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Abstracts

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## The impact of topic on hybrid forms: The case of Moroccan Arabic

Mina AFKIR

Hassan II University, Casablanca - [mina\\_afkir@yahoo.com](mailto:mina_afkir@yahoo.com)

One of the basic and well-established developments of Arabic diglossia is the notion of continuum as reflected in the existence of more than two varieties between the poles of pure H and pure L. Studies done on Moroccan Arabic (Youssi 1983, 1995; Miller, 2010, 2012; Afkir, 2015) or on the colloquial varieties spoken in other Arabic speech communities (Bassiouney, 2006; Mejdell, 2006) have all shown that Arabic language variation is to be viewed as a hierarchy of 'levels' or 'varieties' between the poles of pure H and L. The Arabic forms which mix features from both Standard Arabic and dialectal Arabic are referred to as 'hybrid', 'mixed', and 'intermediate' forms. The object of the present paper is to examine to what extent the variable of topic has an impact on speakers' shifts to these hybrid forms. The data consists of 24 000 words produced in television panel discussions. This type of programs was chosen because it constitutes a semi-formal or 'hybrid context' (Eid, 2007) where one may expect speakers to mix different forms of Arabic and to move along the diglossic continuum. The choice of one of the different varieties of Arabic is certainly motivated by shifting value systems attached to them and by their social meaning to the Moroccan speech community. The frequency-based quantitative analysis in this study has revealed that in addition to all these variables that are at play when codes interact, topic stands out as a variable that also predicts a specific form of Arabic. Topics related to sexuality and religion were found to trigger more hybrid forms than colloquial ones. They predict more shifts towards Arabic forms where the Standard Arabic word is maintained and the vowel patterns of the colloquial are added.

**Key words:** Arabic diglossia, Moroccan Arabic, hybridity, topic, multiglossia

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## The Arabic Dialect Spoken in B'arzla-North Lebanon

Mahmut AĞBAHT

Uppsala Universitet Institutionen för lingvistik och filologi - [agmahmut@gmail.com](mailto:agmahmut@gmail.com)

This study presents an overview of the Arabic dialect spoken in B'arzla, a village situated 7 kilometers from the capital city, Ḥalba, of the province of 'Akkār in the north of Lebanon. To the best of my knowledge, it is the first linguistic study of a dialect spoken in 'Akkār province in the north of Lebanon. The study aims to present the preliminary linguistic findings from recent field research conducted between February-May 2016 in the districts of 'Akkār, and particularly focuses

on the phonology. The Arabic dialect spoken in B'arzla could be characterized by some remarkable features: The long *ā* in emphatic and pharyngeal environments becomes *ō* (*mḥāmi* > *mḥōmi* 'lawyer'). In addition, the feminine suffix *a* in emphatic environments becomes *o* (*ḍay'a* > *ḍay'o#* 'village') in pause. Finally, brief comparisons will be made to previously studied dialects in the region.

## Iraqi Judaeo-Arabic in Modern Hebrew texts: A lexicological study

Mohamed AHMED

University of Cambridge (UK) (CAM) [m-tamawy@daad-alumni.de](mailto:m-tamawy@daad-alumni.de)

Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies - Woolf Institute

Sami Michael (b. Baghdad, 1926), Shimon Ballas (b. Baghdad, 1930) and Eli Amir (b. Baghdad, 1937) are three Iraqi Jewish authors who immigrated to Israel, having left Iraq during the mass migration of Jews from Arab countries during the 1950s. Although their mother tongue is Arabic, these three Iraqi Jewish authors felt that they needed to write in Hebrew if they were to have successful literary careers in Israel. Nonetheless, Arabic still appears in their literary works. Yet, the Arabic variety employed in their literary works belongs, in many aspects, to the so-called Iraqi Judaeo-Arabic.

This study investigates the Judaeo-Arabic lexical items used in six modern Hebrew texts written by the three Iraqi Jewish authors mentioned above. The novels were published between 1964 and 1993. A semantic field analysis is applied to a corpus of six hundred pages, in which the first 100 pages of each novel are taken as a sample. The study shows in numerical statistics the portion of each semantic field used in the corpus followed by a discussion of the data in the view of the linguistic analysis of the phonological, morphological, syntactic and ethnographic aspects of the Iraqi Judaeo-Arabic lexical items in accordance with the texts.

## Christian Arabic of Kuwait

Yousuf ALBADER

The Public Authority for Applied Education and Training, Kuwait - [yousuf.b.albader@gmail.com](mailto:yousuf.b.albader@gmail.com)

Situated on the northwest shore of the Arabian Gulf, Kuwait has extremely thriving Christian communities which comprise twenty percent of the total population size. Among the *ca.* 4.3 million inhabitants of present-day Kuwait, there are well over 800,000 Christians in the country, 260 of whom are Christian Kuwaitis whose forefathers originally hailed from Turkey, Palestine, and Iraq in the early 1900s. This study attempts to show that the dialect they speak is a mixture of the North Najdi and Iraqi types; North (-eastern) Najdi being the predominant dialect. This hybrid nature of the dialect is quite evident in its morphology and lexicon. The aim of this preliminary study is therefore to provide a linguistic description of the Arabic dialect spoken by Christian Kuwaitis in Kuwait. The study was conducted in the form of interviews, with data being gathered in 2016 via audio recording Christian Kuwaitis who were born, raised, and educated in Kuwait. To my knowledge, no study of the speech of the Christian Arabic of Kuwait has been undertaken to date, and the present study is a contribution towards filling this research gap.

**Keywords:** Christian Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic, Gulf Arabic, Kuwait, Eastern Arabia.

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## The local vs. the supra-local regional norms: the case of Arabic interdentals

Aziza AL-ESSA

King Abdulaziz University (KAU) - [aalessa@kau.edu.sa](mailto:aalessa@kau.edu.sa)

One of the consequences of dialect contact situations is the transmission of variants from one dialect to the other (Trudgill 1986:12). This paper investigates the use of the interdental variables (θ), (ð), and (d) by Najdi emigrants in the Hijazi city of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Najdi and urban Hijazi are two varieties of Arabic which employ different sets of variants of the interdental variables. Whereas stop variants are used in the urban Hijazi dialect, fricative variants are the normative use in the Najdi dialect.

The variation between interdental and stop variants of (θ), (ð), and (d) is a well known phenomenon in Arabic dialects; in communities where both variants are found, the tendency is for the stop variants to expand at the expense of the interdental fricative sounds (see for example, Jordanian Arabic, and Palestinian Arabic, among others). In the present contact situation, my data show that the diffusion of the urban Hijazi stop variants in the speech of 61 Najdi speakers is characterized by a low rate of frequency. This linguistic outcome is not in proportion with the length of stay of the Najdi community in Hijaz which extends over 70 years. The low rate of acquisition of the urban Hijazi variants by the second generation of Najdi youngsters born in Hijaz contradicts the widely accepted principle in sociolinguistic research that “when families move into a new speech community, the children adopt the local vernacular rather than that of their parents-(Labov 2001:423).”

