alors, comment expliquer le recours à l’arabe classique dans d’autres correspondances ? Ou bien la lettre fut rédigée dans la précipitation (Bən Rəṭwān était en fuite) et l’intervention d’un scribe non professionnel a peut-être été nécessaire. Pour conclure, la lettre de Bən Rəṭwān étudiée ici, comme toutes les correspondances du même type conservées à l’*Archivo general de Simancas* et ailleurs soulèvent, sur le plan linguistique, des questionnements qui méritent l’attention des linguistes tout autant que celle des historiens.

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8 Nous avons pensé qu’il pourrait aussi être issu de la lingua franca, le pidgin à base romane utilisé dans les ports de la Méditerranée jusqu’au XIXe siècle. Cependant, le Dictionnaire de la langue franque se contente de noter que les noms de “mois arabes ne sont pas les mêmes que les nôtres [que ceux des langues romanes]” (s.n. 1831 : 44). Ceci semble indiquer que les mois utilisés à Alger vers 1830 sont les mois de l’Hégire.

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8. Annexes

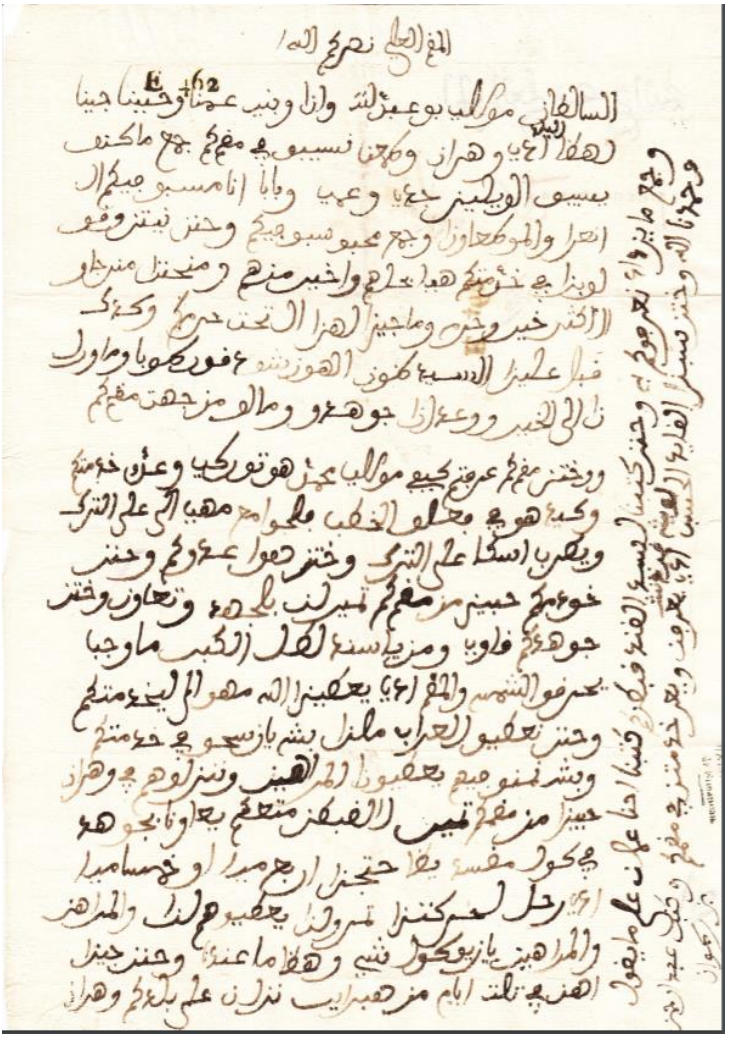

Figure 1 Archivo general de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 462, feuillet n°168

المفم العلي نصركم الله[9]	1
السالطان مولاي بوعبد لله وانا و بني عمنا و حببنا جينا	2
لهظا البلد ادي وهران و طمعنا نسيبو ڢي مفم كم جمع ما كنو	3
يسيبو الويلين جدي و عمي و بابا انا مسبو ڢيكم ال	4
انصرا و الموطعاونا و جمع محبو سبو ڢيكم و حنن نيتن و فو	5
لوبنا ڢي خدمتكم هي ابحلهم واخير منهم و منحننا منرجاو	6
ال اكثر[10] خير و حرم و ما جينا لهنا ال تحت حرمكم و كدك	7
فبل علينا السيد ظون الهونشو د فورطوبا وما ورا ل	8
نا الى الخير و وعد لنا جوهدو و مالو من جهت مفم كم	9
و وختن مفم كم عرڢتم كيف مولاي محمد هو توركي وعدو خدمتكم	10
وكيد هو ڢي ڢعلو الخطب ڢلجوامع مهي الى على الترك	11
ويطرب اسكا على الترك وختن هوا عدوكم و حنن	12
خودمكم حبين من مفم كم تمير لن بالجهد و تعاون وختن	13
جوهدكم فاوي و من ياسند لطل الكبر ما وجب	14
يحرفو الشمس و المفم ادي يعطينا الله مهو الى ليخدمتكم	15
و حنن نعطيو العراب ملنا بش يانسحو[11] ڢي خدمتكم	16
و بش نمنو ڢيهم يعطيونا المراهين و ننزلوهم ڢي وهران	17
حبينا من مفمكم تمير ل الفبطن متعكم يعاونا بجوهد	18
ڢي كول مفسد يظا حتجنا اربع ميا او خمساميا	19
ادي رحل لحركتنا تمرولنا يعطيوهم لنا و المراهن	20
و المراهين يازيوكول شي و هظا ما عندنا وحنن جينا	21
اهن ڢي تلت ايام من هبراير[12] نزلن على بلدكم وهران	22
و جمع ما يزداد نعرڢوكم به و حنن كتبنا لسيد الفند فبطنكم كتبنا احنا عملن علي ما يفول	23
و حمدنا الله وختن سبنا الفايد الحسب لويش فردنش ادي يعرڢن و يعر[13] خدمتن ڢي مفمكم و كتب عبد ارحمن	24
بن رطوان	25

9. Traduction [14]

1/Votre Éminence, que Dieu fait triompher/2/ Le roi Mūlāy Bū-ʕabd-Allah, moi-même, nos parents, nos amis et alliés sommes venus/3/ en cette ville qui

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9 Cette formule d'ouverture est répétée dans l'adresse en plus de la mention suivante en langue romane : *para sumag.* "pour Sa Majesté".

10 Il se peut que le mot comporte une *hamza* en position initiale. Ce serait la seule de la lettre.

11 Faut-il le lire *yanǧḥu* "réussissent" de *NǦḤ* ?

12 *hebrero* dans la traduction contemporaine.

13 Il semblerait que le scribe ait voulu écrire يعرب car cela correspond au mot de la traduction romane.

14 La traduction vers le français est basée sur le texte original en arabe de Tlemcen, sur la traduction ibéro-romane contemporaine établie par l'interprète officiel Gonçalo de Alcántara et éditée en caractères latins modernes par l'historienne Chantal de La Véronne (La Véronne

est la vôtre d'Oran confiants de trouver auprès de vous ce qu'y /4/ trouvaient mes ancêtres. Mon grand-père, mon oncle et mon père n'ont trouvé en vous que /5/ soutien et entraide et tout ce qu'ils désiraient. Et notre souhait/aspiration /6/de vous servir est équivalent s'il n'est supérieur au leur, n'espérant /7/ que plus de grâces et de protection. Nous ne sommes venus ici qu'à la faveur de votre protection et c'est ainsi que /8/ nous reçut le sieur *Don* Alonso de Córdova ne nous témoignant /9/ que des grâces, nous promettant ses forces et sa fortune au nom de votre Majesté. /10/ Et comme sa Majesté le sait, Mūlāy Mḥamməd est turc[15] et ennemi de votre service /11/ pour sûr. Les prêches des mosquées ne se font qu'au nom des Turcs /12/ de même pour la monnaie qu'il bat. Et comme il est votre ennemi et nous /13/ vos serviteurs, nous souhaiterions, votre Majesté, que vous nous envoyiez force et assistance étant donné que /14/ votre pouvoir est grand, et qui s'abrite sous la grande ombre, nulle raison /15/ pour que le soleil le brûle, et le rang que nous donnera Dieu n'est que pour vous servir. /16/ et nous donnerons aux Arabes notre fortune afin qu'ils servent bien votre Majesté /17/ et pour pouvoir leur faire confiance, ils nous donneront les otages et les gages que nous conduirons à Oran /18/ Nous souhaiterions que votre Altesse commande à son capitaine de nous aider avec ses forces /19/ en toute chose au besoin. Nous aurons besoin de quatre cents ou de cinq cents /20/ hommes pour notre expédition/notre bataille et les otages vaudront tout. /21/ C'est ce que nous nous avons [à dire/proposer]. Et nous sommes venus /22/ ici le trois février nous sommes arrivés à votre ville d'Oran /23/ Et nous vous tenons informés de tout. Et nous avons écrit au sieur comte d'Alcaudete, votre capitaine général, nous nous sommes remis à lui /24/ et avons loué Dieu pour avoir trouvé l'honorable *alcaide* Luys de Cardenas, une personne qui nous connaît et connaît notre œuvre au service de Votre Majesté. ʕabd-r-Raḥmān /25/ bən Rəṭwān a écrit [cette lettre]. /26/ Traduit de l'arabe en notre langue romane par Gonçalo de Alcántara, interprète de Votre Majesté.

1983, 86) ainsi que sur celle du linguiste Abdou Elimam qui a reproduit et traduit une partie de la lettre sans l'étudier (Elimam 2004, 231-32).

15 Comprendre : au service du Grand Turc (La Véronne 1983).

El-ʕāmmiyye hiyye-l-fuṣḥā? Analysis of Lexicon and Syntax Strategies of the "Most Eloquent" Arabic for COVID Institutional Communication

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Abstract

This study analyzes the materials circulated during the COVID period by international organizations and local Ministries of Health, particularly in Lebanon and Egypt. The main concern was to achieve effectiveness and make contents widely accessible. The intent of being democratic and accommodating, so to make information easily accepted among the public, led to adopt "registers that signal equality, not distance" (Mejdell 2006: 44). Spoken Arabic was employed as the "most eloquent variety", proving somehow that *el-ʕāmmiyye hiyye-l-fuṣḥā*. In between March-September 2020, institutions demonstrated to know well the nature of dialects, and implemented at best the mechanisms of spoken Arabic (Brustad 2000), relying on:

-individuation and definiteness, object marking and possessive constructions, for referring to something that people already have in mind (Khan 1984, Chafe 1986);

-genitive exponents (Harning 1980), for their pragmatic power, and their capability to convey weight to key passages in a more immediate fashion;

-proximal demonstratives, pre or post-nominal;

-status of verbs, considering possible acquisition or loss of verbal behavior;

-verbal embedding, and the relation between verbs in the sentence;

-verbal meaning by pseudo verbs;

-imperatives and negation for prohibitions;

-information packaging and words order.

The scope here is to retrace the path of past pivotal studies with updated linguistic data from an unforeseen context: the pandemic emergency. "Dialects" proved to be not detrimental at all, but "institutionally" needful for

the eloquence of Arabic. Will dialect effectiveness remain a pure linguistic claim, or will it obtain institutional recognition, attested in the midst of a health crisis?

Keywords: Arabic dialects, institutional communication, indexicality.

1. Preliminary observations

It is well known that the setting, the needs, and the medium play the most significant role in orienting toward specific linguistic choices and attitudes. The unprecedented pandemic experienced in early 2020 represented a case study for many fields of research, linguistics included. It had the power to affect our routines deeply, and partly created a specific setting within our daily life. In fact, private homes changed into the only environment freely accessible, and this happened at the same time and for the same reason worldwide. Such a condition then represented an obligation, where the concept of need became entrenched with the one of must (must not, properly). In parallel, the idea usually associated with "medium" restricted a lot, and coincided almost exclusively with social media and IT technologies, causing some degrees of suffering. The status, indeed, was the same experienced for everyone, by law: distanced and confined. Leveling appeared as a social phenomenon, and equally applied to the rich and the poor, the western and the eastern, the northern and the southern part of the world, of course except in case of violation of legal provisions or countries different policies. Leveling then took place in a wide number of settings, and accommodation distinguished as the only survival strategy, in many contexts. Despite the catastrophe of the event itself and its mournful consequences, it could be respectfully stated that no better example has ever been provided for demonstrating how accommodative behaviors can make the only difference. Linguistically, convergent accommodation was implemented by institutional communication, where the usually cold and detached circulars and press releases left the way to informal, attractive and multimodal information and posts on social media. Such communication tried to engage all the possible skills of the senders and recipients, intended as: listening, straight talking, non-verbal communication, (invitation to) stress management, (attempts for) emotion control. Tools and approaches, then, being two other crucial factors in communication, were renovated and replaced with their updated *ad hoc* alternatives for Covid time. Following the renovation of channels, formats, contents and styles, concrete operations were implemented for spreading the relevant messages to the general public. As a result, pragmatics and linguistics (Reinhart 1981) resulted quite perfectly conjugated, and extremely matched,

in a way that appeared surprising for communication specialists and analysts too.

2. The setting, the needs, the media and main factors at stake in institutional communication

As already mentioned, the special setting was Covid-19 pandemic, which played the so-called compelling effect. As for the major need, it coincided with the one for comprehensibility, effectiveness, and eloquence. The factor trigging everyone's concern and interest was of course health, and its protection. The media that better covered info needs were on-line socials and platforms via YouTube, Facebook, or institutional website in their renovated aspect.

A number of factors justified the adoption of new forms and approaches for communication. First of all, the pandemic played a strong compelling effect; secondly the risk for our health activated our interest and commitment, both in spreading and listening to pieces of information. Never like then institution set their mission to the highest degree possible of comprehensibility for their messages, in this coping with both their guilt (for lack of planning and readiness), fears, and real means depending on their location in the world.

In a way and a field unpredictable for Krashen (2011), the compelling effect in communication was now played by a virus, Covid 19, which pushed us all toward the achievement of high realistic goals: (search for and spread of) information, prevention, protection, and care. In this frame, Spoken Arabic emerged as a communication input strategy, and the suitable linguistic tool was Urban Spoken Arabic (USpA), mostly Egyptian or Lebanese in the materials widely circulated. Comprehensibility was achieved by spoken varieties, and this choice resulted from an institutional evaluation. According to it, in the frame of the global health crises, USpA was deemed to enhance comprehensibility, much better than other varieties. This was the first time for such an institutional acknowledgment, which indirectly celebrates the efforts of many researchers in Arabic applied linguistics, and previous studies on dialectology. The approach adopted in Covid-19 institutional communication was of course functional, not structural at all, and strongly communicative. The point here is that institutions, government, departments and representatives adopted USpA, and not only private citizens or daily speakers as regularly expected.

3. Concrete operations in communication

Evidently, the content of communication was not open to choices, as every piece of information had to deal with the global health crises. Info packaging instead was open to multiple solutions and choices, both for the packaging of nouns and the packaging of discourses. The two displayed specific individuation strategies, adoption of relatives constructs and demonstratives, precise constructions for conditional clauses, use of temporal verbs and temporal embedding, to name just a few categories among the most relevant to USpA. Discourse structures too were built according to two main criteria: mainly per topic in a topic –focus fashion as the structure that best triggers inference (Van Kuppevelt 1996), and secondly per *quaestiones* under discussions–QuD (Benz & Jasinskaja 2017).

3.1. Info packaging

The packaging of info (Brustad 2000) is crucial to the effectiveness of the message. Several elements can be individuated as the ones that carry the major responsibility for such effectiveness: individuation strategies, relatives, demonstratives, conditional clauses, verbal embedding (temporal or modal, e.g. pseudo-verbs), as detailed here below.[1]

1) Object in initial position + resumptive pronoun = topic prominent structure:

ʔarbaʕ ḥagāt ʔasāsiyya niʔdar niʕmilha[2]

ʔintu maʕakum ilkutub w iddafātir[3]

2) Subject-predicate inverted for framing and insisting on the predicate:

iḥna lāzim kullna nuʔʕud b-ilbēt hay lfatra[4]

3) V-S inverted > S-V:

ʔahle byisēʕdūne ənaḍḍef[5]

il-vayrūs ma biyimayyiz[6]

ʔahli dayman biyinṣaḥuni ʔakul kuwayyis[7]

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1 Here and from now on: the adoption of different transliteration conventions is due to the conventions required by the different registers addressed (e.g. Egyptian or Lebanese)

2 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XdYgygpS1g, last access 10/02/2023

3 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CEyHD65zqE, last access 16/01/2023

4 ibidem

5 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lhYAxIc1xUc&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=4&t=0s, last access 20/02/2023

6 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHUPqohBaOs&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=7, last access 25/01/2023

7 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rF_i_A_kajs, last access 08/02/2023

4) Subject and & pronoun play an interactional role or signal a shift of topic:

ʔintu maʕakum[8]

As showed above, pronouns-like *ʔintu* -may have no syntactic relation to the following (Brustad 2000: 333), but play their role at logic level, signaling correferentiality. For what concerns the sentence typology analysis, they remark topic prominent sentences, with anticipatory value (Li and Thompson 1976).

5) *La-*/*li-* is adopted as object marker, without signaling direction or movement, in the cases here analyzed.

In fact: *la-*/*li-* replaces *iḍāfa* and analytic genitive exponents, as a sort of "test of topichood"; it signals the topical focus.

5.1) *La+*/*li+*pronoun is found as resumptive topic marker, and it allows multi-term constructs, parallel phrases, the co-presence of the article:

muxālaṭ li-ḥāla igābiyya[9]

ittaṣil bi-lxaṭṭ issāxin li-wizart iṣṣiḥḥa w issukkān[10]

6) Individuation strategies adopt *ši* for partial specificity, when a certain degree of definiteness is intended, having a specific entity in mind:

əšrab ši soxn mətl-ma naṣṣaḥuna ahle[11]

7) As for relativization of indefinites, it is due to the mechanism of the "individuation's principle", when having in mind something specific, well individuated. *Illi* / *əlli* / *yəlli* are mostly found without a head noun, in non attributive relative clauses (non restrictive):

əlli ḥāsis ḥālo marīḍ[12]

tatanammar ʕala illi biywaggih korona[13]

šaxṣ muṣāb yaʕni illi biyiṭlaʕ maʕa lkoḥḥa[14]

kill illi mnāʕithum ḍaʕīfa[15]

xāyfīn ʕa ḥālna, ʕa yəlli mənḥebbon[16]

A mixture also may show, where indefinites and definite are put one next to the other: the context disambiguates enough, as there is a well know common ground, shared among the sender and the various listeners, like in *ḥad illi, nēs əlli*, etc..

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8 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CEyHD65zqE, last access 16/01/2023

9 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Ut1bwXKn1c, last access 30/01/2023

10 ibidem

11 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lhYAxIc1xUc&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=4&t=0s, last access 20/02/2023

12 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XdYgygpS1g, last access 10/02/2023

13 ibidem

14 ibidem

15 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Ut1bwXKn1c, last access 30/01/2023

16 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHUPqohBaOs&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=7, last access 25/01/2023

8) Demonstratives mostly play a reinvoking function when anaphoric, descriptive and not identificatory, in contrast with true deictics, proximals or distals, with full agreement and perceived as more realistic (Brustad 2000: 116):

kuḥḥu bi-ṭṭarīʔa di[17]
fī nās kitīr bitwaggih ilkorona dilwaʔti[18] *(anaphoric)*
ʕašān niʕdar niwaggih ittaṣarrufāt di[19]
wi lʔaʕrāḍ di[20]
illi taʕallamtu fi-lvideo da[21]
miš heyda-l-ixtibār-əl-ahamm[22]

Post nominal demonstratives are found if compelled by *iḍāfa* or in the Egyptian variety only. Proximals prevail, in the effort of breaking down any distance and being very realistic.

9) Verbs must be observed in terms of tense and time reference:

kēn lēmisa ḥada marīḍ [23]
lāzim minḍull niġsil lidēna kull sāʕa[24]

On one side, aspectualizers or the temporal verbs *kān* or *ṣār* or *ḍall* are widely adopted; on the other markers like *raḥ/ b-* are very frequent and signal something actual, politeness, or a request; the absence of any marker conveys a potential nuance:

raḥ yiḥku maʕa iṭṭabīb[25]
raḥ xabbirkon[26]

10) Two negations occur more often:

- for pseudoverbs *ma*, which embeds temporally and modally:

ma biddna nimraḍ[27]

-for the Egyptian variety *miš*, like in *miš ʕayza*, or for the Lebanese one:

miš bāyin, miš yaʕni[28]

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17 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rF_i_A_kajs, last access 08/02/2023
18 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XdYgygpS1g, last access 10/02/2023
19 ibidem
20 ibidem
21 httpshtttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rF_i_A_kajs, last access 08/02/2023
22 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHUPqohBaOs&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=7, last access 25/01/2023
23 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CEyHD65zqE, last access 16/01/2023
24 ibidem
25 ibidem
26 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lhYAxIc1xUc&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=5, last access 01/02/2023
27 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CEyHD65zqE, last access 16/01/2023
28 ibidem

miš heyda-l-ixtibār-əl-ahamm[29]

10) Conditional sentences present two main alternatives:

-*ʔiza/ʔəza*+pf, preferred in general for hypothesis:

ʔəza kent marīḍ, ma txāf w ma txāfe bass xabbir ʔahlak[30]

w ʔiza lamasnahum lāzim niġsil idēna[31]

ma fi ʕayb wa la ḥayyāʔ ʔəza -l-faḥṣ ṭalʕa ižābiyy[32]

- *ʔiza kān* in the protasis, *b*- in the apodosis. *Kān* has temporal value, while *b*- conveys modal mood and signals intentions or advices with anticipatory, and/or annunciatory value (cfr. modal future in conditional clauses e.g. "*iza btestenni etla3 ma3ak"*, Brustad 2000: 243):

ʔiza kunna mnaʕṭus aw minkuḥḥ lāzim mnibʕad ʕan innās[33] *(modal future).*

Differently when *law* is at stake we find:

-*law+kān*, in the protasis for remarking distance, if not totally counterfactual events; the imperative in the apodosis indicates the procedure to follow:

law kint muxālat la-ḥāla igābiyya aw ẓaharat ʕalēk ʔaʕrāḍ issuʕāl gaff w diʔʔit ittanaffus w irtifāʕ ilḥarāra ittaṣil bi-lxaṭṭ issāxin [34]

-*law+b*- in the protasis for expressing will, intention, in anticipatory or annunciatory fashion, presenting modal future in conditional clauses:

law bitaʕṭasu aw bitkuḥḥu ḥuṭṭu mandīl ʕala buʔʔkum w manāxirkum[35]

-*law* without verb or stative sentences:

law ʕandak aʕrāḍ ilbard istašir iṭṭabīb[36]

wi law ilgaww bārid lāzim nilbis tiʔīl

law bi-maskēt w baʕd bass ʕala ʔalīl ma mənṣūf baʕaḍ[37]

-*law* without perfect, for conveying a sense of expectation or commitment (Brustad 2000, Cowell1964):

aʕmil ʔēh law ana šākik inni muṣāb bi-vayrūs korona?[38]

(the participle in the predicate place signals commitment)

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29 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHUPqohBaOs&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=7, last access 25/01/2023

30 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CEyHD65zqE, last access 16/01/2023

31 ibidem

32 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHUPqohBaOs&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=7, last access 25/01/2023

33 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CEyHD65zqE, last access 16/01/2023

34 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Ut1bwXKn1c, last access 30/01/2023

35 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rF_i_A_kajs, last access 08/02/2023

36 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XdYgygpS1g, last access 10/02/2023

37 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fmE4UMHnNVA&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=5, last access 01/02/2023

38 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XdYgygpS1g, last access 10/02/2023

ṭabiʕiyy ʔənno mənkun xāyfīn ḥattā law-l-ḥayyēt ʕam təržaʕ šwayy šwayy ʕa ṭabiʕet-ha[39]
(expectation)

3.2. Discourse structures

The recurrent format of the materials analyzed in this study presents two main kind of organization:

-per topic, in a topic –focus structure, which triggers inference (Van Kuppevelt 1996).

-per *quaestiones* under discussions (QuD), where the questions serve two purposes: first they activate alternative sets, and secondly indicate what kind of information is contextually useful. Such twofold value provides a link between pragmatic theories that infer implicatures from QUDs, and game and decision theoretic approaches that infer relevance implicature from underlying decision problems (Van Rooij 2003; Benz 2006; Benz & Van Rooij 2007), like those dealing with what to do in case of being affected by the virus, or what to do for prevention and protection. Each sentence in the discourse of an YouTube video, for example, may address the QuD either by answering it or bringing up another question that can help answering that QuD. The linguistic form and the interpretation of a sentence, in turn, may depend on the QuD it addresses. For this reason, the QUD theoretical construct is attractive for Arabic linguistic analysis, since able to connect the linguistic and the pragmatic side of the discourse in a natural way, and since it relies on presupposition and projective behaviors. It is necessary now to retrace the main concepts presented by QuD first proponents in terms of discourse structure, topicality and questioning. According to Von Stutterheim & Klein (1989), a typical structure of a narrative is given by a sequence of questions, subordinated to the overarching interrogative of the whole text like the general interrogative "what happened at a given time t_i?". The reply is subdivided into several responses that focus on different *momenta* like what happened at t_1, t_2, t_3 etc. As a consequence, the QuD structure is considered a bridge between the global structure of discourse and the local characteristics of sentences, such as between the discourse topic and sentence topics presented in the work of Van Kuppevelt (1995). At the same time, the QuD approach works as a global structuring principle in semantics. The idea is that each sentence in the discourse addresses a (often implicit) QuD, either by answering it, or by bringing up another question that can help answering that QuD.

[39] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHUPqohBaOs&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=7, last access 25/01/2023,

It is necessary to pay attention to both the lexical account and the anaphoric one, which derives its strongest motivation from examples involving factive verbs (e.g. to realize, to discover, to know, to regret. etc.) very frequent in the texts analyzed in this paper. The anaphoric account derives its strongest motivation from examples involving definites. The assumption is that presuppositions have to be given in common ground, and topic –focus structures trigger inference (Van Kuppevelt 1995, 1996) and give the sense of general coherence that also enhances effectiveness.

4. Final considerations

Indexicality is the key-concept that allows to draw some final considerations about the adoption of USpA in institutional communication, during the pandemic. It indeed involves the idea of meaning as social meaning: "what is said and the social occasion in which it is being produced." (Blommaert 2005: 11). The context really makes the difference both in terms of linguistic choices and, subsequently, as success in delivering the message. An indexical 'appropriateness-to' and an indexical 'effectiveness-in' context exist and should be evaluated with care (Silverstein 2003: 195). The two include the features of a language that refer directly to the circumstances or context in which an utterance takes place. Different 'orders' of indexicality are possible, intended as levels of pragmatic meaning: from the original meaning to the ones enriched with social connotations and additional interpretation (Agha 2003, Silverstein 2003). Institutions, preferring to address the general public by USpA revealed to conceive language as a complex adaptive system (Jensen 2016), shaped by both social and cognitive factors, and they decided to make use of exemplar models, the ones capable of storing experiences for spreading, in the cases here analyzed, information about protection, prevention and care. In other words, the fact that international organizations and Governments adopted spoken registers means they were aware of how informal Arabic(s) works, and they were also aware about the probabilities of success for such varieties, instead of the formal one. The registers selected represented then exemplar models, deemed to be the most frequently activated either during production or perception, and to "carry the highest weight values" (Drager 2015: 155) for the sake of effectiveness.

As for the effects of the choice made by institutions for their Covid-19 related communication, does it imply a repositioning of spoken Arabic? A number of elements need to be considered in favor of it:

-spoken Arabic has been adopted for better eliciting the ability to decode;

-the "style-scope-context" as recognized use of a given language (Bakhtin 1986) has been acknowledged by institutions;

-indexical function of USpA (context-sensitive) and its effectiveness, have been tested in Covid emergency times, with success;

-indexical linguistic elements (Perry 1997, 2001: 58-62), meaning the ones highly related to context, prevailed like: present tenses, modals adjectives easy to be modified or specified (gradable adjectives), quantifiers, conditionals.

On the basis of the wide adoption of the mentioned features, the most important aspect to consider is that institutional recognition of spoken Arabic first happened; secondly it affirmed as context-sensitive in pandemic times and it played an indexical function, resulting more effective. Consequently, a reorganization of normativity took temporarily place while struggling with health emergencies, and this could lead to further recognition in favor of USpA to be implemented in wider contexts too.

5. Appendix- Samples of the texts analyzed

Egypt, *Fī nās kitīr bitwaggih ilkorona*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XdYgygpS1g >

Fi Maṣr fī nās kitīr bitwaggih ilkorona dilwaʔti sawāʔ ka-marḍa aw ka-farīʔ ṭibbi aw muqaddimī xadamāt ʕāmma biyibḏilu ʔaqṣa guhuduhum ʕalašān yiḥmu lmugtamaʕ kullu. Wa lākin li-lʔasaf bi-sabab ʔillit ilwaʕī wa ʔintišār iššaʕāt w-ilmaʕlumāt il-ġalat fī nās kitīr bitiwṣim w-tatanammar ʕala illi biywaggih korona. xallūna niʕraf ilmaʕlumāt iṣṣaḥḥ ʕašān niʕdar niwaggih ittaṣarrufāt di w niḥmi nafsina wi niḥmīhum.

ʔēh huwwa vayrūs korona lmustagadd w-izzayy biyitniʔil? *Vayrūs korona lmustagaddə huwwa vayrūs biyuṣīb iggihāz ittanaffusi w biyitniʔil ʕan ṭarīʔ irriḏaḏ ittanaffusi iṣṣādir ʕan šaxṣə muṣāb yaʕni illi biyiṭlaʕ maʕa lkuḥḥa aw ilʕaṭs illi biyiwṣal li-šaxṣə salīm ʕan ṭarīʔ ilhawa law huwwa ʕala masāfa ʔurayyiba aw ilʔasṭuḥ ilmulawwaṯa bi-lvayrūs zayy miʔbaḍ ilbāb wi mumkin ilqaḍāʔ ʕala lvayrūs illi ʕala lʔasṭuḥ ilmulawwaṯa bi-masḫaha bi-lklōr aw ilkuḥūl.*

ʔēh hiyya ʔaʕrāḍ vayrūs korona? *ʔaʕrāḍ ilʔiṣāba hiyya lḥumma w ḍiʔʔ ittanaffus w-issuʕāl iggāff w baʕḍ ilmarḍa mumkin yikūn ʕanduhum ʔalām w ʔawgāʕ fi-lgismə kullu aw iḥtiqān fi-lʔanf aw rašḥ aw ʔalam fi-lḥalʔə aw ʔishāl wa-lʔaʕrāḍ di ʕādatan ma bitkūn xafīfa wi bitzīd tadrigiyyan wi liʔinn ilʔaʕrāḍ di mumkin tišbih ʔaʕrāḍ dōr ilbard aw ilinfluenza lʕādiya fa-ṭṭarīʔa lwaḥīda li-taʔkīd ilʔiṣāba hiyya ʔistišārit iṭṭabīb w-ittaḥlīl.*

ṭayyib izzayy niḥmi nafsina min vayrūs korona? *ʔArbaʕ ḥagāt ʔasāsiyya niʔdar niʕmilha li-ḥmāyit nafsina min ilʕadwa. Ġasl ilʔidēn aktar min marra bi-lmayya w-iṣṣabūn li-mudda lā taqillə ʕan ʕišrīn ṯanya aw bi-muṭahhir yaḥtawi ʕala kuḥūl. ilkuḥḥa aw ilʕaṭsə fi mandīl aw fi kumm ilhidūm law ma*

fīš mandīl mutāḥ, lakin miš fi-lʔīd nafsaha wi ttaxalluṣ min ilmandīl fi salla maʔfūla. ilibtiʕād masāfit mitr ʕala lʔaʔall ʕan ʔayyə šaxṣə tiẓhar ʕalēh ʔaʕrāḍ tišbih ʔaʕrāḍ izzukām aw ilinfluenza. ʕadam ilxurūg min ilbēt illa li-ḍḍarūra wi tagannub ilʔamākin izzaḥma qadr ilʔimkān.

aʕmil ʔēh law ana šākik inni muṣāb bi-vayrūs korona? *Law ʕandak ʔaʕrāḍ ilbard istašīr iṭṭabīb, uʔʕud fi-lbēt, tagannab ilixtilāṭ w-ittabiʕ ilʕadāt issalīma ʕašān ma tinʔilš ilmaraḍ li-ḥadd. Amma law ixtalaṭtə bi-ḥāla muʔakkada w ẓaharat ʕalēk ilʔaʕrāḍ, tawāṣal maʕa ʔaʔrab mustašfa ḥummiyyāt fi muḥafẓitak wa humma ḥayʔūmu bi-llāzim, aw ittaṣil bi-lxaṭṭ issāxin li-wizart iṣṣiḥḥa w-issukkān 105 aw 15335 li-maʕrifit ʔamākin ilmustašfayāt.*

Lebanon, *Marḥaba ya ʔaṣḥābe!*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lhYAxIc1xUc&list=PLuN7t8nV8p4ZpA3P4ZqMGJZNMX87VrEKf&index=4&t=0s>

Marḥaba ya ʔaṣḥābe, isme Tālā raḥ xabbir-kon kīf fī-na nəḥmi ḥālna min əl-influenza w vyrūs korona-l-mustažidd. Bə-ʕāylte ʕam nnaḍḍef-əl-bēt kəll yōm w ʔahle byisēʕdūne ənaḍḍef ʔalʕābe kəll fatra. Tunḍīf əl-ʔalʕāb byəʔtol-l-žarasīm yəlli bitxalli-ha nəmrāḍ. ʕam ēkol-ə-mnīḥ w əšrab ši soxn mətl-ma naṣṣaḥūne ahle. Please*, kamān təklo mnīḥ, təšrabu mayy w ʕaṣīr. Xilēl ən-nhār barūḥ ʕa-l-madrase, bi-l-lēl ʕam nēm bakkīr. ən-nōm bakkir biyʔawwi manāʕatna. ʔAṣḥabe* , please, *xabbiru šu ʔəlt əl-kon la-ahəl-kon w ixwet-kon w rifʔat-kon.*

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La violence verbale au Maroc sur les réseaux sociaux : insultes et moqueries sur le web

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Résumé

La violence verbale définie comme l'emploi d'un ensemble de mots et d'attitudes agressives est une pratique assez récurrente sur les réseaux sociaux.

La problématique de la violence verbale a fait l'objet de nombreux travaux de recherche qui s'étendent à travers diverses disciplines (psychologie, anthropologie, pragmatique...) (Auger et al. 2013: 13). Dans le cadre de cette analyse, le phénomène de la violence verbale sera abordé selon une perspective sociolinguistique et discursive.

La violence verbale se réalise à travers les actes de langage principaux : l'insulte, l'ironie et la moquerie. Notre analyse porte sur un corpus en arabe marocain comportant des commentaires produits par des interactants collectés sur les deux réseaux sociaux populaires : Instagram et Facebook. Cette analyse souligne que la violence verbale marque une sorte d'affrontement entre les participants au discours dans leur échange verbal. L'acte de domination est ainsi à visée de provocation de son interlocuteur. Quant au langage utilisé, il est agressif quand il s'agit d'insultes et de qualifications péjoratives observées dans les variétés linguistiques présentes au Maroc. Pourtant, on remarque une baisse de tension quand le locuteur recourt à la moquerie. Tout cela est conditionné par le contexte, le contenu verbal des énoncés ainsi que l'intention des interlocuteurs.

Mots-clés : Violence verbale, rapports de domination, réseaux sociaux, sociolinguistique, arabe marocain.

1. Introduction

La violence verbale, définie comme l'emploi d'un ensemble de mots et d'attitudes visant à dénigrer, humilier et à exercer son emprise sur la victime, est une pratique assez récurrente sur les réseaux sociaux. Il s'agit d'une véritable attaque qui vise à condamner l'autre, à le mépriser et à imposer une dynamique d'emprise sur lui. La violence verbale que nous allons décrire dans cet article se réalise à travers les actes de langage suivants : l'insulte, l'ironie et la moquerie.

Du moment que l'insulte vise à attaquer la personne dans son essence et que la moquerie cherche une représentation méprisante et humiliante de la personne cible voire une déformation de son portrait physique, est-ce que ces deux formes de violence ont un effet identique sur l'insulté(e) ? Autrement dit, est-ce que la violence verbale dans les discours des participants qui s'opère sur un mode poli et modéré sert à atténuer la brutalité des propos émis sur les réseaux sociaux ?

Après avoir présenté le corpus, notre article se propose de réfléchir à partir de trois grands axes. En premier lieu, nous examinerons le sens et l'usage des insultes filiales "fils de pute" et "fille de la bâtardise" à visée de blessure de l'autre. En second lieu, nous verrons les insultes genrées concernant la femme pour passer au final au registre de l'humour avec une moquerie.

2. Le corpus

Notre corpus représente un échantillon du corpus de notre thèse qui est collecté dans le contexte numérique sur les réseaux sociaux Facebook et notamment Instagram produit en arabe marocain. Nous avons choisi de procéder à une méthode d'enquête en ligne compte tenu de la variabilité et la diversité des données textuelles ainsi que la sociabilité caractéristique du web qui facilite la diffusion des messages haineux de façon instantanée et rapide.

L'analyse du corpus s'inscrit ainsi dans une démarche sociolinguistique et d'analyse du discours plus précisément l'ethos en montrant sa fonction dans la constitution d'une prise de parole violente et pour situer l'énonciateur au sein d'un échange numérique. L'essentiel de cet article se penche ainsi sur le fonctionnement de l'insulte et de la moquerie en ligne.

3. L'insulte

L'insulte est une pratique verbale qui s'oppose aux bonnes manières et aux règles de bienséance en s'opérant sur le mode de la transgression langagière.

Hadj Miliani la définit en ces termes : “Il est admis que l’insulte, en dehors de la dépréciation physique et morale, c’est l’acte de nommer ce qui est de l’ordre de l’interdit social et symbolique” (Miliani 2008: 66). Le terme d’insulte garde son sens primitif d’une “attaque” et désigne l’action de blesser l’honneur du destinataire tout en portant atteinte à la face de celui qui la subit.

Elle constitue un acte de langage dépréciatif qui vise l’autre dans l’objectif de le discréditer et de le stigmatiser. En somme, elle “joue sur la négation de l’autre dans son essence” (Moïse 2009: 14). C’est donc une manière d’affirmation de soi à visée de domination.

3.1. L’insulte pour blesser volontairement l’autre en utilisant les expressions “fils de pute” et “fille de la bâtardise”

- nta awld l9ahba 39lt 3lk[1] (memes_tsatya, Instagram)
- *nta ā wŭld əl-qăḥba ʕqəlṭ ʕlīk*[2]
- Toi, fils de pute je me rappelle de toi

A la suite d’une publication humoristique présentant une personne avec la tête d’un "chat" jugeant "stupide" toute personne qui hésite entre étudier à distance ou en présentiel. Il est important de noter que les gens avaient auparavant la possibilité de choisir avant Corona : ce qui a suscité le rire des interactants qui ont ensuite commenté la publication. Les commentaires agressifs ne manquent pas de survenir tout de même. En effet, sans raison préalable, le participant à l’interaction lance une insulte à son interlocuteur en disant qu’il le connaissait déjà. C’est ainsi que l’échange verbal se transforme en un affrontement entre les deux interactants et en une extrême agressivité entre les deux camps où chacun impose sa position de supériorité par rapport à l’autre et veut l’intimider par tous les moyens.

Cette insulte qui cible la sexualité de la femme, postulée comme déviante, est extrêmement fréquente aussi bien au Maroc qu’en France. En considérant la filiation de la maman comme illégitime puisqu’elle est une prostituée, cette insulte est considérée comme étant la plus grave parce qu’elle cible les mœurs des parents plus particulièrement celles de la mère.

3.1.1. L’insulte par ricochet sur la filiation illégitime “fils de pute”

On peut dire que la violence verbale dans cet énoncé est volontaire et intentionnelle à visée de domination et surtout de provocation de la personne cible de l’insulte. En effet, l’interactant s’introduit dans le territoire de sa cible

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1 Pour ce qui concerne le corpus, il est d’abord présenté tel qu’il a été produit par les internautes, soit en lettre latine ou arabe.