In this paper, I will present the details of the analysis of these variables and I will argue that Najdi speakers in Hijaz orient to a supra-regional norm rather than the local norm and that the use of the urban stop variants is constrained by the degree of social interaction with urban Hijazi locals and by socio-psychological factors.

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## Teaching Arabic dialect in the 16th century

Muntasir AL-HAMAD, Ali BENLI

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

Teaching Arabic dialect (Non-pure Syrian Dialect) is attested in a manuscript dated back to circa 1548 A.D. by Hassan bin Naṣūḥ al-Rūmī Al-Balāṭī. He wanted to teach spoken Arabic for those interested in travelling to Arab countries.

Al-Balāṭī claims in his introduction that he's not a professional author or poet, but a person who loves Arabic, which made him leave his country and live amongst Arabs for years. There is no record of him authoring any other book.

It is interesting to mention that the author used the communicative strategies rather than the well-known well-established grammatical approach which was common in teaching languages then. He also used Ottoman Turkish as a medium language in teaching the Arabic dialect.

The paper sheds a light on the dialects spoken in northern Syria about 500 years ago, as well as the influence other dialects shown on the author's examples, in addition to that the study will concentrate on discussing the approach in teaching a dialect then, and the author's philosophy.

## The functions of *hamm* in Baghdadi Arabic

Jade AL-SARAF

University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) - [ja64@soas.ac.uk](mailto:ja64@soas.ac.uk)

This study provides an original description of the functions of the long-standing loaned particle *hamm* (which is ultimately of Iranian origin) in Baghdadi Arabic (instances of *hamm* have been attested in Baghdadi Arabic from as far back as 1122 CE (al-Ḥarīrī 1122)). *hamm* has traditionally been described as the Baghdadi colloquial “equivalent” of the Standard Arabic *ʾayḏan* – both *hamm* and *ʾayḏan* are described as serving an additive function and both are translated as meaning ‘also, too’ (McCarthy & Raffouli 1965; Clarity 2003). Thus, they are widely perceived as being interchangeable aside from their level of formality. This study shows, however, that in addition to the additive ‘also’ function, there are three further, distinct functions of *hamm*: a concessive cancellative discourse marker (Dascal & Katriel 1977, Bell 2009) ‘still’; a scalar focus particle (König 1991) ‘even’ (3); and an intensifier (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003) ‘really’.

Drawing upon data which was collected during fieldwork with native speakers combined with transcriptions from television programs in the Baghdadi dialect, this study shows that additive *hamm* focuses the item or constituent which immediately precedes it, indicating that this “focused” element is the item that is being “added”. It also demonstrates how concessive *hamm* cancels the prior discourse (X), implying that despite what was mentioned in the prior discourse, something contrary will be the case (Y). It then discusses how, when implying a scalar function, *hamm* projects what is perceived as an unexpected or surprising focus value, bringing about a scalar implicature whereby the likelihood of the proposition in question involving the *hamm*-focused element is ranked low. Finally, it explores how when functioning as an intensifier *hamm* does not contribute to the propositional meaning of a clause, but rather serves to enhance and provide supplementary emotional context to the word or constituent it modifies.

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## Language variation and change in the speech community of Nedroma

Naima AMMOUR, Karima BENHEDDI

Mascara University - [ned\\_naima@yahoo.com](mailto:ned_naima@yahoo.com)

Naama University Centre - [karima.benisnous@live.fr](mailto:karima.benisnous@live.fr)

The present work attempts to analyse the sociolinguistic situation of Nedroma, a town in the West of Algeria. The central core of this work is to provide a description of phonological, morphological and lexical variation in correlation with some social factors, including age and gender differences in addition to socio-economic and educational ones. Our investigation has proved that the speech community of Nedroma has been affected by these social features and external pressures, thus promoting language variation and change. The motivations of language change are indeed introduced from other language systems or in relation to social attributes and it can also be explained through mutual contact and accommodation processes. Age and gender play a significant role in linguistic variation and change. Our Findings demonstrate on the one hand that the younger tend to be more accommodating to other dialects than their elder counterparts, and on the other, females stick more to the local forms than males. The research has also shown that language variation and change is also motivated by the influence of education as young Nedromi speakers tend to ‘correct’ some characteristics which appear to be stigmatized. Our analysis

allows us to conclude that this variation may lead to the loss of some of Nedromi linguistic characteristics.

**Keywords:** dialect- phonological, morphological and lexical variation - change - social factors.

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## **Africanisms in Turku**

Andrei AVRAM

*University of Bucharest - [andrei.avram@lils.unibuc.ro](mailto:andrei.avram@lils.unibuc.ro)*

Turku is an extinct Arabic-based pidgin, formerly spoken in Chad. The only available description is found in Muraz (1926) and it consists of a brief grammatical sketch, a vocabulary, and six dialogues. Tosco & Owens (1993) have analyzed in great detail the phonology and morphosyntax of Turku; their study also includes two short sections on the vocabulary and an appendix containing the non-Arabic words in Turku, in which etyma are suggested only for borrowings from European languages.

The present paper is the first analysis of the African component of the vocabulary of Turku. This consists of loanwords, ideophones, and semantic calques – including what Owens (1996) calls “idiomatic structure”. For each of these categories, wherever possible, their origins and source languages have been identified. It is shown that the source languages include mostly Sara languages (e.g. Ngambaye, Sar), but also Hausa, Kanuri and Sango. A distinction is made between direct borrowings from African adstrate languages and possible instances of indirect borrowings, which may have reached Turku via Western Sudanic Arabic, given their occurrence in Nigerian and Chadian varieties (Decorse & Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1905, Deredinger 1912, Lethem 1920, Jullien de Pommerol 1999a and 1999b, Behnstedt & Woidich 2011, Alio 2013, Heath 2013, McKone 2013). The analysis of semantic calques makes reference to potential areal features, beyond genetic affiliations (Owens 1996, 2014), and to the literature on idiomatic calques and semantic borrowing in pidgins and creoles with other lexifier-languages (Parkvall & Baker 2012). The findings are discussed in relation to the external history of Turku, with a focus on the sociohistorical context of its formation and use.

**Keywords:** Turku, Africanisms, direct borrowings, indirect borrowings, areal features

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## لهجة قبيلة الشحوح في الإمارات العربية المتحدة دراسة صوتية دلالية

عبدالله محمود عياش Abdullah AYYASH

Arabic language Department - David R. Cheriton School of Computer Science - Waterloo, Ontario  
Canada N2L 3G1 - UAE - [ayyash@gmail.com](mailto:ayyash@gmail.com)

تسكن قبيلة الشحوح في شمال دولة الإمارات العربية المتحدة، في إمارة رأس الخيمة، وتتمايز المناطق التي تسكنها القبيلة بطبيعتها الجبلية وموقعها الجغرافي الذي قد يحمل أثرا خاصا في طبيعة اللهجة العربية التي يتحدثون بها، ويظهر أن أبناء المنطقة يجدون اختلافا واضحا في لهجة هذه القبيلة عن اللهجة الإماراتية يتسبب في صعوبة فهمها.