2 La transcription du corpus est en italique.

en l'interpellant avec l'expression *toi fils de pute*. Il fait usage d'une qualification péjorative en proférant une insulte grave à son égard *fils de pute*. Il cherche par ce procédé à blesser son interlocuteur, à le renvoyer à la négation de lui-même et à menacer son identité propre. Il aspire également à rabaisser son estime de soi à donner plus de force à ses propos.

Tout cela montre le manque de respect et la non reconnaissance envers la personne cible : ce qui la met ainsi dans une position de bassesse et de médiocrité. En effet, en usant de l'insulte dans cet énoncé, le participant au discours cible son insulté dans l'objectif de le rabaisser, de le discréditer et pour montrer son infériorité. Il emploie l'expression en fin d'énoncé *ʕqəlṭ ʕlīk : je me rappelle de toi* pour montrer son désir de vengeance et peut-être condamner son insulté pour l'erreur qu'il a commise auparavant à son égard.

Cette insulte du type *fils de pute* relève du domaine de la filiation en ayant pour finalité de toucher l'être de l'insulté, sa lignée, son origine et sa vie personnelle tout en attaquant ses points faibles et vulnérables. C'est ainsi que l'insulte filiale *fils de pute* constitue "l'outrage suprême" puisqu'elle touche à la figure de la mère et ne porte pas atteinte à une appartenance quelconque. Claudine Moïse (2002: 48) souligne à ce propos que "les insultes attaquent l'autre par la femme: nique ta mère, fils de pute, ta mère elle…Ainsi, le maniement de l'insulte, pour blesser l'autre et le rabaisser, ne peut être, pour plusieurs raisons, qu'une pratique masculine" (Moïse 2002: 48) qui est l'expression d'une forme de la virilité de l'homme tout "en mettant en scène la mère d'autrui" (Moïse 2002: 49).

Cet exemple montre qu'il s'agit d'une insulte voulue puisque l'interactant a catégorisé directement la personne cible en s'adressant à elle par le moyen d'une apostrophe désignative *toi* suivie de l'usage du vocatif au moyen de la particule *ā* qui introduit le syntagme nominal *wŭld əl-qăḥba*. Il marque la relation de proximité et non de distance entre les interlocuteurs via l'expression *je me rappelle de toi* tout en instaurant néanmoins un rapport de force.

3.1.2. L'insulte : vers un ethos cathartique

L'interactant tend à construire un ethos discursif provocateur et distancié puisqu'il n'est pas l'objet du discours. Il projette dans son propos un ethos assumé en insultant franchement et ouvertement son interlocuteur. Il cherche ainsi à maintenir une sorte de conflictualité et à attiser les tensions en évinçant tout recours à des formulations prudentes à valeur d'atténuation car "l'usage de l'insulte peut être très contrôlé, notamment dans une visée provocatrice, menaçante ou d'humiliation" (Meunier et al. 2019: 86). D'ailleurs, l'expression *je me rappelle de toi* prouve que l'insulteur cherche à franchir le territoire de son insulté et de se faire voir également.

Cette image que projette le participant au discours menace ainsi la connivence et la complicité entre les deux interlocuteurs qui apparemment se connaissent déjà tout en infligeant un coup violent à la personne cible. Dans cet exemple, l'ethos à une valeur cathartique et libératrice puisque l'interactant extériorise un sentiment de rancœur ainsi que sa haine à l'égard de l'autre en l'accablant d'une insulte grave *fils de pute*.

Nous passons ainsi de l'insulte filiale du type "fille de pute" à celle sur "fils de bâtard" en décrivant son contexte d'usage.

- اويلي على بنت الحرام يا ربي فهاد النهار عطيها الكونسير و الشلل و الطاعون على الخنونة هادي تقتل العايلة مسكينة (lalla-lwazera, Instagram)

- *ā wīli ʕla bənṭ lə-ḥrām yā ṛəḇḇī f-hād ən-nhāṛ ʕtīha əl-kunsīṛ ū əš-šalal ū əṭ-ṭāʕūn ʕla əl-xnūna hādi təqtəll-ʕāyla məskīna*

- Oh mon Dieu ! Quelle fille de la bâtardise ! Que Dieu lui donne le cancer, la paralysie et la peste. Pour de la crotte de nez, elle va tabasser la pauvre fille !

Suite à une scène choquante sur le réseau social Instagram plus précisément sur la page *lalla-lwazera*, où circule une vidéo d'une maman qui torture sa fille en présence de sa famille car elle mange ses crottes de nez, les interactants, animés d'une forte colère à l'égard de la mère, ne manquent pas de manifester leur mécontentement.

En effet, malgré les supplications de la petite fille qui a une dizaine d'années, la maman s'est emparée d'une fourchette qu'elle a chauffé à blanc et a brulé le nez de sa fille tout en giflant le visage, le dos et le ventre de la fille et ce, sans l'intervention ni du père ni du frère pour sauver la petite fille de l'emprise de la maman.

Sous le choc, les participants au discours n'ont pas manqué d'extérioriser leur sentiment de haine, d'anxiété, de tristesse et de mépris pour la femme et n'ont pas cessé de lui lancer toutes sortes de qualificatifs péjoratifs tels que : animal, criminelle, fille de la bâtardise, monstre, folle…ainsi que des souhaits de malheur et de malédiction

3.1.3. L'insulte par ricochet "fille de la bâtardise"

Dans ce passage, l'interactant qui n'a pas su contrôler ses émotions est accablé par un sentiment de honte et se trouve en situation d'étonnement face au comportement inhumain de la maman. Il lance ainsi une insulte grave à son encontre qui est *fille de la bâtardise* tout en énumérant une suite de malédictions de maladie (le cancer), de paralysie et de désastre (la peste) qui amplifient encore plus l'effet de l'insulte proférée en premier lieu.

3.1.4. Ethos de l'anti-mère

Dès lors, le participant au discours nous met en face de deux candidates :

1) La petite fille qui a un ethos d'une fille battue qui endosse une position de victime et qui suscite l'empathie et la compassion du public et

2) La maman, une femme violente, qui a une image plutôt négative voire même dévalorisante au fait de son geste inhumain et irresponsable.

L'ethos que construit l'interactant dans cet énoncé est imprégné par un sentiment d'indignation et d'énervement afin de culpabiliser l'insultée (la maman) et retourner la situation contre elle.

Il tend ainsi à promouvoir l'ethos d'une mère illégitime en stigmatisant son comportement dont elle doit rougir puisqu'elle est l'actrice principale de son acte infamant. L'insulte "fille de la bâtardise" contient déjà toute son indignité et est destinée à humilier cette personne qui a manqué son rôle de maman.

L'interactant dresse alors le portrait d'une maman "toxique" qui n'est pas de confiance absolue et qui empoisonne la vie de sa fille en ayant recours à la violence domestique.

3.2. L'insulte à valeur de reproche, d'exclusion, de dénigrement qui cherche à convaincre en utilisant des expressions genrées concernant la femme

- mal zwaj w setra 3ayb ya lbayrat lmaghayarat (MAROC INSOLITE !!!, facebook)

- *māl əz-zwāž ū əs-sətra ʿayb yā əl-bāyṛāṭ əl-məġyāṛāṭ*

- C'est un problème pour vous le mariage et le fait de préserver son honneur ?! Espèces de jalouses et de vieilles filles.

Suite à une publication sur le réseau social Facebook, plus précisément sur une page appelée *MAROC INSOLITE !!!*, une personne annonce sa demande en mariage dans un journal, les participants n'ont pas tardé à se moquer d'elle. L'interactant, envahi par le sentiment de haine et de colère, a réagi à cette situation en employant des termes violents et désobligeants. L'insulte dans cet extrait a une valeur plus ou moins de reproche et de critique.

3.2.1. La qualification péjorative au moyen de l'épithète "jalouses" et de la locution nominale "vieilles filles"

Dans ce passage, la participante au discours s'adresse de façon directe aux personnes visées en ayant recours au vocatif *yā əl-bāyṛāt* (espèces de vieilles filles). Elle veut les atteindre en les attaquant et en les insultant par le moyen de l'adjectif "jalouses" et de l'expression "vieilles filles". Tout cela pour leur

montrer que le mariage n'a rien d'inconvenant et ce, par l'usage de la modalité interrogative *māl əz-zwāž ū əs-sətra* qui se termine par l'interjection *ʕayb* considérée en tant que moyen de contestation et de reproche.

De même, l'usage des outils linguistiques dans cet énoncé vise à accentuer et à accroître la valeur négative de l'insulte.

3.2.2. L'ethos au service de la persuasion

Dans cet exemple, l'interactante construit une image d'elle-même qui est imprégnée d'un caractère transgressif en vue de changer l'opinion des insultées et appelle à une réaction d'adhésion de la part des personnes cibles par le biais de l'usage de l'interpellation qui est corrélée à des propos insultants. En expliquant que le mariage est synonyme de préservation de l'honneur de la personne, la participante au discours cherche à disqualifier sa cible. Pour le faire, elle a recours à des adjectifs dévalorisants et à la mise en scène d'un ethos peu flatteur de l'insultée.

En effet, l'interactante cherche à renvoyer une image de "jalouses" et de "vieilles filles" à laquelle vont s'identifier les personnes cibles car comme le confirme Claudine Moise : "l'insulte renvoie souvent à une image dégradée de la femme" (Moïse 2002: 48) et ajoute que "les femmes répugnent à l'obscénité, à la grossièreté et à l'injure, faits de langue qui se retourneraient en quelque sorte contre elle" (Moïse 2002: 48).

L'insulte dans cet exemple a une fonction d'exutoire pour l'interactante qui a pour intention d'évacuer son sentiment de malaise, de haine et de mépris pour les personnes qui semblent menacer les principes du mariage et briser les normes socialement admises au Maroc en particulier et dans le monde arabe en général. Sa stratégie de l'internaute consiste à mettre en scène un ethos transgressif afin de toucher la sensibilité de la cible, son esprit rationnel et pour l'inciter à changer son positionnement idéologique et sa manière de voir le mariage et ce, par le moyen de l'insulte.

Dans cet exemple, la participante met en exclusion les personnes qui n'adhèrent pas à sa perception du mariage, véhiculée par un langage obscène. L'ethos qu'elle construit l'insulteur est ainsi valorisé tout en renvoyant l'insultée à une certaine marginalité et comme le montre Claudine Moïse : "le mépris prend une tonalité destructive dès qu'il devient le moyen de se valoriser par défaut, mécanisme par lequel rabaisser autrui ou ses valeurs et idéaux devient le moyen de se sentir supérieur aux autres" (Meunier et al. 2019: 90).

- Tefo katebane mose5a oma3adeha ga3e 7ase onota (lalla-lwazera, Instagram)

- *ṯfu katbān mūṣṣxa ū mā ʕaddhā gāʕ ḥəss unūta*

- Merde ! Elle parait sale et n'a aucun caractère féminin.

Suite à la publication d'une photo d'une fille voilée qui se comporte comme des hommes, qui se masculinise pour se mettre à l'égal de l'homme, les interactants n'ont pas tardé à critiquer son comportement inapproprié qui a provoqué chez eux un sentiment de dégoût et de répulsion tout en manifestant un sentiment de mépris pour cette personne en affirmant que cela l'enlaidit davantage.

Dans l'exemple, la saleté et la souillure incarnées par l'adjectif *mūṣṣxa* sont vraisemblablement liées à l'aspect féminin de la personne cible dans l'énoncé *ū mā ʕaddhā gāʕ ḥəss unūta* dans la mesure où féminité évoque aussi bien élégance et charme que pureté (Barontini & Ziamari : 2009). Le participant, en voulant menacer la personne cible dans son identité sociale et sexuelle, exprime ainsi le manque et la privation de sa féminité par le biais de l'utilisation de la négation avec l'usage de l'élément *mā* en association avec *gāʕ* synonyme de jamais ou point dans l'énoncé *ū mā ʕaddhā gāʕ ḥəss unūta*.

3.2.3. L'éthos féminin : une virilité mise à mal

Dans ce passage, l'interactant utilise des insultes dévalorisantes et humiliantes tels que les adjectifs "sale" et "masculine" vis-à-vis de l'insultée pour lui reprocher son manque de féminité. L'ethos est ainsi susceptible de tourner à la défaveur de la personne insultée en la stigmatisant à cause de son comportement déviant d'une jeune fille voilée qui est censée avoir une conduite irréprochable de la vertu et de la modestie.

4. La moquerie

La moquerie est un acte d'humour ayant pour but de vexer autrui et de faire rire au détriment de lui en dévalorisant l'image que la personne est censée avoir. La description dans une moquerie est péjorée voire humiliante. En effet, il s'agit de disqualifier et de critiquer la personne cible via des procédés humoristiques et des jeux de drôlerie à visée satirique.

- hhhhhrasudayr b7al dik l7ba dyal l9hwa likatchufuhaflichharat 9bel mayt7nuha hhhhhhhhhh (samorayofficiell, Instagram)

- *hhhhh ṛāṣu dāyəṛ dīk əl-ḥabba dyāl əl-qahwa əllī kātšūfūhā f-əl-išhāṛāt qbəl mā-ytḥnūha hhhhhhhhhh*

- hhhhh sa tête est comme ce grain de café qu'on voyait dans les publicités avant qu'on ne la broie hhhhhhhhhh

Suite à une photo drôle qui tourne en dérision un homme inconnu sur le réseau social Instagram sur une page nommée *samorayofficiell*, des commentaires gênants et humiliants apparaissent qui sont décrits d'une ironie particulière vis-à-vis de la personne cible.

Dans cet énoncé, l'interactant recourt à la violence verbale via la moquerie afin de tourner en ridicule la personne en question et la dénigrer d'une façon méprisante et désobligeante.

On peut dire que l'homme dans la photo est devenu un objet de railleries et de rires de la part des participants au discours. En effet, l'interactant l'a transfiguré, il l'a dénaturé et l'a déformé de ce qu'il est en réalité en associant sa tête à une chose voire à un objet à savoir un grain de café.

On peut remarquer dans le passage que la moquerie a une valeur affectueuse, elle a une charge atténuée et le ton est plutôt léger. En effet, aucune tension ou rudesse dans les propos du participant n'est exprimée. Il tient ainsi un ethos moqueur qui vise à se railler gentiment de son insulté plutôt que de le blesser.

5. Conclusion

La présente analyse souligne les points suivants :

1) Les insultes par ricochet sur la filiation illégitime produites par le moyen des expressions "fils(e) de pute" et "fils(e) de bâtard" qui sont associées à des tournures exclamatives notamment les souhaits de malédictions ainsi que l'emploi du vocatif, l'injonction et l'énumération cherchent à construire un ethos peu flatteur de la personne cible.

2) Les insultes genrées sous forme d'épithètes : sale, diable, gueularde, animale, stupide, criminelle, salope, immorale… touchent la femme dans son essence et sa dignité en cherchant à la dénigrer et la stigmatiser tout en mettant en scène un ethos aussi bien dévalorisant qu'humiliant de l'insultée.

3) La moquerie sous forme de qualifications et de comparaisons revêt une dimension plutôt humiliante à visée satirique.

L'espace numérique sous ses diverses formes se voit propice à des débordements langagiers qui versent dans l'agressivité allant des insultes violentes et exacerbées aux moqueries se manifestant sur un mode humoristique. En effet, la moquerie et surtout l'insulte sont devenues des pratiques largement partagées sur l'espace numérique.

Ces actes de langage dépréciatifs demeurent constitutifs d'une panoplie d'émotions notamment la colère, le mépris et la haine avec une nette volonté de domination, d'affirmation et d'appropriation du territoire du tiers absent. Cette haine en discours numérique est utilisée de façon spontanée ou bien intentionnelle et peut marquer parfois un lien de connivence et de complicité dans un groupe de pairs tout en ayant une fonction ludique.

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La collecte du corpus s’est faite à partir des sites suivants mis à la disposition du public :

memes_tsatya : https://www.instagram.com/memes_tsatya/, consulté le 21 septembre 2020

lalla-lwazera : https://www.instagram.com/_lalla__lwazera_8/ , consulté le 10 décembre 2020

MAROC INSOLITE !!! : https://www.facebook.com/marocinsolitenet , consulté le 24 décembre 2020

Samorayofficiell : https://www.instagram.com/samoray__officiell/ , consulté le 31 décembre 2020

Pronominal Suffix Variation in Nefza Arabic (Northwest Tunisia)[1]

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Abstract

This paper treats the remarkable variation concerning pronominal suffixes in the hitherto undocumented Northwest Tunisian Bedouin Arabic variety of the Nefza region. Regarding the third person singular suffix, the variants *-ah* ~ *-a* ~ *-ah*^{a} ~ *-u* are used. It is unusual that an Arabic variety uses both *-ah* and *-u*. In the Bedouin variety of Nefza *-ah* is the original suffix used by all speakers, whereas *-u* is a new variant, limited to speakers with a certain sociolinguistic background. The second variation examined in the paper is about the second person plural suffixes *-kum* ~ *-kim* as well as the third person plural suffixes *-hum* ~ *-him*. In the case of these two pronominal suffixes, two factors seem to influence the variation found in Nefza Arabic: the origin of the speakers as well as the phonetic environment. The data show that the *i*-variants (*-kim* and *-him*) are extensively used in the speech of the rural population, and to a lesser extent in the town of Nefza. As for the second factor, it is particularly true for the 3PL suffix, in which the *i*-variant *-him* is triggered by a preceding *-ī-*, whereas *-hum* is the prevalently used variant after other vowels.

Keywords: Tunisian Arabic, Bedouin Arabic, linguistic Variation, pronominal Suffixes.

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1. Introduction

This contribution aims at analysing the variation found in the 3SG.M as well as 2PL and 3PL pronominal suffixes in Nefza Arabic (henceforth NA), while drawing a comparison with other Tunisian Arabic varieties.[2]

The municipality (*muʕtamdīya*) of Nefza is located in Northwest Tunisia, in the North of the Béja governorate, some 150km away from the capital Tunis and 35km from Tabarka. It is an agricultural area with an access to the Mediterranean Sea (iz-Zwā̱raʕ beach). The town of Nefza has a population of about 8,000 inhabitants.

As regards the Arabic variety of the Nefza region, it is a hitherto undescribed variety, and is part of the TUNOCENT project, which examines Northwest and Central Tunisian Bedouin Arabic varieties. Following the classification made by W. Marçais (1950: 214), NA should belong to the northern group of Sulaym-type Tunisian Bedouin Arabic varieties, however not all Sulaym features described by W. Marçais (1950) apply to NA.[3]

This article rests on data collected within the scope of the TUNOCENT project during three field research stays in May 2019, July 2019 and April 2021. The collected data comprise a total of about 31 hours of audio recordings (questionnaires and free speech ethnographic texts). The linguistical corpus has a volume of ~ 50,000 words. The examined localities are the town of Nefza as well as the five surrounding villages Touila, Umm Labid, Zaga, Ouled Bou Ali and Hbeba.

2. 3SG.M pronominal suffix variation

In NA an unusual variation of the 3SG.M pronominal suffix is found. The direct 3SG.M suffix is always *-h* after a vowel, thus the 3SG.M suffix after a consonant is of particular interest. The 3SG.M suffix variants attested in the corpus are *-ah* ~ *-a* ~ *-ah*^{a} ~ *-u*, and the corresponding indirect suffixes *-lah* ~ *-illah* ~ *-la* ~ *-illa* ~ *-lah*^{a} ~ *-lu*.

In the following, each variant is presented, including an insight into their frequency of occurrence in my corpus (2.5) and lastly, the results are put in a wider context within the Tunisian Arabic varieties.

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2 The full overview of pronominal suffixes in NA can be found in the author's PhD thesis, whereas this paper is limited to the variation of 3SG.M, 2PL and 3PL pronominal suffixes. The PhD thesis is written within the scope of the TUNOCENT project and gives a profound description of the phonology and morphology of NA.

3 For more details see the author's PhD thesis. Next to the grammar description, the PhD thesis comprises a reevaluation of W. Marçais' Sulaym–Hilāl division of Tunisian Bedouin-type varieties by investigating the degree of correspondence of the linguistic features listed by W. Marçais as typical for Sulaym-type varieties with actual NA features.

2.1. *-ah*

The most common and originally used 3SG.M suffix variant is *-ah* and its indirect counterparts *-lah* and *-illah*. These variants are attested for speakers of all ages (10-85), origins (rural/urban[4]) and both genders.

The examples below show the direct suffix *-ah* used with nouns (1), prepositions (2) and verbs (3).

(1) UmmLabid2/m/27[5]

iṣ-ṣġīr	*mtāʕ*	*il-ḥallūf*	*ism-**ah***	*fantūš.*
DEF-child	GM	DEF-pig	name-3SG.M	*fantūš*

"The pig's cub is called *fantūš*."

(2) Nefza3/f/23

*ʕind-**ah***	*yā̄sir*	*flūs.*
at-3SG.M	much	money

"He has a lot of money."

(3) Touila1/f/22

*šuft-**ah***	*ilbā̄raḥ.*
see.PFV.1SG-3SG.M	yesterday

"I saw him yesterday."

Moreover, (4) is an example of the indirect suffix *-lah*.

(4) Nefza1/f/50

*yimšū-**l-ah***	*ʿl-dāṛ-**ah**.*
go.IPFV.3PL-to-3SG.M	to-house-3SG.M

"They go (to him) to his house."

2.2. *-a*

The 3SG.M suffix *-a* (and its indirect counterparts *-la* and *-illa*) is a shortened form of the suffix *-ah* and is by far less frequently used than *-ah*.

(5) Nefza6/f/70

qbal	*illi*	*ʕind-**a***	*talʿfza,*	*b-il-ḥaṭrī.*
in_former_times	REL	at-3SG.M	television	with-DEF-battery

"In former times, the one who had a television, (the television worked) with a battery."

Example (6) shows the indirect suffix *-illa* and the direct suffix *-a*:

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4 In this paper the terms "rural" and "urban" are used to distinguish the speech of the rural population of the Nefza region from the speech of the inhabitants of the town of Nefza ("urban"). Both of these varieties are Bedouin Arabic varieties, however the distinction between rural and urban speakers is important for understanding the rapid language change in NA.

5 The example sentences are given including the identifier of the speaker consisting of the information "locality_ordinal.number/gender/age", i.e. the speaker UmmLabid2/m/27 is the second (number "2") speaker from the locality Umm Labid, is male and 27 years old.

(6) Nefza11/f/10

lāzim *yšidd-**ill-a*** *bḷāṣt-**a**.*
must grab.IPFV.3SG.M-to-3SG.M place-3SG.M
"He has to keep his place for him (in a game)."

2.3. *-ah*[a]

The remarkable 3SG.M suffix form *-ah*[a] and its indirect counterpart *-lah*[a] are attested in my corpus for five speakers of various sociolinguistic backgrounds[6] and seem to be a pausal form of the suffix *-ah*.

(7) Nefza1/f/50

*lgēt-**ah**[a] ||* *mrīḏ.*
find.PFV.1SG-3SG.M sick
"I found him sick."

Example (8) shows that it can be ruled out that the form *-ah*[a] might perhaps be a variant of the 3SG.F suffix *-ha*, as the context shows clearly that *-ah*[a] refers to a masculine antecedent:

(8) Nefza1/f/50

iṛ-ṛāžil *mā-yʕayyiṭ-*[i]*š* [i]*l-maṛt-**ah**[a] ||* *b-is*[i]*m-ha*
DEF-man NEG$_1$-call.IPFV.3SG.M-NEG$_2$ to-wife-3SG.M by-name-3SG.F
guddām *bū-h.*
in_front father-3SG.M
"The man does not call his wife by her name in front of his father."

The indirect suffix *-lah*[a] is shown in example (9):

(9) Nefza2/m/55

*gat-**l-ah**[a] ||* *māšya* *l-Bāža.*
say.PFV.3SG.F-to-3SG.M go.AP.SG.F to-Béja
"She told him: 'I am going to Béja.'"

2.4. *-u*

The 3SG.M suffix *-u* and its indirect counterpart *-lu*[7] are mostly used by middle-aged and young urban speakers as well as young female rural speakers (next to *-ah*), whereas young male rural speakers use exclusively *-ah* ~ *-a*.

The intrapersonal variation is observable for the speaker Touila1/f/22, who uses the suffix *-u* in example (10), but *-ah* in example (3):

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6 Nefza1/f/50, Nefza2/m/55, Nefza4/f/21, Nefza6/f/70 and Zaga3/m/61, i.e. urban, rural, young, old, female and male speakers.

7 There is no indirect suffix *-illu* attested in the corpus.

(10) Touila1/f/22

tī	*qišʿrt-**u***	*bēḏa.*
EXCLM	skin-3SG.M	white.SG.F

"His skin is white."

In example (11) the speaker varies between *ʕandu* and *ʕindah* within the same sentence:

(11) Nefza1/f/50

illi	*ʕand-**u***	*flūs*	*yimši*	*w-il*
REL	at-3SG.M	money	go.IPFV.3SG.M	and-REL
*mā-ʕand-**ū**ʷ-š*[8]		*yabqa*	*fi-dāṛ-**u***	*w-illi*
NEG$_1$-at-3SG.M-NEG$_2$		stay.IPFV.3SG.M	in-house-3SG.M	and-REL
*ʕind-**ah***		*ih*	*akkāka*	
at-3SG.M		EXCLM	like_that	
w-baṛṛa		*yimši*	*l-il-wtīl.*	
and-go.SUPL.IMP		go.IPFV.3SG.M	to-DEF-hotel	

"The one who has money goes (on a honeymoon) and who does not have (money) stays at his home and the one who has only some[9] money goes to the hotel."

The speaker Nefza1/f/50 is another example of the intrapersonal variation found for the 3SG.M suffix, as she uses the suffixes *-ah* (example (4)), *-ah*^{a} (examples (7) and (8)) and *-u* (example (11)).

A remarkable NA feature is that the suffix *-u*, which is only one of the variants in the positive form, is the only possible 3SG.M suffix form in the negative form attested in my corpus, i.e. *-ā-* (< *-a(h)*) is not attested in the corpus in the negated form. Examples (12)-(14) show that:

	Positive		Negative
(12)	*taʕʿrf-**ah**.*	>	*mā-taʕʿrf-**ū**-š.*
	know.IPFV.2SG.M-3SG.M		NEG$_1$-know.IPFV.2SG.M-3SG.M-NEG$_2$
	"You know him."		"You do not know him."
(13)	*mšēt-**l-ah**.*	>	*mā-mšēt-**l-ū**-š.*
	go.PFV.1SG-to-3SG.M		NEG$_1$-go.PFV.1SG-to-3SG.M-NEG$_2$
	"I went to him."		"I did not go to him."
(14)	*ʕind-**ah***	>	*mā-ʕind-**ū**-š*
	at-3SG.M		NEG$_1$-at-3SG.M-NEG$_2$
	"he has"		"he does not have"

In contrast to NA, in other Bedouin Arabic varieties, like for instance Douz Arabic, the 3SG.M suffix stays *-ā-* in the negated form: *mā-ʕandā-š* 'he doesn't have" (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 69).

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8 The form *-ūʷ-* results from the diphthongisation of the vowel *ū* in a stressed syllable, which is optional in NA, e.g. *Tūnis* ~ *Tūʷnis* "Tunisia; Tunis".

9 The phrase *akkāka w-baṛṛa* (literally "like that and go!") is used to express that something is not very good or abundant.

2.5. Frequency

For the purpose of illustrating the ratio of usage of each suffix variant, frequently used forms – a preposition, a noun and a verb as well the verb *gāl, ygūl* "to say" in combination with the indirect 3SG.M suffix – are taken as examples:

	-ah	*-ah*^{a}	*-a*	*-u*	
ʕind- ~ ʕand-	23	–	7	18	"at his side; he has"
dāṛ-	9	–	2	5	"his house"
šuft-	9	–	–	1	"I saw him"
gat-l-	11	3	–	4	"she told him"

It is evident from the data above that the most frequently attested 3SG.M suffixes are *-ah* and *-u*, while *-a* is a less frequent variant and *-ah*^{a} seems to be marginal.

Regarding the variants *ʕindah ~ ʕinda ~ ʕindu ~ ʕandu* "he has", the suffix *-ah* is attested 23 times in the corpus, whereas *ʕinda* is attested seven times. Moreover, *ʕindu ~ ʕandu* is attested 18 times in the corpus, however only by middle-aged and young urban speakers as well as young female rural speakers.

Lastly, the data show a tendency of the usage of the modern suffix *-u* with prepositions and nouns rather than verbs, as is also evident from the examples (3) and (10): *šuft**ah*** "I saw him", but *qišʿrt**u*** "his skin", both said by the same speaker.

2.6. Comparative remarks

In order to put the 3SG.M pronominal suffix variation found in NA in a wider geographical context, the following lines describe the *-a(h)* vs. *-u* 3SG.M suffix distribution among Tunisian varieties. W. Marçais (1950: 215) states that the 3SG.M pronominal suffix *-a(h)* is typical for Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties, as opposed to the suffix *-u*, which is found in both Tunisian sedentary and Hilal-type Bedouin varieties.[10] NA is supposed to be a Sulaym-type Bedouin variety according to W. Marçais" classification, however my data show that the sedentary suffix *-u* used in Tunis Arabic (cf. Gibson 2009: 566) holds increasing influence in this variety.

In the South Tunisian Bedouin varieties of Douz and Belkhir exclusively *-a* is used (cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014a: 69 and Ritt-Benmimoun 2013: 298), while *-ah* is used in Ben Gardane Arabic (cf. Mion 2021: 118).

[10] For sedentary varieties see Singer (1984) for Tunis and Talmoudi (1980) for Sousse, and for Hilali-type Bedouin varieties see Ritt-Benmimoun (2014b) for Magsam Trab (Kasserine Governorate), Prinoth (2017) for Sidi Bouzid and Ritt-Benmimoun (2022) for El Kef.

The most similar situation to the one of NA regarding 3SG.M suffix variation is found in the South Tunisian varieties of Djerba and Tozeur. Behnstedt (1998) remarks on the 3SG.M pronominal suffix in Djerba Arabic:

> Eine Leitisoglosse ist die 3.sg.m., die allerdings nicht unproblematisch ist. JÜA [= Jewish Arabic] und IA [= Ibadi Arabic] haben hier *-u* (*rītu* "ich sah ihn"), MA [= Maliki Arabic] hat *-a* (*rīta*). Durch Kontakt und durch den Einfluß des Dialekts von Tunis ist es nun aber zu Mischungen gekommen. So gilt in MAH [= Maliki Arabic of Houmt Souk] *-a* als die ältere Form, *-u* als jüngere, die als Import aus Tunis bezeichnet wurde. Umgekehrt stellt man in IAG [= Ibadi Arabic of Gallāla] *-a* als jüngere und *-u* als ältere fest. (Behnstedt 1998: 74)

Thus, the situation in NA resembles the one in the so-called "Maliki Arabic" of Djerba.[11] In that variety, the suffix *-a* is rather used by the old population and *-u* by the young one.[12]

Moreover, in Tozeur Arabic the variants *-a*, *-ah* and *-u* are attested (cf. Saada 1984: 47). Saada states that the most common 3SG.M pronominal suffix is *-a*, however she remarks that in the Chebbia district of the city of Tozeur it is regularly *-u*.[13]

3. 2PL and 3PL pronominal suffix variation

In NA no gender distinction exists in the plural forms. The second and third person plural pronominal suffixes are the gender-indifferent forms *-kum* ~ *-kim* and *-hum* ~ *-him*.[14] Two factors seem to influence the usage of each of the variants: the origin of the speaker (rural vs. urban) and the phonetic environment.

3.1. Factor "Rural vs. urban"

Generally, the data suggest that the *i*-variants (*-kim* and *-him*) tend to be more rural than the *u*-variants. While both *i*- and *u*-variants are attested in both

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11 The "Maliki Arabic" stands in contrast to the "Ibadi Arabic", which is the older dialect layer of Djerba.

12 It would be interesting to examine if the trend towards *-u* in this variety has evolved even further over the last few decades since this paper was written.

13 Saada (1984: 47) names the examples *fumma* "his mouth" and *ražla* "his foot" with the suffix *-a*, however *yiddah* "his hand" and *ṛāṣah* "his head" with the suffix *-ah* and states that the suffix *-u* is in use as well, as in *ṣuġrtu* "his childhood".

14 The short vowel *i* in the forms *-kim* and *-him* is often realised as the allophone *ə*: [-kəm], [-həm].

Nefza and the rural localities, the *i*-variants show a lower frequency of usage in the town of Nefza.

Examples (15) and (16) show the 2PL suffix *-kim* used by middle-aged and old rural speakers, while the 3PL suffix *-him* in example (17) is used by a young female urban speaker:

(15) Touila3/f/50

biš *ⁱnžū* *nsažžlū-l-**kim*** *asā̄mī-**kim**.*
FUT come.IPFV.1PL register. IPFV.1PL-to-2PL names-2PL
"We will come and register your names."

(16) Zaga1/f/83

intōma *ʕind-**kim*** *lōġa* *w-naḥna* *ʕind-na* *lōġa.*
2PL at-2PL language and-1PL at-1PL language
"You have a language and we have a language."

(17) Nefza11/f/10

*klā̄-**him*** *il-kull.*
eat.PFV.3SG.M-3PL DEF-all
"He ate all of them."

According to my data, the factor of origin seems to be crucial for the 2PL suffix variation *-kum* ~ *-kim* and to a lesser extent for the 3PL variation *-hum* ~ *-him*.

3.2. Factor "Phonetic environment"

The NA corpus comprises some examples indicating a tendency to a phonologically conditioned distribution of the *i*- and *u*-variants.

Example (18) illustrates the influence of the vowel of the preceding syllable on the 2PL suffix. This speaker uses the *u*-variant after *ā̄*, while she uses the *i*-variant after *ī* in the preceding syllable:

(18) Nefza6/f/70

ṛuddu *bā̄l-**kum**, ṛā-m*[15] *surrā̄g žā̄yīn-**kim**!*
turn.IMP.PLmind-2PLPTCL-3PLthievescome.AP.PL-2PL
"Be careful, thiefs are coming to you!"

Example (19) shows that a preceding *-ī-* triggers *-him* in the speech of this speaker, whereas the 3PL suffix after the short vowel *i* in the preceding syllable is *-hum*:

(19) Nefza2/m/55

*tnaḏḏif-**hum*** *w-tirḥī-**him*** *w-tġaṛbil-**hum**.*
clean.IPFV.3SG.F-3PLand-grind.IPFV.3SG.F-3PLand-sift.IPFV.3SG.F-3PL
"She cleans them, grinds them and sifts them."

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15 The 3PL suffix *-hum* ~ *-him* is abbreviated to *-m* with the particle *ṛā-*.

The following table shows the distribution of the 2PL and 3PL suffix variants in the corpus after a preceding vowel[16] as well as after a vowel in a closed syllable (*CiCC*- and *CāC*-).

	-kum	*-kim*	*-hum*	*-him*
-ī-	12	2	13	22
-ā-	5	–	3	–
-ā̄-	1	1	9	3
-ū-	6	1	13	–
-ō-	–	–	9	1
ʕind-	7	5	17	5
dāṛ-	13	2	9	7

The data indicate that the 3PL suffix *-him* is much more frequent after *-ī-* than *-hum*. In contrast to *-ī-*, all other vowels tend to trigger the *u*-variants. No instances of the *i*-variants *-kum* and *-hum* are attested after a preceding *-ā-*. Similarly, they are rare after *-ā̄-*, *-ū-* and *-ō-*.

The last two items of the table show the influence of a vowel in a preceding closed syllable. As opposed to lexems ending in *-ā-*, which block *i*-variants, the vowel *ā* in a preceding closed syllable seems to allow *i*-variants: *dāṛhum* ~ *dāṛhim* "their house".[17]

3.3. Comparative remarks

In most Tunisian varieties the 2PL and 3PL suffixes *-kum* and *-hum* are used.[18] Ritt-Benmimoun (2021) states the following on the 2PL and 3PL pronominal suffixes in Northwest, Central and South Tunisian Bedouin varieties investigated in the TUNOCENT project, including the forms *-kim* and *-him*, which had hitherto been undocumented for Tunisian Arabic varieties:

> They [the 2PL and 3PL suffixes] are, not unexpectedly, mainly *-kum* and *-hum* […]. In the north (in Twila[19], Ain Draham, Tbainia, and Tabarka) and in the governorate of Gafsa (in Talah, Bir Saad, and Gafsa), however, *-him* and *-kim* are more frequent. […] There are no

[16] Due to the syllable structure, only long vowels are possible before a suffix, i.e. short vowels are lengthened before a suffix.

[17] The described observations are general tendencies, however the rural middle-aged speaker UmmLabid3/m/51 is an exception, as he exclusively uses *i*-variants *-kim* and *-him*, regardless of the phonetic environment.

[18] For instance, Mateur Arabic (cf. Mion 2014: 67), Tunis Arabic (cf. Gibson 2009: 566) and Sidi Bouzid Arabic (cf. Prinoth 2017: 60).

[19] The locality Touila in the Nefza region.

traces of these suffixes in Siliana; and we find only their scattered use in Kef […]. (Ritt-Benmimoun 2021: 43)

Furthermore, the 2PL/3PL suffix variation *-kum* ~ *-kəm* and *-hum* ~ *-həm* is attested for the Northeast Algerian sedentary variety of Jijel (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956: 443). Concerning the *ə*-variants in that variety, the suffix *-həm* is more frequently used than *-kəm*, which corresponds to the data of the NA corpus.

4. Conclusion

Regarding the 3SG.M pronominal suffix variation *-a(h)* ~ *-u*, the data show that next to the original variant *-ah*, the suffix *-u* is a modern variant, predominantly used by young female speakers, as well as middle-aged urban speakers. The 3SG.M suffix variation is one of the examples of the influence of the prestigious Tunis Arabic on NA, which is strongest among young female speakers.

NA is part of an *ah*-island[20] surrounded by *u*-varieties – both Hilal-type Bedouin varieties and the prestigious sedentary varieties. This geographic position of NA seems to slowly influence the NA 3SG.M suffix towards *-u*. The shift towards *-u* is already complete in the negations, where only *-ū-* is used: *mā-ʕind**ū**-š*.

In respect of the suffix variation found in the 2PL and 3PL forms *-kum* ~ *-kim* and *-hum* ~ *-him*, the data indicate a tendency of the usage of *i*-variants – and the 2PL variant *-kim* in particular – by rural rather than urban speakers. On the other hand, the 3PL suffix variant *-him* seems to be prevalently triggered by the phonetic environment, especially a preceding long vowel *ī*.

5. Glossing abbreviations:

AP	active participle
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
EXCLM	exclamative
FUT	future marker
GM	genitive marker
IMP	imperative
IPFV	imperfective

[20] The northern group of Tunisian Sulaym-type Bedouin varieties (cf. W. Marçais 1950: 214) is meant, which are found in the Northwest Tunisian governorates of Jendouba and Béja.

NEG	negation
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PROX	proximal
PTCL	particle
REL	relative pronoun
SG.F	singular feminine
SG.M	singular masculine
SUPL	suppletive

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La *ẓṛayga* dans la presse humoristique mauritanienne

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Résumé

La presse humoristique mauritanienne utilise le style d´écriture nommé *ẓṛayga* qui est un mélange de codes Arabe Standard-Ḥassāniyya. Ce mélange de codes s´avère être du Ḥassāniyya "standardisé" inséré dans un texte syntaxiquement en arabe standard ce qui en fait un *continuum* aux frontières floues sauf pour ceux qui connaisssent les deux variétés. Les lecteurs mauritaniens ḥassānophones reconnaissent bien les mots et expressions du ḥassāniyya "standardisé" au sein de ces textes de presse et les trouvent amusants. La *ẓṛayga* est ainsi devenue une stratégie de communication réussie. L´objectif de cet article est de présenter la *ẓṛayga*, née de la diglossie, qui a d´abord et pendant un certain temps été utilisée dans la poésie dialectale et qui, depuis la dernière décennie du siècle dernier, a acquis son propre cachet en devenant un style journalistique utilisé notamment, mais pas exclusivement, par les journaux "*ašṭārī* " (qu´est-ce qu´il y a de nouveau ?) et "*ši ilūḥ v-ši* (du coq à l´âne), très apprécié d´un large public de lecteurs. Afin d´analyser les principales caractéristiques de ce genre, nous avons sélectionné plusieurs textes des deux journaux. Cet échantillon nous a permis de constater la grande utilité de ce travail journalistique qui, en plus de divertir les lecteurs, a sauvé un important corpus de la tradition orale ḥassān et a fait connaître les variantes régionales du vocabulaire de ce dialecte au niveau national.

Mots-clés : Dialecte Ḥassāniyya, mélange de codes Arabe Standard et Ḥassāniyya, diglossie arabe, presse humoristique mauritanienne.

1. Introduction

L´utilisation de l´alternance codique dans des contextes diglossiques ne se limite pas à la communication quotidienne, mais s´étend à d´autres formes d´expression telles que la littérature. Ce fait est observé dans le monde arabe à un degré plus ou moins élevé, comme le confirme le cas du ḥassāniyya par son utilisation ancienne dans la poésie. Mais ce phénomène est allé encore plus loin puisqu´il s´est étendu à la presse écrite. Nous parlons ici d´un type particulier d´alternance codique, la *ẓṛaga*, qui a connu une évolution historique avant de devenir un style adopté par la presse humoristique écrite.

Nous commencerons cet article en définissant le genre *ẓṛayga*, qui est un phénomène qui existait en tant que pratique couramment utilisée par les enseignants dans les établissements d´enseignement traditionnels, appelés *Maḥaḍṛa*, pour expliquer en arabe dialectal les connaissances formulées en arabe classique qu´ils transmettaient à leurs disciples. Compte tenu du fait qu´il s´agit d´une pratique relativement ancienne, nous évoquerons brièvement ses principales étapes. Nous nous concentrerons sur la dernière étape, qui a débuté dans les années 1990 et qui a été marquée par l´utilisation de ce genre par certains journaux, notamment "*ašṭārī*" (qu´est-ce qu´il y a de nouveau ?) et "*ši ilūḥ v-ši* (du coq à l´âne). Comme échantillon du genre dans cette dernière étape, nous étudierons quelques textes tirés de ces journaux et nous ferons quelques réflexions en guise de conclusions.

2. Définition du genre *Ẓṛayga*

Le mot *ẓṛayga* désigne "une sorte de troisième genre, de genre intermédiaire dont l´exemple le plus intéressant est ce qu´on a appelé dans la *gabla* (*sic*) : *azraygat W. Aḥmad Yûra* (le ʻmélangeʼ de W. Aḥmad Yûra)" (Miské 1970: 65) ; c´est un "mélange de deux langues –par exemple français et arabe ou arabe classique et ḥassāniyya" (Taine-Cheikh 1988-1998: 880).

A partir du sens "mélange" qu´a ce mot, nous pouvons proposer la définition pratique suivante : *ẓṛayga* est un style mixte où sont mélangés l´arabe classique et le dialecte ḥassāniyya pour des raisons didactiques (enseignement de la *maḥaḍṛa*), stylistiques (poésie populaire) ou même humoristiques (presse). Le texte principal peut être en ḥassāniyya avec des éléments d´arabe standard, ou un texte en arabe standard dans lequel sont insérés des mots ou des expressions du ḥassāniyya.

Il est à noter que c´est surtout ce dernier phénomène qui a été le plus utilisé par la presse humoristique et, pour cette raison, celui qui nous intéresse ici.

3. Bref aperçu et évolution historique du genre *ẓṛayga*[1]

Malgré la rareté des documents et des recherches historiques sur ce sujet, nous pouvons dire qu´il existe un lien évident entre ce genre et la manière dont les enseignants des écoles traditionnelles, appelées *Maḥaḍṛa* (école traditionnelle mauritanienne), expliquaient les textes à leurs élèves. Cela consistait à ce que, lorsque l´élève avait appris par cœur un texte, par exemple un poème des *muʕallaqāt* (poèmes preislamiques), l´enseignant lui expliquait et traduisait ledit texte en ḥassāniyya ; et c´est ainsi qu´est né le genre qui fait l´objet de ce travail. Cela dit, il est entendu que le genre *ẓṛayga* est certainement ancien puisque nous disposons d´échantillons allant du XVIIIème siècle à nos jours. Ce genre mixte (arabe classique et ḥassāniyya) a connu, tout au long de cette période, une évolution qui peut être résumée comme suit :

1) Naissance de la *ẓṛayga* au sein de l´institution appelée *Maḥaḍṛa*, probablement avant le XVIIIème siècle. Ce type, qui est le plus ancien, a été appelé la *ẓṛayga* de la *Maḥaḍṛa* et continue à exister dans ces institutions de nos jours.

2) Au XVIIIème siècle, il y a eu l´émergence du genre de poésie appelé *ẓṛayga*, dont l´initiateur était le poète Abū Bakrin Wuld Muḥammadun Wuld Bubakkar (XVIII^{ême} siècle)[2]. Bien qu´il soit le précurseur du genre, cet auteur, en raison de la faible diffusion de son œuvre, a été largement dépassé et presque effacé par un autre grand poète du XIXe et du début du XXe siècle, à savoir Mḥammad Wuld Aḥmad Yūṛa (1844-1923)[3]. Depuis ses débuts jusqu´à aujourd´hui, plusieurs poètes ont utilisé ce genre de poésie.

3) Mais le grand changement dans le genre s´est produit à la fin du XX^{ême} siècle, lorsqu´il a commencé à être utilisé comme genre journalistique ; c´est la *ẓṛayga* moderne utilisée par la presse humoristique mauritanienne.

4. La Ẓrayga moderne : *Ẓrayga* de *Šṭāri* (qu´est-ce qu´il y a de nouveau ?) et *Ẓṛayga* de *Ši ilūḥ v-ši* (du coq à l´âne)

Depuis les années1990, une nouvelle variété de *ẓṛayga* a émergé, appelée *ẓṛaygət Šṭāri* "*ẓṛayga* du journal *Šṭāri*" ou *ẓṛaygət Ši ilūḥ v-ši* "*ẓṛayga* du journal *du coq à l´âne*". Nous trouvons tout au long des pages de ces deux journaux des textes écrits en un langage syntaxiquement rédigé en Arabe Standard, mais contenant, du point de vue morphologique et lexique, de

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1 V. Ould Mohamed Baba (2017).

2 Abû Bakran W. Muḥammadun w. Bubakkar, dit Bakkan a fait l´objet d´un diplôme d´études supérieures présenté à Paris en 1960 par Mohamadan Ould Babah, sous le titre "La vie et l´œuvre du poète Abu Bakren ad-Daymânî al-Fadilî aš-Shinqîṭî (*sic*)", (Miské 1970: 66).

3 Sur la biographie de ce poète et érudit, v. Ould Mohamed Baba (2017: 237-38).

nombreux emprunts du dialecte ḥassāniyya. L´arabe standard joue le rôle de moule pour l´ensemble des textes. Les lecteurs mauritaniens ḥassānophones reconnaissent bien les mots et expressions dialectales qu´ils lisent dans cette presse et ils y voient une sorte d´assaisonnement qui donne une saveur particulière aux textes et qui, par conséquent, encourage à les lire et à les commenter avec plaisir. C´est précisément cet aspect qui est le point fort de cette nouvelle modalité de presse.

Les journalistes fondateurs de *Šṭāri* et *Ši ilūḥ v-ši* avaient créé les journaux afin, selon eux, d´avoir un espace pour critiquer la politique avec humour. Dès sa création, la presse humoristique a su attirer un lectorat de plus en plus nombreux qui lui a permis de se faire une place dans la presse. Elle a réussi à imposer son nouveau style, la *ẓṛayga*, qui a ainsi acquis le droit de cité en tant que style journalistique. Sous leurs différentes rubriques[4], les journaux critiquent la situation politique, économique et l´action du gouvernement d´une part et, d´autre part, ils analysent les maux sociaux d´un point de vue humoristique mais sans perdre de vue les objectifs de la presse : informer, éduquer, sensibiliser et divertir ; ce dernier étant pour eux l´objectif premier et primordial pour atteindre les trois autres restants.

Du point de vue linguistique, les textes ont une apparence "normale", mais un lecteur qui ne connaît pas le ḥassāniyya ne comprendra pas le sens complet, surtout parce que les mots et expressions alternés sont généralement très locaux : les noms de choses locales (dont beaucoup sont d´origine zénaga[5]), contes, proverbes populaires, personnages traditionnels, symboles culturels, légendes, devinettes, c´est-à-dire les différentes manifestations de la tradition orale qui, dans une large mesure, constituent l´essentiel du patrimoine immatériel ḥassān. Ce fait limite donc le lectorat de ces journaux à ceux qui connaissent le dialecte, ce qui ne semble pas inquiéter les responsables de ces journaux qui reconnaissent avoir un lectorat régulier.

5. Échantillon de textes de *Šṭāri* et de *Ši ilūḥ v-ši*

Après avoir contextualisé le sujet et esquissé l´aspect historique, nous pouvons maintenant examiner quelques exemples de textes afin de voir de

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4 Parmi les titres des rubriques du journal *ši ilūḥ v-ši*, nous pouvons citer les suivants : **أسواغة** *āswāǵa* "commérages, rumeurs, calomnies" ; **اتشعشيع** *tšaʕšīʕ* "les Gens Chic" ; **تبراع** *təbṛāʕ* "poème composé d´un seule vers divisé en deux hémistiches, réservé aux femmes" ; **مجحود** *mažḥūd* "confidentiel " (une rubrique pour mettre en lumière tout ce qui ne doit pas être laissé sous silence) et **اغن** *ǵna* "poésie", etc.

5 Zénaga ou *klām ẓnāga*, "langue berbère de Mauritanie".

manière pratique comment ce genre mixte est structuré. L´échantillon est tiré des deux journaux "*ašṭārī* " et "*ši ilūḥ v-ši*[6].

Texte nº 1 : texte du journal *Šṭāri* على رقبة عالم

قال لنا رجل موثوق ان سفير موريتانيا في الكويت (.....) رجل مظبوط وإطار في الحزب الجمهوري عدل له الكثير من الشغلة في ولاية لبراكنة وخصوصا مقاطعة مقطع لحجار وأنه يتمتع بسمعة جيدة وثقة كبيرة لدى جميع السياسيين في الولاية وأنه يعدل شغلة دبلوماسية مظبوطة لـتمتين العلاقة بين الكويت وموريتانيا ونحن كتبنا هذه الرواية وجعلناها على رقبة الرجل الذي قالها لنا وخرجنا منها سالمين.

Commentaires des mots ḥassāniyya alternés

L´expression *ʕalà raqabati ʕālim* : C´est la standardisation du ḥassāniyya : *ʕla ṛagbət ʕāləm* qui est la première partie du dicton : *dīr-ha ʕla ṛagbət ʕāləm u-mṛəg-ha sāləm* "La *fatwà* doit être attribuée à un savant (*faqīh*) afin que vous soyez libre de ses conséquences". Dans ce contexte, le savant (*faqīh*) représente la source de l´information, qui serait responsable de sa véracité, et non les journalistes qui l´ont publiée.

موثوق *mawṯūq* "sérieux ; fiable, digne de foi".

مظبوط *maḏbūṭ* "sérieux".

عدل *ʕaddal* "il a fait".

الشغلة *əš-šaġla* "le travail". En arabe standard, on utiliserait plutôt *al-ʕamal*

يعدل الشغلة *iʕaddal əš-šaġla* "il fait le tâche ; il accomplit la tâche". On observe ici que l´expression est standardisée comme suit : *yuʕaddilu aš-šaġla(ta)*.

تمتين *tamtīn* "renforcement". En arabe standard, on utiliserait plutôt, dans ce cas, *taqwiya*. L´expression est standardisée comme suit : *li-tamtīni* …

الرواية *ər-rwāya* "le récit".

على رقبة C´est la standardisation du ḥassāniyya : *ʕla ṛagbət* cette expression a ici le sens de "sous la responsabilité de …", v. *supra*.

خرجنا سالمين[7] *mṛagna sālmīn* "nous sommes sortis indemnes". Cette expression est la deuxième partie du dicton susmentionné.

Traduction du texte

Un homme de confiance nous a dit que l´ambassadeur de la Mauritanie au Koweït (...) est un homme sérieux et un cadre du Parti Républicain pour lequel il a fait beaucoup de travail dans la Wilāya de lə-Bṛākna notamment le Département de Magṭaʕ lə-Ḥžāṛ. Il jouit d´une bonne réputation et d´une grande confiance parmi tous les politiciens de la Wilāya et il travaille sérieusement pour renforcer les relations entre le Koweït et la Mauritanie.

6 Ce journal dispose d´une version en ligne depuis 2010.

7 *mṛagna* est le verbe en ḥassāniyya utilisé dans le dicton, mais il a été remplacé par le verbe en arabe standard *xaraǧnā*.

Nous, nous avons écrit ce récit et l´avons attribuée à (placé sous la responsabilité de) l´homme qui nous l´a dit et nous en sommes sortis indemnes.

Texte nº 2 : texte du journal *Šṭāri*

Resumé du discours du Leader National ملخص لخطابات القيادة الوطنية

في زيارته لولاية تكانت عدل فخامة القيادة الوطنية عدة خطابات في عواصم المقاطعات شكر فيها السكان على الإستقبال الحار وطلب منهم أن يعرفوا شيئا للأرز الموريتاني وأن يسيحوا في الداخل بدلا من السياحة في الخارج وطلب منهم أن يهتموا بالانترنت والصناعة وقال لهم إن اللعب مهم خصوصا اصرند المعروفة بـظامت وكذلك الكرة القديمة وقال إن الإقتصاد بخير وحسيان البترول واحد منها مجهور والاخر متباركون معها النصارى .....

وقال فخامة القيادة الوطنية إن الدولة عندها الفظة والمشاريع امعرمة والاحوال تتحسن ولكن لابد من تعلم الانترنت والكرة القديمة وظامت والارز الموريتاني فهذه الاشياء نعرف نحن اهل جريدة اشطاري أنه بدونها لا تتحقق التنمية الإقتصادية والإجتماعية

Commentaires des mots ḥassāniyya alternés

عدل خطابات *ʕaddal xiṭābāt* (litt.: il a fait des discours) "il a prononcé des discours".

أن يعرفوا شيئا للأرز *ʔan yaʕrifū šayʔan li-l-uruz* : le texte ḥassānī standardisé correspond à l´expression ***yaʕəṛvu ši l-…*** "accorder de l´importance à … ; être attentif à …; garder quelque chose".

اصرند *ṣṛand* "variété de jeu de dames"[8].

ظامت *ḍāmət* synonyme de *ṣṛand*, (v. *supra*).

حسيان *ḥəsyān* (pl. de *ḥāsi*) "des puits". (il s´agit dans ce cas des puits de pétrole).

متباركون معها *mətbārkīn mʕā-h* "ils s´en occupent ; ils sont en train de le faire".

مجهور *mažhūṛ* "creusé jusqu´à atteindre l´eau (pour un puits)". (Jusqu´à atteindre le pétrole dans ce cas).

يعدل *iʕaddal* "il fait".

الفظة *al-vaḍḍa* "l´argent". Il s´agit du nom du métal (en arabe classique : *fiḍḍa*) utilisé pour la monnaie en général.

المشاريع امعرمة *al-mašārīʕ mʕaṛma* "les projets sont nombreux ; il y a beaucoup de projets".

Traduction du texte

Au cours de sa visite dans la Wilāya de Tagānət (centre de la Mauritanie), Son Excellence le Leader National a prononcé plusieurs discours dans les capitales provinciales, dans lesquels il a remercié la population pour l´accueil chaleureux et lui a demandé d´accorder de l´importance au riz mauritanien et de faire le tourisme à l´interieur du pays au lieu de le faire à l´étranger. Il leur a demandé de s´occuper d´Internet et de l´industrie. Il leur a dit que les jeux

8 V. Taine-Cheikh (1988-1998: 1222) ; et Ould Mohamed Baba (2019: 169).

(traditionnels) sont importants, notamment *ṣṛand* également connu sous le nom de *ḍāmət* et le football traditionnel. Il a souligné que l´économie se porte bien et que (le forage de) puits de pétrole progresse ; que l´exploitation de l´un d´eux a comencé et le second puits est pris en charge par les Nazaréens (les européens).

Son Excellence le Leader National a assuré que l´état a le budget ; a de nombreux projets et que la situation s´améliore, mais il faut apprendre l´internet, le football traditionnel, et faire attention au riz mauritanien. Nous, la rédaction du journal *Šṭāri* nous savons que, sans ces questions, il n´y a pas de développement économique ou social.

Texte nº 3 : texte du journal *Šṭāri*

قلنا لها [للحكومة] هذا لا يصح الحاكم لا يمكن أن يصبح وزيرا لان الحاكم يحكم الترابات والوزير يصرط الميزانيات ونحن لا يمكن ان نأخذ دكتورا بيطريا وندخله في مصنع للمعلوماتية ونقول له عدل لنا "ماكنتوشا" من هذا الحديد لان التخصصات مختلفة تماما...

.... ويقال انه [الحاكم] لا يسرق أبدا. انحازت عليه الدولة وطيرته بعيدا وهذا ليس جميلا وخاصة أن الوزراء الذين صرطوا وزاراتهم لم تطيرهم الدولة حتى الآن...

.... اما السيد أ .... - ياويله - فهذا حقه لان الدولة بطلت عليه وقته في الرقابة والرقابة في بلادنا محمودة لله.

ونحن نطلب من الحكومة اذا ارادت ان تعدل تعديلا جديدا ان توخظه علينا حتى نعرف لها ما يصح وما لا يصح حتى لا تظل تأخذ إنسانا من مكان وتديره في مكان آخر وبعد فترة تأخذه وترده على المكان الأول فهذا لا يمكن أن تستمر عليه الحكومة.

Commentaires des mots ḥassāniyya alternés

هذا لا يصح expression: *hāḏa mā iṣəḥḥ* “ça c´est impossible”.

الحاكم *əl-ḥākəm* signifie “préfet ; maire d´un arrondissement”.

الترابات *ət-tṛābāt* (mot pluriel, singulier : *tṛāb* ; litt.: “terrains”). Les préfets sont les administrateurs du territoire ; ils décident de la concession des terrains de la commune.

يصرط *yəṣṛəṭ* “il avale”. Utilisé comme euphémisme pour dire “voler”.

الحديد *lə-ḥdīd* “la ferraille ; le fer”.

انحازت عليه الدولة وطيرته بعيدا *ḥāzət ʕlī-h əd-dawla u-ṭayyaṛt-u bʕīd* “l´État l´a pris et l´a balancé loin”. (le verbe *ṭayyaṛ* “lancer dans l´air, balancer”).

صرطوا *ṣaṛṭu* “ils ont avalé (sens figuré: “ils ont volé”)”.

تطيرهم *tṭayyaṛ-həm* “elle les balance” ; (du verbe : *ṭayyaṛ* “lancer dans l´air, balancer”).

ياويله *ya-wayl-u* (litt.: “malheur à lui!”) Expression utilisée géneralement dans le sens de “le pauvre !”.

بطلت عليه وقته *baṭṭlət ʕlī-h waqt-u* “elle lui a fait perdre son temps”.

توخظه علينا *twaxḏ-ūh ʕlī-na* (litt.: qu´il le fasse passer par nous), “qu´il nous consulte à ce sujet”.

يصح *iṣəḥḥ* “c´est possible”.

تديره *tdīr-u* “elle le met”. (verbe : *dār*, *idīr* “mettre”).

تردة *tṛədd-u* “elle le rend à sa place”. (verbe : *ṛadd*, *iṛədd* “rendre quelque chose à sa place”).

محمودة لله *maḥmūda l-aḷḷa* (litt.: nous en rémercions Dieu), expression utilisée pour dire : “mediocre ; insuffisant, etc.”.

Traduction du texte

Nous lui avons dit (au gouvernement) que ceci n´est pas possible, que le préfet ne peut pas devenir ministre parce que le préfet gère les terrains et le ministre avale les budgets. Nous ne pouvons pas prendre un docteur vétérinaire, le mettre dans un laboratoire d´informatique et lui dire de nous fabriquer un mackintosh avec cette ferraille parce que les spécialités sont différentes.

On dit qu´il (le préfet) ne vole jamais. L´État est venu et l´a balancé loin et ça ce n´est pas correct, surtout que les ministres qui ont avalé (le budget de) leurs ministères, l´État ne les a pas balancés jusqu´à présent…

Quant à monsieur A. ... - le pauvre !- ça c´est son droit parce que l´État lui a fait perdre son temps à l´Inspection (de l´État) et celle-ci est médiocre[9] dans notre pays.

Nous demandons au gouvernement qu´au cas où il va procéder à un remaniement nouveau qu´il nous consulte pour qu´on lui dise ce qui est possible et ce qui ne l´est pas afin qu´il ne continue pas à prendre quelqu´un d´un poste et le mettre dans un autre et après un temps le rendre à sa place. Le gouvernement ne peut pas continuer d´agir de cette manière.

Texte nº 4 : texte du journal *Ši ilūḥ v-ši*

(ش إلوح أفش) تعلن عن مسابقة في شعر (اژريگة) الساخر

تعلن (ش إلوح أفش) على بركة الله لقرائها الكرام عن إجراء مسابقة أدبية في شعر (اژريگة) الساخر ، إحياء لهذا الجنس الشعري الفريد ، وسيحصل الفائزون على جوائز معتبرة إذا ما أخذنا في عين الإعتبار أن الفظة هذا الزمن زغب اللسان.

أما عن شروط المشاركة في هذه المسابقة فنبشركم بأننا لن نشقيكم بمُستخرجات من اعلان الميلاد ، ولا شهادة زواج ، فما عليكم سوى ارسال نص من شعر (اژريگة) لا يتجاوز عشرين بيتا على العنوان chilouhefchi@gmail.com

Commentaire des mots ḥassāniyya alternés

اژريگه *əʒ̣-ẓṛayga* : C´est la variété poétique du genre qui fait l´objet du présent article.

الفظة *al-vaḍḍa* “l´ argent”.

زغب اللسان *zġab əl-lsān* (litt:. les poils de la langue), expression qui veut dire “quelque chose de trop rare ou d´inexistant”.

9 Cela doit signifier “il n´y a rien à avaler dedans”.

نشقبكم *nšaqqbū-kum* (verbe : *šaqqab*, *išaqqab* “importuner, agacer, embêter”).

Traduction du texte : *Ši ilūḥ v-ši* annonce la tenue d´un concours en poésie *ẓṛayga* satirique

Ši ilūḥ v-ši (du coq à l´âne), avec la bénédiction d´Allah, annonce à ses lecteurs la tenue d´un concours littéraire en poésie *ẓṛayga* satirique, afin de faire revivre ce genre poétique unique. Les gagnants recevront des prix importants si l´on tient compte du fait que l´argent se fait désormais rare (litt:. comme les poils de la langue).

Quant aux conditions de participation à ce concours, nous vous annonçons que nous ne vous importunerons pas en vous demandant des extraits d´actes de naissance, ni d´actes de mariage. Il vous suffira d´envoyer un texte de poésie *ẓṛayga* ne dépassant pas vingt lignes à l´adresse chilouhefchi@gmail.com

Texte nº 5 : texte du journal *Ši ilūḥ v-ši*

قال الوزير السابق، ك..... إن التسجيلات التي صمكتنا بـها الصحافة يومها هذا وقالت إنها بصوت فخامة القيادة الوطنية كذبة حمراء، وأعتبر الوزير ك..... ، وهو لحلاح مستقل، إن مكائن النصارى لم يعد يغلبها تقليد وفبركة صوت زيد وأعمر، مطالبا بأن لا يُكبر أحد تلك التسيجلات عن قدرها، وأن يعرف الجميع أنها من صنع خصوم الرئيس.

Commentaires des mots ḥassāniyya alternés

صمكتنا بها *ṣmakna b-* “assourdir ; faire bourdonner (les oreilles)”.

كذبة حمراء *kəḏba ḥamṛa* (litt.: un mansonge rouge) “un grand mansonge”.

لحلاح *laḥlāḥ* “flatteur”.

مكائن النصارى *makāʔin an-naṣārā* “les machines des Nazaréens (les européens)”.

يغلبها “être impossible pour quelqu´un”.

لا يُكبر أحد تلك التسيجلات عن قدرها C´est l´expression ḥassān : *mā ikabbaṛ ḥadd ši ʕan gədd-u* “personne ne doit donner plus d´importance à … ; personne ne doit exagérer …”.

Traduction du texte

L´ancien ministre K. ….. a déclaré, au sujet des enregistrements dont l´opposition n´a pas cessé de parler (Litt.: avec lesquels elle nous a assourdi) ces derniers temps et de dire qu´il s´agit de la voix du président, que ceci est un grand mansonge. Le ministre K…, qui est un flatteur indépendant, a estimé qu´il n´est plus impossible pour les machines des Nazaréens d´imiter et de falsifier la voix de Zayd et ʕAmr.

Il a demandé de ne plus donner davantage d´importance à ces enregistrements et que tout le monde sache que c´est l´œuvre des opposants au président.

Texte nº 6 : texte du journal *Štāri*

Titre **:** La HAPA **… l´** entonnoir d´*ādrəs* **محكن آدرس .. الهابا**

هذه الهيشة التي يقال لها "الهابا" عرفنا لكم أنها هي محكن آدرس الذي سامعون به فهي لا تعدل إلا شيئا قاله لها المخزن فهي أيدينها ليست متفاصلة في هذه الروايات المتكولة عليها مثل تنظيم الصحافة وإعطاء التراخيص وتحرير الفضاءات وذلك النوع فيومنا هذا وزعت شيئا من التراخيص للتلفزيونات والإذاعات ولكنها حلف لها أهل المخزن بالحرام وجامع الأيمان على أن لا تعطي ترخيصا إلا لأحد مفلوش فيه من طرف المخزن وذلك النوع

Commentaires des mots ḥassāniyya alternés

al-hābā HAPA (Haute Autorité de la Presse et de l´Audiovisuel).

الهيشة *al-hayša* “le machin”.

يقال لها *yəngāl-lha* “qui est appelé”.

عرفنا لكم *ʕṛavnā-lkəm* “nous nous sommes rendus compte que …”.

محكن آدرس *məḥgən ādrəs* “entonnoir d´*ādrəs* (*Commifora africana*)”. Veut dire : “qui n´a pas voix au chapitre”. Du proverbe ḥassān : *məḥgən ādrəs mā imayyal u-lā iʕādəl* “Comme l´entonnoir d´*ādrəs* : il n´équilibre ni ne déséquilibre (les colis transportés)”.

سامعون به *əlli sāmʕīn bī-h* “dont vous entendez parler”.

تعدل *tʕaddal* “elle fait”.

المخزن *əl-maxzan* “l´État ; l´Administration”.

أيدينها ليست متفاصلة في en ḥassāniyya : *aydī-ha mā-hum mətvāṣlīn v-…* “qui n´est pas clair sur les choses ; qui n´ a pas dextérité”.

الروايات *ar-rwāyāt* (pl. de *rwāya*) “histoire, conte, fable”. Au pluriel, le mot veut dire “choses ; sujets”.

المتكولة عليها *l- matkūla ʕlī-ha* “(les sujets) qui lui sont confiés”.

وذلك النوع *u-ḏāk ən-nawʕ* (litt.: et ce genre-là) souvent utilisé pour dire “et ainsi de suite, etc.”.

فيومنا هذا *v-yawmna hāḏa* “récemment”.

حلف لها بالحرام وجامع الأيمان على *ḥlav l-ha b-lə-ḥṛām u-žāməʕ l-aymān ʕla …* “il a juré de répudier sa femme et par tous les serments que …”.

مفلوش فيه *mavlūš vī-h* “quelqu´un de confiance”.

Traduction du texte

Ce machin qui s´appele l´ “HAPA” nous avons su que c´est l´ entonnoir d´ *ādrəs* (*Commifora africana*) dont on entend parler. Elle ne fait que ce que l´Administration lui dit et n´est pas habile sur les choses qui lui ont été confiées comme l´organisation du journalisme, l´octroi des licences, la libération de l´espace, etc. Récemment, elle a distribué des licences pour des télévisions et des radios, mais l´Administration a juré par la répudiation et “tous les serments” qu´elle ne lui permet pas de donner des licences sauf à quelqu´un de confiance de l´Administration, etc.

6. Conclusions

Le corpus analysé permet de faire les observations suivantes en guise de conclusion.

1) Les éditeurs des journaux écrits en *ẓṛayga* moderne ont réussi à créer leur propre espace parmi les journaux. En plus d´atteindre leurs objectifs d´information, ces journaux ont contribué à la préservation d´une grande partie du patrimoine oral mauritanien (noms des objets anciens, proverbes, devinettes, noms des jeux traditionnels, etc.) menacé de disparition parce qu´il n´a pas encore été transféré à l´écrit, à l´exception d´une petite partie. En ce sens, le travail effectué est louable et permet à la nouvelle génération de renouer avec le patrimoine oral de leurs aînés tout en lisant l´actualité décrite de manière ludique et humoristique.

2) Les journaux *Šṭāri* et *Ši ilūḥ v-ši* ont progressivement introduit des mots et des expressions ḥassān anciens et moins anciens appartenant aux différentes Wilāyas du pays, ce qui permet une meilleure connaissance des variétés lexicales regionales du dialecte.

3) L´étude et l´analyse d´un corpus plus large de la *ẓṛayga* de *Šṭāri* et *Ši ilūḥ v-ši* pourrait aider à mieux comprendre ce style, qui ne cessera pas d´être utilisé car il s´est avéré très apprécié par les lecteurs et a même augmenté le lectorat de la presse dans le pays.

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How Solid Is the Linguistic Basis for the Bedouin-Sedentary Split Used in the Classification of Arabic Dialects?[1]

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Abstract

The linguistic dichotomy of Bedouin- and sedentary-type dialects is still commonplace in Arabic dialectology, though very few specific linguistic features have been identified hitherto as typically "Bedouin" or, more precisely, "Bedouin-only" features. For this reason and due to the major socio-demographic changes of the last decades, some scholars in the field have recently questioned the usefulness of the Bedouin-sedentary dichotomy. This paper does not claim to provide a final answer to the question posed in the title, which touches on one of the most complex issues in the linguistic history of Arabic. Rather, it aims to discuss some basic questions related to the Bedouin-sedentary split and recommends looking for further features that might help to linguistically underpin it. In particular, it questions the usefulness of "linguistic conservatism" as a major criterion for characterizing Bedouin Arabic. And it proposes to look for more "Bedouin-only" or "sedentary-only" features, for bundles of features that connect certain dialects, and for hitherto unconsidered features such as prosody. Although the commonly assumed dichotomy alone cannot provide answers to many of the open questions regarding the history of spoken Arabic, it may prove useful as a heuristic tool for explaining certain peculiarities of Arabic dialects. In particular, it may help us to understand the role nomadic people with their large-scale mobility play in the development of Arabic.

[1] This article was written in the frame of the *WIBARAB* project conducted within the ERC Advanced Grant 101020127 (2021-2026). The acronym stands for: What is bedouin-type Arabic? – The linguistic and socio-historical realities behind the millennia-old dichotomous concept of nomadic and sedentary people in the Middle East and North Africa.

Keywords: Bedouin-type Arabic, classification, historical dialectology.

Nomadic people and, in particular, Arabic-speaking Bedouins have played a great political and economic role in the MENA region for millennia. Nomads were an integral part of society alongside the two sedentary elements urbanites and farmers. The dichotomy between nomadic and sedentary people is not a Western invention or a concept of Orientalism, but instead is deeply rooted in Arabic tradition itself. One prime example is the great historian Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), who in his famous *Muqaddima* provided valuable analysis of the important role that Bedouins played in the history of North Africa, which also includes linguistic considerations (cf. Bagatin 2019). The works of Arab grammarians frequently revolve around the topic of the pureness of Bedouin speech, and there has been ongoing metalinguistic discourse on the actual or alleged *faṣāḥa* of nomads in comparison with town dwellers (see Larcher 2018). But the question remains: Is the difference in lifestyle genuinely reflected in the history and the present of the Arabic language? Most Arabic dialectologists would likely say that it is.

The overwhelming majority of dialect descriptions provide information on whether the dialect investigated is of the Bedouin or sedentary type. According to recent findings, the nomad-sedentary division is, in fact, attested for the oldest-known strata of the language going back to the 3rd and 4th centuries CE. However, the features that separated the two groups in pre-Islamic times differed completely from what is found in later stages of Arabic (for details, see Al-Jallad 2019: 26-27).

All medieval Arabic sources confirm that the hallmark of Bedouin speech is the voiced articulation of the letter *qāf.* The book *an-Nuǧūm az-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, written by the Egyptian historian Ibn Taġrībirdī in the 15th century, contains a passage which illustrates the importance of dialectal differences as using the phonological feature peculiar of Bedouin dialects can, in the worst case, even cost you your life (see Behnstedt & Woidich (2005: 42) for more details). In 1298, during the reign of Sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, there was a revolt in Upper Egypt that was largely led by Bedouin tribes. To detect the insurgents, the Mamluk soldiers apparently used the still well-known *qāf*: *gāf* shibboleth, as one can read in his work (1963: 8/153, lines 25):

> ووسّطوا نحوَ عشرةِ آلافِ رجُلٍ، وما مِنْهم إلا مَن أخذوا مالَهُ وسبَوْا حريمَهُ، فكان إذا اِدّعى أحدٌ مِنْهم أنّهُ حضريٌ قيل لهُ: قُلْ ‹دقيق› فإنْ قال: ‹دقيق› بالكاف لغاتِ العرب قُتِلَ وإنْ قال: بالقاف المعْهُودةِ أُطْلِقَ.

> They placed around 10,000 men in the middle and there was not one of them whose property they had not taken and whose wives they had not captured. And if one of them claimed to be a villager (*ḥaḍarī*), it was said to him, “Say ‘flour’!” And if he said *dagīg* with *gāf* like the

Bedouins, he was killed, and if he said *daqīq* with the standard *qāf*, he was released.

Before examining further features that could be used to linguistically corroborate the Bedouin-sedentary split, it is worth recalling the historical circumstances which may have led to this dichotomy:

From the late 7th century onwards, the centres of the Arab-Islamic Empires were situated in Syria and Iraq. In these and other newly conquered regions, it is very likely that contact with non-Arabs as well as intra-Arabic dialect mixing had an enormous impact on spoken Arabic. In spite of the importance of the holy cities Mecca and Medina, the Arabian Peninsula quickly became a politically and culturally peripheral region – a fact which went hand in hand with low linguistic dynamics. Even if we doubt the stories about the impeccable language skills of the Bedouins and do not take it for granted that they still used the *iʕrāb*, these stories suggest that in the 9th century, for instance, the speech of urbanites in Iraq differed significantly from that of the nomads of Arabia. In the late 10th century, overpopulation and a certain weakness of the central powers prompted new waves of migration from the Peninsula toward the north and the west. This led to the assumption that the contemporary Bedouin dialects spoken outside of Arabia proper primarily originate from this second wave of Arabization (Versteegh 2010: 543). Although this is not unlikely, it should be viewed against the backdrop of two important facts:

(1) The speech of those Bedouins who left Arabia in the 10th century was *not* homogenous and, at least in the Mashreq, successive waves out of Arabia continued into the 19th century.[2]

(2) More than a millennium of contact and mixing with sedentary varieties and other Bedouin varieties led to many changes and differences among today's Bedouin-type dialects.

Under the premise that we accept the development outlined above as a useful working hypothesis, the question arises: which linguistic features do all the dialects with the "Bedouin" label have in common? Is there something like a pan-Bedouin-type Arabic, or do regional varieties obtain the "Bedouin" label more or less only by contrast to their adjacent sedentary varieties?

Still, as in the times of Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Taġrībirdī, a voiced reflex of **q* is considered to be *the* linguistic feature shared by all Bedouin-type dialects, from Oman to Mauritania. Here the question arises of how useful a dichotomy based on just one phonological feature is. And, moreover, a feature that is now also found in the dialects of sedentary communities. To

[2] Just to cite a few examples, the Mzēnah tribe migrated from the Hejaz to Sinai in the 17th century, there was large-scale migration of Šammar and ʕAnaza tribes from Central Arabia to Syria and Iraq in the early 19th century, and parts of the Rašāyda moved from NW-Arabia to Sudan and Eritrea in the mid-19th century.

put it bluntly, today the Mamluk soldiers would kill many farmers who have always been *ḥaḍarī*s, but who have adopted the voiced pronunciation from the Bedouins.

Therefore, it is no wonder that, in recent years, several well-known scholars in the field have questioned the usefulness of the Bedouin-sedentary split. Jonathan Owens (2006: 28) trenchantly remarks that dichotomies "tend to become hinges upon which more is hung than they can hold". Critique has also been expressed by Janet Watson (2011: 869), Enam Al-Wer & Bruno Herin (2011: 67, fn. 11), Adam Benkato (2019) and Alexander Magidow (2021: 2 and 21f).

One point of contention is the fact that the term "Bedouin" is too imprecise and often no longer reflects social realities, as many Bedouin speakers now live in large cities. No doubt, there are terminological challenges which should not be ignored. We have to consider that terms such as *ʕarab* and *badu* have always had diverse connotations (Leder 2015; Sowayan 2005). Although there are certainly many speakers who still regard themselves and their speech as of Bedouin origin, there are also many others who would dispute the labelling of their speech as "Bedouin" by dialectologists.

In search for a better understanding of the Bedouin-sedentary dichotomy, several scholars have made attempts to specify the linguistic features characteristic of Bedouin dialects beyond the voiced pronunciation of **q*. Among the most important studies are Caubet 2000; Rosenhouse 1984; 2006; Behnstedt & Woidich 2005: 42-43; Behnstedt 2008; Vicente 2008: 50-53; De Jong 2011: 316-323; and al-Sharkawi 2014. Rosenhouse 2006 made rudimentary efforts to establish a pan-Bedouin vocabulary. All these efforts have been criticized, arguing that most of the features listed apply only to certain subgroups of Bedouin-type dialects and/or are also found in dialects regarded as sedentary (cf. e.g. Stewart 2017: 186-191 and Watson 2011: 870).

General statements often emphasize the archaic character of the Bedouin dialects (e.g. Rosenhouse 2006: 259). Magidow harshly criticizes this stereotype and maintains that "Bedouin dialects do not appear to be more or less innovative in general than sedentary dialects" (2021: 4). Whether this holds true when a large number of features are compared remains to be seen. In any case, labels like traditional, archaic and conservative need to be used with caution due, in particular, to the following issues:

(1) What is the yardstick for maintaining a dialect's conservativeness? Considering Classical Arabic alone has its pitfalls, as there are numerous traits in the dialects which are more archaic than the standardized Classical Language (see Pat-El 2017).

(2) Even more problematic is the fact that shared retentions are generally less suitable for classifications than shared innovations.

The approach employed by al-Sharkawi offers an example of the latter. For him, the main feature of distinction is the existence or loss of gender in the plural of verbs and pronouns: "There is a group of modern dialects of Arabic that have a morphological gender distinction […] on 2nd and 3rd persons plural, on verbs of all tenses and on other morphological word classes. […] These will be called Bedouin dialects. Other dialects do not have a morphological distinction between plural feminine and plural masculine nouns, verbs and/or any other word classes. […] These dialects are called here urban dialects" (al-Sharkawi 2014: 88).

But because all the ancestors of today's dialects had gender distinction in plural, that is not a solid criterion for classification. *Table 1* reveals that the loss of gender in the plural is not uncommon in Bedouin dialects and – what is even more striking – is not entirely absent from typical sedentary dialects.

No gender distinction	Gender distinction
Āl Murra Bedouins in Arabia	Most Yemeni dialects
W-Algerian Bedouin dialects	All Omani dialects
Moroccan Bedouin dialects	Rural dialects of W-Syria
Ḥassāniyya Bedouin dialect[3]	Rural Palestinian dialects

Table 1: Gender distinction in the plural of verbs and pronouns.

The same problem arises with another frequently cited feature, the retention of the interdental consonants (*Table 2*).

Interdentals lost	Interdentals preserved
Some Algerian Bedouin dialects	Mardin group in Anatolia
Some Moroccan Bedouin dialects	Rural Palestinian dialects
	Tunisian sedentary dialects[4]

Table 2: Loss and retention of the interdental fricatives **ḏ*, **ṯ* and **ḏ̣*.

Another frequently listed feature is the apophonic passive of the type *šīl* "it was carried" vs *šāl* "he carried" (as in the Najdi dialects). But this, too, fails to fulfil the criteria for a typical Bedouin feature – first, because it is also preserved in a handful of sedentary dialects, particularly in Oman, and second, because it is also absent from a majority of the Bedouin-type dialects outside of Arabia.

3 Gender distinction is retained only in personal pronouns.

4 With the exception of Mahdiyya.

At this point, one might wonder if we were looking for the wrong features or if there are no features beyond the famous *gāf* which underpin the Bedouin-sedentary split. It is a fact that hitherto classifications in Arabic dialectology have been primarily based on phonological features, whereas syntax and lexicon have rarely been included. Hence, there may be additional features out there that could answer our question.