ويكشف البحث عن المميزات الصوتية والدلالية والنحوية لهذه اللهجة العربية ومما أدى إلى صبغها بالصعوبة، من خلال الاستناد على الأمثلة التطبيقية المتوفرة في المصادر الإلكترونية، وتلك النماذج الصوتية التي تمكن الباحث من تسجيلها خلال زيارته لإمارة رأس الخيمة وحديثه إلى الناطقين بهذه اللهجة، ومقارنة صوتيات هذه اللهجة مع اللغة العربية الفصحى ثم البحث عن علاقة هذه اللهجة بغيرها من اللهجات العربية وصولا إلى الكشف عن قواعد اللهجة وبنيتها الدلالية، والتي لم يثبت البحث اطرادها، ومحاولة الإجابة عن السؤال حول حقيقة تأثرها ببعض اللغات اللاتينية.

وقد توصل البحث إلى أن التغييرات الصوتية على حروف العربية في كثير من حروف اللهجة أدت إلى مجموعة من التغييرات البنيوية في اللفظ والمعنى والتركييب النحوي، وأن هذا اللهجة نظاما نحويا خاصا مغايرا للأصول النحوية العربية من مثل تأخير الألفاظ ذات الصدارة في الكلام، لتحقيق أغراض صوتية خاصة تتماشى مع خصوصية الشحية، وكذلك أحدثت نوعا من الخلط بين صيغ المفرد والمثنى والجمع في كثير من الألفاظ. وكشف البحث عن أبرز الخصائص الصوتية من مثل العجمة واللثغة واشباع حركة الفتح إلى ألف، وبعض التغييرات الصوتية الدالة ربما على نوع من التأثير اللاتيني في اللهجة، كما وصل إلى أن هذه اللهجة تبدو وكأنها صممت لتخالف باقي اللهجات الدارجة في محيطها أحيانا ولتطبع نوعا من التفرد في ذاتها.



### Les corps qu'on conte : de la mise en mots de la masculinité et de la féminité (en arabe marocain)

Alexandrine BARONTINI, Karima ZIAMARI

INALCO - [alexandrine.barontini@inalco.fr](mailto:alexandrine.barontini@inalco.fr)

Université Moulay Ismaïl de Meknès (Maroc) - [karima.ziamari@yahoo.fr](mailto:karima.ziamari@yahoo.fr)

Au Maroc, les « gender studies » en sociolinguistique sont jeunes. Le paradigme de la domination (Sadiqi, Ouzgane), et le paradigme de la différence, où les femmes ne parleraient pas comme les hommes et respectivement, ont largement orienté les études linguistiques (dialectologiques) des gender studies. C'est d'abord à travers des études dialectologiques corrélées à des fins variationnistes que nous avons eu le foisonnement des études prenant la variable sexe comme référence aussi bien au Maroc que dans le monde arabe (Miller & Caubet, Vicente, Bassiouney) : les réalisations phonétiques, l'usage du standard, les parlers citadins, ...

Le troisième et dernier paradigme est ce que l'on appelle : la performance. Le genre n'est pas vu comme quelque chose que nous sommes, c'est surtout quelque chose que nous incorporons/que nous mettons en œuvre et surtout qui est performé (Eckert and Mcconnell-Ginet, 2003 : 10). C'est dans ce cadre que nous nous situons. Notre objectif consiste à interroger « la performance de genre » (Butler) – dans la mesure où les énoncés performatifs ne sont pas les seuls à pouvoir

signifier et agir, les actes du corps et le discours aussi deviennent performatifs – à travers la mise en mots et en discours de la masculinité et de la féminité.

A partir d'entretiens menés, en arabe marocain, avec des femmes et des hommes marocains, nous analyserons, d'un point de vue linguistique et sociolinguistique, comment ces deux concepts sont nommés, définis, reconnus, identifiés, faits et défaits, par les locuteurs/locutrices.

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## **Le soi jeune dedans et dehors**

Laila BEN SALAH

*Université sidi mohamed ben abdellah, Fez - [laila\\_bensalah@hotmail.fr](mailto:laila_bensalah@hotmail.fr)*

Cette présentation se propose de passer en revue, dans une perspective sociolinguistique, les expressions utilisées par les jeunes fassis pour peindre leur propre identité par rapport à l'espace qu'ils occupent dans la finalité de se donner une image distinguée et imposante.

Nous allons essayer, tout d'abord, de décrire linguistiquement les traits saillants des parlers jeunes à Fès. Ensuite, nous examinerons les mises en mots de l'identité par les jeunes informateurs qui se façonnent et se définissent par rapport aux autres acteurs sociaux, et permettent d'en construire des représentations et des visions.

Cette recherche résulte d'une enquête de terrain auprès de jeunes informateurs issus de la ville de Fès dont l'âge varie entre seize et vingt-quatre ans. L'enquête a été effectuée au cours des années 2013 et 2014. Il s'agit de cinq heures d'enregistrement faite à la piscine, au café et au complexe de la liberté.

**Mots clés** : soi jeune, groupe, parlers jeunes.

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## **Moroccan Arabic code switching in social media transactions – beyond discourse?**

Najat BENCHIBA-SAVENIUS

*University of Oxford (UK) - [nbenchiba@hotmail.com](mailto:nbenchiba@hotmail.com)*

This abstract analyses whether the Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, 2002) as a theoretical model aimed to explain codeswitching behaviour in bilinguals, is still used in modern social media verbal transactions. Given the new styles of urban dialogue that pushes traditional boundaries of code switching behaviour, this study looks at one hundred code-switched utterances in natural dialogues and analyses whether new speech styles contravene the MLF or whether there is an emergence of a new composite model.



## Une approche sociolinguistique du parler arabe de Ouezzane depuis la perspective du genre

Montserrat BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ

*Escuela de Estudios Árabes-CSIC (EEA-CSCI) - [montsebenitez@eea.csic.es](mailto:montsebenitez@eea.csic.es)*

Les connaissances sur la région nord du Maroc à la disposition de la communauté scientifique ont avancé considérablement dans les deux dernières décennies grâce à l'intérêt d'un groupe de chercheurs engagés sur ce sujet (à titre d'exemple Caubet, 2016 ; Guerrero Parrado, 2014 ; Moscoso, 2003 ; Vicente, 2000). Dans ce cadre, une étude approfondie du parler arabe de Ouezzane (nord-ouest marocain) s'est avérée nécessaire. J'ai donc décidé d'entamer ce travail en 2014, en partant d'une approche variationniste.

Ayant déjà présenté des résultats préliminaires sur la variable de l'âge dans ce parler (Benítez Fernández, 2016), je me suis rendue compte d'une certaine variation plus en rapport avec la variable du genre qu'avec celle de l'âge. Lors de cette communication, qui fait partie d'une recherche toujours en cours, je vais esquisser les traits linguistiques propres à chaque groupe (hommes et femmes) afin de contribuer à une meilleure connaissance de ce parler et fournir quelques informations sur la variable du genre.

Les données analysées lors de cette communication ont été obtenues lors de deux missions sur le terrain en février 2014 et décembre 2016.