A potential syntactical candidate worth looking at is *agreement*, as it exhibits immense variation in spoken Arabic. However, according to Bettega & D'Anna in their recently published book, "It should be clear, by now, that the ["Bedouin vs Sedentary" distinction] is not very revealing when it comes to agreement-related phenomena." (Bettega & D'Anna 2023: 374) In his thesis on the grammaticalization of future markers, genitive exponents and other phenomena, Leddy-Cecere (2018: 216) claims that the "fundamental distinction between Bedouin and sedentary varieties […] does not seem to be reflected by any discernible signal in the CIG [Contact-Induced Grammaticalization] data".

Hence, one may come to the conclusion that it is a futile effort to look for further features. This is very likely true when we expect to find single features that are present in *all* Bedouin dialects and absent from *all* sedentary varieties. The following three categories of features seem to be more promising in the search for a more robust linguistic foundation for the Bedouin-sedentary dichotomy:

(1) Features which are innovations or reflexes of ancient features that are not attested in Classical Arabic and which are either "Bedouin-only" or "sedentary-only".
(2) Bundles of features that connect certain dialects, both Bedouin and sedentary.
(3) Features that virtually no one has yet looked at systematically because they are generally understudied in Arabic dialects.

As for (1), there seem to be multiple Bedouin-only features, perhaps with slight exceptions, that can be explained by intra-dialectal contact, including:

- The re-syllabification of *CaCaCv patterns: Šāwi: **zalama* > *zlime* "man", **raqaba* > *rguḍa* "neck".
- The famous *gahawa* syndrome: Šāwi: **yaḥkī* > *yḥači* "he talks", **ʔaḥmar* > **ʔḥamar* > *ḥamar* "red".
- Stress on the definite article, e.g. Negev: *ál-ġanam* "the sheep", *án-nada* "the dew" (Shawarbah 2012: 103).
- 3SG.M pronoun suffix *-a(h)*, e.g. Khuzestan: *bēt-a* "his house" (Leitner 2022: 79).
- The plural pattern $C_1C_2vC_3C_3$: Šāwi: *kuḥḥa* PL *kḥaḥḥ* "kibbe"; Upper Egypt: *šanṭa* PL *šnaṭṭ* "bag"; S-Tunisia: *nugba* PL *ngubb* "pit".

- Adnominal linker *tanwīn*, e.g. Šāwi: *ghawt-in muṛṛa* “bitter coffee”.[5]

Such features can be contrasted with “sedentary-only” features, including:

- The clitic doubling in object marking and periphrastic genitives, e.g. Damascus (Grotzfeld 1964: 127).

ḍall	*yʕazzəb-ha*	*la-mart-o*
DURATIVE	harass.IPFV.3SG.M-3SG.F	to-wife-3SG.M

“He kept on harassing his wife.”

At least for N-Africa, it is stated that the “commonly used division of Maghrebi dialects into “Hilalian” varieties, brought by Bedouins starting from 11th, and “pre-Hilalian” varieties, mainly in and around urban areas […], turns out to be rather useful in understanding the distribution of clitic doubling in this region.” (Souag 2017: 56). To the best of my knowledge, there is no Bedouin-type dialect in the east that exhibits this feature.[6]

- The syntagm noun-article-adjective, which is an ancient trace in Arabic (Stokes 2020) that has generally survived only in few lexical items in the Bedouin dialects,[7] therefore indirectly proving that they are not necessarily more conservative than the sedentary dialects. Here is an example from Cilician Arabic (Procházka 2022: 545):

bayt	*il-ʕatīq*
house	DEF-old

“the old house”

As for (2), the clustering of linguistic features for the detection of historical connections is more promising than the pure enumeration of non-related single features. This also applies to the common geographical classification of Arabic dialects (for the example of Syria, cf. (Berlinches Ramos 2019)). The following list of bundles of features is preliminary and needs to be re-examined in detail, but can hopefully shed some light on how “feature clusters” can contribute to a better understanding of dialect groups.

- Those Bedouin-type dialects of the Gulf, S-Iraq (Basra) and Khuzestan which demonstrate the shift **ǧ* > *y* all have *-a* as the 3SG.M pronoun suffix.

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5 This feature is not Bedouin-only, as it is also attested in Central Asia, Omani *ḥaḍari* dialects, and in Andalusi Arabic. It is mentioned here because the overwhelming majority of dialects exhibiting *tanwīn* are of the Bedouin-type today.

6 It is revealing that when my colleague Ana Iriarte Díez asked “Bedouin” speakers in Beirut’s Karantīna district during her fieldwork in 2022 how they express *mbēriḥ šəft-o la-mḥammad* in their dialects, they kept on answering *mbāriḥ šuft mḥimmad* “Yesterday I saw Muhammad.”

7 There are some exceptions, particularly in the Harran-Urfa region in Turkey (Procházka 2022: 545) and in the dialect of the Yāl Saʕad in Oman (Al Sheyadi 2021: 205-6). In the first case, it could be an innovation, and in the second, the influence of the nearby sedentary varieties.

- Dialects exhibiting the unusual shift *ġ > *q*, however, have a 3SG.M pronoun suffix *-u*. Apart from some Algerian dialects, such a combination is only found in the Šāwi dialects of N-Syria and the Ḥassāniyya dialect of Mauritania – i.e. two regions which could hardly be any farther apart geographically.
- The latter two dialects also share the rare grammaticalization of *gām* as an imperfective marker (Hanitsch 2019: 272) and the use of the reflexes of **qabaḍ* in the sense of "then" (Taine-Cheikh 2018: 304). Such correlations may help establish relationships between specific Bedouin-type dialects.
- Lexical similarities between geographically distant dialects like those of the Syrian Desert, Tunisia and Mauritania may also help us to understand original relationships. In both the Syrian Šāwi dialects and in Ḥassāniyya *ǧiḏaf* respectively *gḏəv* is used to express "to vomit", whilst *ʕalwa/ʕilwa* "hill" is shared by the Šāwi and the Tunisian Maṛāzīg dialects.

As for (3), one could mention prosody, which is often identified by Arabic speakers themselves as a salient trait, but which has largely been neglected in Arabic linguistics thus far, particularly with regard to comparative studies.

Conclusion

Most of the features briefly discussed in the preceding paragraphs suggest that the linguistic basis of the Bedouin-sedentary split is largely built on sand. There are more shifting dunes and pits of quicksand than solid rocks which provide us with a foundation to underpin the traditional classification of Arabic dialects.

However, even dunes can be landmarks and I still firmly believe that additional research should be done before we completely abandon the idea that there is something like Bedouin-type Arabic. Of course, we need to question the notions of archaism and conservativeness commonly associated with Bedouin Arabic. There can be no doubt that the Bedouin-sedentary split should be applied with caution, and both the linguistic and the sociological details are very complex. However, if we use "Bedouin" as a linguistic category rather than a past or present lifestyle, it may turn out that it is "to some degree still valid and useful" (Holes 2018: 21) and may contribute to a better understanding of the history of Arabic.[8]

[8] We can also look for new terms like "second layer dialects" to replace "Bedouin/Hilāli dialects of the Maghreb" (Benkato 2019: 9, fn.17). This is fine, but to my mind such re-naming is a terminological issue which would not change anything in the categorization of the dialects in question.

The Bedouin-sedentary distinction may prove useful as a heuristic tool for explaining certain peculiarities of Arabic dialects – most notably, the surprising typological stability when compared to other living Semitic languages. One may ask what role the nomads played in this slow development, as they fostered convergence through their mobility, migrations and inter-tribal contacts. According to Watson 2011: 866, the fact "that Arabic dialects emerged and continue to emerge from a heterogeneous dialect landscape can be seen by comparing lexical, syntactic and morphological features across the Arab world, features which reflect temporary and permanent population movements." With the exception of the first migration wave during and after the large conquests, these movements were mainly performed by Bedouins who thus carried their dialects to regions where rather different dialects were spoken. According to Diem (1978: 136), the Bedouin-led second wave of Arabicization in the 10th and 11th centuries fostered a great process of levelling. It is well known that the mobility of large groups of people plays an eminent role in contact-induced language change. As for Europe, it is assumed that most features of the so-called Standard Average European emerged during the large-scale migrations (4th–9th centuries), which led to the transformation from Late Antiquity to Early Middle Ages (Haspelmath 2001: 1507).

In the Arabic-speaking world, the mobility of speakers was routine until the 20th century. And the dialects of the Bedouins, who are the proponents of this mobility, are an important key for understanding linguistic levelling and the spread of linguistic features in pre-modern times. We may recall here the hypothesis that the *niktib-niktbu* pattern was largely spread by Bedouins from Egypt to the whole of North Africa (Behnstedt 2016: 28-30).

There are currently three larger projects based at the University of Vienna,[9] where we also attempt to widen the search for salient features of Bedouin-type Arabic in syntax and lexicon, using methods from historical linguistics, sociolinguistics and language typology. All this will hopefully contribute to a leap forward in our understanding of "What is Bedouin-type Arabic?" Based on initial results of the ongoing research, we suspect that the answer will be rather complex and that some hitherto common claims about Bedouin Arabic will require revision.

[9] In addition to the ERC-funded WIBARAB project mentioned in fn. 1, the two FWF-financed projects The Shawi-type Arabic dialects spoken in South-Eastern Anatolia and the Middle-Euphrates region and Tunisia's Linguistic terra incognita: An Investigation into the Arabic Varieties of North-western and Central Tunisia (PI Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun).

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Negation of *b*-Imperfect Verbs in Cairene Arabic

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Abstract

Cairene Arabic has two possible forms of unmarked negation: *miš* and *ma-…-š*, according to the grammatical nature of the negated element. Several recent descriptions (Brustad 2000, Woidich 2006) have noted an increasing use of *miš* for unmarked negation with the *b*-imperfect verb (e.g. *miš baḥibbu* "I don't like it"). With this verbal tense, *ma-…-š* is still predominant, but *miš* can no longer be called marginal, and one might say that both forms coexist.

Some authors (Brustad 2000, Girod & Aziz 2016) identify a social factor in the choice of the form of negation, related to the speakers' gender or age (respectively); this matches the speakers' own comments on this trait.

On the basis of fieldwork data, I offer to account for the distribution of these forms of negation of the *b*-imperfect verb from a sociolinguistic perspective. The results of the study clearly show that the innovative use of *miš* is driven first and foremost by women, and secondarily by younger generations.

The description of the limit between marked and unmarked negation in the corpus also brings to light the widening of the use of *ma-…-š* to contrastive structures such as:

hināk il-safar biyibʔa bass[i] *li-l-šuġl, mabiyibʔāš mudda ṭawīla*

"[When I] go there it's only for work, it's not for long period[s]".

This indicates an increasing homogenization of both forms of negation with the *b*-imperfect verb.

Keywords: Cairene Arabic, Negation, Sociolinguistics.

1. Introduction

Sentence negation is defined by Woidich (2006: 338) as the negation of the relation between a subject and a predicate; it is opposed to constituent negation or narrow-scope negation, which applies to one component of the sentence (whether a single element or more) to negate not its link to other components but its identity. This distinction is important in Cairene Arabic, since this, together with the type of predicate, determines the form of negation. According to Woidich (2006: 334), the distribution is as follows:

- Sentence negation: *miš* with nominal and prepositional predicates, as well as with *ḥa*-imperfect verbs; *ma-…-š* with other verbal predicates (including pseudo-verbs).

- Narrow-scope negation: *miš* with all types of predicate.

However, in the specific case of the *b*-imperfect verb, *miš* is frequently heard, without any apparent narrow scope.

There are thus two main cases in Cairene Arabic in which both forms of negation are possible with the function of sentence negation[1]:

- Personal pronouns, when subject of a nominal or prepositional predicate. Ex.: *huwwa miš mawgūd* = *ma-huwwāš mawgūd* "He is not present" (Woidich 2006: 336).

- *b*-imperfect verbs. Ex.: *ana miš baḥibbu* (Woidich 2006: 335) = *ana mabaḥibbūš* "I don't like it/him".

Between these two cases of "competition" between two forms of negation, special attention was given to the *b*-imperfect verb, and a first overview of available descriptions already allows to form hypotheses on this topic. Indeed, after consulting several descriptive works on Cairene Arabic (linguistic works and learning manuals) from different periods, it appears that the oldest references do not mention the possibility to negate *b*-imperfect verbs with *miš*, but present *ma-…-š* as the only form (Mitchell 1956; Tomiche 1964; Jomier & Khouzam 1973; Wise 1975). A few years later, some works present the two forms as possible negations with the *b*-imperfect (Abdel-Massih, Abdel-Malek & Badawi 1979; Gary & Gamal El-Din 1982; also Mejdell 2006), whereas others talk about a recent, expanding phenomenon (Brustad 2000: 303; Woidich 2006: 335; Doss 2008).

In addition to this chronological evolution in descriptions of Cairene Arabic, some authors see a sociolinguistic phenomenon in this new use of *miš*:

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[1] Judging by an example given by Woidich (2006: 334), *ḥa*-imperfect verbs can also be negated with *ma-…-š*, which would represent a third type of case in which both negations are possible. However, it is the only mention I found of *ma-…-š* used with this verbal form, and Woidich himself specifies that it is rare; its significance does not seem to be comparable to that of *b*-imperfect verbs and pseudo-verbs.

Brustad (2000: 303) reports that female speakers use it more than males, which is also the case in Doss's observations about other verbal tenses (perfect and imperfect); Girod & Aziz (2016: 104) claim that this *miš* is used by the younger generations.

The present study will provide preliminary elements to answer the following questions:

1. In what cases are both *miš* and *ma-…-š* acceptable to negate *b*-imperfect verbs? In other words, when is *miš* necessary, and when can it be replaced by *ma-…-š*?

2. When both are acceptable, what criteria can account for the choice of one or the other form of negation?

2. Corpus

The corpus of this study was collected during two fieldworks carried out in Cairo, between January and February 2019 and between September 2019 and January 2020.

The data consists of 39 hours of recordings, and some written notes, involving a total of 35 speakers (27 male and 12 female). It is composed of conversation and interviews, with the following structure: starting with an introductory conversation, on any topic, I would wait for the interviewee to use a negated *b*-imperfect verb, ask them to comment on it, then ask more general questions about negation, and in some cases conclude the interview with detailed questions about specific sentences, to compare with other data.

Most of the recordings are one-on-one interviews; only a few consist of group conversations. In total, the corpus contains 518 forms of negated *b*-imperfect verbs (sentence negation and narrow-scope negation).

3. Results: Domains of *miš* and *ma-…-š*

To try and discern clearly cases of sentence negation from cases of narrow-scope negation, and identify which forms could be used in each, I selected from the corpus three main types of significant data.

3.1. Sentence negation with numerals

The difference between the two types of negation becomes semantically manifest when verbal complements contain numerals. In that case, sentence negation, i.e. negation of the relation between subject and predicate, will express the idea that the action is not applied to any of the numbered

complements, whereas narrow-scope negation will result in the meaning that the action does takes place, but is applied to a different number of objects than expressed.

The corpus contains a significant example of this type, with the dual complement of a verb negated with *miš*:

(1) *il*-intonation *idda s*-sens *da. innu huwwa* ***miš biyaʕmil il-itnēn***.

The intonation gave this meaning. That he doesn't do [either of] the two.

In context, the meaning of this sentence is unambiguous: as translated, the speaker means that the subject doesn't do any of the two things. In this instance, *miš* serves as sentence negation; narrow-scope negation in this sentence would allow the interpretation "he doesn't do both things [but maybe only one of them]", which is not the case here.

The same speaker, a few minutes later in the course of the same interview, uttered a sentence almost identical to the previous one, with exactly the same meaning, but with the other form of negation:

(2) — *wi-da l-mafhūm innu…*

— *innu huwwa* ***mabiyaʕmilš il-ḥagtēn***.

— And here what we understand is that…

— That he doesn't do [any of] the two things.

It is clear from the use of both forms of negation in the same context, maintaining the structure and meaning of the sentence, that it is in fact sentence negation in both cases.

3.2. *miš* as sentence negation

Other examples from the corpus display *miš* functioning as sentence negation. One of the most expressive examples in this regard is the following:

(3) *wi ṃaṃtik* ***miš bitištaġal*** *wi ḅaḅāki* ***mabiyištaġalš*** *?*

Your mother doesn't work and your father doesn't work?

Here too, it is the repetition of the same verb, in the same context, with the same meaning, that proves that both forms of negation can have the same scope, i.e. that *miš* is used as sentence negation.

Subsequently, it is possible to identify sentence negation with *miš* in other cases, such as sentences expressing a general descriptive truth, with no reason to interpret them as narrow-scope negations:

(4) *buṣṣi in-nās il-muslimīn lamma biyaklu laḥma lāzim tikūn maṭbūxa b-ṭarīʔa ʔislamiyya. ʕarfa da? fa-masalan il-muslimīn biyaklu--* ***miš biyaklu*** *xanzīr, masalan.*

Look, Muslim people, when they eat meat, it must be cooked in an islamic way. Do you know that? So for example Muslims eat-- don't eat pork, for example.

(5) *ana masalan… ana* ***miš batfarrag*** *ʕa-t-tilifizyōn xāliṣ*

For example, I… I don't watch television at all.

3.3. Contrast with *ma-…-š*

Another noticeable case is that of contrastive sentences opposing a negated element and a positive one. According to the descriptions, it is *miš* that should appear in such cases of narrow-scope negation, but the data contains many occurrences of such constructions with *ma-…-š*, for example:

(6) *li-ḥadd*^{i} *dilwaʔti ʔiḥna* ***bnilbis*** *lissa libs il-ṣēf,* ***mabnilbiss***^{i} *libs is-- iš-šita*

Up until now we still wear summer clothes, we don't wear winter clothes.

(7) *ʔana baʔullik il-ṃayya* ***mabtigrīš****, il-ṃayya* ***btimši***

I'm telling you the water doesn't "run", the water "walks"

The following table presents the statistics of the form of negation in contrastive sentences in the corpus, looking at the two possible component orders separately, i.e. the negated element occurring after (+ -) or before (- +) the positive one:

	ma-…-š	*miš*
+ -	17	13
- +	22	10
Total	**39**	**23**

We observe that not only are both forms of negation used in that type of sentence structure, but *ma-…-š* is even predominant, whatever the place of the negative element. The number of examples is too limited to draw significant conclusions, but it is noteworthy that this type of construction does not require one particular form of negation.

The data does not show a clear limit between the domain of *miš* and that of *ma-…-š*, as far as the *b*-imperfect verb is concerned. I find here that *miš* is used in cases of sentence negation, in which according to the system described in the introduction *ma-…-š* would be expected, but also that *ma-…-š* can appear

in contrastive sentences, where the scope of negation is narrow, and it even represents a distinct majority of such constructions. This finding allows to adopt a sociolinguistic approach to the question.

4. Results: Sociolinguistic approach

4.1. Respondents' metalinguistic comments

a. The Cairene norm

In the comments made during the interviews, speakers often started by calling *ma-…-š* the "most correct" form (*il-ʔaṣaḥḥ*), and *miš* the "wrong" one (*ġalaṭ*). Two main explanations were given to this "mistake":

- Speakers using *miš* to negate *b*-imperfect verbs, instead of the expected *ma-…-š*, are not originally from Cairo. This use would be characteristic of the Governorate of al-Šarqiyya, in the Nile Delta, where, according to the interviewees, *miš* is the only form of negation.

- The *miš* form is used mostly by children, or by foreigners, in other words by speakers who do not (yet) fully master Cairene Arabic. Based on this observation, some interviewees claim that *miš* is "easier" (*ʔashal*) than *ma-…-š*.

It should be noted that in some areas of the al-Šarqiyya Governorate, *miš* is indeed used regularly as sentence negation with any type of predicate (Woidich 1979: 93; Ornaghi 2010). It is interesting that interviewees who mentioned this geographical difference illustrated it primarily with perfect verbs, which were not the topic of conversation. This *miš* is not the only form in use in al-Šarqiyya, but it seems to be an emblematic feature of this region, at least from the perspective of Cairene speakers (Ornaghi 2010: 112). We can hypothesize that in the context of these interviews, using examples of *miš* with perfect verbs as emblematic of the specificity of the dialect of al-Šarqiyya is conversely an indication of the minor "strangeness" of *miš* with *b*-imperfect verbs. Thus, even those interviewees who do not acknowledge *miš* with *b*-imperfect as a Cairene form seem to be aware that it exists in language use.

Although for this particular variable the difference between the two forms cannot be assimilated to a *fuṣḥā* vs. *ʕāmmiyya* opposition, interviewees still associate them to a "right" vs. "wrong" dichotomy, one person even saying that *miš* is "not consistent with the rules" (*miš tābiʕ il-qawāʕid*), therefore referring to the Cairene colloquial as having rules. In their reactions, interviewees thus build a representation of a Cairene colloquial norm, from which *miš* with *b*-imperfect verbs would be excluded, and which at first sight seems to be defined by the uses of adult speakers who have always lived in Cairo.

b. Social factors

Despite these remarks on geographical variation, interviewees did acknowledge that *miš* could be heard in Cairo negating *b*-imperfect verbs. They made several types of comments suggesting a link between this use and some groups of speakers.

First of all, the *miš* variant is frequently identified as a feminine trait. Some interviewees assert that it is used mostly by "girls" (*banāt*), and assign feminine connotations to this form, using adjectives like "refined" (*riʔīʔ*), "cute" (*laṭīf*, or the English adjective "cute"), "innocent" (*barīʔ*), and claiming that it is the mark of a "mannered behaviour" (*dalʕa*). Some trace this back to an intention to imitate children's speech, to voluntarily appear "cute" (*mitdallaʕ*): these interviewees thus indicate that, in their view, although *miš* is common in women's speech, it is still to be considered a "mistake".

Respondents also account for the difference between *ma-…-š* and *miš* referring to the speaker's social class, associating the use of *miš* with the upper class. Some of them state that this is due to the fact that the upper class generally attends international schools, where the main communication language is a European language (usually English or French), and are not used to speaking in Arabic in everyday life. Just as *miš* as a feminine trait is seen as an influence of children's "mistakes", as an upper class trait it is associated with foreigners' incomplete mastering of normal linguistic use. Here too it suggests that its use by speakers of the upper class is not enough to make *miš* a legitimate form.

The third social factor that emerged from the respondents' comments is that this use of *miš* is perceived as an element of youth speech (*luġit iš-šabāb*). One of the interviewees, a man among the eldest in the corpus (over 60 years old), explicitly links this *miš* to lexical elements marked as "youth speech" in Cairo: the use of *fašx* as an intensifier, meaning "very" or "too much", and borrowings from English such as the vocative *ya mān*. But he specifies that this applies rather to *miš* with perfect verbs, and admits that *miš* with *b*-imperfect verbs is more "normal" (*ʕādi*), less strongly associated with youth speech.

In addition to these remarks, one of the female interviewees (about 50 years old) involuntarily gave a significant example of such social connotations of *miš*. During the interview, as she had just commented on the use of *miš* in rather depreciative terms, insisting on its "mannered" aspect (*dalʕa*), she momentarily changed the topic and started commenting on the behavior of her pet, sitting next to her. At some point she started a sentence with *miš*, noticed it, and corrected herself instantly: *miš bitḥibb— mabitḥibbiš titṣawwar* "She doesn't like to be photographed". This shows that in this instance, the two forms of negation are syntactically equivalent, and that the speaker uses these variants as a stylistic resource — in the present case, even if *miš* seems to be

the more spontaneous form, the speaker chooses to switch to *ma-…-š* to appear less "mannered" (*mitdallaʕa*).

c. Neutral opinions

Besides interviewees who expressed a preference (in terms of normality, convenience, or correctness) for *ma-…-š* over *miš*, three respondents asserted that the two forms were equivalent, without expressing any kind of personal preference or difference in value between them. It is noticeable that these three respondents should belong to the youngest categories of speakers in the corpus: they all were less than 30 years old at the time the interviews were conducted; what is more, two of them are women. This means that they each belong to at least one of the groups identified as using *miš* regularly.

Such a perspective on the interviewees' comments hints at a rather coherent system of representations, with on the one hand those who claim that *miš* shouldn't be used, or is used mostly by women and young people, and on the other hand women and young people seeing *miš* as just one of the possibilities.

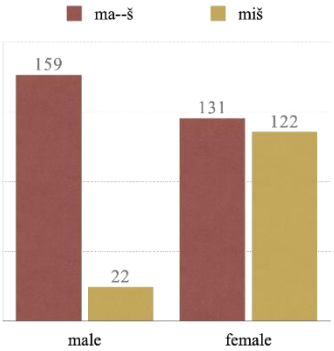
4.2. Social factors in the corpus: Statistic approach

In light of these observations, it appeared relevant to adopt a statistical approach to the corpus data, and check for correlations with social factors mentioned by the interviewees that could lead to conclusions from a variationist perspective.

Unfortunately, the corpus was not sufficiently balanced to allow for a comparison of social class; nevertheless, it was representative enough to allow for statistical observations on speaker gender and speaker age.

The data concerning speaker gender can be visually summarized as follows:

Fig. 1: Distribution of *ma-…-š* and *miš* according to speaker gender.



This statistical approach shows without ambiguity that, in this corpus, *miš* is indeed a feminine trait. If we consider *miš* alone, quantitatively, an

overwhelming majority of the occurrences were uttered by female speakers; and proportionally to *ma-…-š*, *miš* is much more frequent with female speakers than it is with male speakers: it represents almost half of women's negations with *b*-imperfect verbs, and only 12 % of men's. The ideas expressed by interviewees of a feminine connotation of *miš* is thus confirmed in the data.

As for speaker age, the following table synthesizes the distribution of the forms of sentence negation in the data:

	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-55	55-60	60-70
ma--š	55	105	65	6	22	31	6
miš	88	23	22	3	8	0	0

The conclusions to be drawn from this distribution are less self-evident than for gender. This is partly due to the fact that the group of speakers participating in the study does not reflect equally all age categories; but it also suggests a somewhat secondary relevance of the age factor for the form of negation, speaker gender being more significant. Nevertheless, we can still observe a clear decrease in the number of occurrences of *miš* as the age of speakers increases, to the point of being totally absent from the speech of speakers over 55. However, speakers over 55 in the corpus are all men, which is very unsatisfying to try and provide a reliable answer to the hypotheses presented in this work. Further study should remedy this problem in order to estimate the relative weight of speaker gender and speaker age as social factors in the distribution of the two forms of negation.

5. Concluding remarks

A formal analysis of the distribution of *ma-…-š* and *miš* as negation of *b*-imperfect verbs in the corpus confirms that there is an extension of the use of *miš*, as noted in several recent descriptions. Additionally, it reveals that not only can *miš* now be used for sentence negation, but *ma-…-š* can also sometimes serve as narrow-scope negation, at least in the case of contrastive constructions. It seems that the limits between the syntactic functions of each form are becoming less clear than the system usually described.

As this particular variable does not fit into a *fuṣḥā* vs. *ʿāmmiyya* opposition, interviewees resort to a notion of colloquial standard to comment on the difference between the two forms, generally identifying *ma-…-š* as the Cairene norm, and *miš* as a foreign form. The use of *miš* in Cairo to express sentence negation with a *b*-imperfect verb is thus seen as new or marginal, and

interviewees associate it with three main groups of speakers: girls (*banāt*), the upper class (*ṭabaʔa igtimaʕiyya ʕalya*), and the youth (*šabāb*). A recurring term describing this use is *dalʕa* "mannered behaviour"; some interviewees also claim that it is part of a deliberate style strategy to appear *mitdallaʕ* "mannered".

Statistical analysis of the corpus data is consistent with these comments. Testing for correlations between the form of negation and speaker gender, we observe that *miš* is predominantly used by female speakers, and that in their speech it is almost as frequent as the *ma-…-š* variant. *miš* is also more frequent the younger the speakers are.

Such results indicate that *ma-…-š* and *miš* are two variants for sentence negation with a *b*-imperfect verb, but that these variants are not in a state of free variation. In fact, this pattern of variation recalls the one followed by other phenomena identified as changes in progress: in Cairo, Royal (1985) and Haeri (1992), focusing respectively on pharyngealization and on palatalization, both find that women, and to a smaller extent young speakers, are leaders in the use of the innovative variant, which corresponds to a well-known general sociolinguistic pattern. Royal's work shows that social class is also relevant, upper class women being more prompt to use the innovative variant. In the present study, due to the very limited number of participants, the social class factor could not be tested, but the results on speaker gender and age allow us to think that the variation pattern is similar to that in Royal's and Haeri's works; upper class use of *miš*, if proven, would even correspond to the interviewee's comments. A more complete study with a more comprehensive corpus would prove useful on this matter.

Furthermore, if this phenomenon can in fact be understood as a change in progress, it could be approached more broadly if put in relation with other cases of "competition" between the two forms *ma-…-š* and *miš*, such as the personal pronoun. Comparison of descriptive works from different periods indicates that the use of the pronominal forms with *ma-…-š* is decreasing. Since I only found 14 such forms in my corpus, it seems to have become quite rare, but it can be noticed that 12 out of these 14 forms were used by men, and 11 of these by men over 55 years old. Of course we would need a much broader set of occurrences to achieve significant results, but we can wonder whether this evolution can be linked to the case of negated *b*-imperfect verbs, perhaps in an older process or a more advanced stage of a progressive replacement of *ma-…-š* by *miš*.

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Conservative and Innovative Features in the Expression of Negation in Bedouin Tribes of Palestine

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Abstract

This paper provides a synchronic fieldwork-based description and analysis of the elements of negation in the varieties of six Bedouin tribes in Palestine. The field research was carried out in June and July 2019 in various regions of the West Bank and the tribes under study were Al-ʕAzāzme, Ar-Rašāyda, Al-Ǧahālīn, Al-Kaʕābne, Az-Zubaydāt, and Al-Ǧubārāt. Although the dialects of the Bedouin tribes living in Israeli territories like Galilee and the Negev, have been an absorbing topic of linguistic studies for many important researchers such as Rosenhouse (1984b), Henkin (2010), and Shawarbah (2012), still, the varieties of the Bedouin tribes residing in the Palestinian territories -most of them refugees from the Negev- have been scarcely studied. In this study we find that the innovative, sedentary *š* negator is occasionally present with verbal predicates, while it is regularly used in the existential negation and in the negation of non-verbal predicates. Additionally, this paper attempts to shed light on the use of the negative particle *lā* as a more conservative feature, infrequent but not absent in the studied varieties. Based on the results of the present research, this paper suggests that the Bedouin spoken dialects of the West Bank seem to contain a mixed variety of conservative Bedouin and innovative sedentary features in the expression of negation.

Keywords: Arabic dialectology, negation, Bedouin dialects, Palestine.

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1. Introduction

The linguistic situation in Palestine is characterised by a high variability strongly related to the long and complicated history of the region and its nation. Palestinian Arabic, including the total of the Arabic varieties used by the Palestinians both in the Palestinian territories (West Bank and Gaza Strip) and the Israeli territories, is classified into sedentary -urban and rural varieties- and Bedouin varieties (Cleveland 1963, Palva 1984a, Cadora 1992). Rosenhouse (1984a) classifies the Bedouins, geographically and linguistically, into two groups, the Bedouins of North Israel, Galilee, and the Bedouins of South Israel, Negev. The Bedouin dialects of Galilee are mostly related to the Syro-Mesopotamian group –Šāwi– (Rosenhouse 1984a, b), while the Bedouin dialects of the Negev belong to the Northwest Arabian group (Henkin 2010). In Palestine, we also find two more groups, the Bedouins who inhabit the West Bank and the Bedouins who inhabit the Gaza Strip. Being isolated from the rest of the Bedouin communities, the Bedouins of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are expected to be more affected by local varieties in their language.

2. Previous studies

The first linguistic atlas including data on Palestinian Bedouin dialects was published by Bergsträsser (1915), while recently, Geva-Kleinberger and Behnstedt (2019) published an atlas of the sedentary and Bedouin Arabic dialects of Galilee. In North Israel, Rosenhouse conducted extensive research on the Bedouin tribes of Galilee (Rosenhouse 1984b). In South Israel, the earliest work providing data on Negev Bedouin dialects was *Arabia Petraea*, by Musil (1908). Later, Blanc (1970) studied the dialect of the Ḏullām, and Palva (1984b) studied the dialect of the ʕAzāzme. Piamenta (1996) studied the dialects of various tribes of the Negev, while Henkin (2010), among her numerous studies, analysed oral narratives from Bedouin tribes of the Negev. Shawarbah (2012) presented in detail the phonology and morphology of the dialect of the ʕAzāzme, also providing a glossary of the dialect, while Abu Saelek (2022) presented and analysed terms of Classical Arabic used by Bedouins of the northern Negev. Until today, within the occupied Palestinian territories, to the best of my knowledge, we do not have any studies on Bedouin dialects of Gaza, while the only study on Bedouin dialects of the West Bank is the one carried out by Katz (1980), on the Rašāyda dialect, at the Judean desert.

In the expression of negation, traditional Bedouin dialects do not generally follow stages II and III of Jespersen's Cycle. However, the *š* negator can occasionally be observed as an impact of contact with sedentary varieties. Earlier results on the dialects of Bedouin tribes of Palestine such as

Bergsträsser's (1915) linguistic atlas, Cleveland's (1963) and Palva's (1984a) classifications, do not include the *š* negator. In Rosenhouse (1984b) the *š* negator is occasionally attested in the non-verbal negative markers *muš*, *miš*, and *māš*, and rarely in the negative existential markers *ma fišš/fiš.* In Blanc (1970) *muš* and *miš* are encountered only as K-forms. In Henkin (2010), the non-verbal negative markers *muš* and *māš* are occasionally attested, as well as the negative existential markers *mā fiš/fiš*. The negative marker *muš* is also attested in Shawarbah (2012), and rarely attested in Katz (1980).

3. Field research in Palestine *(West Bank - Aḍ-ḍaffa al-ġarbiyya)*

The following data were collected during field research in Palestine, in June and July 2019. Fieldwork was carried out in various regions of the West Bank, including the Hebron Governorate (ʔUmm al-Xayr, ʔUmm ad-Darağ, and al-Buwayb), the Jericho Governorate (Jordan Valley – Al-ʔAġwār: An-NuwayʕMa, ʕAyn ad-Duyūk al-Fūqā and Marğ al-Ġazāl, Judean Desert: Saṭeḥ al-Baḥr), and the Bethlehem Governorate (ʕArab ar-Rašāyda). The Bedouin tribes studied were Al-ʕAzāzme, Ar-Rašāyda, Al-Ğahālīn, Al-KaʕābneAz-Zubaydāt, and Al-Ğubārāt. The sample included 39 informants, 21 women and 18 men, aged 16-100, whose level of education varied from no school to higher education.

3.1. Collected data

3.1.1. Negation as an answer

Negation as a simple negative response, "no", is expressed by *lā*, which is encountered either as *lā* with a long [a], or as *laʔ* with a glottal stop (hamza) after the vowel. Less frequently, a double form of *lā* is attested as *lilla*, delivering a more emphatic use of negation.

3.1.2. Sentential negation with verbal predicates

Sentential negation with verbal predicates in the imperfective (1) and perfective (2) aspect is expressed, as expected, mostly by the negative particle *mā*.

(1a) *al-badawi* *mā* *b-insa* *ṯār=u*
ART-Bedouin NEG b-3MSG.forget.IPFV vengeance=PN.3MSG
"The Bedouin does not forget his vengeance." (Al-Ğubārāt)

(1b) *ar-rağul al-badawi mā yudxol al-bēt*
ART-man ART-Bedouin NEG 3MSG.enter.IPFV ART-house
ğuwwa
inside
"The Bedouin man does not enter inside the house." (Al-Ğahālīn)

(2) *al-iḥtilāl al-isrāʔīli mā manaʕ=na*
ART-occupation ART-Israeli NEG 3MSG.ban.PFV=PN.1PL
min hāy al-manṭaga
from this ART-area
"The Israeli occupation did not ban us from this area." (Ar-Rašāyda)

The *š* negator is used in some cases, but not regularly. When occurs, it is used in the bipartite negation (3a) or the postverbal negation (3b) with the verbal *b-* prefix. In only one case, the bipartite negation is also attested with the use of the *b-* prefix (3c).

(3a) *mā ʔagdar-š ʔakabbir=ha al-ġorfa*
NEG 1SG.can.PFV-NEG 1SG.enlarge.IPFV=PN.3FSG ART-room
"I cannot enlarge the room." (Al-Ğahālīn)

(3b) *wāḥda bi-tikfī-š*
one bi-3FSG.suffice.IPFV-NEG
"One (woman) is not enough." (Al-Ğahālīn)

(3c) *mā b-aʕrif-š aš-šiʕr*
NEG b-1SG.know.IPFV-NEG ART-poetry
"I don't know poetry." (Al-ʕAzāzme)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the *š* negator is very rarely attested. When *š* occurs, it is used in the bipartite negation:

(4) *mā ḏall-š ʔiši*
NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV-NEG thing
"Nothing remained." (Al-Ğubārāt)

The negative particle *mā* is also used with the auxiliary *kān*, to express negation in the past:

(5) *zamān zamān mā konna ništaġil*
time time NEG 1PL.be.PFV 1PL.work.IPFV
"In the past, we were not working." (Al-Ğubārāt)

The negative particle *lā* is infrequently used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (6a), or to express indirect prohibition (6b).

(6a) *ʔana lā ʔaḥebb al-madīna*
PN.1SG NEG 1SG.love.IPFV ART-city
"I don't like the city." (Ar-Rašāyda)

(6b) *lā tugʕud maʕ ar-riğāl hāḏa miš masmūḥ*
NEG 2MSG.sit.IPFV with ART-men this NEG be permitted.PTCP
"You don't sit with men; this is not permitted." (Al-Ğahālīn)

Furthermore, *lā* is encountered in storytelling, as in (6c-d). Bedouin stories can contain features from Bedouin varieties, as well as from local, sedentary varieties and Literary Arabic. The intermingled languages create an oral narrative style termed by Palva (1992) as Artistic Colloquial Arabic. Henkin (2010) describes and analyses thoroughly and at length the narrative language of the Bedouins of the Negev.

(6c) *al-kull lā yiġayyir al-maʕnā*
ART-whole NEG 3MSG.change.IPFV ART-meaning
"The whole does not change the meaning." (Al-Ǧahālīn)

(6d) *lā ʔaʕlam ʔayna ʔağid al-bayt*
NEG 1SG.know.IPFV where 1SG.find.IPFV ART-house
"I don't know where to find the house." (Ar-Rašāyda)

In (6d) we have a different case though, since the whole utterance is in MSA. In this case, the informant is narrating a fictional story. For this story, she uses Mixed Arabic.

Negation in the future is expressed by *mā* with the pseudo-verb *wudd* followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (7a), or by negated pronouns (*māni* etc.) followed by participles. The sedentary, adopted marker *raḥ* is also attested (*mā raḥ*), as well as the negative marker *muš* followed by *raḥ* (7b), though rarely.

(7a) *ʔana mā wudd=i ʔamši ʕa-s-sūg*
PN.1SG NEG want=PN.1SG 1SG.walk.IPFV to-ART-market
"I will not go to the market." (Al-Kaʕābne)

(7b) *lā muš raḥ ʔasāfir baʕd sana*
no NEG will 1SG.travel.IPFV after year
"No, I will not travel after a year." (Al-Ǧahālīn)

3.1.3. Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates is formed mostly by the negative particle *mā,* preceding pseudo-verbs like *ʕind/ʕand, li* (have), and *bidd, wudd* (want):

(8) *mā ʕand=i zalame*
NEG have=PN.1SG man
"I don't have a husband." (Al-Kaʕābne)

The *š* negator is very rarely encountered. When occurs, it is used as a postverbal negator:

(9) *bidd=nā-š nitnāzal il=hum*
want=PN.1PL-NEG 1PL.stand down.IPFV to=PN.3MPL
"We don't want to stand down in favor of them." (Al-Ǧahālīn)

Additionally, negation of the pseudo-verb *ʕind* is occasionally expressed with the negative existential marker *fiš*:

(10) *fi-š* *ʕind=i* *ʔaṣḥāb hōn*
there is-NEG have=PN.1SG friends here
"I don't have friends here." (Az-Zubaydāt)

3.1.4. Existential negation

Existential negation is mainly expressed as *mā fi* (11a), also as *fiš* (11b).