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## A North African treasure: the vinyl archive of T. F. Mitchell

Adam BENKATO

*Free University Berlin - [benkato@gmail.com](mailto:benkato@gmail.com)*

Terence F. Mitchell (1919-2007), a well-known English Arabist and general linguist, undertook fieldwork in Libya in the late 1940s, working on Libyan Arabic dialects as well as Zwaran Berber (northwest Libya). However, Mitchell only published two articles on each language during his lifetime. Some of his unpublished work on Zwaran Berber, including a small amount of audio, was published posthumously, and that seemed to have been the extent of Mitchell's materials from Libya.

But sitting forgotten and overlooked in an office in Leeds, where Mitchell was Professor of English and General Linguistics from 1964 to 1980, was a cache of old vinyl records. Almost 100 in number, these records preserve a great deal of rare and unique North African material, ranging from Fas to Tunis and Tripoli, with a focus on eastern Libyan—the majority having been made by Mitchell in Libya during fieldwork trips in 1948 and 1949. In this presentation, I will give an overview of the record collection (including several highlights), my ongoing digitization and archiving of the material, and a discussion of the circumstances of Mitchell's fieldwork in postcolonial eastern Libya shortly after the war.

## L'emploi relatif de *əlli*, *ma* et *šən* dans le parler arabe de Tripoli (Libye)

Marwa BENSHEENSHIN

INALCO - [marwa\\_2710@yahoo.fr](mailto:marwa_2710@yahoo.fr)

Dans le parler arabe de Tripoli, *əlli*, *ma* et *šən* s'utilisent en tant que pronoms relatifs. On observe qu'ils peuvent parfois permuter dans les phrases, se substituer l'un à l'autre, mais dans certains cas, cette permutation est impossible. Dans les travaux précédents, cela n'a pas été précisément décrit.

Ainsi, en prenant appui sur des corpus oraux et sur des études précédentes concernant l'arabe de Tripoli (Benshenshin 2016a : 130 et Pereira 2010 : 285-289), le but de cette communication est de décrire l'emploi relatif de ces trois pronoms dans la variété d'arabe parlée dans la capitale libyenne.

Il s'agira de présenter leurs caractéristiques générales, notamment leur caractère défini ou indéfini qui pourrait expliquer leurs emplois relatifs, afin de montrer quand chacun de ces pronoms peut prendre la place de l'autre et d'expliquer quand et pourquoi ce remplacement est impossible et ainsi compléter les travaux précédents sur ces trois pronoms.

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## Jordanian linguistic identity in short animations

Elizabeth M. BERGMAN

*Miami University of Ohio* [bergmae3@miamioh.edu](mailto:bergmae3@miamioh.edu)

Arabic animation is a relatively new genre, dating from the middle of the last decade. Prior to that, animation in Arabic consisted of imports from the west or Japan. Recent Arabic animation is very different; these are locally produced and voiced in spoken Arabic. This study examines language use in Jordanian short animations and the extent to which it reflects the Jordanian linguistic scene. That scene is complex in terms of the linguistic features as well as of social attitudes (Suleiman 1994, 2004). At the same time, the Jordanian linguistic scene continues to evolve (al-Wer 2003, 2007).

Data for this study is a collection of approximately three hours of Jordanian animation. They come from three series, all described in promotional materials as “authentically Jordanian”: *نهفات عيلتنا Nahfat Ailetna (Family Traits)*, *خفافش Khaffash*, and *أبو محبوب Abu Mahjoob*. Features under investigation are phonological: the realization of ق (/g/ or /ʔ/); the realization of the interdentalals ث, ذ, ظ as fricatives (/t/, /d/, /d/) or as stops (/t/, /d/, and /d/); and the affricate realization of ك (/č/). One morphological feature is included: the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural suffixed pronouns.

Examination of these features reveals that language in the three “authentically Jordanian” series is not a single variety of spoken Jordanian Arabic, but three. They are Amman Arabic (al-Wer 2003, 2007), the *begūl* variety of central Jordan, and the *yigūl* variety of southern and eastern Jordan (Cleveland 1963). Taken together, the series make up a textbook survey of language variation in Jordan. They illustrate the heterogeneity of Jordanian linguistic and national identity and, at the same time, they are indicative of the anxieties of national and linguistic identities in Jordan in the mid-2000s, when the influx of Iraqi refugees reached its height.

## First approach to idiomatic expressions in Damascus Arabic

Carmen BERLINCHES RAMOS

Universität Wien - [carmen.berlinches.ramos@univie.ac.at](mailto:carmen.berlinches.ramos@univie.ac.at)

The dialect of Damascus is among the most thoroughly described varieties within the scope of Arabic dialectology. However, one of the few aspects that have not been studied in detail is phraseology. Idiomatic expressions are multiword units which have a syntactic function within the sentence and a figurative meaning in terms of the whole, or have a unitary meaning that cannot be derived from the meanings of its individual components (Abdou 2016). Idioms are inherent in a language and essential for its understanding. Yet, their semantic opacity as well as their relative fixed syntactic structures frequently cause difficulties for their understanding.

To respond to this lacuna in research, during the last years I have collected a large amount of data on this subject, of which most were taken from TV series. My presentation will mainly focus on idioms and, to a lesser extent, on some collocations and (frozen) metaphors. I will first give a classification of my examples based on their syntactical structure. Then, I will analyse the keywords of these lexical units, indicating, for instance, whether they have a literal or an abstract meaning, or which are the most frequent nouns (parts of the body, animals, etc.).

Finally, I will deal with semantic aspects, indicating the idiomatic target and those which appeared with most frequency in my data. Possible variants and reversal coordination, embedding or any other syntactic process will also be pointed out.

**Keywords:** Levantine dialects, Damascus Arabic, Idioms, collocations, metaphors.

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## Some phenomena of contact between Arabic and Modern South Arabian in Southern Oman

Simone BETTEGA, Fabio GASPARINI

Università di Torino - [bet.simo@hotmail.it](mailto:bet.simo@hotmail.it)

Università di Napoli L'Orientale

It has often been emphasized (Peterson 2004, Holes 2007 and 2011, Bettega 2016) how the radical socio-economic changes that have taken place in the Arabian Gulf in the last decades are strongly affecting the linguistic habits of its inhabitants (also in terms of the definition of local identities). The Sultanate of Oman as well has been deeply influenced by these changes. The rise in the standards of living in the Sultanate has granted to virtually everyone easy access to public education, transportation and modern technology. This, in turn, has resulted in a higher degree of contact and communication between social groups that have historically led quite separate existences.

This is most notably the case with Omani speakers of Modern South Arabian Languages (MSAL) such as Mehri, Hobyōt, Ḥarsūsi, Baḥḥari and Jibbāli/Şehri. In Oman, the South Arabian languages are currently receding fast under the impact of Arabization, progressively reducing their area of influence. This process, which had probably already begun at some time in the past, has been subject to dramatic acceleration after the rise to power of Sultan Qaboos bin Said in 1970 and the

end of the Dhofari rebellion in 1975. Today, all MSAL are classified by UNESCO as endangered (their degree of endangerment varying from «definite» to «severe» and «critical»). It would seem that the prolonged and extensive exposition to Arabic (especially through the public-school system and the media) may eventually lead to a massive process of language loss.

Despite their representing a linguistically unique group, MSAL became the object of thorough linguistic scrutiny only relatively recently (Johnstone 1975, Simeone-Senelle 2011, Watson 2012; several documentation projects are presently underway, such as Watson and Morris' project for the Documentation and Ethnolinguistic Analysis of Modern South Arabian and Bendjaballah's OmanSam project). In addition, in spite of the fact that studies on language contact have flourished in recent years (Matras 2009, Auer 2011), studies dealing specifically with the contact between Arabic and South Arabian are virtually non-existent.

The present work is intended as a first step forward towards filling this gap; it results from a period of fieldwork research conducted in Dhofar and Southern Oman between October and November 2016. We intend to investigate certain phenomena resulting from language contact between the local varieties of spoken Arabic (namely Janaibi Arabic and Coastal Dhofari Arabic, see Davey 2016) and the MSAL. More specifically, we will focus on the current situation of Baḥari, a heavily under-researched and critically endangered language (Morris 1983) whose last living speakers show various degrees of contact with Janaibi Arabic and other MSAL, ranging from code-switching (Gumperz 1982) to morphological interference due to a severe process of language erosion (Harrison 2007). In parallel with our examples from Baḥari, we will also show evidence of language-contact phenomena in other, less severely endangered MSAL, such as Jibbāli/Šehri.

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## **The role of prepositions and conjunctions in the syntax of the Spoken Arabic of Siirt**

Gabriel BIṬUNĂ

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

This paper will analyze the syntactical features of prepositions and conjunctions employed in the Spoken Arabic of Siirt (a city located in the South-East of Turkey, with an Arabic dialect strongly influenced by Turkish and Kurdish), focusing on their etymology (while a part of them have been inherited from Old Arabic, others have been loaned from Turkish and Kurdish), on the contexts and expressions they are being used in (some enter compound prepositions and conjunctions), their topic in the sentence and the topic they impose on nouns. Some of the main prepositions used in the Spoken Arabic of Siirt are *‘a* “on”, *‘and* “at”, *fī* “with, in”, *ša* “at, to”, *ey* “until”, *mən* “from”, *ma<sup>c</sup>* “with”, while some conjunctions examples comprise *əč-čāhlə* “when”, *ḥalbūki* “although”, *čənki* “because”. Nonetheless, the study covers more than 50 occurrences of parts of speech belonging to these two classes.

## المنزلة بين المنزلتين: من مظاهر تفصيح العامية في الشعر الساخر

محروس بريك Mahrous BORAYYEK

[mmohammad@qu.edu.qa](mailto:mmohammad@qu.edu.qa) - جامعة قطر, Qatar university

اقتصرت غالبية جهود العلماء المعاصرين - في أثناء الحديث عن (العامي الفصيح - (على الحديث عن ردّ بعض المفردات العامية إلى أصلها الفصيح، وحديثهم بذلك يقتصر على الجانب المعجمي، دون التطرق بشكل حقيقي إلى الجوانب الصرفية أو التركيبية.

ولدى هؤلاء العلماء بعض الحقّ في ذلك؛ لأنّ للعامية منطقتها الخاص الذي يميزها عن اللغة الفصيحة المشتركة؛ فاللهجات العامية العربية تخلّت -على سبيل المثال- عن ظاهرة الإعراب، واقتصرت في بيان المعاني على التزام الرتبة بتقديم الفاعل على المفعول، والمبتدأ على الخبر، إلا فيما ندر من استعمالات لهجية. لكنّ الشاعر العامي المعاصر يعود فيجعل العلامة الإعرابية أحد مظاهر الجملة في شعره العامي الساخر!

إن الناظر في ذلك الشعر العامي الساخر يجد هؤلاء الشعراء يلجؤون إلى تكتيكات لغوية متنوعة لإبراز المفارقة الساخرة من أوضاع اجتماعية أو اقتصادية أو سياسية، ومن تلك التكتيكات:

- 1- إخضاع الكلمات العامية للأبنية الصرفية في اللغة الفصحى المشتركة.
- 2- التلاعب بالأبنية الصرفية لإضفاء مزيد من المفارقة والسخرية والفكاهة.
- 3- رصف الجملة العامية بشكل يتوافق مع الرصف التركيبي للفصحى.
- 4- التزام العلامات الإعرابية (الأصلية والفرعية) في الكلمات العامية داخل الجملة.
- 5- إخضاع الكلمات العامية للأوزان العروضية، وتغيير بنيتها وأصواتها لتتوافق مع موسيقى الوزن العروضي والفاقوي للنص.

6- مزج الفصحى بالعامية في القصيدة الواحدة .

ويعدّ الشاعر حسين شفيق المصري (1882 - 1948) الرائد الحقيقي لذلك الاتجاه الشعري الساخر، حيث "يلتقي الحسّ الشعبي، والوعي السياسي والاجتماعي، والمعرفة بالتراث (الشعري) العربي، فيصنع «ظاهرة» حسين شفيق المصري، الذي أوسع عصره سخرية وفكاهة وطرّفًا ونقدًا، فابتدع مصطلح: الشعر الحلمنتيشي، وقاس «المشعلقات» على المعلفات فحاكاها معارصًا متهكمًا على زمانه وأحداثه، وكثيرًا ما يعتمد أسلوبه على المزج بين الفصحى والعامية ببراعة تعتمد على المفارقة المفجرة للسخرية" [انظر: ترجمته بمعجم البابطين للشعراء العرب المعاصرين].

إن من أهم نتائج هذا البحث بيان أن الشاعر الساخر عندما قام بتغييرات صرفية وتركيبية في اللهجة العامية لم يكن يقصد من ذلك إضفاء الفصاحة على اللهجة العامية، ولم يكن همّه إثبات أن الكلمة ذات جذور فصيحة، بل كان يلجأ إلى ذلك كي يضيف على شعره مسحة من السخرية اللاذعة من أوضاع المجتمع. فأصبح شعره في منزلة بين المنزلتين (الفصحى والعامية)، فلم يعد فصيحًا مشتركًا ولا عاميًا خاصًا، وهو إنما يقصد إلى ذلك عن وعي وتفكير. وهذا النمط من الإبداع في غاية الصعوبة لأنه يتطلب دراية تامة بالفصحى والعامية، ومهارة لغوية فائقة، وحسًا ساخرًا .

الكلمات المفتاحية: الشعر الساخر، الشعر الفكاهي، الشعر الحلمنتيشي، تفصيح العامية، العامي الفصيح، حسين شفيق المصري

من مراجع البحث :

العامي الفصيح من المعجم الوسيط، د. أمين السيد، نشره مجمع اللغة العربية بالقاهرة.  
ديوان شاعر الفكاهة حسين شفيق المصري: رائد الشعر الحلمنتيشي، جمع وشرح وتقديم د. مصطفى رجب، دار العلم والإيمان للنشر والتوزيع.  
الفكاهة في الأدب العربي، محمد الشويرع، مجلة التوباد، السعودية.