(11a) *mā* *fi* *bāṣ*
NEG there is bus
"There is no bus." (Ar-Rašāyda)

(11b) *ʔawwal fi-š* *ǧalsa* *maʕ* *ar-riǧāl*
first there is-NEG sitting with ART-men
"Before, there was no sitting with men." (Al-ʕAzāzme)

Other forms of existential negation, very rarely attested, are *mā fiš* (12), *fiš fi* and *mā fiš fi*.

(12) *mā* *fi-š* *biyūt* *zayy al-gora*
NEG there is-NEG houses like ART-villages
"There were no houses like (in) the villages." (Az-Zubaydāt)

When expressing existential negation in the past, *mā kān fi/kān mā fi* is used, while *mā kānš fi* is encountered only once in the entire material:

(13) *mā* *kān-š* *fi* *lā* *kahraba* *wala* *mayye*
NEG 3MSG.be.PFV-NEG there is NEG electricity NegCONJ water
"There was neither electricity nor water." (Al-ʕAzāzme)

The negative particle *lā* is also attested in *wala fi*, expressing emphatic negation:

(14) *wala fi* *ʔaḥsan min* *ḥayāt* *al-ġanam*
NEG there is better from life ART-sheep
"There is (nothing) better than living with the sheep."(Al-Ǧubārāt)

3.1.5. Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates is mostly expressed by the negative markers *mū, mī, muš and miš.* The negative marker *mū* is used to negate nouns, prepositional phrases, adjectives, participles, and adverbs (15).

(15) *al-ḥakīm* *mū* *hnī*
ART-doctor NEG here
"The doctor is not here." (Al-Kaʕābne)

The negative marker *mī* is used to negate nouns, prepositional phrases, adjectives (16), and adverbs.

(16) *dār=na* *mī* *zġīre*
house=PN.1PL NEG small
"Our house is not small." (Al-Kaʕābne)

In most cases, *mū* precedes masculine predicates while *mī* precedes feminine predicates. In general, *mū* is more often used than *mī*.

The negative marker *muš* is used to negate nouns (17a), prepositional phrases, adjectives (17b), participles, adverbs, modals, and subordinate clauses.

(17a) *az-zawǧ muš šarṭ min nafs al-gabīla*
ART-husband NEG condition from same ART-tribe
"The husband must not necessarily be from the same tribe."
(Al-Kaʕābne)

(17b) *muš ġarīb*
NEG strange
"It is not strange." (Az-Zubaydāt)

The negative marker *miš* is used to negate nouns (18a), prepositional phrases (18b), adjectives, participles, and adverbs.

(18a) *miš ḥilm*
NEG dream
"It's not a dream." (Al-Zubaydāt)

(18b) *hāy al-ʔarḏ miš il=na*
this ART-land NEG to=PN.1PL
"This land is not ours." (Al-Ǧubārāt)

It would be worth mentioning that *miš* is used both with masculine and feminine predicates. Pronouns are also negated by prefixation of *mā/ma/m-*, as *māni, minte, minti, muhu, mihi* (19a), *miḥna, muhum* (19b).

(19a) *mi-hi gādire tiḥki*
NEG-PN.3FSG be able.PTCP 3FSG.speak.IPFV
"She is not able to speak." (Al-Ǧubārāt)

(19b) *al-badw mu-hum zayy al-falisṭīniyyīn*
ART-Bedouins NEG-PN.3MPL like ART-Palestinians
"Bedouins are not like Palestinians." (Al-Kaʕābne)

Negation with non-verbal predicates is additionally expressed by the negative particle *mā* preceding participles (20a), pronouns, or non-verbal predicates introduced by the copula *kān* (20b).

(20a) *waḷḷa mā dāri šū bi-tiḥki*
by God NEG know.PTCP what bi-2FSG.speak.IPFV
"By God, I don't know what you are saying." (Ar-Rašāyda)

(20b) *mā konna fi biyūt dūr konna fi xiyām*
NEG 1PL.be.PFV in houses houses 1PL.be.PFV in tents
"We were not in houses, we were in tents." (Al-Kaʕābne)

3.1.6. Negative imperative

In all studied tribes, the negative imperative is formed with the negative particle *lā*:

(21) *lā* *txalli* *ḥad yišūf=ak*
NEG 2MSG.leave.IPFV one 3MSG.see.IPFV=PN.2MSG
"Don't let anyone see you!" (Al-Ǧahālīn)

3.1.7. Negative polarity items

The negative polarity items encountered in the West Bank are the indefinite pronouns *ḥad*/*ḥada*, *wāḥad/wāḥed* (22a), "anyone, no one", and *ʔiši*/*ʔiyy ši*, (22b) "anything, nothing". Moreover, the adverbial *ʕumr* (23) is used with enclitic pronouns, meaning "never/at all".

(22a) *waḷḷa* *mā* *ʔagbal* *wāḥed*
by God NEG 1SG.accept.IPFV one
"By God, I don't accept anyone." (Al-Kaʕābne)

(22b) *mā* *šāf* *ʔiši*
NEG 3MSG.see.PFV thing
"He didn't see anything." (Al-ʕAzāzme)

(23) *lā ʕumr=i* *mā* *šuft* *al-baḥar*
no life=PN.1SG NEG 1SG.see.PFV ART-sea
"No, I never saw the sea." (Ar-Rašāyda)

3.1.8. Negative indefinite pronouns

The negative indefinite pronoun attested is *maḥada/maḥad*, "nobody":

(24) *maḥada radd* *ʕalē=ha*
nobody 3MSG.answer.PFV on=PN.3FSG
"Nobody answered her." (Ar-Rašāyda)

3.1.9. Negative concord items

The negative concord items attested are the negative scalar focus particle *wala* (25) "not even/not a single" and the *never/at all* adverbial *min marra/bil marra* (26).

(25) *mā* *fi* *wala* *wāḥed yagdar* *yaḥki*
NEG there is NegSFP one 3MSG.can.IPFV 3MSG.speak.IPFV
lahǧāt *al-badw*
dialects ART-Bedouins
"There is not even one who can speak the Bedouin dialects."
(Al-Kaʕābne)

(26) *mā fi intigāl min marra*
NEG there is movement from time
"There is no movement at all." (Al-Ǧahālīn)

3.1.10. Negative coordination structures

The negative coordination structures are either bisyndetic or polysyndetic structures (Haspelmath 2007, Cowell 1964) including *lā* or *mā* as the first negative element and the negative conjunction *wala* as the second and so forth. In some cases, *fiš* is also attested as the first negative element (29b). Negative coordination structures are used with verbal, pseudo-verbal, and non-verbal predicates. When used with verbal predicates, they include mostly *lā* (27a,b), and infrequently *mā* (27c) as the first negative element.

(27a) *lā xalla ḥmāra wala xalla baʕīr*
NEG 3MSG.leave.PFV jennet NegCONJ 3MSG.leave.PFV camel
"Neither a jennet nor a camel left." (Al-Kaʕābne)

(27b) *an-niswān lā yiṭlaʕan wala yirūḥin*
ART-women NEG 3FPL.go out.IPFV NegCONJ 3FPL.go.IPFV
wala *yiǧīn*
NegCONJ 3FPL.come.IPFV
"The women neither go out, nor come nor go." (Al-Ǧahālīn)

(27c) *mā darast wala b-aʕraf ism=i*
NEG 1SG.study.PFV NegCONJ b-1SG.know.IPFV name=PN.1SG
"I neither studied nor even know (how to write) my name."
(Al-Ǧubārāt)

Negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates also include *lā* as the first negative element:

(28) *lā ʕind=u ǧamal wala ʕind=u nāga*
NEG have=PN.3MSG camel NegCONJ have=PN.3MSG she-camel
wala ʕind=u ḥmār
NegCONJ have=PN.3MSG donkey
"He neither had camel nor she-camel nor donkey." (Al-ʕAzāzme)

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates include *lā* or *fiš* as the first negative element:

(29a) *lā ġanam wala ǧimāl*
NEG sheep NegCONJ camels
"Neither sheep, nor camels." (Ar-Rašāyda)

(29b) *fi-š rūḥa wala ǧayye*
there is-NEG going NegCONJ coming
"There is neither going, nor coming." (Al-ʕAzāzme)

4. Summary and conclusions

In this paper, we presented a synchronic fieldwork-based description and analysis of the distribution and use of the elements of negation in the varieties of six Bedouin tribes of the West Bank. Apart from the use of the negative particle *mā*, which is the common negator in all studied varieties, we would rather choose to focus here on the use of the *š* negator as an innovative, traditionally non-Bedouin feature, and the use of the negative particle *lā*, as a rather conservative feature. Based on the results of the present research, we conclude by arguing that the *š* negator has a rather more extensive use than in previous studies. The *š* negator is occasionally used with verbal predicates, while existential negation as *fiš* is very often attested. Additionally, the negative markers *muš* and *miš* are used by all studied tribes for the negation of non-verbal predicates. An interesting use of *lā* as an answer is the emphatic, double form *lilla*. The negative particle *lā* is mostly attested in the negative imperative and in the negative conjunction *wala*, while it is almost exclusively used as the first negative element in negative coordination structures. The use of *lā* in the first part of a negative coordination structure, especially when it occurs with verbal predicates, may represent a more conservative form. Rarely, *lā* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, to express negation or indirect prohibition, while it is slightly more often used in a process of storytelling.

Based on the above data, this paper concludes by suggesting that the Bedouin, spoken dialects of the West Bank seem to undergo changes due to their contact with other Palestinian, mainly rural varieties. Consequently, they seem to contain a mixed variety of conservative Bedouin and innovative sedentary features in the expression of negation. By sedentary features, we mainly refer to rural features, although urban features have also penetrated local Palestinian varieties during the last decades (Al-Wer et al. 2022).

At the table below, a general overview of the expression of negation in the studied Bedouin dialects is provided.

Type of negation	Commonly used	Less commonly used	Individual cases
Negative answer	*lā/laʔ*	*lilla*	-
Verbal predicates (IPFV)	*mā*	*mā…š* *b-…š*	*lā* *mā b-…š*
Negation in the Future	*mā wudd-māni etc.*	*mā raḥ*	*muš raḥ*
Verbal predicates (PFV)	*mā*	-	*mā…š*

Type of negation	Commonly used	Less commonly used	Individual cases
Pseudo-verbal predicates	*mā*	-	*-š* *fiš*
Existential negation	*mā fi* *fiš*	*mā fiš*	*fiš fi/mā fiš fi* *mā kānš fi* *wala fi*
Non-verbal predicates	*mū, mī* *muš, miš*	*mā* *māni etc.*	-
Negative imperative	*lā*	-	-
Negative polarity items	*ḥad/ḥada/wāḥed/* *wāḥad ʔiši/ʔiyy ši* *ʕumr*	-	-
Negative indefinite pronouns	*maḥada/maḥad*	-	-
Negative concord items	NegSFP *wala* *min/bil marra*	-	-
Negative coordination structures	*lā…wala*	*mā…wala*	*fiš…wala*

Table 1: West Bank - General results.

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Changements sémantiques et fonctionnels dans les domaines de l'altérité et de l'exception

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Résumé

L'article porte sur la polygrammaticalisation de *ġayr* et *ʔillā* (marginalement de *bass*) dans les dialectes arabes. Il révèle des évolutions sémantiques variées, aboutissant souvent à des valeurs identiques, et des changements catégoriels similaires, à la fois pour *ġayr* et *ʔillā*, et d'un parler à un autre. Parmi les évolutions remarquables, on notera celles qui aboutissent à des emplois de conjonction de coordination, d'une part, ou à des emplois de modaux à valeur de nécessité, d'autre part.

Mots-clés : grammaticalisation, adverbe, conjonction, préverbe, modal.

Introduction

ġayr, *ʔillā* et *bass* servent, dans beaucoup de dialectes, à l'expression de l'altérité et de l'exception, mais aussi – sous cette forme ou sous une forme apparentée – à bien d'autres notions.

A/ *ġayr*- en AR CL : de N à CONJ

ġayr^{u} "dissemblance" est un N (ancien NA, par suite sans PL).

– Parfois utilisé seul comme N, il est accompagné d'un article. Mais en général, il est suivi d'un autre N : "un autre, autrui, autre chose que".

Ex. *qālā ġayr*^{u} *ʔaḥmad*^{i} "un autre [qu']A. a dit"

Ex. *ġayr*^{u} *marrat*^{in} "autre qu'une fois" (= plus d'une fois)

– Ce mot est très fréquent dans des phrases négatives du type :

Ex. *mā xaraža ġayr*^{u} *zayd*^{in} "nul autre que Zayd n'est sorti"

– Il est usité dans des LOCs CONJs.

B/ *ʔillā* en AR CL (< *ʔin* + *lā* “if not”) : mise à part

– Effet négatif (exclusif) après une assertion positive : “sauf, excepté”

– Effet positif (inclusif) après une assertion négative : “seulement”

Badawi et al. (2004): « The exceptive particle with the widest range of functions in M[odern] W[ritten] A[rabic] is *ʔillā* “except” although it is being replaced more and more in M[odern] W[ritten] A[rabic] by *siwā* ».

C/ *bass* < turco-persan. En persan : « [...] enough, sufficient ; ofte ; yes, indeed, certainly [...] » (Steingass 1892: 184-5).

1. *ġayr*

1.1. Dialectal *ġayr* : “autrui” et “autre (que)”

A/ Comme N (invariable), est généralement déterminé

• HASS: *əl-ġäyr* “le prochain”, (expression) *māl əl-ġäyr* “le bien d'autrui”

• Takroūna (Marçais & Guiga 1958-1961: 2870) : *elġēr* “les autres”.

Indéterminé seulement après la NEG *lā* “pas du tout” :

Ex. *hāḏa la-ġēṛ* “celui-ci (ceci) et absolument personne (rien) d'autre”.

B/ “autre que” (la non-identité) : + PRON ou N déterminé

• HASS : + PRON AFF, ex. *ġäyr-ak əntä* “autre que toi” ; + N, seulement en HASS médian et dans quelques expressions comme *u ġäyr ḏāk* “et à part cela”.

• Le Caire (Woidich 2006: 187) : *ġēr* + N déterminé

Ex. *ġēr ilmafatīḥ* “etwas anders als die Schlüssel”

C/ “autre que” (la non-identité) : + N indéterminé (> ADJ)

• Iraq (Erwin 1963: 354) : + N SG, ex. *ġēr matʕam* “another (a different) restaurant” ; + N PL, ex. *ġēr mdāris* “other schools”

D/ “autre que” (la non-identité): + N indéterminé ou déterminé

• Syrie (Cowell 2005 [1964]: 468) : *ġēr marra* “another time”, *ġēr hal-marra* “not this time, some other time”, *ġēr-ak* “someone else (than you)”.

1.2. *ġayr* + N ou ADJ : sens privatif

• AR CL : “autre que”. D'où lexicalisation avec un sens privatif lorsqu'il est suivi de N ou ADJ : FR “non-, in-”, anglais “not, un-”, allemand “un-”...

Ex. *ġayr*^{u} *manṭiqiyy*^{in} “illogical”

Ex. *ḏālika l-ṣawt*^{u} *ġayr*^{u} *l-mutawaqqaʕ*^{i} “that unexpected sound”

• HASS : *žämʕ ġäyr sāləm* “PL non régulier” (< AR CL)

• Takroūna (Marçais & Guiga 1958-1961: 2870) : *ġēr-kāfi* “non suffisant” = “insuffisant”. Pour déterminer le complexe *ġēr* + ADJ, on ajoute l'ART *el* devant les 2 termes ou devant le premier seulement.

• Le Caire (Woidich 2006: 197) : si l'adjectif est nié par *ġēr* (ou *miš*), alors l'article vient avant. Ex. *ikkilma l-ġēr-maſhūma* “das unverständliche Wort”.

1.3. *ġayr* + N : PREP “après” et “moins”

Deux autres évolutions sémantiques en contexte particulier

A/ *ġayr* + N (de temps) : “après”

• Takroūna : devant des N délimitant des laps de temps, ex. *ġēr-ġudwe* “après-demain”, *ġēr-ġēr-ġudwe* “après-après-demain”.

Pour déterminer le syntagme : ART devant *ġēr* et devant le N.

B/ [NUM] + *ġayr* + NUM : “moins”

• Takroūna : a) “moins” dans le compte: *miē-ġēr eṯnēn* “cent moins deux”, *ġēr-ṛboʕ* “moins un quart”. b) *ġēr-āš ?* “moins quoi ?” et “moins qqc”

• Tunis juif (Cohen 1975: 252) : *ġīr* “moins” (≠ *ġäyr* “autrui”)

Ex. *šaʕtayn ġīr daṛžäyn* “deux heures moins dix”

1.4. [PREP +] *ġayr* : “sans”

A/ LOC PREP “sans” (cf. AR CL : *bi / min ġayr*^{i}...)

• Le Caire (Woidich 2006: 345) :

Ex. *min ġēr šuġla wala mašġala* “sans aucun emploi”

• Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 328) : *mən-ġēṛ* (= *bla*) “sans”

+ N non déterminé, ex. *xəllā-ni mən-ġēr flūs* “il m'a laissé sans argent”

+ PRON AFF, ex. *mən-ġēṛ-i* “sans moi”

+ NA : valeur d'interdiction, ex. *mən-ġēṛ žəri!* “ne cours pas!” (= *bla žəri!*).

B/ LOC CONJ “sans que” (cf. AR CL : *min ġayr*^{i} *ʔan*)

• Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 398) : *mən-ġēṛ-ma* “sans que”

• Tunis juif (Cohen 1975: 259) : *mən ġīr mä* “sans que”

• Takroūna : *bġēr-ma* et *mən-ġēr-ma* “sans que”.

1.5. *ġayr* : expression de l'exception

A/ PREP (parfois précédé de *mən*) : “sauf, excepté, hormis”

• Takroūna (Marçais & Guiga 1958-1961: 2873) : l'objet de l'exception peut être désigné par N, PRON, ADV, PROP (mais jamais par des AFF personnels).

Ex. *žāt-ennās ġēr-ḥməd* “les gens sont venus sauf Ahmed”.

• Maroc (Caubet 1993: I, 216) : *ġēr* (synonyme de *illa*) suivi de N ou PRON personnel indépendant.

Ex. *kull ši ža, ġēṛ ṛāžəl-ha* “tout le monde est venu, sauf son mari”

B/ CONJ ou LOC CONJ : “sauf que, excepté que...”
• Takroūna (Marçais & Guiga 1958-1961: 2876) : *ġēr-ma* + PROP
Ex. *nžī-kum ġudwe ġēr-ma yūqəʕ-li ʕᵃmel wāked*
“je vous viendrai demain, sauf s'il m'incombe une tâche urgente”

1.6. *ġayr* : expression d'une alternative

A/ “sauf que..., à ceci près que”, “sinon”
• Takroūna (Marçais & Guiga 1958-1961: 2876) : *ġēr-ma*
Ex. *ḥṣān bāhi ġēr ma hūwe ʕarrāq* “bon cheval, sauf qu'il sue beaucoup”
• parler *žəbli* d'Ouezzane – N-O du Maroc (El Khomssi 2017: 161) : *ġi*
Ex. *təlṯəmya a sīdi īla ma kān-š təlṯəmya ġi xallīha ʕandək*
“trois cents monsieur sinon tu gardes ton argent”.
B/ “what else but... ?, could it be otherwise than... ?”
• Iraq (Woodhead & Beene 1967: 341-2) : *ġēr*
Ex. *ġēr huwwa rād yʔaḏḏīk?* “what else but that he wanted to hurt you?”
• Eastern Arabia (Holes 2001: 386) : *idem*

1.7. *ġayr* “mais” : expression de la rectification

ġayr CONJ de COORD, cf. AR CL *ġayrᵃ ʔanna* “mais”.
• HASS : *ġayr* ou *yaġayr* “mais” (avec *ġ* ou *q* selon les régions)
Ex. *əd-däyn yäskaṛ ġeyr mā imūt*
“la dette s'enivre mais ne meurt pas” (dicton).
Ex. *l-ʕayn šäggət-hä waḥdä yaġayr naḏṛət-hä mā-hi waḥdä*
“l'œil a la même ouverture mais n'a pas la même vision” (proverbe)
• Tripoli des Juifs (Yoda 2005: 278) : *ġir* “but”
Ex. *qətlu əmši ġir ma mšaš* “I told him ‘Go!’, but he did not go” ;
Ex. *əllḥma adi friška ġir əlyud ma yakluaš xaṭəṛ iya ṭṛifa*
“this meat is fresh but Jews do not eat it because it is not kosher”
Ex. *ma nšəṛḥuš mʕəna, ġir nsəyyqu bia*
“we don’t drink from it, but we do water from it”.

1.8. [*mā*] *ġayr* : expression de la restriction

A/ NEG... + *ġayr* : “ne... que” (exception exhaustive)
• Gabès (Marçais & Farès 1933: 4) : *ma... ġēr* “ne... que”
• Mzāb (Grand'Henry 1976: 81) : *ma... qeir* à Sebseb et Ḥassi Fḥal
Ex. *ma fīh qeir wāḥəd* “il n'y en a qu'un seul” (Sebseb)
Ex. *ma nāklu qeir...* “nous ne mangeons que...” (Ḥassi Fḥal)
Ex. *ma šufna qeir...* “nous n'avons vu que...” (Sebseb)
B/ *ġayr* (sans la NEG) : “ne... que”, “seulement”

• Mzāb (Grand'Henry 1976: 81) : perte du premier élément à Metlili et à Berriane. Ex. *ʕandhum qēr šweiya* “nous n'avons vu que...”

• À Gabès, *ġēr* devant N, ADJ, PART, V : “seulement ; c'est seulement...”

1.9. *ġayr* “seulement” : ADV

Au Maroc, on observe de nombreux exemples de réduction formelle.

• Marrakech (Sánchez 2012: 240) : *ġīr-hīr-hi*, ex. *kānu ġīr əz-zyāf* “solo había trapos”, *tā-nəbqa hīr f əḍ-ḍāṛ* “solo me quedo en casa”.

• parler *žəbli* de la région d'Ouezzane (El Khomssi 2017: 161) : *ġi-ġa / ʕa-ʕi*

Ex. *ʕandi ḍ-ḍāṛ ʕa məsdūda* “j'ai une maison toujours fermée”

• autre parler *žəbli* (Chikhi 2007: 178) : *ġīṛ* réduit à *ġi* et *ġa* / *ʕa* (≠ *ġīr* “seulement si”), ex. *ʕa hūwa w bābāh* “seulement lui et son père”.

A/ Valeurs particulières devant N ou ADJ

• en Iraq (Erwin 1963: 354) : exclamatif ou intensif

Ex. *hāḏa ġēr čaḏḏāb* “What a liar he is.”, “He’s really a liar.”

B/ Valeurs particulières en tête de proposition : ADV de phrase

a) de regret à Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 443) : *kān ġēṛ* "si seulement"

Ex. *kān ġēṛ yšūfū-h!* “Si seulement ils le voyaient!”

b) de souhait au Maghreb : “pourvu que, puisse-t-il...”

• Tunis juif (Cohen 1975: 263) :

Ex. *ġīr yoṛḍa* “qu'il accepte seulement...”

• les ʔArbāʕ (Dhina 1938: 351) :

Ex. *qe*^{i} ^{u}*mmā tšūf!* “puisses-tu (le) voir!”

• parler *žəbli* (El Khomssi 2007: 161) :

Ex. *ʔa ha yəmšu* “qu'ils partent”

• parler *žəbli* (Chikhi 2007: 182) :

Ex. *ġa-yskuṯ ḥna nʕāwnūh* “qu'il se taise seulement et nous l'aiderons”

c) de forte assertion à Takroūna : “sûrement, certainement”

Ex. *ġēr-bnīti* “je suis, je l'affirme, entièrement de bonne foi”.

1.10. *ġayr* [*ma...*] : CONJ de SUB

• Takroūna : d'où *ġēr-ma* “bien sûr que, pour sûr que”

≠ *ġēr-kīf* ou *ġēr-kī* [+ *ma*] “dès que, aussitôt que”, “à peine”

ġēr : pour exprimer (avec la force inhérente à la limitation, à l'exclusion) l'antériorité immédiate[1] et l'imminence.

• Maroc (Caubet 1993: I, 233-234, 239) : *ġēr* “dès que” ; *ġēṛ īla* “comme si”.

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[1] Cf. *ġēr kīf* “à l'instant” à Taza (Colin 1920: 86).

1.11. *ġayr* + V : de l'ADV au PREV

• Marrakech (Sánchez 2012: 240) : *ġīr / hīr / hi*, ex. *rāh hīr gəlt līk hākkāk* “solo te dije eso”, *hīr kūli* “come y calla (lit. solo come)”.

• Skūra (Aguadé & Elyaacoubi 1995: 138), ex. *īwa, ġīr skŭt* “pues cállate simplemente”.

• Mzāb (Grand'Henry 1976: 93) : « usage fréquent de *qeir* avant un verbe à l'imparfait, sous la forme abrégée *qei- / qe-* : ce phénomène semble indiquer que cette particule évolue vers l'état de préfixe verbal. »

• Bou Saāda (Marçais 1945: 86) : *qa / qei*, ex. *dārt-lu rafsa qa-tsīl b-ed-dhān* “elle lui fit une galette qui ne faisait que dégoutter de beurre”

1.12. *ġayr* + V : “devoir” (modal)

• Northern Sinai Littoral (de Jong 2000: 237) : *ġayr* (souvent *ġāṛ / ġār*) est usité comme une particule devant la conjugaison préfixale pour exprimer la nécessité (= “must”, “most certainly”). Ex. *waḷḷāhiy ġēr amšiy, inšaḷḷah sanatēn...* “by God, I must go, if need be two years...” (*idem :* 325).

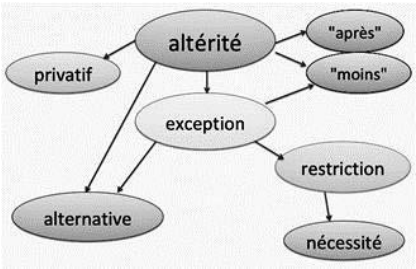
• Behnstedt & Woidich (2014: 495) donne des exemples sous *müssen*, dont:

– Jordanien / Bdūl : ex. *ġar irūḥ* “he must go”

– Palästina : ex. *wálla ġēr aḥki* “bei Gott, ich muss reden”

– Ramallah : ex. *ġēr arūḥ* “ich muss gehen”.

1.13. Carte sémantique de *ġayr*



2. *ʔillā* et ses variantes

2.1. Dialectal *illa* "sauf, excepté"

illa (ou *ʔilla / ʔella / əlla / lla*) est fréquent dans les dialectes avec ce sens[2].

• Iraq (Erwin 1963: 300) : *ʔilla* "except, but"[3]

Ex. *kullhum ʔižaw ʔilla l-mudīr* "they all came but the director"

Remarque : *illa* ne s'emploie pas avec les PRONs affixes dans les dialectes (Feghali 1928, Ritt-Benmimoun 2014...), mais il peut s'employer avec les PRONs personnels indépendants (Feghali 1928, Pereira 2010...)

• Takroūna : *ell-uxt-u* "excepté sa sœur", *ell-āni* "excepté moi".

2.2. NUM *illa* + NUM : soustraction

• Liban (Feghali 1928: 427) : *ʔella* est courant dans tout le Liban.

Comme en CL, il exprime l'idée d'exception, de restriction, et, par extension, celle de soustraction : "sauf ; moins".

• Mardin (Grigore 2007: 276) : la PREP *əlla* exprime la privation ou le manque d'une partie d'un ensemble. Ex. *sāʕa ṯāṯe əlla rəbʕ aṭlaʕ mə-l-bayt* "À trois heures moins quart je sors de la maison".

• Takroūna (Marçais & Guiga 1958-1961: 102) : "moins" dans le comput n'apparaît que dans *(e)llā-ṛob* "moins un quart". C'est un très vieil élément des parlers citadins du Maghreb. Dans l'ensemble du comput, "moins" est *ġēr*.

2.3. *ʔillā* [*ʔanna*] : LOC CONJ

• AR CL : *ʔillā ʔanna* "sauf que" et *ʔillā ʔiḏā* "sauf si".

• Iraq (Woodhead & Beene 1967: 13) : *ʔilla ʔiḏa* "unless"

• Égypte (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 32) : *ʔilla ʕiza* "unless", *ʔilla wi-* "except that"

• Gabès (Marçais & Farès 1933: 234) : *ella-ma* "seulement dans le cas où"

• Soudan (Reichmuth 1983: 306) : *ʕilla* "nur, wenn ; nur, dass"

• Tripoli des Juifs (Yoda 2005: 283) : *wəlla~wla* "otherwise, lest".

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2 Il est inusité en HASS où "sauf, excepté" se dit *yäkūn* (Taine-Cheikh 2014).

3 *ʔilla* (with negative) "only", ex. *ma-ašūfa ʔilla marra bil-isbūʕ* "I only see him once a week".

2.4. *w-illa* "ou" : CONJ de COORD

• AR CL : *ʔillā* précédé de la CONJ de COORD donne *wa-ʔillā* "if not"

• Iraq : a) (Erwin 1963: 330) : *wala* "and not, nor, or"

b) (Woodhead & Beene 1967: 32) : *w-ʔilla, willa* "or, or else"

• Liban (Feghali 1928: 431) : *wella* "ou bien ; sinon"

• Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 386) : *wəlla /* (moins fréquent) *āw* "ou, ou bien"

• Soudan (Reichmuth 1983: 299) : *walla "*oder" (avec 1ère voyelle *a* comme à Gabès (Marçais & Farès 1933), à Douz (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014)...

Avec emphase du *l* (distinctive dans certains parlers) :

• Djidjelli (Marçais 1945: 540) : *w-əlla* "ou, ou bien", souvent *w-aḷḷa*

• HASS : *waḷḷa* "ou" (≠ *wällä* "retourner, faire demi-tour")

• Skūra (Aguadé & Elyaacoubi 1995: 137) : *(ā)wŭḷḷa* "o" (≠ *wŭlla* "volverse")

2.5. *illa* "seulement" : ADV

• HASS : *ällā / llā* "seulement" (≠ *waḷḷa* "ou") exprime la restriction et la mise en relief, mais pas l'exception. Il porte toujours sur ce qui suit : ex. *ällā wāḥəd* "seulement un, un seul", *ällā təbki* "elle ne fait que pleurer".

ällā / llā peut être explétif, notamment devant *kīv* :

Ex. *ällā kīv təbġi* "(seulement) comme tu veux, comme il te plaira"

• Iraq (Woodhead & Beene 1967: 13) : *ʔilla* [2.] "just, only", ex. *ma-aqbal. ʔilla ʔarīd qalami nafasa* "I don't want (this). I only want my own pen".

2.6. *illa* (placé en tête) : ADV d'insistance

• Takroūna (Marçais & Guiga 1958-1961: 103-105):

– *ella* "sûrement, certainement", "bel et bien"

Ex. *ella-qālha hūwœ* "bien sûr qu'il l'a dit, lui!"

– *ella-ma* "seulement si....", "il est sûr que" en tête d'une proposition pour donner à une assertion une énergie particulière.

– *ella-kīf* ou *ella-kī* [+ *ma*] "dès que, aussitôt que", "à peine"

• Liban (Feghali 1928: 431)

— *ʔella* (= CL *ʔalā* selon Feghali). La particule *ʔella* est ici redondante.

Ex. *ʔella daxlak ʔaš beddak mennu* "eh bien! je t'en prie, laisse-le tranquille"

— *malla* d'étonnement, admiration ou ironie (< *mā* "ne" + *ʔilla*).

Ex. *málla ġaḥš* "quel ânon!" (= tu n'es qu'un ânon)

2.7. *illa* [+ *w*-] ADV : soudaineté

• Maghreb (Beaussier 1958: 14) : *illā w* “tout à coup, voici que, lorsque”
Ex. *illā w-ynffz* “tout à coup il saute”
• Liban (Feghali 1928: 429) : *ʔella* [+ *we- / u-*] “voici que, soudain”
Ex. *ma šāf mʕalˡmu ʔella [u]ʕendu* “il vit soudain son maître chez lui”
• Égypte (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 32) : un développement soudain et inattendu. Ex. *ʔilla yiggawwiz* “of all things, he should go and get married”

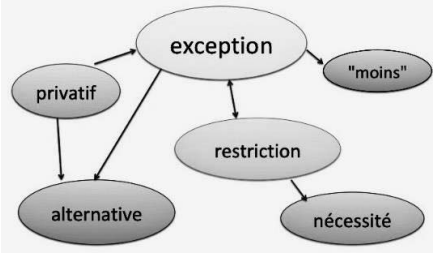
2.8. *illa* + V > “devoir” (nécessité)

• Iraq (Woodhead & Beene 1967: 13) : *ʔilla* « denoting inevitability or necessity (approx.: “must”) ».
Ex. *waḷḷa ma-yṣīr, ʔilla tiži* “No, that can’t be. You’ve got to come”
• Eastern Arabia (Holes 2001) : *illa*
Ex. *illa ṭṭabbig wi tsattir!* “you must cover and protect (your crops!)”.
• Les Baggara du Kordofan (Manfredi 2018: 141) : *ille* (seulement avec participant externe). Ex. *ille ti-sawwi imtil da* “you have to do like this”.

2.9. Remarque sur les dérivés de *yā allāh*

• L'expression votive *yā allāh* “ô Dieu!” donne une interjection qui, suivie d'un IMP (parfois d'un N), prend souvent une valeur d'incitation ou d'ordre :
– Le Caire (Woidich 2006) : *yaḷḷa* particule d'IMP “auf! schnell!”, ex. *yaḷḷa kul* “komm, iss!”, *yaḷḷa ʕala ʔoḍtak* “auf in dein Zimmer”.
– Feghali (1928: 88) : *yaḷḷa* + N ou IMP “allons, ...” s'emploie quelquefois au Liban pour encourager, exciter ou hâter une action, mais ne s'emploie pas (comme au Maghreb) pour exprimer l'IMP avec la 1PL.
– Tripoli (Pereira 2010: 439) : *yəḷḷa~həyya* interjection précédant une 1PL.
• HASS : à côté de l'interjection *yā-ḷḷāh / ya aḷḷāh* “ô Dieu!”, on trouve *yāḷḷa* (en isolation) “il faudrait!” et surtout *yāḷḷt-* + PRON AFF “falloir, devoir”, un pseudo-verbe exprimant la nécessité intérieure ou l'obligation morale.
Ex. *yāḷḷt-i nəštġal* “je dois / devrais travailler, il fau(drai)t que je travaille”.
Le modal semble dérivé de *yā-ḷḷāh* “ô Dieu!” (non de *ʔilla* > HASS *ällā* “seulement”), mais la similitude de sens avec les dérivés de *ʔilla* figurant sous 2.8. pourrait être le signe d'une contamination entre les deux dérivations.

2.10. Carte sémantique de *ʔillā*



3. *bas(s)*

Faute de place je ne citerai que le cas de l'arabe de Damas (d'après Salamé & Lentin 2010), mais il semble assez représentatif des emplois de *bas(s)*.

A - ADV

1. “seulement”, “uniquement” ; *u bass* (en fin d’énoncé)

2. a) “assez”, “ça suffit”. b) “assez, ça suffit comme ça, pas plus”.

B - CONJ de COORD : “mais”, “seulement”

C - CONJ de SUB (temporelle ; conditionnelle)

1. a) + inaccompli sans *b-* : “quand, chaque fois que” ; “lorsque”.
   b) + accompli : “à peine, aussitôt que”.

2. “pourvu que, du moment que” ; avec NEG : portant sur la subordonnée / portant sur un énoncé simple exclamatif.

D - Particule de souhait ou de regret : “ah ! si seulement !” ; associé à *law* ; seul ; *ʔāx bass* (seul ou suivi de *law*).

Conclusion

Le tableau (1) permet la comparaison des emplois de *ġayr*, *ʔillā* et *bass* – si ce n'est tous, du moins les principaux. Il montre d'importantes convergences.

ġayr, *ʔillā* et *bass* ne sont pas attestés partout et présentent des évolutions sémantiques et formelles différentes selon les dialectes. Quelques évolutions paraissent liées à des aires particulières[4].

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[4] Celle de *ġayr* “mais” mériterait d'être précisée. L'intervention (“Arabic discourse markers in Berber-Arabic bilinguals” L1 and L2”) de Valentina Serreli et Valentina Schittarella à Grenade durant le colloque d'AIDA a apporté des précisions intéressantes à ce sujet pour l'Égypte.

Dans le tableau figurent les formes telles qu'elles sont attestées en HASS : différenciées, elles sont dérivées de *ġayr* et de *ʔillā*, sauf *yaḷḷa* qui dérive plus vraisemblablement de *ya allāh*. Dans d'autres parlers, il arrive que des formes identiques assument plusieurs fonctions, le sens ne dépendant alors que de la construction syntaxique.

Tableau (1)	***ġayr***	***ʔillā***	***bass***
exception	oui + PRON AFF	oui *PRON AFF	–
restriction “ne...que” “seulement” (ADV)	oui	oui *(ə)llā*	oui
rectification / alternative CONJ de COORD “mais” / “ou”	oui *(ya)ġayr*	*w-* *waḷḷa*	oui
CONJ de SUB (+ *ma*...) souvent temporelle	oui	oui	oui
insistance + regret ou souhait	oui	oui	Oui
nécessité : “devoir”	oui	oui [*yaḷḷa*]	–

En étudiant en parallèle les changements sémantiques et les changements catégoriels, j'ai suivi les voies de grammaticalisation les plus probables en fonction de sens “premiers”. En conclusion (et vu la différence dans les sens originels), je n'exclus pas l'hypothèse de polygrammaticalisations dans un domaine plus large : celui de l'exception / restriction / altérité dont peuvent émerger, secondairement, d'autres notions comme celle de la nécessité. Il est à noter que, dans l'ouvrage de Heine & Kuteva (2002), les notions d'obligation et de restriction ne sont pas reliées à celles d'altérité et d'exception, et que ces dernières – sauf erreur de ma part – n'y figurent pas.

Abréviations

ADJ = adjectif, ADV = adverbe, AFF = affixe, AOR = aoriste, AR = arabe, CL = classique, CONJ = conjonction / conjonctive, COORD = coordination, ex. = exemple, FR = français, HASS = ḥassāniyya, IMP = impératif, LOC = locution, N = nom(inal), NA = nom d'action, NEG = négation / négative, NUM = numéral, PART = participe, PL = pluriel, PREP = préposition(nel) / prépositive, PREV = préverbe, PRON = pronom, PROP = proposition, SG = singulier, SUB = subordination / subordonnée, V = verbe

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The Arabic Dialect of a Jordanian Camel-Breeder Tribe: A Comparative Analysis of Selected Phonological and Morphological Features of the Bani Ṣaxar Variety

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Abstract

The speech of the camel-breeders of the Arabian Peninsula is said to be very archaic and conservative in relation to other Arabic dialects. However, this state of affairs has not yet been confirmed for modern dialects due to the lack of study on this subject (Younes 2018: 265) which could corroborate such assumptions.

In this framework the present work aims at providing new insights into the recent developments of the Bedouin Arabic dialect of the Bani Ṣaxar tribe in Jordan.

Hitherto, only short grammatical sketches of their speech have been available (Cantineau 1937, Palva 1980). Thus, to provide new material I carried out two fieldwork campaigns between 2021 and 2022.

Some phonological and morphological specificities of their speech are here stressed and compared to those of two other Jordanian tribes (Bani ʕAbbād and Ḥwēṭāt, that are respectively sheep and camel-rearing), and some tribes located in Negev (Ẓullām and ʕAzāzmih) and Saudi Arabia (Šammar and Ḥarb), for a better understanding of the development of the Ṣxari dialect, in relation to its geographical position and/or historical ties with the neighboring tribes.

Keywords: Spoken Arabic varieties, Bedouin-type Arabic, Jordanian Arabic, Arabic Dialectology, Arabic Linguistics.

1. Introduction

Comprehensive grammatical descriptions of camel-breeder Bedouin dialects of Jordan are to date not available. In particular, the existing literature about the variety spoken by the Bani Ṣaxar[1] tribe is still fragmentary and outdated.

The development of this dialect is somehow unique in comparison to the other dialects spoken in the region due to the coexistence of salient features belonging to very different dialectal groups[2].

As we will see in the next sections[3] dedicated to some phonological and morphological elements, this variety shares some characteristics with the dialect spoken by the Ḥarb[4] (from which the Bani Ṣaxar claim to descend), those spoken by the Šammar[5] and some camel-breeder and sheep-rearing tribes in Jordan, the Bani ʕAbbād and the Ḥwēṭāt[6] (with and against whom the tribe fought for the control of its territory), and on a regional level/macrolevel with those spoken in the Negev by the Ẓullām[7] and ʕAzāzmih[8].