## Lexical variation in an urban context in Algeria: a case study

Farouk BOUHADIBA

University of Oran 2, Algeria [fbouhadiba@yahoo.fr](mailto:fbouhadiba@yahoo.fr)

This presentation deals with some facts of language dynamics (Oran Spoken Arabic (ORSA) in this case) and how dialectal forms and meaning are affected not only by the social context but also by geophysical factors and events. Empirical observations are made on lexical variation, innovation

and change processes during a verbal communication in an Algerian urban context. These are described and analyzed on the basis of a corpus composed of spontaneous verbal interactions out of which assumptions are made as to the choice of some lexical forms of Spoken Arabic rather than others. We shall then present cases of lexical variation, innovation and change on the basis of Cadora's (1992) assumptions on Eco-linguistics and Eco-structure concerning the dialects of Arabic and which seem to be corroborated in this case study.

The corpus is based on a study of 50 male and female informants who live in oran and its suburbs. These were selected on the basis of their age group and their social class (education and family income in particular taken as primary social markers). The results show that variation and change take place irrespective of the social class of the informants. This has been corroborated by interviews which aimed at eliciting data in the group's interactions and classifying the variation as urban, rural or as a result of eco-linguistic changes which are used irrespective of the informants' socio-economic background.

**Keywords:** Linguistic and typological description of Arabic vernaculars (phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, grammaticalisation processes).



## Un passage à l'écrit informel ou comment la Darija s'est créé une graphie sur claviers

Dominique CAUBET

*Langues et Cultures du Nord de L'Afrique et Diasporas (Inalco) - Centre Jacques Berque (CJB) - [caubet.dominique@yahoo.fr](mailto:caubet.dominique@yahoo.fr)*

Le passage à l'écrit de la Darija a connu un bon qualitatif indéniable ces dernières années, passant d'une communication simple et ludique à des écrits beaucoup plus élaborés. En l'absence de reconnaissance officielle, cet aménagement linguistique a été fait par les utilisateurs eux-mêmes. Pendant les dix premières années, seule la graphie latine était techniquement possible, mais depuis l'apparition des interfaces arabes et des smartphones, écrire en arabe n'est plus un problème.

Des jeunes se sont lancés dans l'écriture d'un type inédit : de longs textes en prose avec une visée littéraire. Autant la poésie était courante, autant la prose se heurtait au problème de la lecture d'une langue qu'on n'a pas appris à lire...

Or, depuis plus de dix ans maintenant, la jeunesse marocaine a appris à écrire et à lire Darija, dans les deux graphies, latine et arabe, indifféremment.

Nous présenterons des observations sur les habitudes graphiques que l'on trouve sur ces textes aujourd'hui souvent écrit directement sur des smartphones.

**Keywords:** new literacies; digital technology development; new social practices; keyboard-to-screen communication; informality; non-institutional; civil society.

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## **De-grammaticalization in aṣ-Ṣānīf Arabic: Cross-generational changes in spatial language**

Letizia CERQUEGLINI

Tel Aviv University (TAU) - [lutezia7@gmail.com](mailto:lutezia7@gmail.com)

Spatial Frames of Reference (FoRs) – Intrinsic/Relative/Absolute—are semantic strategies used to project coordinate systems onto spatial arrays in order to describe angular spatial relations between an object F (Figure) with respect to another object G (Ground): Intrinsic FoR is based on G's inherent asymmetries and facets; Relative FoR is anchored on the facets of O (Observer); Absolute FoR is anchored on cardinal directions (Levinson 2003). Speakers of Traditional aṣ-Ṣānīf Arabic (TAA) (over 65 years old) select the appropriate FoR in context according to properties of Gs and some axial constraints (Cerqueglini 2015). Properties of Gs are based on cultural saliency, derived from daily practice and routine affordances, rather than on metric and formal features. As a result of a unique grammaticalization process, TAA shows a 'prepositional split': prepositions may be exclusive to a specific FoR, due to interdependence of semantic material contained in prepositions and related Gs (Cerqueglini 2016). In TAA Front Region is attributed only to Gs priming Intrinsic FoR (man/horse/camel/dog/tent/coffee-pot/mountain) by prepositions: *giddām/gabl/(ṣa)wījh* and object-part nouns: *wījh/ḥašm/siddānih*. TAA opposes *(ṣa)wījh/gabl* [FG Reciprocal Facing] to *giddām* [FG Alignment]. So F-man 'in front of' and facing G-tent is *(ṣa)wījh al-bīt*; but facing away from it he is *giddām al-bīt*; F-man 'in front' of G-man, facing him, is *gabl az-zalamih*; not facing him, he is *giddām az-zalamih*, as lined up facing the same direction. Middle aged aṣ-Ṣānīf (MAA) speakers (aged 46 to 64) have lost the traditional cultural ontology of Gs and axial oppositions, and the 'prepositional split' seems to regress: *gabl* remains used only intrinsically, when human FG are face-to-face; *giddām* and *(ṣa)wījh* are used both intrinsically and relatively, on every G, without axial oppositions. Interestingly, in MAA object-part nouns for Front Region of geographic elements (mountain/wadi) are attributed relatively (to the side facing O), no longer as inherent parts, probably due to abandon of the desert landscape.

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## **Central Asian Arabic Dialects. Some peculiarities of verb formation**

Guram CHIKOVANI

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

The peculiarities of Bukhara (BAD) and Qashqa-darya (QAD) Arabic dialects are mostly resulted by the linguistic contacts with non-kindred to the Semitic languages Turkic (Uzbek, Turkmen) and

Indo-European (Tajik) languages. In the mentioned dialects we see the old Arabic/Semitic forms and morphological formation as well as cases of internal development. The changes caused by the extra linguistic features must be taken into account as well. The isolation from Arab world for centuries makes linguistic features of verb formation in Bukhara and Qashqa-darya extremely interesting and important from the point of view of the independent development of Semitic linguistic material.

The Present Definite Tense (present of the given moment) in Bukhara and Qashqa-darya Arabic dialects conveys a continuous prolonged action. It is formed by adding of *nāyim* to the verb in the imperfect, e.g.: *itbux nāyim* – “(smb.) is now baking (smth.)”, *nōkul nāyiminni* – “we're now eating”. The auxiliary verbal form *nāyim* is frequently supplied with a pronominal suffix.

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 nođdi* – “let us go”.

The Past Indefinite Tense is formed by adding a pronominal suffix to the form of active participle. By its contents the Past Indefinite expresses ostensibility of the action and coincides with the Turkish Past Indefinite: *ma zāriba(h)* – “(as it seems) he didn't hit him”.

In the paper is given analyse of the Present Definite, Past Indefinite and Complex Future Tenses as well as the origins of the morphological elements used for the formation of the mentioned tenses, unknown in Semitic languages.

**Key-words:** Central Asia, verb formation, Past Indefinite, Present Definite, Complex Future.

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## The comparative in comparative perspective

Stuart DAVIS

Indiana University - [davis@indiana.edu](mailto:davis@indiana.edu)

To a certain extent most Arabic dialects maintain the templatic comparative of Classical Arabic, where the comparative has the templatic shape aCCaC in which the C-slots represent the three root consonants that comprise many Arabic words. For example, the adjective [kabiir] 'big' has the comparative form [akbar] (where we do not transcribe the initial glottal stop). Also, most dialects maintain the templatic allomorphs aCCa for comparatives based on weak roots where the final glide does not surface (e.g. [azka] 'cleverer') and aCaCC for comparatives based on roots where the final two consonants are identical (e.g. [ahamm] 'more important'). However, when one examines the specific details of the comparative across dialects a number of interesting issues are raised ranging from details of the nature of the templatic allomorphy to adjective types that resist having a templatic comparative form. For instance, virtually undocumented is the existence of the templatic allomorph aCaCCaC found in some southern rural Levantine varieties that can accommodate a base with four root consonants, as exemplified by the comparative form [amaskan] 'more unfortunate' related to the adjective [maskiin] 'unfortunate'. Regarding adjective types that resist taking a templatic comparative, there is much variation across dialects



(and speakers) as to whether basic color terms such as [axDar] 'green' can be used in a comparative frame as in the Cairene Arabic example [ig-gineena di axDar min di] 'This garden is greener than that one', which is of questionable acceptability to many speakers. This further raises the unexplored issue of periphrastic comparatives across dialects since the sentence above can be expressed in Cairene as [ig-geena di xuDra 'an di], which may not be acceptable in other dialects. In this talk, I will present these and other issues concerning the nature of the comparative across Arabic dialects.

## **Linguistic analysis of puns and sayings in texts of Bilād aš-Šām**

Emanuela DE BLASIO

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

This work is based on the analysis of puns and idioms in contemporary texts produced in dialectal variants, with particular reference to the lyrics of songs, slogans and humorous cartoons of the Syrian-Lebanese-Palestinian area. Resorting to colloquial expressions or to puns plays a predominant role in these artistic productions, where the form is sometimes more important than the content.

In order to give an impetus to a text or a concept, the author, who is a cartoonist, a singer or an activist, makes use of puns based on double meanings or on words that look alike for the sound but they are distant for the meaning. The aim is to arouse in the listener or reader irony or provocation or other feelings in order to reawaken the conscience.

The use of colloquial expressions is necessary to engage and bring the viewer to the reality that the author wants to communicate: it is interesting to examine the various expressions used in everyday life in the Arab world. Idiomatic expressions play a very important role: they are part of 'adab "good education", "good manners" and they are numerous (greetings, requests, thanks, various exclamations).

Also through proverbs and sayings of folk tradition, it is possible to discover other aspects of Arab culture.

From selected material, politics is the theme more proposed. These texts testify to the contradictions of contemporary history, lead to reflect on daily events and provide tools through which pass messages that concern the society and its changes, even through critique and irony.

The collection of such expressions constitutes a rich source for linguistics, sociology and folklore.

## **La réduplication totale dans l'arabe levantin septentrional**

Emma DE MURTAS

*Sorbonne Paris Cité (Paris 5) - [emmademurtas@hotmail.it](mailto:emmademurtas@hotmail.it)*

*Université Paris V - Paris Descartes*

Cet article se propose d'examiner l'incidence de la réduplication sur le sémantisme des unités linguistiques et, de façon spécifique, sur les aspects iconiques qu'elle comporte. Bien que le terme réduplication soit très utilisé en linguistique, une définition satisfaisante n'a pas encore été formulée. Beaucoup de phénomènes différents sont attribués à la réduplication, y compris celui où le seul signe de distinction est représenté par la simple répétition. De nombreuses études ont été menées sur la réduplication et ses fonctions dans l'ensemble des langues. Ces études ont montré que, jusqu'à nos jours, la réduplication a été étudiée en tant que phénomène principalement morphologique ou phonologique. Il paraît donc utile d'effectuer une étude sur l'incidence de la réduplication sur la sémantique, en analysant les aspects iconiques de ce phénomène. Pour cela il est nécessaire de se confronter aux variétés dialectales, moins soumises aux règles formelles de l'Arabe Standard Moderne et de l'arabe classique, afin d'approfondir les thèses proposées par Clive Holes sur la valeur expressive et idiomatique des quadrilitères dans les dialectes neo-arabes. Pour cette raison cette présentation portera sur le dialecte arabe levantin septentrional.

La forme principale de reduplication en arabe est la répétition d'une base radicale à deux lettres (C1C2) : on appelle cette forme « reduplication totale d'une racine bilitère ». D'autres formes de reduplication existent, mais elles ne font pas l'objet d'analyse dans le cadre de cette étude (notamment le redoublement d'une seule lettre radicale).

**Mots-clés :** *Reduplication, quadrilitères, sémantique, iconicité, arabe levantin septentrional.*

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## **Communication écrite sur internet et par sms en *arabizi*: analyse de corpus relevant des glosses dialectales syriennes et libanaises**

Joseph DICHY

*Université Lumière-Lyon 2 et laboratoire ICAR (UMR 5191, CNRS/Lyon 2, ENS-Lyon)*  
*joseph.dichy@univ-lyon2.fr*

L'*arabizi*, pour lequel on dispose déjà de plusieurs références, est « une forme écrite de l'arabe née du développement des appareils électroniques : au début, les ordinateurs et autres téléphones portables n'avaient pas de clavier arabe. Les utilisateurs ont donc transposé l'alphabet arabe en alphabet latin. » (Gonzalez-Quijano 2012). On remplace les sons correspondant par exemple aux lettres *ḥā'* ou *'ayn* respectivement par 3 et par 7, comme dans *mar7aba*, « bonjour ou bienvenue » et *3ayni* (Liban)/ *3eni* (Syrie), « mon œil ». Pour Gonzalez-Quijano, « l'*arabizi*, création collective spontanée de la société civile, annonce l'avènement d'un nouvel arabe écrit, informel et métissé. » A mes yeux, la diversité des usages est une caractéristique ancienne de la polyglossie de l'arabe, qui n'en a pas affecté à ce jour l'unité plurielle (Dichy 2010 et 2016).

Cette communication analysera des corpus libanais et syriens (empruntés essentiellement à Twitter). Les données comportent d'une part des aspects inventifs, difficiles à généraliser comme en français le sms *GHT du P1*, « j'ai acheté du pain » ou en arabe le message partiellement idéographique *#lik*, qu'il faut lire *Htag lik*, *'aštaq-lik*, « tu me manques » ; et de l'autre des aspects beaucoup plus répandus, et susceptibles de généralisation, qui sont d'abord de nature morpho-phonologiques et phono-graphiques : nous examinerons les relations entre des énoncés prononcés dans le dialecte du locuteur et leur notation en caractères latins, ainsi qu'en caractères arabes. Des règles doivent également être élaborées en rapport avec une analyse du mot graphique et de ses réalisations en *arabizi*. Ces règles supposent une base de données lexicale dont les entrées sont associées à des spécificateurs (cf. pour l'arabe littéraire moderne, la bd DIINAR – Dichy 1990 et 1997 ; Dichy et Hassoun 2005). La base de données d'*arabizi* doit aussi tenir compte de la variation des réalisations selon les locuteurs, en fonction de la langue étrangère parlée par eux, ex. *7abibi* « mon ami » ou « mon amour » pour un locuteur connaissant le français, et *7abeebee* pour un locuteur connaissant l'anglais.