2. Phonological elements

In the following table the phonemes /q/, /k/ and the syllable structure are presented in a comparative light, and they will be discussed in the text below.

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1 Plural Ṣxūr – They are among the most important Arabic Bedouin tribes in Jordan and are divided into two groups: *al-Ṭwaga* and *al-Ćaʕābna*.

2 The data presented in this paper are the result of two fieldwork campaigns carried out between 2021 and 2022. Both main branches of the tribe (in particular the al-Xaḏēr, al-Daraybi, al-Zeben, as-Sabīla, and Dahāmeš families) were recorded in Ruǧm aš-Šāmi al-Ǵarbi, Manara (al-Ǧīza), Qaṣr ʕAmra, Muwaqqar, Umm al-Walīd (al-Ǧīza), Nitl, Umm ar-Raṣāṣ, ad-Dāmxi, al-Mṣēṭba and Ruǧm Fḥēd.

3 This article was written in the frame of the *WIBARAB* project conducted within the ERC Advanced Grant 101020127. The acronym stands for: What is Bedouin-type Arabic? – The linguistic and socio-historical realities behind the millennia-old dichotomous concept of nomadic and sedentary people in the Middle East and North Africa.

The fieldwork campaign carried out in 2021 was funded with a Doc Fellowship of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW).

4 It is one of the most powerful tribes of the Ḥiǧāz and Naǧd (Peake 1958: 215).

5 Prochazka (1988).

6 Palva (1986).

7 Blanc (1970).

8 Shawarbah (2011).

	Reflexes of /q/	Reflexes of /k/	Syllable structure
Bani Ṣaxar	*g* [g] *ǧ* [dʒ] *ǵ* [dz]	*k* [k] *č* [ʧ] *ć* [ts]	coexistence of trochaic and atrochaic rhythm
Bani ʕAbbād	*g* [g] *ǧ* [dʒ] vestigial	*k* [k] *č* [ʧ] vestigial	atrochaic
Ḥwēṭāt	*g* [g] only	*k* [k] only	not documented
Ḥarb	depends on tribal subgroup	depends on tribal subgroup	not documented
Šammar	*g* [g] *ǵ* [dz]	*ć* [ts]	trochaic
Negev (Ẓullām - ʕAzāzmih)	*g* [g] only	*k* [k] only	Ẓ: trochaic ʕA: residual trochaism

Comparative Table 1.

2.1. Consonants

As for the consonants, we notice three reflexes of Old Arabic (OA) /q/ in the Bani Ṣaxar dialect:

a) *g* [g] in *ngūl* "we say", *gāyid* "commander", *gabīla* "tribe", *gawi* "strong", *girgaʕa* "goatskin container", *gaṭīʕ* "type of yogurt".[9]
b) *ǧ* [dʒ] in a front environment, *Aḷḷa yabǧīk* "may God keep you (m.) alive", *ǧiddām* "in front of", *ʕeǧib* "young children", *šiǧǧ* "part of the tent reserved to men".
c) *ǵ* [dz], already attested by Palva (1980: 114), surfaced so far only once in the word *ṣadīǵ* "friend".

As for the realization of OA /k/ we find two different types of affrication in the vicinity of anterior vowels, *č* [ʧ] or *ć* [ts]: ex. *wēneč?* "where are you (f.)?", *čīf* "how", *abūć* "your (f.) father", *ćān* fi "there was", *raćbān* "riding".

So far, Cantineau (1937) and Palva (1980) attributed two different consonant systems to the Bani Ṣaxar dialect: Cantineau with the reflexes *g/ǧ* and *k/č* and Palva with the *g/ǵ* and *k/ć* realizations of *qāf* and *kāf*.

9 Bedouin yogurt made with goat milk.

However, it seems that both descriptions lacked ample linguistic data from all the main branches of the tribe: Cantineau based his analysis on one single member of the tribe, while Palva collected his data from the Abu Ǧnēb clan and made some sporadic observations on the Xrēša and Fāyiz. Given the divergent realizations obtained by Cantineau, Palva admits that some clans of the tribe may use the affricates *ǧ* and *č*, but he believes it is improbable that the two reflexes (i.e., *ǧ/č* and *ǵ/ć*) could occur in the same dialect.

In the light of the newly analyzed data that take into consideration the speakers coming from both main branches of the tribe, the previously drawn conclusions on the consonant realizations are to be considered incomplete.

The reflexes *ć* of /k/ and *ǵ* of /q/ are in fact markers of clan affiliation, which are only used by the al-Ṭwaga branch of the tribe.

This "interclan variation"[10] phenomenon can be attributed either 1) to the different migration waves that brought the Bani Ṣaxar to Jordan, or 2) to the contact between the al-Čaʕābna members and the *šāwi*-type tribes of this area and the population of cities like Salṭ[11].

The first hypothesis can be corroborated in the light of the data already collected by Holes (1991), where he highlighted the correlation between the current distribution of the variants *č* and *ć* in the peninsular Arabic dialects, and the traces left by tribal migrations[12].

The second explanation may hold true if we take into consideration the changes that occur when contacts between different linguistic communities increase[13]. In fact, we can suppose that once settled, some Bani Ṣaxar clans acquired some dialectal features widespread in the speech of their neighbors, while the others, living in more remote areas, kept their original traits.

Both hypotheses can thus justify the lack of the variants *ć* and *ǵ* in the speech of a part of the tribe, which is, incidentally, also backed by the statements made by the native speakers about their own dialect[14].

It is interesting to note that the variants *ć* and ǵ (considered as one of the most salient[15] traits of the dialect in communication with outsiders) are

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10 Previously named "interclan change" in Torzullo (2022b).

11 Herin (2010) attests the presence of the /č/ type affrication in his description of the Salṭi dialect.

12 One of the key points of the article is that "the present layered geographical configuration of reflexes of OA /q/ and /k/ in northern and eastern Arabia and the Levant is due to successive waves of migration and settlement from mid-7th century to the late 18th century" (Holes 1991:66).

13 Rosenhouse (1984: 260), Giles & Ogay (2007: 296), Giles et al. (1973: 179)

14 They claim to be able to recognize clan affiliation by this prominent phonological trait.

15 In this respect, one of the speakers interviewed, recounted an anecdote which occurred between a boy from the Bani Ṣaxar tribe and a girl from ʕAmmān. At the exit of the university, he wanted to ask where her father was waiting for her, and asked her *Wēn abū-ć?* "Where is your (f.) dad?", but the girl, not used to his dialect, understood *Wēn abūs?* "Where do I kiss [you]?", which led to quite a heated argument.

becoming less frequent: they mostly appear in the speech of the eldest al-Ṭwaga and of those who inhabit more remote areas.

To my knowledge, the Bani Ṣaxar dialect is the only one that exhibits two types of affrications for the old Arabic /qāf/ and /kāf/.

Compared with the other dialects of this geographical area (see *Comparative Table 1*), this characteristic is somehow remarkable. Hitherto, in the Jordanian context, the /ǵ/ type affrication has not yet been reported for any other Bedouin dialect, while the /ć/ reflex was recorded for the al-ʕĪsa (Younes 2018: 5).

As for the /č/-/ǧ/ variables, they are nowadays often reduced to mere vestigial variants, as in the case of the ʕAbābīd, (Torzullo 2022a), or totally absent, as is the case for the Ḥwēṭāt.

In the adjacent Negev area, there are virtually no traces of these traits, as stated by both Shawarbah and Blanc.

The only neighboring or tribally related dialects that have /ć/ and /ǵ/ realizations are those of the Šammar and Ḥarb: the first clearly displays only these reflexes, while in the second mainly the Northern Central group pronounces them with this type of affrication[16].

The Bani Ṣaxar dialect can thus be considered as unique within the North and Northwest Arabian Bedouin dialects.

2.2. Syllable structure

When a sequence CvCC or CV̄C is followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant, an /a/ usually occurs before the suffix, i.e., the syllable structure is trochaic: *tārīx-aham* "their (m.) history", *taqālīd-ana* "our traditions", *ʕind-ana* "at ours", *kill-ana* "us all", *kill-aham* "they (m.) all", *ǧdūd-aham* "their (m.) ancestors", *byūt-aham* "their (m.) houses", *ḏahar-aha* "her back"[17], *b-īdēn-aham* "with their (m.) hands", *ḥalawiyyāt-ana* "our sweets", *beyn-aham* "between them (m.)", *yāklūn-aha* "they (m.) eat her".

The insertion vowel is /i/ when the suffix vowel is /i/, following the rules of vowel harmony: *yšāwrūn-ihin* "they (m.) ask their (f.) opinion", *ki/ull-ihin* "they (f.) all", *beyn-ihin* "between them (f.)".

Cantineau and Palva both described this feature, but differently from each other and from my data. The instances reported by Cantineau are all nouns in the plural form; Palva found it only in verbal and pseudoverbal forms and in two prepositions, while in my corpus trochaism appears with nouns (in the singular and plural flexion), prepositions and, to a minor extent, in a verbal

[16] Il-Hazmy (1975) reports a great variety of affricated realizations according to the different subgroups that form the Ḥarb tribe.

[17] This example is not conform to the sequences observed so far, but it is probably a result of the non-elision of the "secondary" *-a* of the original *ḏahr-aha*.

environment. Furthermore, in my recordings, the presence of trochaic syllables is subject to variation. In fact, it is possible to observe all along the texts also atrochaic realizations, sometimes even for the same lexeme.

Due to this rhythmical heterogeneity, it is difficult to account for a systematization of this rule. According to the available literature, trochaism seemed to have initially permeated nominal sequences, and only after that verbal and prepositional ones, thus facilitating first the articulation of more complex syllable units and then gradually spreading to the simplest ones[18].

The atrochaic sequences might have been introduced at a later time due to the contact with the neighboring dialects in which this structure is prominent. The Bani Ṣaxar vernacular is at the moment characterized by a great degree of intraindividual variation and it is not yet clear which will be the ultimate development of this feature. According to Anttila (2003: 161) "change presupposes a period of variation although variation need not produce change".

In *Table 1*, it is obvious that only the dialects of the Šammar and Ẓullām maintain a primarily trochaic syllable structure.

In most dialects trochaism is absent, disappearing (most residual instances are found in poetry) or coexists with atrochaic forms.

As for the Ḥwēṭāt and the Ḥarb, there is no mention of trochaism in the works of Palva and Il-Hazmy, thus it is impossible to make any considerations in this regard. Il-Hazmy (1975) notices the preservation of an anaptyctic vowel in the preposition *ʕind-* followed by the pronominal suffixes, which could be considered as a vestige of an older trochaic syllable sequence. However, it is not possible to assert this with certainty.

Thus, we cannot say if the dialect of the Bani Ṣaxar took this feature from their Ḥarbi ancestors or if it was introduced at a later moment, perhaps, by contact with the Šammar, of whom they were a satellite tribe according to Cantineau (1937).

3. Morphological elements

Three morphological features are presented in the following comparative table, and they will be discussed in the text below.

[18] Examples of these tendencies are found in Cantineau (1936: 55-56) and Palva (1980: 118-119).

	C1=ʔ verbs	Genitive constructions	Non-verbal negation
Bani Ṣaxar	*ʔakal - yākil* *ʔaxaḏ - yāxiḏ*	construct state *giyy* *tabaʕ*	*mā* (vestigial) *mū/mu* *miš*
Bani ʕAbbād	*kala ~ ʔakal – ākil ~ ōkil* *xaḏa ~ ʔaxaḏ - axeḏ ~ ōxuḏ*	construct state *giyy* (vestigial) *tabaʕ*	*mū* *miš* *muš*
Ḥwēṭāt	*ʔakal - yākil* *ʔaxaḏ - yāxiḏ*	construct state *tabaʕ* (koiné loan)	*mū, muhu; mī, mihi; muhu; mihin* etc.
Ḥarb	*ʔaxaḏ - yāxeḏ ~ yāxuḏ*[19]	construct state *ḥagg*	*mā*
Šammar	Ḥāyil: *kála - yakil* *xáḏa - yaxiḏ* al-Qaṣīm: *ʔakal-yakil* *ʔaxaḏ - yaxiḏ*	not documented	*mā*
Negev (Ẓullām - ʕAzāzmih)	Ẓ:[20] *yākul, yāxuḏ* ʕA: *(a)kal - yākil* *(a)xaḏ - yāxiḏ*	Ẓ: *šuġl - tabaʕ* ʕA: construct state, *šuġl, tabaʕ* (limited)	Ẓ: *ma*+pronouns *miš, muš* (K-forms) ʕA: *mā* + prepositions, particles, pronouns

Comparative Table 2.

3.1. C1=ʔ verbs

The verbs "to eat" and "to take" are, as a general trend, inflected in the perfective like final weak verbs, while in the imperfective, they follow the same pattern as initially weak (C1=ʔ) verbs.

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19 The paradigm of the verb *to eat* is not reported, but we can assume it follows the same patterns of *to take*.

20 The perfect forms are not given.

Palva (1980) states that the Bani Ṣaxar use, in the perfective, the patterns *kala, kalat, kalēt,* etc., *xaḏa*, *xaḏat*, *xaḏēt,* etc., and in the imperfective *yākil, yāxiḏ*, thus confirming the instances documented by Cantineau (1937), which are *kála*, *xáḏa, yākel, yākölän*.

However, recently collected data show different paradigms from those mentioned above. The following forms were obtained by elicitation from different speakers, and a few also appear in some recordings of free speech:

To eat		PFV	IPFV
SG	1 C	*ʔakalt*	*ākil*
	2 M	*ʔakalt*	*tākil*
	2 F	*ʔakalti*	*tāklīn ~ tākli*
	3 M	*ʔakal*	*yākil*
	3 F	*ʔakalat*	*tākil*
PL	1 C	*ʔakalna*	*nākil*
	2 M	*ʔakaltu*	*tāklūn*
	2 F	*ʔakaltin*	*tāklin*
	3 M	*ʔakalaw*	*yāklūn*
	3 F	*ʔakalin*	*yāklin*

Table 3 Perfective and imperfective forms of the verb “to eat”.

To take		PFV	IPFV
SG	1 C	*ʔaxaḏt*	*āxiḏ*
	2 M	*ʔaxaḏt*	*tāxid*
	2 F	*ʔaxaḏti*	*tāxḏīn*
	3 M	*ʔaxaḏ*	*yāxiḏ*
	3 F	*ʔaxaḏat*	*tāxiḏ*
PL	1 C	*ʔaxaḏna*	*nāxiḏ*
	2 M	*ʔaxaḏtu*	*tāxḏūn*
	2 F	*ʔaxaḏtin*	*tāxḏin*
	3 M	*ʔaxaḏaw*	*yāxḏūn*
	3 F	*ʔaxaḏin*	*yāxḏin*

Table 4 Perfective and imperfective forms of the verb “to take”.

We can notice that in this verbal environment the /kāf/ is never affricated, while this phenomenon does happen in the same root word *ʔaćil* “food” for the al-Ṭwaga section of the tribe.

It is possible to observe that in the perfective the two verbs diverge significantly from the occurrences reported by Cantineau and Palva, since they both maintain a strong inflection. However, it is hard to state if these forms already coexisted with the ones reported in the previous studies, or whether they are an innovation that occurred more recently in the dialect.

As we can see from *Comparative Table 2*, this characteristic associates the vernacular in question more with the Ḥarb and Ḥwēṭāt dialects and no longer exclusively with the Šammar one, thus leading to the question of whether or not it is indeed a real Bc[21] dialect as has been commonly accepted up to this point.

As far as the imperfective is concerned, we notice the adoption of the 2f.s. form *tākli* (comparable to *tōkli*/*tākli* in Salṭ and ʕAmmān). It is interesting that this short feminine form has not yet penetrated in the paradigm of the verb *to take*.

Regarding the imperfective vowel /i/, Ṣxari follows the majority of the North and Northwest Arabian dialects.

3.2. Genitive exponents

The Bani Ṣaxar express possessive and genitive relationships mostly through the construct state (*iḍāfa*).

However, during recent inquiries, two different genitive exponents occurred: *tabaʕ* and *giyy*. The first appeared in natural speech and also in written sources on social media:

1. *Hassā al-girgaʕa kbīra… yaʕni tkūn* ***tabaʕt*** *čabš aw iši kbīr yaʕni kbīra alli tāxiḏ kammiyya kṯīra min al-ḥalīb*

"Now the goatskin container (*girgaʕa*) is big… I mean it is made of the skin of the ram, or something big, yes big, that [can] take a big amount of milk"

2. *Ṣār lāzim aġaddid al-playlist* ***tabʕat****-i kullaha aġāni šatwiyya*

"I should renew my playlist, all the songs are wintery"

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21 In the second part of his study, Cantineau (1937: 116-117) defines as follows the group Bc:

"Il existe toute une série de parlers don la parenté avec celui des Šammar est évidente, et qui par ailleurs ont quelques rapports avec ceux des petits nomades C ; aussi nous les appelleront des parlers Bc. […] C'est surtout dans la Syrie et en Transjordanie que les parlers de ce type sont abondants. […] Chez eux, l'essentiel de la structure d'un parler Šammar se retrouve […]. Mais par d'autres côtés (qui relèvent d'ailleurs plutôt de la phonétique et du vocabulaire que de la morphologie) ces parlers se rapprochent plutôt des parlers C. […] Mais ces parlers ne sont pas de simples compromis entre le parler des Šammar et les parlers des petits nomades syro-mésopotamiens ; ils ont leurs particularités propres qui ne s'expliquent ni par l'un, ni par l'autre des deux groups. […] Il faut (donc) plutôt penser à des tribus, peut-être d'abord géographiques voisines des Šammar, peut-être satellites des Šammar".

The second, *giyy*, surfaced during a grammatical survey, accompanied by the remark that its use belongs to a very archaic register and is nowadays outdated: *al-aġrād* ***giyyāt****-ič* "your (f.s.) things".

According to Cleveland (1963: 61) and Behnstedt and Woidich (2021: 405), *giyy* is the local Bedouin Jordanian genitive exponent. In my material it has only appeared once so far and seems to have been largely replaced by the Levantine loan *tabaʕ*.

This shift, from an autochthonous form (or particle) to the dominant *tabaʕ* is noticeable in almost all the nomadic dialects, with the exception of Ḥarb (§ *Comparative Table 2*). Still, the construct state remains the most extensively used strategy of expressing genitive and possessive relationships.

3.3. Non-verbal negation

The inventory of non-verbal negation in this dialect is quite diverse.

According to Cantineau (1936: 37) *mā* should be the only negative particle used by Bedouin dialects, but the state of affairs is nowadays more complex, as non-verbal negation has acquired new forms. In my recordings, it is rendered by three different particles: *miš*, *mū*/*mu* and once by *mā*, as we can observe in the following examples:

1. *law samaḥt maḥalak* ***miš*** *hōn* "Excuse me, your seat is not here"
2. *yaʕni b-al-ayyām* ***miš*** *ǧīl-na sabʕa tiyyām ysawwūn al-ʕirs* "It is to say that during the time, not of our generation, the wedding last[ed] seven days"
3. ***mu****-hu waləd ʕamm-i Maḥmūd? ʕAbdaḷḷa min Rāʔid ʕamm-ana* "He is not the son of my uncle Maḥmūd, ʕAbdaḷḷa is from our uncle Rāʔid"
4. ***mū*** *miṯl alli ʕind-ana* "not like the one we have"
5. *aṣ-Ṣxari ʕind aṣ-Ṣxari maʕzib* ***mā*** *huwwa ḍīf* "a Ṣxari is a part of family at another Ṣxari's (place), he is not just a guest"

Example n°5 with *mā* can be regarded as a reminiscence of the older non-verbal negation system mentioned by Cantineau, that today can still be found in the dialect of the Ḥarb and Šammar (see *Comparative Table 2*). In most of the Bedouin dialects considered in this paper, *mā* is still used to negate prepositions and particles or, when combined with personal pronouns to express a negative copula. The impersonal negative form *mū* (<*ma+hū*) or *mu* is only used in Jordan, but it appears only sporadically in the data I collected. The most attested negation in my corpus remains *miš*, a koiné form, which gained ground not only in the dialect of the Bani Ṣaxar, but in almost all Bedouin dialects in Jordan and Negev, as a consequence of the influence of the more prestigious sedentary varieties.

4. Conclusion

The examination of the phonological and morphological elements discussed in this paper shows that the data collected during my fieldwork campaigns does not always correspond to the previous works on the Bani Ṣaxar dialect published by Cantineau and Palva. Nowadays, there is much variation within this vernacular (possibly due to inherited old inter-clan differences) and between it and the other Bedouin dialects of the region. Therefore we should question the status of this variety as Bc group dialect. In depth monograph studies are much needed to shed more light on the specificities of camel-breeder dialects and to rethink the current classifications.

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Presentative *aku* in Emirati Arabic

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Abstract

One of several Arabic existential particles, *aku* is characteristic of the Arabic dialects of Iraq and Kuwait, and it is known to occur in some Bahraini dialects. Less known is that it is also a feature of Emirati Arabic, in which it is used as an existential particle, but its more frequent use is as a presentative. This places Emirati Arabic *aku* on a cline, manifesting gradations of form and function between southern Yemen, where it functions as a presentative, inflecting for gender and number; along the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula, where it displays both presentative and existential meanings and inflects for gender and sometimes number; into Mesopotamia, where it is an uninflected existential particle. Comparison of well attested presentatives from other Arabic varieties with its various uses in Emirati Arabic show that existential *aku* derives from presentative *hā* and its *ʔa* allophone, the distal deictic element *-k*, and pronominal suffixes. This lends credence to the proposal for a southern Arabian origin of existential *aku* as deriving from Arabic deictic elements, while casting doubt upon proposals for Mesopotamian origins as a borrowing from Akkadian or Aramaic or as deriving from the Arabic verb *ya-kūn* "to be".

Keywords: Arabic existential particles, Arabic presentatives, Emirati Arabic, southern peninsular Arabic.

The existential particle *aku* (negative *māku*), with a meaning "there is/are (not)", is characteristic of Iraqi and Kuwaiti Arabic. Johnstone provides a typical configuration:

(1) Kuwait (Johnstone 1967: 146)

a. ***aku*** *wāyid* *sayyār-āt*
EXIST many automobile-PL
"There [are] many automobiles"

b. ***māku*** *ṣēd*
NEX [hunted] game
"There [is] not game"

It also appears further south in some dialects of Bahrain (Holes 2016: 16, 104-105, 112; 2018: 120). It is, however, little reported in Arabic dialects of the southernmost Arabian Gulf, but it does occur in Emirati Arabic, where it inflects for gender.[1]

(2) Sharjah

a. ***aku*** *farg* *čibīr* *bēn* *il-iṯnēn*
EXIST.M difference large PREP DET-two
"There [is] a big difference between the two"

b. ***aki*** *awrāg* *ʕinda-kum* *nusax*
EXIST.F papers PREP- PRO.2PL copies
"There [are] papers; you have copies"

The so-called "deflected" agreement with a non-human plural predicate in (2b) occurs with human plural predicates, too, although examples are rare.

(3) Sharjah

aki *fi-l-muštašfayāt* *rāgd-īn* *atfāl*
EXIST.F PREP-DET-hospitals sleep.PCPT-PL children
"There [are] children lying in the hospitals"

Nevertheless, *aku* is not the usual existential particle in use in Emirati Arabic (those of the southern Gulf being *fī* and *šay*(*y*)/*šē*/*šī* [Wilmsen 2022: 148-150; Wilmsen & Al-Taei 2022-2023] and occasionally *hast* [Qafisheh 1977: 201]). Nor is existential predication the only or most frequent usage to which it is put. More often is it used as a presentative (for which in Arabic, see Khan 2008: 703-705), meaning "here/there he/she/it is/are," also inflecting for gender.

(4) Sharjah

a. *gāl-l-ah* ***aki*** *ʕaṣā-k*
say.PFV.3MSG-DAT-PRO.3MSG PRT.F stick-PRO.3MSG
"He said to him: 'Here [is] your stick'"

b. ***aku*** *bēt-hum* *mawǧūd*
PRT.M house-PRO.3PL present
"There [is] their house; [it is still] there"

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[1] According to Qafisheh (1977: 201-202), "the Kuwaiti negative forms *kān aku* and *kaan māku* (or *ma kān aku*) … are used rarely in Abu Dhabi." Leung, Ntelitheos, and Al Kaabi (2021) do not report it.

The Sharjah examples of existential and presentative *aku*/*aki* here and below come from a series of recordings and their transcripts housed at the Sharjah Museums Authority (SMA), documenting pre-oil-era residents of old-town Sharjah in the northern United Arab Emirates, recalling life in the Sharjah of their youth and early adulthood. Examples from other emirates come from fortuitous observations of conversational usage, including a few particularly apt illustrations of usage from Emirati television serials. A further example comes from the Gumar corpus of Gulf Arabic (Khalifa *et al*. 2016). Before considering the other uses of Emirati Arabic *aku* and the implications for deducing the origin of the particle, it will be useful to review other researchers' proposals for the origin of existential *aku*, upon which Emirati usage has bearing.

1. Origins

Procházka (2018: 278) remarks that "a couple of contradictory etymologies have been suggested." In fact, they are at least three.[2] The earliest to be considered here is in Diem's (1974) examination of *aku* and its inflection in the southern Yemeni Arabic of Taʔizz and Ibb. Diem (1974: 451-452) proposes that it derives from demonstrative *hā*, which appears, among other places, as the first element of the compound demonstrative *hā-ḏā*, and *ʔa*, which he views as etymologically separate but which looks to be an allophone of *hā*. With an affixed second-person pronoun *-k* as a remote deictic element, the same as occurs in *hunā-k* "there" and *ḏā-li-k* "that," and a further affixed personal pronoun *hū* or *hī*, the resultant *akuwwa* and *akiyya* and their plural forms *akunna* and *akinna* "have the basic meaning 'is(are) there'" (1974: 450). From this, Diem proposes that, "out of the meaning 'is there' the meaning 'there is', characteristic of Iraqi *aku*, can easily have developed" (1974: 451).

A few years after Diem, Jastrow (1981: 164, n. 1) countered that existential *aku* must derive from the present tense of the verb "to be" *ya-kūn*, a theme he revisits in 2013 and again in 2018. As evidence, he cites an Anatolian Arabic dialect of Āzəx, near the northern border of Syria and Iraq.[3] In that dialect, existential predication is expressed - unusually for Arabic - with a conjugated verb *k-īkū* "there is," negated by *mā-ku* "there is not."[4] These are placed into

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2 Diem (1974: 449) summarizes a few others before dismissing them.

3 The while, noting that the usual Anatolian existential particle is *fī* or *fīyu*, either of which is negated *māfī*.

4 Jastrow (2013: 111; 2018: 93) explains, "The initial *k-* in *kīkū* is the present tense marker *kū-* (here reduced to *k-* because of the following vowel)." He continues, "The inflectional prefix of the 3. pers. sg. m. imperfect is usually *ī-* … [and] In the verb *kān* the final *–n* is usually dropped: *kā*, *īkū*; therefore, Āzəx has a verb form *īkū*, with present tense marker *kīkū* he is", which latter form is identical with the *verbum existentiae*, *kīkū* "there is." The negated form

the past by *kā-y-kū* "there was," which are negated *mā-kā-ykū* "there was not," deriving from *kān yakūn* "there was to be" and *mā kān yakūn* "there was not to be" respectively (Jastrow 2013: 110-111; 2018: 92-93).[5] Yet, according to Jastrow (2013: 111; 2018: 92), the Iraqi existential *aku* does not derive directly from *ya-kūn* but in a roundabout manner as a back formation from the negative *māku* "there is not."

In response to a similar etymology that had preceded Jastrow's original statement on the matter by almost two decades, Diem (1974: 449) levels "two decisive arguments … against this theory: 1. The development /i/ > /'/ in **maikun* > *ma akun* would be unparalleled, and 2. The same is true of the supposed development **ma kūn* (stressed on the last syllable) > **ma aku* (stressed on the first syllable)."

Holes (2018: 120) expresses the same objection more succinctly: "it rests on a partial phonological similarity with unmotivated apocopations fore and aft, and a stress shift." For his part, Holes (2016: 17; 2018: 120-121) also suggests that existential *aku* might have arisen as a back formation, but of an Akkadian verb *makū*, meaning, among other things, "to be absent" that may have entered Mesopotamian and Gulf Arabic as a substrate form or borrowing that was subsequently reanalyzed as *mā* "not" + *aku* "there is". An Akkadian origin is not implausible, for, as Holes reminds us, "words and phrases with a similar profile tend to occur in bundles in [Arabian Gulf] coastal areas where, in ancient times, varieties of Akkadian and/or of its successor, Aramaic, were likely to have been in spoken use" (2016: 16).

As for Aramaic, Müller-Kessler had earlier (2003) proposed an Aramaic source in *'yk'* < **'yt + k'* "there is" and *lyk'* < **lʔ + ʔyt + kʔ* "there is not." She addresses Diem (1974) and Jastrow (1981) and anticipates Holes (2018), saying, "the linguistic development via *ykūn* is only possible for *māku* if we posit a complicated chain of apocopes and changes of stress," adding, "also one would have expected Yemenite feminine and plural variants as well" (2003: 644-645).

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māku "there is not" derives from **mā-īkū*." Agius and Harrak (1987: 174-179) hypothesize that Iraqi *k-* derives from Arabic *qāʕid* or Syriac *kad*, otherwise leaving Jastrow's derivation of *īkū* intact.

5 Jastrow glosses these "there was" and "there was not." These are arguably the interpretation of the resultant derivations of the source constructions, those which he marks with an asterisk. Yet does the aspect of the imperfective *ya-kūn* usually indicate irrealis, e.g., "would be," meaning that the etymon must originally have meant something different from the existential predication "there is/are" and its negation.

2. Emirati Arabic *aku*

Irrespective of the merits of these etymologies, all of them to some extent plausible and convincing, Emirati Arabic usage lends credence to Diem's thesis. For, Emirati *aku* in its presentative function *does* exhibit feminine and plural variants.

(5) a. Fujairah, b. Abu Dhabi, c. Gumar Corpus

a. ***aku*** *yā*
PRT.M come.PFV.3MSG
"Here he [is]! He's come!"

b. ***aki*** *yā-t*
PRT.F come.PFV-3FSG
"Here she [is]! She's come!"

c. ***akum*** *kil-hum* *yū*
PRT.PL all-PRO.3PL come.PFV.PL
ḥattā *ḥamda* *w* *ḥamdān*
ADV name CONJ name
"Here they [are]! They have all come, even Hamda and Hamdan!"

In his reference grammar of Gulf Arabic based on the dialect of Abu Dhabi, Qafisheh (1977: 191) cites an alternate form *hāk* and its plural *hākum* with the same presentative meaning: "Here you are!" or simply "Here!" or "There!"[6] He also gives the added meaning "Take it!" In a more recent grammar of Emirati Arabic, Leung, Ntelitheos, and Al Kaabi (2021: 200-201) corroborate the latter meaning, identifying *hāk* as a contraction of the distal demonstrative *hāḏāk* "that", remarking that it is heard occasionally, "but it is usually understood as the expression 'take that thing.'"[7] In the SMA recordings and transcripts, *hāk* occurs frequently, but always with the distal demonstrative meaning "that" and occasionally "those." On the other hand, *haku* and *haki* variants of *aku* and *aki* are used with the meaning "he/she/it is there" that Diem (1974: 450) identifies.

(6) Sharjah

a. *hāḏā* *l-kitāb* ***haku*** *fī* *ʕumān*
DEM DET-book PRT.M PREP Oman
ḥāṭṭīn-ah *fī* *matḥaf*
put.PCPT.PL-PRO.3MSG PREP museum
"That book [is] there in Oman; they've put it in a museum"

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6 Students from the northern emirates of Ras Al-Khaimah and Fujairah studying in the Master's programme in translation and interpreting at the American University of Sharjah attest *hakhu*, *hakhi*, and *hakhum*.

7 Consider, also, Diem's (1974: 452, n. 3) reference to Fischer (1959: 163): "From *hāk* 'there' the particle *hāk* 'take', 'here you have' …"

b. *al-ḥīn* *il-sūg* ***haki***
DET-time DET-market PRT.F
kān-t *biyūt-nā* *gabil*
be.PFV-3FSG houses-PRO.1PL PREP
"Now, the Souq [is] there; it was [they were] our houses before"

Likewise, *aku* and *aki*.

(7) Sharjah

a. ***aku*** *maktūb*
PRT.M write.PCPT
asāmī-hum *kil-hum* *taḥat*
names.PRO.PL all-PRO.3PL PREP
"It [is] there written; all of their names are below"

b. ***aki*** *fi-l-waraga*
PRT.F PREP-DET-paper
ʕaṭ-ha *ibn hanḏal*
give.PFV.3M.SG-PRO.3FSG name
"It [is] there on the paper Ibn Handhal gave her"

Finally, *aku* can convey the meaning "there it is," with a demonstrative or exclamative *hā* suffixed to it, context making it clear that *hā* derives from but is no longer interpreted as a suffixed 3rd-person feminine singular pronoun. In (8a), there is no noun to which it could refer; in (8b), the referent is a video cassette recorder, which is masculine in gender. Nor, for that matter, does the presentative itself inflect for gender, it being invariably *akū-*.

(8) Emirati television serials: a. غمز البارود (episode 11: 13:00), b. فريج (season 1; episode 2: 6:32)

a. ***akūhā*** (.) *n-faḏaḥ-t*
PRT PASS-expose.PFV-2MSG
ǧiddām *abū-k*
PREP father-PRO.2SG
"There it [is]: you've been embarrassed in front of your father"

b. ***akūhā*** *taḥt* *it-televizyōn*
PRT PREP DET-television
"There it [is] under the television"

Meanwhile, the negative form, the emblematic *māku* of Iraqi and Kuwait Arabic, is conspicuous by its absence, occurring not at all in the SMA recordings and transcripts and only once in a television serial, where it seems to be used as a pro-sentential answer word, "no," a function that can develop with existential negators (Veselinova & Hamari 2022: 37-38).

(9) Emirati television serial: غمز البارود (episode 11: 19:55)

ḥāss *in* *muxx-i* *fāḏi* *fāːḏi*
feel.PCPT COMP brain-PRO.1SG empty empty

mā *fī* *šayy*
NEG EXIST INDN
b-a-fakkir-l-i *fikra*
FUT-1-think.IPFV-DAT-PRO.1SG thought
bi-yi-ṭlaʕ-l-i *šay*
FUT-3-arise.IPFV-DAT-PRO-1SG INDN
yi-fīd-n-i
3-benefit.IPFV-ACC-PRO.1SG
māku
NEX
"I feel that my mind [is] empty, *empty*; there [is] not [a] thing.
I will think me [a] thought;
Will something come to me [from it] to benefit me?
No"

This is consistent with presentative usage, for which a negation would be unusual and ungainly. Existential negation in Emirati Arabic is accomplished with *mā šī* or less often with *mā fī* (Wilmsen 2022: 149-150).

3. Discussion

Diem (1974) leaves open the nature of a genetic relationship between southern Yemeni and Iraqi Arabic and the question of how a Yemeni form might have reached Mesopotamia. Procházka (2018: 260) notes that "the details of the Arabization of Iraq are unknown." Regardless, Holes (2016: 6) points out that "it is well known that the south Arabian tribe ʔAzd ʕUmān had settled in large numbers in southern Iraq, Bahrain and its adjoining coastal region by no later than the 6th/7th century." Holes' edited volume of Arabic historical dialectology locates ʔAzd ʕUmān in "south-eastern Arabia, roughly where the UAE now is" (2018: 346). What is more, Holes has consistently pointed out that the eastern Arabian seaboard was a corridor of population movements from the Yemen, his statement of the matter below being but one of many instances:

> For centuries before Islam, the coast of eastern Arabia provided a south-north corridor for tribal movements, with Taġlib, Bakr bin Wāʿil, and ʾAzd ʿUmān all gradually moving north along it. There were also major migrations, probably from around the 4th century C.E., west to east from Yemen into Oman, and northeast from Yemen into ancient Bahrain and then south into what is now the United Arab Emirates (UAE). These ancient population movements help explain the present-

day wide dispersal of certain "southern" dialect features. (Holes 2007: 212)[8]

In that context, the Emirati usage of *aku* and its inflections appears as a gradation along a cline between the Yemen and Mesopotamia, especially when the usage of other Gulf Arabic dialects are placed within it. Although there seem to be no published attestations of existential *aku* and the like in Omani Arabic, Sara Al Sheyadi of Sultan Qaboos University (p.c.) ascertains that it is, in fact, used in Omani Arabic in manners similar to its use in Emirati Arabic.[9] This is to be expected; northern Emirati Arabic and Omani Arabic share similar qualities and features.[10] Meanwhile, Mustafawi (2006: 166) attests a presentative usage as *ʔakk-u* "here he is" and *ʔakk-i* "here she is" in Qatari Arabic. Both situations require further investigation. For its part, Bahraini usage is sufficiently documented in Holes (2016: 16-18, 89-90, 104-105, 110-112), who attests the existential particle *aku* and presentatives *akku*, *hākhu* (or *hākku*), *hēkhi* (or *hēkki*), and *hāk-hum* in Bahraini Arabic dialects. The clinal gradations can thus be charted from southwest to northeast.

Table 1: Clinal gradations of *aku.*

Dialect Area	**Forms**	**Gender Inflections?**	**Number Inflections?**	**Meaning(s)**
Yemen	*akuwwa/akiyya/ akunna/akinna*	yes	yes	he/she/it/they is/are there
Oman	Similar to Emirati Arabic?			
UAE	*aku/aki/akum* *haku/haki* *hakhu/hakhi/hakhum* *akūha*	yes	yes (presentative)	here he/she/it/they is/are he/she/it is there there it is there is/are
Qatar	*akku/akki*	yes	no	here he/she is
Bahrain	*aku/akku*	no	no	there is/are

8 Transcription of the glottal stop and the voiced pharyngeal fricative is retained as it appears in the original.

9 Holes (2008: 483-484) affirms that presentative *hā* is used with 2nd and 3rd person suffixes: *hāč ṯumurtuh* "here's its fruit [for you]" and *hāhum ūlādi* "these are my sons."

10 See Holes (2018: 124-128 and maps) for a discussion of two of them and Wilmsen & Al Muhairi (2020: 289-290) for an examination of a specifically northern Emirati manifestation of those.

	hākhu/hēkhi/hākhum	yes (some speakers)	yes (presentative)	here it/they is/are
Iraq/ Kuwait	*aku*	no	no	there is/are

The impression to emerge is that of a progressive development from the demonstrative/presentative Yemeni meaning "he/she/it is there"; to the demonstrative/presentative and existential Emirati (and Omani?) meanings "he/she/it is there," "there he/she/it is," and an occasional "there is/are"; to the presentative Qatari usage "here he/she is"; to the existential "there is/are" of some Bahraini dialects (incidentally, those whose speakers trace their origins to the Yemen [Holes 2016: 6-7]) and those of Kuwait and Iraq. This suggests a southern origin for existential *aku*, brought to the Gulf and Iraq by migrants from southern Arabia, with usage changing under local conditions in the lands in which they settled.

Given that, its most straightforward etymology would be very like that which Diem proposes. He considers the particles *hā* and *ʔa* the oldest elements, the original function of which was "to rouse the attention of the person addressed" (1974: 453). This is consistent with current thinking about demonstratives and their origins: that they are some of the earliest elements of language both evolutionarily and developmentally (Diessel 2006: 471, 475) and that they perform two functions: "in their basic use, they indicate the location of a referent vis-à-vis the deictic centre and *coordinate the interlocutors' joint attentional focus*" (Diessel 2006: 472, emphasis added).

Commenting specifically upon presentatives in Arabic, Khan (2008: 703) affirms the latter function: they are "constructions containing particles that have the function of drawing the attention of the hearer." He further notes that the presentative function can be performed by demonstratives, but that there is a distinguishing difference between the two:

> The two functions are clearly related; in both cases, the particle points the attention of the hearer to a referent. The subtle difference lies in the fact that when the particle is used in the identifying [demonstrative] function the referent is assumed to be perceptible by the hearer in the speech situation, whereas when it has the presentative function, the particle draws attention to the emergence of a referent into the speech situation and into the perception of the hearer. (ibid)

Khan adduces presentative forms in Arabic dialects that use *hā* or *ʔa*, often exhibiting a "particular tendency … to be combined with pronominal suffixes, full paradigms being formed by attaching suffixes to the demonstrative base" (Khan 2008: 704). Thus, we find forms like *hāk*, *hāki*, and *hākum*, among others, in North African Arabic dialects (ibid, citing Fischer 1959: 165), and *ʔaho*, *ʔahe*, and *ʔahum* of Egyptian dialects (ibid, citing Woidich 2006: 48-

49).[11] As such, the terminal /-*u*/, /-*i*/, and /*um*/ in the *aku* paradigm are remnants of the pronominal suffixes. For its part, the /k/ must be the same deictic element as that which appears in other Arabic demonstratives, betraying its own origin in a 2nd-person pronoun, which, when paired with a presentative and a pronoun, would have meant something like "here/there you [have] it" or "here/there it [is] [for] you."

4. Conclusion

Existential *aku* is rightly classed as a distinguishing feature of Mesopotamian and Kuwaiti Arabic. Recent attestations of existential and presentative uses to the south of those dialect areas, notably in some Bahraini Arabic dialects, but also in Qatari Arabic, and now Emirati Arabic, show that it is not confined to Mesopotamia but must be considered an indigenous element of all Gulf Arabic dialects, too; that it derives from native Arabic deictic elements; and that it originates in ancestral southern peninsular Arabic dialects.

5. Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ADV	adverbial
COMP	complementizer
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
EXIST	existential particle
INDN	indefinite non-human
IPFV	imperfective
NEG	negator
NEX	negative existential
PASS	passive voice
PCPT	participle
PRT	presentative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural

[11] Diem (1974: 453, n. 2) cites Schreiber (1970: 21, 31), who attests similar forms in the dialect of Mecca, *ahū*, *ahī*, *ahúm*, *ahūwa*, *ahīya*, and *ahumma*, which he calls "*Demonstrativepartikeln*."

PREP	preposition
PRO	pronoun
SG	singular
F	feminine
M	masculine
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person

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R in the Tigris *qeltu*-Dialects of Mesopotamia

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Abstract

The Tigris *qeltu*-dialects are known to have a uvular fricative *ġ* in place of historical *rāʔ*, but existing side by side with a tapped *r*, and their occurrence is both phonologically and sociolinguistically conditioned. This chapter first outlines the sociolinguistic variation, but then concentrates on the phonological behavior of (inclusive) R in three dialects of this *qeltu* subgroup, namely, Maṣlāwi Arabic and Christian and Jewish Baghdadi Arabic, based on data collected from four native informants via two reading tasks. The objective is to examine the lexical categories, distributional patterns, and possible phonological processes in which R participates, such as loan vs. native words, minimal pairs, cooccurrence restrictions on consonant combinations, and various types of assimilation. Although the data exhibit discrepancies between the dialects, evidence confirms the existence of two R phonemes in all three of them: a dorsal fricative /ġ/ which is a reflex of old *rāʔ* merged with inherited *ġayn*, and a coronal sonorant /r/ found mainly in loanwords and some native words with specifiable phonological contexts. A representational analysis, formulated in the framework of feature geometry, demonstrates that /r/ is exclusively rhotic while /ġ/ is not.

Keywords: uvular R, *qeltu* Arabic dialects, Tigris branch, phonology.

1. Introduction

The Mesopotamian *qeltu* group of the Tigris comprises the dialects spoken by Muslims in the region between Samarra and Mosul (including Tikrit) in

cities and surrounding rural areas, as well as those spoken by Christians and formerly Jews in Baghdad and Southern Iraq (Jastrow 2007, Yaseen 2018).

Two phonological features are characteristic of the Tigris branch of *qeltu*-dialects. One is the perseveration of *q* where we find *g* in the *gilit*-dialects, and the other is the existence of *ġ* (uvular R) where we find a tapped *r* in most other Arabic dialects. According to Jastrow (1978, 2007), *ġ*-for-*r* is a key criterion that distinguishes the Tigris subgroup from the Euphrates and Anatolian *qeltu*-dialects, and it can be traced back to the medieval Abbasid era. Phonetically, the *ġ* consonant has been described as a voiced post-velar fricative (Watson 2002: 16), which signifies its fusion with the inherited *ġayn*. What is interesting is that the typical Arabic *r* is preserved in numerous words, leading to two realizations of R in the very same dialect.

This chapter offers a first-hand investigation of the phonological behavior of R in three representative dialects of this subgroup: (i) Maṣlāwi Arabic (ML), based on the speech of Basma Abdel-Karim (female, 48) and Zaid al-Khalidi (male, 38); (ii) Christian Baghdadi (CB), based on Dhafir Al-Wakeel (male, 65); and (3) Jewish Baghdadi (JB), based on Zvi Bar-Moshe (born Ṣabāḥ Mūsa, male, 76). The data were collected electronically in 2019, with the informants asked to provide recordings of two reading tasks, one with short phrases and another with single target words within a carrier phrase. Various secondary sources were also consulted.

The rest of the chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews variationist sociolinguistic research on R in this dialect group. Section 3 provides the data and descriptions of R distribution and phonological patterns in the three dialects, showing also where they agree or disagree. Finally, Section 4 makes some generalizations about the R phonemes and offers a representational feature analysis thereof.

2. Sociolinguistic variation

Scobbie (2006) maintains that hyper-variation in rhotics will often mean a greater disposition for sociolinguistically conditioned variation within a language. This is the case for Arabic rhotics too, despite the minor attention given to the (r) variable in Arabic sociolinguistics. In this section, I will summarize the sparse sociolinguistic research on the (r) variable in the Tigris *qeltu*-dialects according to the social factors investigated.

The first social factor at play is gender, where the prevailing finding is that articulatorily weaker forms of R, such as alveolar approximant *ɹ* and uvular fricative *ġ*, tend to have associations of femininity and softness, and so are generally disfavored by males. This has been substantiated in a number of urban Arabic dialects, including Mosul (Rajab 2011, Yaseen 2018). There, the

observation is that younger men tend to shy away from the traditional uvular *ġ* pronunciation, especially outdoors and among peers, and that there is an ongoing change toward tapped *r* in their speech. Women, on the other hand, are keener to adhere to the local features that are viewed as adorable or attractive. Yaseen (2018) views this behavior as a case of women maintaining traditional (supralocal) forms and men adopting innovative forms, contrary to the often-reported trends in Western traditions and even some Arabic contexts.

Age is a closely related variable. Here, both Rajab (2011) and Yaseen (2018) found that the use of the uvular variant is significantly lower among younger speakers of ML compared to the older cohorts. They maintain that an apparent-time rise in the use of tapped *r* among young speakers, and to a lesser extent among middle-aged speakers, marks an ongoing change toward that variant in their speech.

Another, less known variable is lifestyle as linked to distinct residential areas of a city. Rajab's (2011) study in Mosul highlights residential area, combined with parents' place of origin and length of residence, as the key elements in retaining the uvular *ġ*. Yaseen (2018: 141) further notes a higher percentage of tapped *r* among males from a certain middle-class neighborhood of Mosul that is known to have steady contact with non-Maṣlāwis, as opposed to inhabitants of a lower-class neighborhood with no such contact.

A fourth factor is solidarity among minority groups. Abu-Haidar's work on Christian Baghdadi Arabic (1990, 1992) shows that uvular *ġ* is used to preserve Christian identity and to display in-group membership. And although described as a salient feature, it typically converges toward the Muslim majority's *r* during formal or intra-communal discourse. Abu-Haidar (1990) characterizes this as short-term accommodation, practiced by a religious minority to optimize communication and to gain the approval of the majority. It turned out to be a case of stable variation, rather than a change in progress.

While the above offers a mere glimpse of sociolinguistic variation in Arabic rhotics, we can expect it in many other speech communities. Even more so if we consider factors like style, where there is, for example, a tendency to produce taps/trills in precise or articulate speech and a weaker variant of R in casual speech (see Barry 1997: 43). The approach in this paper, however, is such that data are collected from one or two speakers from each dialect in a single speech style, and thus there is no chance to account for such variation.

3. Patterning of R in the Tigris dialects

In this section, we will describe the distributional and phonological behavior of the two types of R in this dialect group, presenting data where the three dialects match and differ. The basic patterns are similar to those in

Section 7 of Youssef (2019), which covers only ML and CB. By extending the investigation to JB, we observe much of the same, but we nevertheless come to realize that some patterns are more prominent in specific dialects and that certain words display different behavior across the dialects, as will be shown and discussed below.

Generally speaking, high-frequency words with etymological *r*, those which have an obvious Arabic origin, surface with uvular *ġ* in ML, CB, and JB (Mansour 1957, Blanc 1964, Jastrow 1979, Abu-Haidar 1991, Bar-Moshe 2019; see also Johnstone 1975 for the dialect of Tikrit). The following data include words occurring regularly in everyday speech, particularly concrete nouns (1a), common verbs (1b), adjectives and adverbs (1c). It is evident that *ġ* is attested in almost all phonological environments: "in different parts of speech in both stressed and unstressed positions as well as in onset, coda, and gemination contexts" (Yaseen 2018: 140). As for the latter, a geminate *ġġ* appears in medial and final positions, as in *baġġa* "outside" and *ḥaġġ* "heat", which implies that an originally trilled *rr* retains its gemination as a uvular.

(1)	a.	*ġukbi*	"knee"	*ġiǧǧāl*	"man"
		ġās-a	"her head"	*ġamād*	"ash"
		ḥaġāmi	"thief"	*ʕaġōs*	"bride"
		daġaǧ	"staircase"	*maġa*	"woman"
		tamġāy	"dried date"	*ʕaġaq*	"Arak (spirit)"
		li-mġayyi	"the mirror"	*šaʕǧ-u*	"his hair"
		ʕaṣfōġ	"sparrow"	*ḥaġġ*	"heat"
		baḥiġ	"sea"	*šahiġ*	"month"
		il-qamaġ	"the moon"	*il-faǧiġ*	"the dawn"
		zanbōġ	"wasp"	*tannōġ*	"skirt"
	b.	*ṣaġaf*	"he spent"	*šiġb-u*	"they drank"
		ʕuġuf-t	"you knew"	*ṭāġ-it*	"it flew"
		yi-štaġi	"he buys"	*yi-ġōḥ*	"he goes"
		yi-nquġ	"he taps"	*yi-ḏġib*	"he hits"
	c.	*gbīġ*	"big"	*kṯīġ*	"many"
		ḥāġ	"hot"	*bēġid*	"cold"
		qaṣīġ	"short"	*baġġa*	"outside"

The above studies have also noted that loanwords tend to re-establish the tapped *r*. The dataset in (2a) shows nouns borrowed from Standard Arabic, which include religious vocabulary, proper names, abstract terms, as well as some concrete nouns. The verbs in (2b) are more difficult to fit into the borrowings category, but some of them seem to have alternative, more localized equivalents. Certain words seem to have maintained a pronunciation from a *gilit*-dialect through contact (cf. Yaseen 2018: 140). A good illustration of this is the word *garāyib* or *garāba* "relatives", with both *r* and *g*, where the latter sound typically corresponds to *q* in the Tigris *qeltu* group. Moreover,

lexical items newly borrowed from other languages – such as Turkish, Persian, Hebrew, or English – are likewise realized with *r* (2c).

(2)	a.	*taʔṯīr*	"influence"	*mustašār*	"consultant"
		ṯawrit-na	"our revolution"	*ʕarabi*	"Arabic"
		marra	"instance"	*raqam*	"number"
		ibrāhīm	(male name)	*mḥarram*	(lunar month)
		akram	"most generous"	*šarīf*	"honorable"
		rasūl	"prophet"	*baraka*	"blessing"
		šarq	"east"	*qarya*	"village"
		siyyāra	"car"	*qiṭār*	"train"
		raṣīd	"credit"	*ǧarīda*	"newspaper"
	b.	*yi-rbaḥ*	"he wins"	*yi-rkuḏ*	"he runs"
		yi-krah	"he hates"	*yi-rḥam*	"he has mercy on"
		yi-karrar	"he repeats"	*tit-ḏakkar*	"you remember"
		it-ʔaṯṯar	"he was affected"	*it-ḏarrar*	"he was damaged"
	c.	*tāyir*	"car tire"	*ǧīgāra*	"cigarette"
		grūb	"group"	*pristīǧ*	"prestige"
		nafar	"person" (Persian)	*qōndara*	"shoe" (Turkish)
		šōrba	"soup" (Turkish)	*šarbat*	"sherbet" (Turkish)

While the data and generalizations above hold for all three dialects, individual words may display *ġ* in one dialect and *r* in another. The table in (3) exemplifies such discrepancies. It is worth noting here that the ML-CB-JB patterns *(*ġ-r-r*) and *(*r-ġ-ġ*) are unattested, meaning that we do not encounter words where CB and JB share one R type in contrast with ML.

(3)	Gloss	ML	CB	JB
a.	"thin"	*ġafīʕ*	*ġafīʕ*	*rafīʕ*
	"a sheep"	*xaġūf*	*xaġūf*	*xarūf*
	"socks"	*ǧawāġib*	*ǧawāġib*	*ǧwārīb*
	"spring"	*ġabīʕ*	*ġabīʕ*	*rabīʕ*
b.	(lunar month)	*ġamaḏān*	*ramaḏān*	*ġumḏān*
	"cheap-fem."	*ġaxīṣa*	*raxīṣa*	*ġixīṣi*
	"he denies"	*yi-nkuġ*	*yi-nkur*	*yi-nkuġ*
c.	"dancing"	*raqiṣ*	*raqiṣ*	*ġaqṣ*
	"my god"	*rabb-i*	*rabb-i*	*ġabb-i*

A sensible interpretation of the discrepancies is that the three dialects have non-identical physical and social experiences, including their contact with other varieties of Arabic, which affect what their speakers perceive as established native vs. loan words. The Muslim vs. Christian vs. Jewish religious affiliation is itself a variation factor, as indicated in the previous section. Equally significant is the fact that ML speakers, who mostly still reside in Iraq, have had continuous and close contact both with Standard Arabic and

the *gilit*-dialects, while the other two groups have experienced mass migration over several decades, and are not in contact with one another.

Furthermore, we find a number of minimal pairs contrasting *r* with *ġ*, which may be classified into two types, even though the output is an identical *r* vs. *ġ* opposition. The first type results from a few inherited pairs that contrast an unchanged historical *rāʔ* with *ġayn* (4a). For these, Tawfiq (2010) reasonably argues that *r* is preserved to eliminate semantic ambiguity. The second type of minimal pairs, exemplified in (4b), contrasts a preserved *r* with a new *ġ*, both originating in historical *rāʔ* (although some speakers have identical forms). Faced with these pairs, Mansour (1957, 1991), advocates the two-phoneme hypothesis and suggests that the forms with *r* are recent Standard Arabic loans whereas those with *ġ* have previously existed with a more elementary denotation in the dialect. Hence, the contrasts are not semantically motivated, but rather a corollary of borrowing.

(4)	a.	*rasūl*	"prophet"	*ġasūl*	"laundry"
		yi-ṣbur	"he forbears"	*yi-ṣbuġ*	"he paints"
	b.	*ramaḍān*	(male name)	*ġamaḍān*	(lunar month)
		rakkab	"he let climb"	*ġakkab*	"he assembled"
		ġayyar	"he changed"	*ġayyaġ*	"he dressed up"
		qaddar	"he estimated"	*qaddaġ*	"he measured"

A consequence of the *r*-to-*ġ* shift in these dialects is the emergence of a surface *ġ* in unfamiliar contexts, leading to further phonological changes (Blanc 1964: 21). One obvious context is when a shifted *ġ* is adjacent to an inherited *ġayn*, with two instances of *ġ* expected. What happens then depends on the nature of the intervening sound. If the consonants are strictly adjacent or separated by a non-front vowel, the rhotic tends to be realized as *r* (5a), which may be considered dissimilation. If, on the other hand, the two consonants are separated by a front vowel or palatal *y*, no dissimilation takes place, as in (5b). This behavior has been noted word internally in all three dialects (Blanc 1964, Abu-Haidar 1991, Tawfiq 2010), although it does not seem to hold if the two consonants are adjacent across words, e.g. in *maṭaġ ġada* "rain tomorrow".

(5)	a.	*barġaš*	"midges"	*il-maġrib*	"Morocco"
		farraġ	"he emptied"	*rōġān*	"patent leather"
		ġāra	"raid"	*maġāra*	"cave"
		ġarb	"west"	*ġarīb*	"strange"
		ġurāb	"crow"	*ġaraḍ*	"purpose"
		ġrām	"gram"	*ġurūb*	"sunset"
	b.	*ġiġi*	"glue"	*ġēġ*	"other"
		ġayyaġ	"he changed"	*zġayyiġ*	"small"

Another context is adjacency to *q* and *x*. Here, the shifted *ġ* will often (though not always) undergo total assimilation such that expected sequences

qġ and *xġ* surface as *qq* and *xx* (Abu-Haidar 1991: 10, Mansour 1991: 64). Although this pattern is attested in ML, CB, and JB, the data in (6) show some incongruities. The top two examples with *x* have assimilation in all three dialects. For "scorpion" too, there is assimilation, although the CB form can optionally be heard as *ʕaqġabi* (Blanc 1964: 21-22). The following two words exhibit an interesting pattern: "frog" exhibits assimilation in ML and "bald" in ML/CB, while the CB cognate of the former, *ʕugrugga*, and the JB cognate of the latter, *agraʕ*, appear to be *gilit*-dialect loanwords as evinced by their *g+r* sequence. Finally, the last two lexical items reveal that assimilated forms are more common in JB.

(6)	Gloss	ML	CB	JB
a.	"dumb"	*axxas*	*axxas*	*axxas*
	"cheaper"	*axxaṣ*	*axxaṣ*	*axxaṣ*
b.	"scorpion"	*ʕaqqabi*	*ʕaqqabi*	*ʕaqqūba*
	"frog"	*ʕaqqōqa*	*ʕugrugga*	*ʕaqrūq*
	"bald"	*aqqaʕ*	*aqqaʕ*	*agraʕ*
	"paper"	*waraqa*	*waraqa*	*waqqa*
	"he reads it"	*yi-qrāha*	*yi-qrāha*	*yi-qqāha*

In some words with the same contexts as (5) and (6), i.e. next to inherited *ġayn*, *q*, or *x*, the shifted *ġ* undergoes vocalization instead of dissimilation or assimilation. The *ġ* is not heard, and there is subsequent compensatory lengthening of a preceding *u*/*o* to *ū*/*ō* (Jastrow 1979). As illustrated in (7), this tendency is more prominent in ML than in the other two dialects, and even there it may alternate with non-assimilated forms in careful speech. (Note the curious Maṣlāwi pronunciation of Standard Arabic *al-maġrib* "sunset" as *il-maġub*, with R deletion but no compensatory lengthening).

(7)	Gloss	ML	CB	JB
	"sieve"	*ġūbēl ~ ġuġbēl*	*ġaġbīl ~ ġarbīl*	*ġuġbāl*
	"sheep"	*xūfēn ~ xuġfēn*	*xuġfān ~ xurfān*	*xurfān*
	"rag"	*xōqa*	*xirqa*	---
	"bread loaf"	*qōṣa*	---	*qiṣṣ*

There is also the related, but mostly obsolete, vocalization of the sequence *a+ġ* to *ō* in ML words that integrate the numeral 4 (Blanc 1964: 22), as exemplified in (8). Modern ML and CB realize these sequences as *a+r*, while JB realizes them with *ġ*. Interestingly, one of my Maṣlāwi informants notes that speakers of certain rural areas around Mosul (including Muslims, Christians, and Yazidis) still pronounce such words with vocalization.

(8)	Gloss	Old ML → ML	CB	JB
	"four"	*ōbʕa → arbaʕa*	*arbaʕa*	*aġbaʕa*
	"forty"	*ōbʕīn → arbaʕīn*	*arbaʕīn*	*ġōbiʕīn*
	"Wednesday"	*ōbʕā → il-ʔarbiʕāʔ*	*il-ʔarbaʕā*	*il-ġōbiʕā*

Finally, Youssef (2019: 27) mentions two phonological processes triggered by *r* but not by *ġ* (regardless of its source). One is the assimilation of the definite article *l* to coronal consonants. The two words in (9a), for example, exhibit assimilation while those in (9b) show unassimilated *l* in all three dialects. If we consider the definite form of the word meaning "fourth", we find that the initial *r* in ML/CB assimilates the *l* in *ir-rābiʕ*, whereas the initial *ġ* in JB fails to do the same in *il-ġēbiʕ*. The other process in (9c) is the total regressive assimilation of *l* to a following *r* across word boundaries in fast speech only.

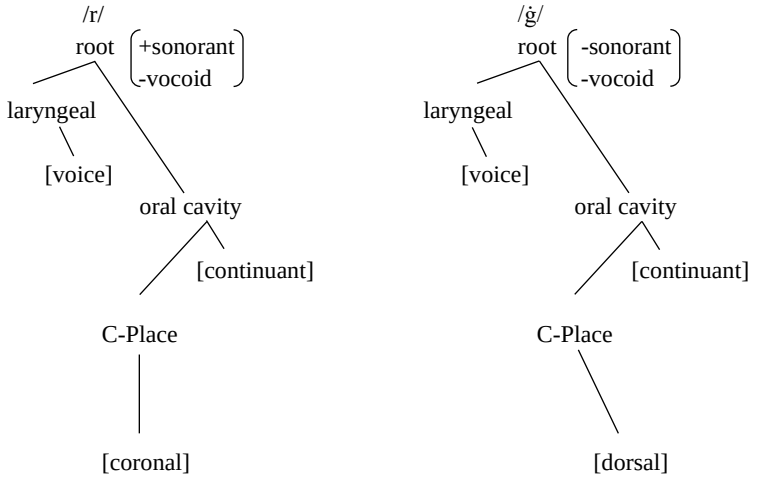
(9) a. *ir-risāla* "the message" *ir-raʔi* "the opinion"
b. *il-ġiǧǧāl* "the man" *il-ġaqabi* "the neck"
c. /*yi-štiġal rassām*/ → *yištiġar rassām* "he works as a painter" (CB)
/*ʕummāl rūsiyyīn*/ → *ʕummār r-rūsiyyīn* "Russian workers"

Taking these data and descriptions into consideration, below we discuss the nature of the two R sounds in this dialect subgroup, as well as their feature composition.

4. Feature analysis and conclusion

The distributional evidence we examined, especially the minimal pairs, established that the Mesopotamian Tigris *qeltu*-dialects have two autonomous R phonemes (Youssef 2019: 25), a cross-linguistically unusual situation as Maddieson (1984) remarks. It was conceived as a consequence of an incomplete diachronic shift from *r* to *ġ*, accompanied and followed by retention of *r* in some lexical items, both borrowings and native words that have resisted the shift to meet certain phonological conditions. The conditions of a dissimilation process, in particular, confirmed that the new *ġ* has completely merged with the historical *ġayn*. This means one /ġ/ phoneme that is historically either *rāʔ* or *ġayn*, in addition to /r/. The diagram in (10) suggests the feature composition of these two consonant phonemes in the framework of feature geometry (Clements & Hume 1995) and based on the phonological patterns described above.

(10) Feature-geometric representation of /r/ and /ġ/ in Tigris *qeltu*-dialects.



First, the /r/ phoneme is a consonant, [-vocoid], further characterized as a coronal sonorant. The coronal C-place feature under the oral cavity node is substantiated by the fact that *r* triggers assimilation of the definite article (9a). In line with Watson (2002: 220), this assimilation is driven by an Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) ban on two adjacent identical coronal features, which is resolved by deletion/spreading or merger to create a geminate (Youssef 2023: 52). The root node feature [+sonorant] is explained by the behavior of /r/ as a trigger of the assimilation process in (9c), which is "motivated by a similar OCP violation on the [coronal] tier when adjacents agree in Sonorancy" (Watson 2002: 238). Sonorants are specified as [continuant] by default and also have a redundant [voice] feature.

As indicated previously, the new /ġ/ phoneme has completely merged with the historical *ġayn*, and as such can be described as a voiced dorsal fricative, which is both [-vocoid] and [-sonorant]. The C-place feature [dorsal] is inspired by the behavior of *ġ* in the processes of assimilation and vocalization. The condition for these processes to apply is also an OCP ban on adjacent identical place features, which is resolved by full merger to create a geminate or a long vowel. In this case, the /ġ/ must have a feature in common with the uvular stop /q/, the velar fricative /x/, and the two back rounded vowels /u, o/. The best common denominator is a broadly defined place of articulation feature that refers to the back of the vocal tract and applies equally to consonants and vowels; I suggest [dorsal] (see also Clements 1991). The /ġ/ is not a trigger of the definite article assimilation, and therefore not a coronal. Lastly, the root-node laryngeal feature [voice] and the oral-cavity frication feature [continuant] further distinguish /ġ/ from the consonants /q/ and /x/ which trigger assimilation but not dissimilation.

This account demonstrates two substantially different, yet historically related, R phonemes. The representational differences, on the one hand, support Maddieson's (1984: 88) claim that two R phonemes in the same language are likely to differ in more than just place of articulation. Because of the merger of the new *ġ* with *ġayn*, it is also reasonable to conclude that this R cognate is phonologically no longer rhotic.

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From Pioneer to Thug: Lexical Change in Cairene Arabic

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Abstract

This paper investigates lexical changes that occurred in Cairene Arabic from the 19th century onwards. Texts from the 19th century display a large number of lexical items that have either become obsolete and disappeared, or have changed in meaning. To the latter category belong words that got a more specific meaning, in many instances a negative one. This type of semantic change is called pejoration. This paper will discuss seven of these words, explaining the different types of lexical change and the underlying causes. The focus will be on two words with the meaning "woman", and on five words for certain professions. The research shows that words meaning "woman" have a general tendency in many languages to be subjected to pejoration, and Cairene Arabic is no exception. The other examples are trades of people who lived on the fringes of society; these groups were looked down upon by the townspeople. Although the original meaning indicating these professions disappeared, the related negative connotations associated with these words lived on.

Keywords: Egyptian Arabic, Cairo, historical dialectology, lexical change, pejoration.

Introduction

Pejoration is "the development of a less favourable meaning or of less pleasant connotations for a word or expression";[1] its origin is the Latin *peiorare* "to make worse". Two examples from English are *notorious*, which originally meant "well known, famous" but came to mean "infamous", and *silly*, originally "worthy; fortunate", which now means "foolish".[2] Pejoration "occurs when a word is used to express negatively loaded values not inherent in its historically original (or historically prior) meaning scope" (Borkowska & Kleparski 2007: 37). Barber (1972: 254) notes that pejoration is a more commonly found language change than its counterpart, amelioration, and ascribes this to human nature, because "we are only too prone to believe the worst of anybody, and this is reflected in the way our words change."

This paper looks at words that had a neutral meaning in 19th-century Cairo, but have since got a negative connotation or an altogether new, less favourable, meaning. The primary sources used for this research consist of a wide variety of texts, ranging from texts written for native speakers, such as newspaper articles, to texts written for foreign language learners, like dictionaries, phrase books and grammars.[3] The study focuses on two categories of words: 1. words denoting "woman"; 2. words denoting certain professions. The choice for these categories was made on the basis that these types of words have a high occurrence of pejoration. The words will be discussed with examples from the primary sources, followed by an analysis for each category.

1. "Woman"

Several studies show that words denoting "woman" have the tendency to be subjected to pejoration. Kochman-Haładyj (2011) notes that "the majority of words denoting women at one point of their history are likely to – if not doomed to – descend on the evaluative scale". Kleparski (1986: 67; 89-90) mentions many examples in English, such as *hussy* "housewife" → "badly behaved girl or woman" and *beldam* "grandmother" → "hag". For a discussion of similar tendencies in French and German, see Ullmann (1964: 208). The

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1 *Oxford English Dictionary* https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/139797, accessed 22 February 2023.

2 *Oxford English Dictionary* https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/128640 and https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/179761, accessed 22 February 2023.

3 Note that in quotations from primary sources written in transcribed Arabic, the transcription is kept as in the original text.

same process can be seen when comparing words for "woman" in 19th-century and modern Cairene Arabic.[4]

The usual word to indicate "a woman" in modern Cairene Arabic is *sitt*.[5] It had this neutral meaning in the 19th century as well, although it was also used for the more reverential "lady", see e.g. Spitta (1880: 154) and Spiro (1895: 269). There were two words indicating neutral "woman" that underwent pejoration, *maṛa* and *ḥurma*, which will be discussed in the following sections.

1.1. *maṛa*

The word *maṛa* gets the label "negative" in Woidich (2020: 260) and "derogative" in Badawi & Hinds (1986: 815). The following examples show that the word did not have the negative connotation it has today:

- مَرَة حَكِيمَة *mara hakimé* "a wise woman" (Savary & Langlès 1813: 302);
- المرة اللى على الدكة "the woman who is on the bench" (al-Ṭanṭāwī 1848: 11);
- والمره خدت التمن وراحت "and the woman took the money and left" (Landberg 1888: 39).

At the beginning of the 20th century, it still had this neutral meaning:

- *el mara eg gamyla* "the beautiful woman" ([Fiske] 1904: 3);
- *ħikaːjit il mara s saːmirijja* "the story of the Samaritan woman" (Gairdner 1917: 256);
- *hîya aqṣar mara fî maṣr* "she is the shortest woman in Cairo" (Spiro 1919: 8).

Aḥmad Taymūr (2001 vol. 5: 336) does not mention a negative or derogatory meaning of *maṛa*, but simply defines it as امرأة.[6] However, a negative connotation can be seen in his description of *ibn maṛa*: *inḥiṭāṭ fî l-tarbiya* "a degeneration in upbringing" (Taymūr 2001 vol. 5: 337).

The word *maṛa* could also be used in the vocative without causing offense:

- *ya mara ana râḥ aqul lik ʿala masʾala* "I want to speak to you, wife, about a certain matter" (Willmore 1901: 356).

The word *maṛa* was also used with the meaning of "woman" in the generic sense:

- *el mara aqṣar min el râgil* "woman is shorter than man" (Spiro 1919: 8).

As such it is still used in Egypt in unrefined speech, besides *marʔa*, which is used in more polished speech (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 815).

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4 Cairene Arabic is not the only Arabic dialect in which this semantic change can be found; for instance, Abd-el-Jawad (1989: 312-315) shows that respondents in Jordan have negative connotations with the words *maṛa* and *ḥurma*.

5 Woidich (2020: 259) and Badawi & Hinds (1986: 398). *Sitt* is derived from **sīda* "mistress" through **sīditi* > *sidti* > *sitti* (Behnstedt & Woidich 2011: 17).

6 Taymūr died in 1930. It is unknown when he wrote his dictionary.

1.2. *ḥurma*

Another word denoting "woman" that underwent pejoration is *ḥurma*. Badawi & Hinds (1986: 201) give it the label "*trad[itional] soc[iety], abus[ive]*". These examples from the 19th and early 20th century display the neutral meaning of the word:

- *baʿdên ṣaraḫet elḥurme di* "then that woman screamed" (Spitta 1880: 401);
- *il ḥurma tbarkit bi wugûd ish shekh ʿandiha* "the woman was blessed by the presence of the sheikh at her house" (Willmore 1901: 146);
- *kānet bitúchrug el-ḥurme* "the woman was going out" (Klippel 1913: 24).

Like *maṛa*, *ḥurma* could also be used as a term of address:

- *jâ ḥurme int' imrât myn fine* "woman, you are the wife of which one of us?" (Spitta 1880: 376);
- *likî wilâd ya ḥurma* "do you have children, woman?" (Willmore 1901: 107).

The word *sitt* was also already in use, and had both the meaning of "woman" and "lady", as mentioned above. These are a few examples in which the author translated it with "lady", French "dame":[7]

- يا ما اكوس الست دى "Oh, que cette dame est belle!" (al-Ṭanṭāwī 1848: 95);
- une femme – *marah*, une dame – *sitt* (Cadri 1868: 10);
- *miʃjit ʔuddamna waħda sitt aftikir ʔabilnaːha misahijja* "in front of us walked a lady whom we had met casually before" (Gairdner 1917: 209);
- *baʔeːt mitʔassifa min kabbu ʃ ʃurba ʕala fustaˑn waħda sitt* "I was very sorry because he spilled soup on the dress of a lady" (Elder 1927: 60).

The following example shows that the word *ḥurma* is given the synonym *sitt* "lady" and therefore did not have a negative connotation:

- *wi muʃ di ṣuːrit ħurma, jaʕni waħda sitt?* "and is not this the picture of a woman, I mean, a certain lady?" (Gairdner 1917: 33).

Spiro (1895: 132) defines *ḥurma* as "woman, old woman", and also mentions *ḥurmitoh* "his wife".

1.3. Analysis

In rural Egyptian dialects, *maṛa* still has its neutral meaning (Behnstedt & Woidich 2011: 16). Woidich (1990: 263-264) attributes the pejoration of *maṛa* in Cairo to the fact that it is the usual word for "woman" in the countryside, and that Cairenes look down on people from rural areas, and therefore consider

[7] In these examples I cite the translation as given in the original language of the books mentioned.

the word an insult. A similar explanation can be given for the pejoration of *ḥurma*.

As shown above, the word *sitt* "lady" took over the neutral role for "woman". The primary sources show that *maṛa*, *ḥurma* and *sitt* existed side by side for some time during the 19th and early 20th century. The word *sitt* itself underwent degradation as well, as its meaning shifted down from "lady" to "woman". Therefore, with the degradation of *sitt*, the words *maṛa* and *ḥurma* also underwent degradation and got a negative connotation.

2. Professions

There are some professions that through the ages got a negative connotation. Often these are professions that are linked to activities that society did not look upon very approvingly, such as dancing, singing, selling alcohol or doing magic.

2.1. *balṭagi*

Balṭagi is a combination of Turkish *balta* "axe" and the Turkish suffix *-gi* of professions. It originally meant "pioneer, sapper" (Spiro 1895: 57) or "messenger" (Vollers-Burkitt 1895: 187). "Pioneer" is meant here in the military sense: an infantry soldier who was sent ahead of the army to clear the road of obstacles. In modern Cairene Arabic it means "thug, bully", while the meaning of "pioneer" has become obsolete (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 99).

John Petherick,[8] describing his arrival in the town of Berber in north Sudan, writes:

> Proceeding direct to the Divan, the governor being absent, I was well received by his "Wakeel," the second in authority, who provided a house for my temporary accommodation, the owners of which were, with little ceremony, instantly turned out to make room for me by a baltagi, a soldier doing duty as messenger. (Petherick 1861: 108)

This glimpse of every-day life explains how the meaning of *balṭagi* could evolve from "pioneer" to "thug".[9] About the modern *balṭagi*, El-Messiri writes:

> [H]e abuses the people of the *ḥitta* by taking ransom on certain commodities that they sell, or simply by taking goods that he wants without payment. In other cases he is ready to sell his skill and will

[8] John Petherick (1813-1882) was an explorer, trader and vice-consul of Britain in Sudan (Verdcourt 1995).

[9] For a 19th-century picture of three *balṭagiyya* carrying their axes, see this Facebook post by *al-Waṯāʔiqiyya*: https://tinyurl.com/bdh7jzs6, accessed 22 February 2023.

accept payment to beat someone up, wreck a ceremony, or close a shop or club. (El-Messiri 1978: 70)

Since the revolution of 2011, the word has got an even more negative connotation. When doing a Google image search for بلطجي, the results show people walking the streets carrying a variety of weapons, such as sticks, clubs and knives; the equivalents of the military *balṭagi*'s axe.

2.2. *giʕēdi*

The word *giʕēdi* "itinerant singer" (Vollers-Burkitt 1895: 191) is obsolete with this meaning.[10] It now has the meaning of "loafer, wastrel" (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 162). Lane writes about the *alatiyya*, "professional musicians":

> They are people of very dissolute habits; and are regarded as scarcely less disreputable characters than the public dancers. They are, however, hired at most grand entertainments, to amuse the company; and on these occasions they are usually supplied with brandy, or other spirituous liquors, which they sometimes drink until they can no longer sing, nor strike a chord. (Lane 1860: 354)

Considering the bad reputation of musicians, it is not surprising that the word for "itinerant musician" became synonym to "loafer". The word already had all kinds of negative connotations in the 19th century:

> جعيدى (cf. de Sacy Chrest. III, 369) *gredin, gueux, grigou, maroufle, homme de néant, va-nu-pieds, polisson, savoyard,* Bc;[11] جُعَيْدِىّ selon M, comme nom relatif de Djo'aid. (Dozy 1927 vol. 1: 197)

The source "M" mentioned by Dozy refers to *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* by Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-1883), who writes that the *nisba* refers to a certain Egyptian called Juʕayd, who used to wander around, wearing a cap with bells and drumming on a tambourine, asking for alms (al-Bustānī 1867 vol. 1: 258). This is probably an apocryphal story. However, *giʕēdi* is an Egyptian family name, referring to a member of the Upper Egyptian tribe of the *Gaʕayda* (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 162). It is possible that members of the *Gaʕayda* tribe were known to be itinerant singers, and gave their name to the profession.

2.3. *simmāwi*

Simmāwi "magician" (Willmore 1901: 43; Spiro 1895: 289) now means "1. poisoner 2. stray-dog catcher" (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 432). Lane explains *es-seemiyà* "magic" as follows:

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10 Badawi & Hinds (1986: 162): "*[obsol]* musician with drum or flute".

11 Bc refers to Bocthor (1828-1829 vol. 1: 392) "gredin, gueux جعيدى".

> *natural* and *deceptive* magic; and its chief agents, the less credulous Muslims believe to be certain perfumes and drugs, which affect the vision and imagination nearly in the same manner as opium: this drug, indeed, is supposed, by some persons, to be employed in the operations of the latter branch of magic. (Lane 1860: 263)

According to Lane (1863-1893 vol. 2: 1476) and Steingass (1892: 718) the word goes back to Persian سِيمْيَا rather than *simm* "poison", as Willmore (1901: 43) suggests. The word *simmāwi* is a folk etymology: *simāwi* (from *sīmāwi*, with shortening of the unstressed *ī* in the first syllable) was pronounced as *simmāwi* because of its association with the word *simm*. Folk etymologies are especially common in foreign words (Ullmann 1964: 101-103). This is also the case with *sīmiyāʔ*, a word of Persian origin that was unknown to most Egyptians and therefore associated with the similarly-sounding Arabic word *simm*.

The link with *simm* "poison" is also found in the second modern meaning, stray-dog catcher. There are people who catch stray or rabid dogs and kill them with poison (Kamāl 2015) or shoot them. ʕAbd al-Salām (2015) states that this profession has disappeared,[12] but he explains that the term is now applied in a more abstract sense to killjoys. This second meaning can be attributed to the popularity of the Egyptian cartoon character ʔĀsim isSimmāwi, who was famous for his exclamation *gatna nīla f ḥazzina l-hibāb!* "a disaster came over our rotten luck!"[13]

2.4. *miḥadditāti*

The word *miḥadditāti* "storyteller" (Nallino 1900: 183, Spiro 1895: 126) came to mean "someone who talks a lot" (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 195 "*[derog]* one given to longwindedness"). Lane describes the storytellers in Cairo in the 1830s:

> […] among the public reciters of romances, are those who are particularly and solely distinguished by the appellation of "Moḥadditeen," or Story-tellers (in the singular, "Moḥaddit"). There are said to be about thirty of them in Cairo. The exclusive subject of their narrations is a work called "the Life of Eẓ-Ẓáhir" ("Seeret Eẓ-Ẓáhir," or "Es-Seereh eẓ-Ẓáhireeyeh"). (Lane 1860: 400)

Sīrat al-Ẓāhir recounts the history of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars. According to Nallino (1900: 183), however, they were specialized in the *sīra* of Abū Zayd (also known as *sīrat Banī Hilāl*). However that may be, these epics were very

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12 This is contradicted by the interview with a dog catcher and poisoner in Kamāl (2015).

13 The cartoons were written by Aḥmad Ragab and drawn by Muṣṭafā Ḥusayn. See *Axbār al-Yawm* (2014).

long, explaining why *miḥadditāti* came to mean someone who talks excessively or tediously.

Abdel Nasser (2013: 40) mentions an interesting parallel in the word *wāʕiẓ* "preacher", which came to mean "any talkative person", for the same reason as *miḥadditāti*.

2.5. *xamurgi*

The word *xamurgi* "wine or spirits dealer" (Spiro 1895: 182) or "innkeeper" (Willmore 1901: 40), now means "alcoholic" (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 265). The *xamurgi* was a person who runs a *xammāra* "hotel, inn", another word that underwent pejoration. Now it is used with the meaning of "seedy bar, dive" (Badawi & Hinds 1986: 265). It is clear that in the 19th century, it could be used for fancy hotels: *taàl maàeé khammàret Shàpad* "go with me to Shepheard's Hotel" (Sacroug 1874: 300).[14] The word referred to hotels that had a bar where alcohol was served. As drinking alcohol is not permitted in Islam, and in 19th-century Cairo wine was drunk mostly in secret (Lane 1860: 94, 149), it is not difficult to understand how *xamurgi* got its negative meaning of "alcoholic". In a comparable case, Willmore (1901: 40) mentions that *bûẓâtî* "keeper of a beershop" also means "a drunkard".

2.6. Analysis

Stern writes in his classic book on semantic change, *Meaning and change of meaning*, that

> […] depreciations occur in the meaning of many […] words denoting groups of human beings, one or more of whose characteristics is, or may be thought, contemptible or ridiculous from the point of view of some other group." (Stern 1931: 411)

This is the case in the pejoration of professions studied in this paper. What these trades have in common is that they were looked down upon, because the people holding them were of the itinerant type, were associated with violence or had a profession that was considered morally reprehensible. Ullmann (1964: 232) confirms that "social prejudice against certain classes and occupations has also deformed the meaning of many words."

In the five words analysed here, it is clear that one specific aspect, that of the trade itself, has disappeared. Other aspects, considered to be negative, survived into modern language use. These negative connotations are: being violent and carrying a weapon (*balṭagi*), being long-winded (*miḥadditāti*),

[14] The Shepheard's Hotel had the reputation of "the most fashionable hotel for foreign visitors in Cairo" (Beattie 2005: 166).

living an itinerant life without fixed income (*giʕēdi*), dappling with strange concoctions that might well be poisonous (*simmāwi*) and drinking alcohol (*xamurgi*).

3. Conclusion

This paper discussed two categories of words that underwent pejoration: words meaning "woman", and words indicating certain professions. The first have a general tendency in many languages to deteriorate in meaning, and Cairene Arabic is no exception to the rule. The primary sources show that in the 19th and well into the 20th century, *maṛa*, *ḥurma* and the more reverential *sitt* existed peacefully side by side, until the latter took over and relegated *maṛa* and *ḥurma* to the realm of insults. In the Egyptian countryside their neutral meaning remains as yet untouched, but it is to be seen for how long this will remain the case under the influence of the prestigious dialect of Cairo.

The other five examples are professions of people who practised a trade that was frowned upon by the townspeople and were stigmatized. Although the original meaning indicating the professions disappeared, the related negative connotations associated with these words lived on. In the case of the *simmāwi* "magician", the association with *simm* "poison" (a folk etymology) was responsible for the new meanings of "poisoner" and "stray-dog catcher [and poisoner]".

The analysis shows that these case studies from Cairene Arabic fit into a pattern of semantic change found in many other languages.

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Chants Ultras au Maroc : un style générationnel, des variations locales[1]

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Résumé

Les Ultras, groupes de supporters des clubs de foot représentent aujourd'hui un phénomène social, politique et culturel très important. Leurs productions et performances qui relèvent de la culture populaire ont été peu décrites à ce jour. Cet article analyse plusieurs traits linguistiques des chants Ultras marocains en se basant sur un vaste corpus de vidéos mis en ligne depuis dix ans par les groupes Ultras marocains. Il s'intéresse notamment au style générationnel et aux phénomènes de convergence et de variations régionales. On relève de nombreuses similitudes avec les "parlers jeunes" avec la mise en avant de traits connotés comme virile comme l'affrication du /t/, le lexique, la diffusion de traits "ʕrubi" liée à l'influence du parler de Casablanca. Les chants Ultras présentent également des traits relevant d'un registre de littérature orale. Au-delà d'un style générationnel commun à l'ensemble des groupes, la variation régionale, signe d'un ancrage local, reste très présente.

Mots-clés : Maroc, chants Ultras, styles jeunes, littérature orale, variation régionale.

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Introduction

Les productions culturelles et médiatiques attirent de plus en plus l'attention des linguistes et anthropologues arabisants (Bassiouney 2018) comme on a pu largement le constater ces dernières années y compris au sein du réseau AIDA. Ce développement des "cultural studies" en lien avec les productions linguistiques dans le domaine arabisant et l'approche par les performances a permis, entre autres, de mettre en valeur l'évolution des pratiques et la créativité stylistique en particulier chez les jeunes urbains (Ziamari & Barontini 2016, Caubet & Hamma 2017, Dallaji 2017, De Blasio 2018, La Rosa 2020, etc.).

Le rap, les talk-shows, les séries télévisées, les vidéos, les memes et les blogs, entre autres, ont fait l'objet de multiples études et sont considérés comme emblématiques de la culture "pop" (Jacquemond & Lagrange 2020). Cependant, les productions culturelles des supporters Ultras des pays arabes avaient jusqu'à une date récente peu attiré l'attention des dialectologues et sociolinguistes arabisants[2] alors même que leurs rôles dans les mouvements politiques et sociaux ont été beaucoup soulignés que ce soit par la presse, les politologues ou les anthropologues du sport, en particulier à partir de 2011 pour l'Egypte et la Tunisie, puis à partir de 2018 au Maroc et en Algérie[3].

Que peut apporter l'analyse des productions culturelles Ultras dans le champ de la dialectologie et sociolinguistique arabe ? Plusieurs pistes nous semblent prometteuses. Les Ultras, de par leurs origines sociales et leur poids démographique (cf. 1.1), représentent un groupe très intéressant pour étudier les variations liées au genre, l'âge, l'origine régionale, mais aussi les registres stylistiques et les circulations des modèles, que ce soit au niveau national, régional ou international.

Nous basant sur un corpus de chants, notre analyse abordera les questions touchant aux processus d'accommodation, de convergence et de variation mais également les valeurs sociales (telles la virilité) associées à certains traits. Après une brève présentation du phénomène Ultras et du choix du corpus (1), nous nous intéresserons au style générationnel en pointant certains traits partagés associés aux parlures jeunes comme l'affrication (2.1), un vocabulaire provocant (2.2) et l'emploi de traits "ʕrubi" liés à l'influence du registre jeune "branché" casablancais (2.3). Une autre caractéristique partagée est l'emploi de traits relevant d'un registre de littérature orale (2.4). Nous présenterons ensuite le maintien de traits régionaux, reflétant l'appartenance locale de chaque groupe (3).

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2 Seuls quelques chants Ultras emblématiques des mobilisations algériennes et, dans une moindre mesure, marocaines, ont été étudiés (Ben Boubaker 2020, Khichane 2020).

3 Pour quelques références sur l'engagement des Ultras arabes voir Dorsey 2016 ; Close 2019 ; Rommel 2021 ; Belkaid 2020 ; Bourkia 2018.

1. Le phénomène Ultra au Maroc : “le culte de la performance[4]”

Le phénomène Ultra est un phénomène mondial qui a accompagné l’insertion de l’économie du football dans la logique néo-libérale et la financiarisation croissante des grands clubs à partir des années 1980 en Europe entrainant un enchérissement des places et des adhésions dans les clubs. Les Ultras se sont construits en opposition à cette logique économique et ont développé une “contre-culture footballistique” (Correia 2018, Close 2019) souvent associée aux sous-cultures des jeunes (Amara 2012).

Les groupes Ultras marocains suivent le modèle italien (Bourkia 2018) qui se caractérise par la qualité des animations qui colorent les tribunes. Les groupes Ultras ne se contentent pas d’être des spectateurs passifs, mais cherchent à “être acteurs, et non simples spectateurs passifs, de l'histoire qui se déroule sur le terrain.” (Bromberger 1996 : 40). Ils se posent en supporters “passionnés” (Hourcade 2004 : 38), dont la vie tourne autour du soutien inconditionnel et indéfectible à leur équipe :

Le “vrai supporter” est d’abord un fidèle qui “donne de lui-même” : il est encore là quand tout va mal et quand les autres désertent, il accepte de braver la pluie ou la médiocrité d’un spectacle, il traduit son engagement par des actes. (Bromberger 1995 : 229).

C’est leur participation avant, pendant et après les matchs, et la rivalité entre les différents groupes Ultras qui rend leurs performances spectaculaires. Par leur aspect sonore, visuel et corporel, les performances Ultras dans les stades impliquent un engagement physique et émotionnel puissant, qui font que ces performances sont considérées comme un “spectacle total” (Bromberger 1995 : 298). Cette dimension spectaculaire est liée à l’essence même de la culture Ultra construite à l’origine sur la compétition avec les groupes rivaux, la provocation, la démesure, la solidarité sans faille avec son groupe, le dénigrement de l’adversaire, le tout dans une atmosphère festive proche du carnaval, “une rage de paraître” (Erhenberg 1991 : 45) où les Ultras “mettent en scène leur propre esthétique” (Erhenberg 1991 : 54).

1.1. Qui sont ces Ultras passionnés ?

Les premiers groupes Ultras marocains sont apparus en 2005[5] à Casablanca autour des deux grands clubs rivaux nés à l’époque coloniale (RCA Raja Club Athletic & Wydad Athletic Club) ainsi que du Club des Forces Armées

4 Ehrenberg 1991.

5 Le premier groupe d’Ultras au Maroc est les Green Boys 05 (RCA, Casablanca).

Royales de Rabat (FAR). Puis ils ont essaimé dans l'ensemble du pays, notamment dans le nord, où les clubs de supporters sont très actifs.

Au niveau démographique, le nombre des supporters de foot est important, et va en s'accroissant, dans toutes les sociétés incluant les pays arabes et le Maghreb (Dorsey 2016). Le foot sous tous ses aspects joue un rôle de plus en plus central dans la société et les performances des Ultras impactent un large public. Cette place croissante du football est liée aux retransmissions, via les TV satellitaires comme *beIN SPORTS*, des grands évènements médiatiques type coupes d'Afrique ou coupes du monde, comme on a pu le voir lors du mondial 2022 qui a enflammé les passions. Au-delà des stéréotypes qui les ont longtemps associés à des Hooligans, les Ultras marocains regroupent des personnes appartenant à différentes classes sociales et de toutes origines géographiques. Par ailleurs, il s'agit d'une communauté genrée, majoritairement masculine (même si de plus en plus de femmes sont supporters)[6] et défendant, comme nous le verrons, des valeurs "viriles". C'est également une communauté majoritairement "jeune" (même si pas exclusivement) (Bourkia 2018), en dessous de 40 ans et exprimant dans ses chants des préoccupations communes à l'ensemble de la jeunesse marocaine dont ils se veulent volontiers être "la voix du peuple" (Ziamari, Caubet & Miller 2024).

Même si les Ultras ont pu apparaître longtemps comme un monde relativement spécifique, fermé et préservant leur anonymat, la circulation de leurs chants et slogans sur le cyber espace (YouTube, Facebook et autre) a considérablement augmenté leur audience puisque certaines vidéos de leurs chants les plus emblématiques attirent des millions de vues.

Dans l'Algérie post-Hirak, ce succès amène des membres des groupes musicaux Ultras des clubs d'Alger **(**le Mouloudia et l'USMA**)** à sortir de l'anonymat et à entrer dans un système de production musicale commerciale qui renforce leur notoriété comme "voix du peuple" (Azzouz 2022, Zaghba 2022). C'est le cas par exemple du chanteur algérien Mouh Milano[7], membre du groupe Oulad El Bahja, rendu célèbre avec leur chant *La casa del Mouradia*, devenu l'hymne du Hirak algérien mais également de Djalil Palermo ou Fouzi Torino. Produits par une maison de production (TME), leurs musiques croisent raï, rap, hip-hop, cha'abi et chants ultras et sont devenues des tubes internationaux. Elles participent au succès d'un nouveau genre musical urbain baptisé le "zenqaoui", du mot *zenqa* la "rue", retournant allégrement le stigmate (Caubet 2021)**.**

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6 Si les femmes sont de plus en plus présentes en tant que supporters, elles ne sont pour le moment toujours pas acceptées dans les groupes Ultras.

7 Son clip *machafouhach* atteint 455 millions de vues sur YouTube début 2023 : https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m0_SMiOecko.

Enfin, les Ultras marocains font partie de ces groupes à la fois très localisés et mondialisés, dont les productions culturelles témoignent de la circulation des modèles. S'ils partagent une culture commune, ils restent très attachés à leur appartenance locale et à la défense de leur club.

1.2. Le choix du corpus

Le corpus consiste en des vidéos qui sont, soit enregistrées en live dans les stades, soit des clips postés par les formations musicales de chaque groupe sur leur page Facebook, et qui circulent ensuite très largement sur YouTube. Il s'agit donc de contextes de performance et de profération différents.

Nous nous sommes d'abord attachées aux chants "contestataires" des années 2016-2019 qui ont reçu un écho important sur les réseaux sociaux et certains médias du fait de leur nouveauté et de leur engagement public (Ziamari, Caubet & Miller 2024). Les plus connus sont souvent ceux des principaux groupes Ultras de Casablanca, Rabat, Tanger et Tétouan. Puis notre sélection s'est élargie aux groupes de nombreuses villes (Casablanca, Safi, Jadida, Meknès, Fès, Oujda, Berkane, Tétouan, Tanger, Kénitra, Berrechid, Khouribga, Marrakech, Agadir, Rabat, Salé, Témara, etc.) et couvre la période 2012-2022, l'année 2012 marquant le début de la publication des chansons des ultras sur YouTube (lancé en 2011 au Maroc). Les exemples présentés dans cet article ont été sélectionnées dans ce vaste corpus. Les textes apparaissent très souvent en graphie latine ou arabe dans les vidéos. Nous basant sur leur réalisation orale, nous les présentons en transcription phonologique. La transcription phonétique de l'affrication sera uniquement restituée en 2.1.

2. Les chants des Ultras : style générationnel et façon de parler commune

Les productions des Ultras présentent plusieurs caractéristiques associées aux formes de parlers jeunes (Ziamari et al. 2020, Miller 2021). On constate notamment un degré élevé de mélange de langues, pas uniquement la darija, le français et l'arabe standard, ce qui est déjà largement décrit, mais également des langues associées au monde du football que sont l'italien et l'espagnol, avec souvent une maîtrise très variable en fonction des groupes et des régions (Miller, Caubet & Ziamari 2023). Nous traiterons ici plus particulièrement de l'affrication, qui est un trait en expansion, ainsi que de quelques termes lexicaux.

2.1. L'affrication de /t/ : diffusion, réallocation et indexicalisation

L'affrication du /t/ prononcé [tˢ̌] est l'exemple d'une variation diatopique qui est devenue ou est en train de devenir une variable générationnelle et stylistique. Il s'agit d'un procédé phonétique qui s'est beaucoup répandu dans les parlers jeunes au Maroc, en dehors des régions d'origine de ce phénomène (Ziamari et al. 2020 : 54-59 et 78, Falchetta 2019, Schwartz 2019). Marquée comme "populaire", elle est devenue emblématique du style urbain jeune en particulier à Casablanca et dans la région centrale. Elle est perçue comme "masculine" (Barontini & Ziamari 2022, 2009) et fonctionne comme l'emblème d'une jeunesse virile.

Elle reste cependant moins développée dans certaines villes ou régions comme Fès (Ben Salah 2017), et dans d'autres régions où le /t/ est prononcé [tˢ], comme, entre autres, Tanger, Tétouan y compris dans les parlers jeunes et les performances comme le rap ou le slam (Ziamari et al. 2020). On peut considérer la non-affrication comme une affirmation d'une différence régionale, comme on peut le constater dans des chants des Ultras de Fès ou du Nord (Tanger et Tétouan).

On retrouve cette connotation masculine et virile dans le corpus. La réalisation [tˢ̌] du /t/ est très fréquente. Certes, elle peut varier en fonction des groupes et des villes, mais elle reste une des spécificités du corpus. Elle apparait de façon quasi systématique dans les chants des groupes qui ont ce trait dans leurs régions comme Casablanca, El Jadida ou Khouribga. Elle est également présente dans les autres groupes et a été même relevée à El Hoceima, Meknès ou Agadir, à l'exception de certains groupes du nord comme Los Rifeños d'El Hoceima, et les Fatal Tigers de Fès où ce trait est peu présent[8].

Les exemples qui suivent montrent la présence de l'affrication du /t/ dans différentes villes :

(1) *yā əlli* ***tˢ̌****ḥakmu lī-na l-ballon*
Oh ceux qui gèrent le foot
*l-kūkab ṛəḍḍi****tˢ̌****u-ha səlʕa*
Le Koukab, vous l'avez transformé en produit
Ultras Crazy Boys 06, Marrakech, ḥāl l-yūm, 2020
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cWfjATbfVgM

(2) *yā n****tˢ̌****i skan****tˢ̌****i qalb-i*
Ô toi tu vis dans mon cœur
*ma vie šʕal****tˢ̌****i-ha b ən-nāṛ*

[8] Chez les Fatal Tigers, nous avons relevé la présence de l'affrication dans un titre de 2011 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C311yaMjL-4), mais son absence dans d'autres titres comme (L'encre de passion, 2014 : https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3GpK0k3XT9w) ou plus récemment dans l'album Mass Therapy, de juin 22.

Ma vie, tu l'as enflammée

Ultras Red Men 08, Meknès, l'histoire d'un viragiste, 2012
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kBKGFWQqdzo

(3) ***tˢ**həm**tˢ**ū-na b l-ʔinfiṣāl yā jamais fham**tˢ**ū-na*
Vous nous avez accusés de séparatisme et vous ne nous avez jamais compris
*(…) l-mmīma ma **tˢ**əbkī š*
Petite mère, ne pleure pas
*(…) we we u ər-rašwa wəllā**tˢ** ʕādi*
Wé wé et la corruption devient normale

Ultras Rif Boys 10, El Hoceima, ḥkāyət maḍlūm, 2020
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOhdXMBMVQ0

L'affrication du /t/, qui existe aussi dans les parlers jeunes en France, est parfois généralisée à d'autres langues comme le montre la réalisation du mot français : 'terrain' :

(4) *ybūrəš ləḥm-i u nə**tˢ**fekkər dūk liyyām*
Emu, quand je me rappelle ces jours
*ʔawwəl biriyya šṛa-ha l-i f ət-**tˢ**errain*
Le premier béret (que mon père) m'a acheté pour le terrain
*mləwwi f drapeau d l-ġālya **tˢ**əl**tˢ** lwān*
Drapé dans le drapeau de la chère (équipe) trois couleurs

Ultras Askary 05, Rabat, La guardia, intro-al waṣiyya, 2020
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H1rDkvMRtYA

Alors que certains chanteurs conservaient la prononciation locale non affriquée de /t/ au début des années 2010, l'affrication est devenue de plus en plus fréquente. Ainsi l'exemple du groupe musical des Red Rebels d'Agadir est frappant car il montre que le recours à l'affrication se développe dans les morceaux de ces dernières années par comparaison avec des versions datant de 2015[9]:

(5) *obligé **tˢ**kūn rebilisto ʕāyəš l-fīkṛa*
Obligé d'être un rebelle, vivant avec l'idée
*išāʕā**tˢ** u ʔakādīb ṭalqu-ha ʕlī-na*
Rumeurs et mensonges, vous diffusez sur nous

Ultras Red Rebels 11, Agadir, Album Phoenix, ləmmət-na, 2020
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h7UeFR2F2hg

9 Red Rebels 2011, Agadir, Eternal Passion-Intro, 2015
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AmGhG4MhfTA

L'affrication apparaît donc comme un trait en expansion dans les chants Ultras, à l'image de ce qui se passe dans les parlers jeunes, du fait de son association avec un comportement viril. L'affrication est cependant loin de s'être totalement imposée et n'est pas systématique. On note des variations y compris au sein des régions et des groupes. Une étude acoustique fine devrait être menée en prenant en considération l'identité et l'image de soi du groupe et le contexte de la chanson.

La survalorisation de la virilité s'exprime également par des choix lexicaux et morpho-phonologiques et la diffusion de traits "ʕrubi" i.e. traits des variétés rurales rattachées aux parlers dits "bédouins", soit de la 2e couche d'arabisation (2.3).

2.2. Un style jeune et provocant, un vocabulaire commun qui circule

On peut pointer d'autres indices d'une mise en scène d'une culture et d'un style "jeune" et virile comme l'usage d'un lexique associé aux jeunes (Ziamari et al 2020), avec des expressions telles que : *ʕəšrān* "amis/potes" ; *dāwi xāwi* "parler pour ne rien dire", *gərmūma* "argent", *titīz(a)* "nana", que l'on retrouve chez la plupart des groupes :

(6) *ʔāxir līla mʕa-kūm* ***ʕəšrān-i***
La dernière nuit avec vous, mes potes
Ultras Hercules 07, Tanger, Octubre Negro, 2019
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzEgR6kVREk

(7) *Blād-na b ṛāṣ-ha mahmūma bāš taxdəm xāṣṣ-ha* ***əl-gərmūma***
Notre pays lui-même est inquiet, pour que tu puisses travailler, il te faut de la thune
Ultras Imazighen, Agadir,Dlam Lhal Ya Yema, 2021
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ykhwLRNPyiY

(8) *Fwām-kūm maḥlūla, ġīr* ***dāwya xāwya***
Vos grandes gueules parlent dans le vide
Ultras Green Boys 05, Casablanca, al-maždu li ʕal-ʕaḥṛāṛ, 2016
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z1pL0Dz6pzQ

(9) Ultras *rā-ḥa style de vie, yā əd-****dəmdūma***
Les Ultras c'est un style de vie, espèce d'andouille
Ultras Orange Boys 07, Berkane, Anti l3onsoriya, 2013
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qxlQmP018YA

2.3. Accommodation vers des traits plus "ʕrubi"

Le terme "ʕrubi" a pour sens initial "bédouin" (Colin le définit même en termes linguistiques : "particulier aux Bédouins (mots, locutions, etc.)" (Iraqui-Sinaceur 1993 : 1242), puis plus largement "paysan, rural" avec une

connotation souvent condescendante voire péjorative. Il désigne les variétés rurales par opposition aux parlers “ḥaḍāri” des vieilles cités. Mais avec le développement de la ville de Casablanca, capitale économique du Maroc, les valeurs sociales attribués aux traits “ʕrubi” ont évolué.

Le parler de Casablanca contient de nombreux traits “ʕrubi” apportés par les populations rurales arrivées des plaines atlantiques (Aguadé 2002 & 2003, Nassim 1994). Il connait de nombreuses variations selon les quartiers, les classes sociales, les origines régionales et les registres langagiers (Hachimi 2011 & 2018, Moumine 1995). Il est souvent qualifié de *ḥṛəš* “rugueux” (Nassim 1994 : 948) par opposition à certains traits des vieux parlers citadins perçus comme efféminés (Hachimi 2011). Aujourd’hui, étant donné son poids démographique et son influence sur les scènes urbaines (Caubet & Hamma 2017), mais aussi médiatiques, le registre jeune du parler de Casa devient le style urbain “branché” et “rude” par excellence, participant de ce fait à la diffusion de traits “ʕrubi”. On retrouve ce phénomène dans les chants Ultras.

Parmi les nombreux traits “ʕrubi”[10] on remarque par exemple la réalisation des diphtongues[11] même quand la variété locale n’en a pas, comme à Meknès et Agadir (Benitez 2014) :

(10) *ḥamra u* ***bāyḍa*** *f les couleurs*
Rouge et verte dans les couleurs
Ultras Red Men 08, Meknès, əl-žamhūr əl-məknāsi, 2015
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6lndNfb4EJI

(11) *ma* ***txāwfu****-na š lā b qānūn lā policia*
Vous ne nous effrayez ni par la loi ni par la police
Ultras Red Rebels 11, Agadir, Husa Campione, 2012
https://www.youtube.com/wath?v=iPhMPbTAEiU

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10 En se basant sur Nassim 1994, Moumine 1995, Aguadé 2002, Caubet 2022, pour définir brièvement le parler de Casablanca, on citera au niveau phonologique : un usage plus élevé de /g/ ; la réalisation des diphtongues (*bayda, bayt*) ; l’affrication du /d/ et du /t/. Au niveau morphologique : préposition *li-ya/li-h* au lieu de *l-i/l-u* ; voyelle d’appui à l’impératif (*ensa, ensay, ensaw*) ; marque du féminin à l’impératif (*šuf/šufi, eskut/asukti*) ou à l’inaccompli (*katktəb/katkətbi*) ; pronoms personnels suffixés en *–ya* à toutes les personnes pour expressivité (*huwa-ya, hiya-ya, enta-ya, entuma-ya, huma-ya*). Au niveau morpho-syntaxique : conjonction et adverbe (*imta /imtaš* au lieu de *fuqāš* “quand” ; *kun (kan*) au lieu de *lukan* “si”) ; particule de possession (*mtāʕ*) *e*t si *ḍyāl*, accord possible avec le possesseur : (fém. *ḍyāl-t-i* pl. *ḍyāwel-u, mtāwʕ-u, mtāʕt-i*) ; réduction du préverbe de la conjugaison inaccompli *(kayji > kiji ; kayrbəḥ > kirbəḥ ; kayswa > kiswa*) ; accord de la particule du futur (*ġāda/ġādin* ; participe actif *ġāda* au lieu de *ġādya)* ou réduction de *ġāda* en *a-* (Caubet 2022) ; participes des verbes défectueux *(bāqa, bāqin* au lieu de *bāqya, baqyin*) ; accord au fém. sg. avec les groupes humains (*nnās kull-ha katdir+* fém.) ; formes de féminin pluriel en *–āt* pour certains adjectifs (fém. *xaybāt* / m. *xaybin*), au lieu de *xaybin* pour les deux genres. Au niveau du lexique, verbe (*riyyeḥ, gʕəd* au lieu de *gləs)* ; (*rgəd* au lieu de *nʕəs*) ; (*kal* au lieu de *kla)* ; *limun* (orange).

11 A noter que la réalisation des diphtongues se retrouve aussi dans des parlers du nord du Maroc non considérés comme des parlers “ʕrubi” (Vicente 2017).

Chez les Ultras Fatal Tigers, on trouve l'usage du réflexif *rōḥ* au lieu de *rāṣ* :

(12) *yriski b* ***ṛōḥu*** *u ma ʕla bāl-u*

Il risque sa peau et il s'en fiche

Ultras Fatal Tigers 06, Fès, Album Generation, Intro, 2011 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C311yaMjL-4

Ou des accords de groupes humains au féminin singulier (pour le verbe) :

(13) *w ržāl ʕašqət les couleurs*

Et des hommes qui aiment les couleurs

Ultras Fatal Tiger06, Fès, Outro, Bdat L7kaya, 2014 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GoETpo8FtLc

Ce trait est cependant en variation, puisque dans le même chant, un jeune fait l'accord des groupes humains au pluriel (avec l'adjectif) comme dans le parler de Fès décrit par Caubet (1993) dans les années 1980-93 :

(14) M.A.S. *dāzu fī-ha nās* ***šdād***

Le MAS a vu passer des gens forts/solides

Ultras Fatal Tigers 06, Fès, Album Generation – Intro, 2011 https ://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C311yaMjL-4

Même coexistence de traits fassi et "ʕrubi" dans un titre de 2014 où on trouve dans le même vers un féminin de participe actif de verbe défectueux ʕrubi, (*bāqa* au lieu de *baqya*) et le numéral 12 réalisé *ṭnāšə**l**-qaṛn* et non pas *ṭnāšə**r**-qarn*, comme à Casa :

(15) *ṭnāšə**l**-qaṛn w l-ḥkāya* ***bāqa*** *ṭwīla*

Douze siècles et l'histoire a duré

Ultras Fatal Tigers 06, Fès, L'encre de passion, 2014 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3GpK0k3XT9w

L'exemple des Fatal Tigers de Fès, comme celui d'autres groupes Ultras dans d'autres villes ayant connu d'anciens parlers citadins, pose la question de déterminer si le registre des chants ultras témoigne d'une évolution plus générale de ces parlers (avec les apports d'éléments ruraux attestés depuis déjà de nombreuses années)[12] ou reflète plus particulièrement un registre/style jeune.

2.4. Un registre poétique

Bien qu'ancrés dans un registre qui se veut populaire et issu de la *zenqa* "la rue" (Ziamari et al. 2020 : 74 et Caubet 2021), les chants des Ultras présentent néanmoins un certain nombre de traits relevant d'un style littéraire en darija. Comme dans les styles poétiques du *melhoun* ou du *zajal*, le système verbal, les conjonctions et adverbes interrogatifs, ainsi que le lexique sont affectés.

[12] Voir pour des synthèses sur ces questions Miller 2007 & Vicente 2019.

Ainsi le préverbe *ka-/ta-* de l'inaccompli caractéristique du système aspectuel de l'arabe marocain et qui marque aussi bien l'habituel, le gnomique que la concomitance dans toutes les régions à l'exception de la région Est (Berkane, Oujda), est très souvent absent des chants des Ultras, comme en poésie, ainsi :

(16) *mən xrībga l gāʕ l-mdūn, l-mmʷīma* ***təbki*** *u* ***tgūl…***

De Khouribga à toutes les villes, la Maman pleure et dit…

Ultras Green Ghost 07, Khouribga, La vida con honor, Intro, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XyshicaFIF4

(17) *kull ši* ***yrūḥ*** *u* ***təbqay*** *ġir nti*

Tout le monde s'en va et il n'y a que toi qui restes

kī ***nšūf-ək nḥass*** *b ṛāṣ-i free*

Quand je te vois, je me sens libre

Ultras Winners 05, Casablanca, 8 mai, elixir 'al-ḥayāt, 2022

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xUm5p--nwn8

Ce registre poétique se retrouve également dans certains choix lexicaux. En poésie et littérature orale, il n'est pas rare de reprendre des termes peu usités ou appartenant à d'autres variantes régionales, puisés dans un stock lexical et un registre sémantique beaucoup plus large que ceux utilisés quotidiennement[13]. Dans notre corpus nous relevons par exemple l'emploi des verbes *rāḥ/yṛūḥ* "aller" ou *ṣār/ṣra/yṣra* "arriver, avoir lieu" qui sonnent plus littéraires que *mša/ymši* "aller" ou *ṭṛa/yṭṛa // uqeʕ/yuqeʕ* "arriver, avoir lieu" dans le Maroc central. Or ces deux verbes, *rāḥ* et *ṣra* sont aussi les variantes régionales de l'Est marocain, et de l'Oranie en Algérie. Même phénomène avec l'emploi de *wīn*, à la fois plus algérien/Est marocain, et aussi plus littéraire, à la place de *fayn/fen*[14] :

(18) *ma fāhəm wālu, āš* ***ṣāṛi*** *l-yūm*

Je ne comprends rien, qu'est ce qui se passe aujourd'hui ?

yəṣṛa *lli* ***yəṣṛa*** *ġa nəbqa fidèle*

Il se passera ce qui se passera, je resterai fidèle

Black Army 27 (Rabat, Salé, Témara), ya əl-ġālya ṛaḥmī-ni, 2018

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=meDl1JWPWp4

(19) *kac* ***wīn*** *ma* ***trūḥi*** *rā-ni mʕā-k dīma wṛāk*

Le CAC où que tu ailles, je serai avec toi, toujours derrière toi

Hellala Boys 07, Kénitra, De la cuna al cajón, 2020

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BbAscUDvCBk

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13 Nous reprenons ici la remarque de Catherine Taine-Cheikh, lors du colloque Aida de Grenade.

14 Voir également d'autres mots ou tournures comme *ḍṛāhəm* "argent", *ḥwām*, pluriel de *ḥūma (ḥūmāt)* "quartiers" ; *ḥəbb* "aimer", *ma ʕla bāl-i* "je ne m'en occupe pas", *ʕlašān* "parce que", etc. plus littéraire.

Ce type de lexique relève donc à la fois de la variation stylistique (registre littéraire) mais aussi de la variation régionale avec la reprise/ circulation de traits des variétés d'Oujda et d'Algérie. Il n'est ainsi pas toujours facile de faire la distinction entre variation stylistique et variation régionale comme on pourra également le voir dans le tableau et les exemples présentés en 3. Par ailleurs, la diffusion de traits de l'est marocain ou algériens peut s'expliquer par les relations étroites entre supporters algériens et marocains facilitant la circulation et la reprise des textes et des modes musicaux (comme le raï).

3. Style commun versus maintien de traits régionaux

Comme déjà signalé, les groupes Ultras mettent en avant leur appartenance à leur équipe locale, mais ils partagent une culture commune et sont également insérés dans un réseau beaucoup plus vaste qui englobe les supporters des autres clubs nationaux et plus largement les réseaux Ultras arabes et méditerranéens. Comme pour les "parlers" jeunes (Ziamari et al. 2020 : 69-71), on retrouve une alternance de traits locaux maintenus et certains phénomènes de convergence.

On remarque que le maintien de traits locaux concerne tous les niveaux (phonologie, morphologie, syntaxe, lexique). L'analyse présentée ici reste subjective, ne repose pas sur un dépouillement exhaustif et ne permet pas encore de détailler avec précision quels traits sembleraient se niveler plus rapidement ou quels traits sembleraient rester comme emblème d'une appartenance locale. Il semble cependant que l'on puisse dégager quelques grandes tendances.

Un tableau très synthétique montre plusieurs niveaux de variation où certains traits linguistiques locaux sont présents :

Traits linguistiques	**Exemples**
Variation lexicale	**Nord** : *gāz* (arriver), *žbar* (trouver), *fattaš* (chercher), *ʕmal* (faire), *xātūma* (anneau), *sbīla* (fontaine), *bn-ək* (ton fils), *stītu* (petit). **Casablanca // Jadida** : *riyyəḥ* (assieds-toi), *dwa* (parler) **Oujda, Berkane** : *xwən* (voler), *bədda* (commencer), *ḍṛāhəm* (argent), *nəḥḥa* (virer), *lġa* (parole) *ḥabb* (aimer), *ḥka* (raconter), *ġāya* (bien), *ġāši* (gens)
Morphologie verbale	**Nord** : Indice de 2ème personne *d-* au lieu de *t-* dans la conjugaison préfixale : *də-qṛa* (tu étudies), *d-ʕammaṛ* (tu remplis), *də-ṣhaṛ* (tu veilles la nuit).

	Oujda : suffixe pluriel *-u* (au lieu de *-īw*) *šra/yəšru* (ils achètent). **Casablanca** : voyelle d'appui à l'impératif : *ensa, ensay, ensaw* (oublie) ; accord des participes actifs.
Syntaxe, préposition	**Nord :** préposition *n* au lieu de *l* **Casablanca** : particule de possession *mtāʕ* ou *dyāl*, avec accord possible avec le possesseur : (fém. *dyāl-t-i* pl. *dyāwel-u, mtāwʕ-u, mtāʕt-i*) ; accord au fém. sg. avec les groupes humains (*nnās kull-ha katdir*…+ fém.)
Les morphèmes	**Nord** : *fāyən* (où), *mnāyən* (d'où), *ʔida* (si) **Oujda/Berkane** : *wīn* (où), *šā* (que/quoi), *kī* (quand, alors que) : *wīn ṛāhi* (où est-elle ?) **Jadida** : *ḥintāš* (parce que)//**Kénitra** : préposition *fi* (*f*)
Variation phonétique	**Nord** : *ʕūmmar* (jamais) ; *muṛṛa* (amère)
Amuïssement de h	**Nord** : *yṛəžžəʕ l-(h)a wəld-(h)a* (on lui rend son fils), *kī nšūf-(h)a* (dès que je la vois)
Les diphtongues	**Nord** : *ḥwāmāt* (*ḥāwma*) (quartiers) /*ḥuma* **Jadida, Casablanca, Berrechid** : *ʕayni* (*ʕīni*), *ṣāwt* (*ṣūt*), *bqāyna* (nous sommes restés)

Ainsi ce chant des Ultras Brigade Wajda contient plusieurs traits régionaux comme les interrogatifs *wīn, ša*, la conjonction *ki*, la particule *ṛā-h*, la conjugaison du pluriel inaccompli *šru* au lieu de *šraw*, l'emploi du mot *ḥābb* au lieu de *bāġi :*

(20) ***wīn*** *ṛāhi əl-ʕaqliyya ?*
Où est-elle la mentalité (Ultras) ?
xallīni nqūl ***ša*** *ṛāh fi qalb-i mxabbi*
Laissez-moi dire ce qui se cache dans mon cœur
ma ʕla bāl-i š ma ʕla bāl-i š menott-ək āna ma yaxlaʕ-ni š
Je ne m'en fiche, je ne m'en occupe pas, tes menottes ne me font pas peur
ma ***tšrūni*** *š ma tšrūni š*
Vous m'achèterez pas, vous m'achèterez pas
ultras u hāka ḥābb nʕīš
Ultras, et c'est ainsi que j'aime vivre
(…) ma dāyər wālu, gūli-li ***wašno*** *dənb-i*
Je n'ai rien fait, dis-moi c'est quoi ma faute ?

Ultras Brigade Wajda 07, Oujda, Album Green Blood- Khalini, 2020 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oi2vE1VL8Pc

Même maintien de *wīn,* et *ṛāḥ* chez les Ultras Orange Boy de Berkane :

(21) *yā* ***wīn*** *ma* ***trōḥ*** *mʕa-ha n*-“déplaciii”

Où qu’elle aille (l’équipe), je me déplace avec elle

Ultras Orange Boys, Berkane, Sol Libero, Outro, 2014

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KAnAatlzhDE

A Tétouan, chez les deux groupes d’Ultras, on trouve une sonorisation du *t* > d pour les indices de 2ème et 3ème personnes de l’inaccompli :

(22) ***d****eʕya* ***d****əqra w* ***d****ʕammaṛ* “CV”

Tu en as assez de faire des études et de remplir des CV

Ultras Los Matadores 05, Tétouan, maghrum & madloum, 2019

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1F4RBO-sZbA

(23) ***š****ḥāl tmənniti* ***d****əbra w* ***d****əṛžaʕ liyām*

Combien tu as souhaité guérir et que reviennent les jours passés

Ultras Siempre Paloma 06, Tétouan, Eterna Leyenda, 2020

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGZTSJkNoNg

4. Conclusion

La présente analyse s’est interrogée sur quelques spécificités linguistiques des chants des Ultras marocains. Fondée sur un corpus de plusieurs groupes Ultras marocains et sur une période de 10 ans, elle a permis de souligner les caractéristiques linguistiques de leurs performances. Un certain nombre de phénomènes ont été décrits comme le recours important à l’affrication de /t/ < [tˢ] même dans des régions qui n’ont pas cette variable dans leur variété, qui symbolise une jeunesse virile et masculine, marque de fabrique des Ultras en général. Les expressions linguistiques des Ultras peuvent être interprétées en termes de style générationnel dans le sens où ces derniers utilisent les mêmes traits que ceux des parlers jeunes au Maroc. Ils emploient également une variété “casablancaise”, “ʕrubi” et un registre poétique et littéraire communs à plusieurs expressions artistiques au Maroc.

Les variations locales méritent d’être étudiées. Nous avons montré que ces jeunes conservent également les traits linguistiques inhérents à la variété arabe parlée dans leur région, mais nous manquons de comparaisons avec d’autres travaux sur la dimension linguistique des chants des Ultras. Beaucoup d’analyses et de recherches sont à faire sur cette question des traits partagés ou en variation, en particulier.

Le succès du nouveau genre musical algérien *zenqaoui* mentionné au début de cet article indique qu’il serait intéressant de comparer de façon plus systématique ce corpus de chants ultras avec des corpus de rap ou de raï pour voir si des croisements au niveau du vocabulaire, des thématiques et des mélodies existent. Parmi les aspects que nous n’avons pas abordés ici, on mentionnera l’impact du contexte de la performance (Note-t-on des différences

d'interprétation pour un même chant s'il est mis en ligne sous forme de vidéo-clip de la formation musicale ou s'il est chanté en live dans les stades ?) ; l'importance de l'iconographie qui accompagne ces textes en ligne et qui participent d'une esthétique Ultras très contemporaine, ainsi que les aspects graphiques et le choix des graphies arabe ou latine selon les groupes, la plupart des vidéos incluant des textes sous-titrés.

Dans tous les cas on peut, sans trop d'erreur, avancer que ces performances relèvent à la fois d'une culture populaire et participent à la diffusion de traits considérés comme "jeunes", l'affrication, le lexique, la préférence pour des traits dialectaux associés à des variétés considérées comme plus "viriles" et dures (*ʕrubi* de Casablanca).

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