**Mots-clés :** *arabizi*, parlers libanais et syriens, analyse de corpus, communication sur internet, polyglossie, analyse morpho-phonologique, relations phono-graphiques, structure(s) du mot graphique, base de données.

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

Julien DUFOUR, Hanan MALOOM

*Groupe d'études orientales, slaves et néo-helléniques (EA 1340 - UMB)*

*Université de Strasbourg - [espagnac@outlook.com](mailto:espagnac@outlook.com)*

*IREMAM, UMR7310, CNRS, Aix Marseille Université.*

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

*Mus'id wa-Mus'idah* met en scène un couple de Sanaa discutant à chaque épisode une question sociale pertinente pour la société yéménite. Cette émission a été étudiée par Mutahhar & Watson 2002. Les deux animateurs sont 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muṭahhar et Ḥabībah Muḥammad (un homme et une femme).

*Basamāt ramadāniyyah* est diffusée durant Ramadan. L'émission aborde en arabe sanaani des questions politiques, économiques et sociales. Elle est dite par 'Aḥmad al-Baḥri et Yaḥyā al-Qum'ī (deux hommes).

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

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

Les deux premières émissions (*Mus'id wa-Mus'idah* et *Basamāt ramadāniyyah*) sont diffusées par la radio d'État Idā'at Ṣan'ā', les deux autres (*Hidār wa-dāwiyah* et *Rabšat al-'aḥbār*) le sont par 'Īrām FM. Les deux premières, tout en ayant des aspects divertissants, recherchent une certaine respectabilité et mettent en scène une façon présentée comme traditionnelle de parler le sanaani. Les deux dernières visent un public jeune et se prévalent d'une certaine modernité.

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

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## Some issues of emphatic consonants in the Arabic dialects

Nino EJIBADZE, Apollon SILAGADZE  
Tbilissi state University - [nino.ejibadze@tsu.ge](mailto:nino.ejibadze@tsu.ge)

Modern Arabic dialects, along with other features, are characterized by the tendency of de-emphatization of emphatic consonants. Some researchers saw the reason of the phenomena in the fact that the population – Arabized as a result of the Arab expansion – found it difficult to identify the Arabic emphatic consonants. In the present-day Arabic dialectology, this viewpoint mostly is not shared, as these features are characteristic of dialects in general, despite their localization. In addition, Arabic in every particular case encountered totally different languages.

In Arabic some roots which differ in one consonant (and the corresponding derivatives) have similar/identical semantics: *naḥḥa* (“breath”) – *naḥḥa* (“breath”), *qaṭaf* (“to pick”) – *qata* (“to cut”); among these words we often find opposition of emphatic consonant and non-emphatic corresponding consonant of it: *ṣaḥḥa* (“to slap, shut, slam, bang”) – *safaḥa* (“to bang, shut, slam”). More of such pairs we can find in the modern Arabic dialects.

In the paper the viewpoint is expressed that the question of reduction of the emphatic consonants, or, the minimization of the opposition of *emphatic: non emphatic* pairs of consonants, represents a phenomenon within the Arabic language, caused by general regularities of the development of the Arabic dialects, when the general principle of economy is at work.

In practice this phenomenon causes frequent errors in the process of writing in the literary language. Sometimes, it is linked with a certain difficulty to determine which form should be right – the form containing the emphatic consonant or that which is represented with the non-emphatic member of the pair, characteristic of the dialect, e.g.: *saṭr* or *satr* (for “line, row”).

The basis of the research is material collected from Arab informers (mostly, Egyptians), specialist literature (e.g.: K. Versteegh, *The Arabic Language*, NY, 1997, Ch. Ferguson, *The Arabic Koine*, in: *Structural Studies in Arabic Linguistics*, Leiden-NY-Köln, 1997; works of Middle Age Arab authors, e.g. Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-muqaddima*, etc.), as well as Fiction (among them, created in the vernacular).

**Key words:** Arabic, dialect, development regularities, emphatic consonant.

## The Hassani\* dialect and culture in a context of language and populations contact

Jaouad EL BAKILI

Mohamed V University, Rabat, [j.elbakili@gmail.com](mailto:j.elbakili@gmail.com)

The present paper was concerned with the investigation of the impact of language and populations contact on the Hassania community. The main objective is to find out whether the Hassania language and culture have been influenced by the language in use on the community and the culture that were imported by the populations that moved and settled in the area, especially since November 6th, 1975, when Hassan II, former King of Morocco undertook the Green March. The main hypothesis underlying the present study was that language and cultures in presence are more dominant and have both the political and economic powers the Hassani language and culture lack. The study tried to address research questions related to (i) the languages in use within the Hassani community, (ii) who uses what language? with whom? where/when? And why? and (iii) the impact of language and populations contact have on Hassani language and culture. The study opted for an inductive approach, moving from the particular to the general and trying to report exactly what occurs in the real life context in the community under study.

Qualitative data was collected through direct/participant observation, semi-structured interview or the direct response and the recording of group discussions. My informants were basically male and female Sahraoui native speakers aged more than thirty years.

The data analysis and interpretation enabled us to conclude that (i) population contact has highly affected the Sahrawi community at both the linguistic and cultural levels (ii) Sahrawi people switch to other varieties, Darija in particular or languages, French, Spanish, (iii) a comparison between the old and the young Hassani generations' ways of behaving and acting reveal that there is a real change in the young Hassani's linguistic and cultural practices., (iii) the degree of use of Darija is higher among the young generation than the old one because the seniors still cling to the Hassania as a symbol of identity preservation.

\* Hassani Dialect: it's the locale dialect that used in the southern region in the south of Morocco where Sahrawi tribes live.

## Better sound rural or criminal? Data from a case study: the city of Temara, Morocco

Jacopo FALCHETTA

IREMAM, UMR7310, CNRS, Aix Marseille Univ - [jacopo.falchetta@gmail.com](mailto:jacopo.falchetta@gmail.com)

The phenomenon of urbanization that Moroccan cities have witnessed in the last decades has had its main linguistic outcome in the partial homogenization of Arabic speakers' language practices, especially in Moroccan urban areas. This has led some scholars to point to the gradual emergence of a distinct, "pan-Moroccan" variety that has been given a wide range of names in the academic literature, including "Modern Moroccan Arabic", *darija*, or simply "Moroccan Arabic". Such variety is diatopically neutral (some scholars consider it to be a *koine*) and may be employed in both formal (in its oral form) and informal contexts. However, a high degree of variability can still be observed in the speakers' actual oral productions at most linguistic levels. Data collected from a field study conducted in the cities of Temara and Casablanca suggest that, for many linguistic variables, speakers seem to choose between a "neutral" variant (i.e. employable in any sort of situation) and another, more marked (and potentially stigmatized) one. This marking can take different semantic nuances: pronouncing [g] for /q/ may be associated to rurality, while pronouncing [tʃ] for /t/ may bear a connotation of "masculinity", "low-class" and sometimes "delinquency", etc. Nonetheless, while some of the "marked" variants seem to be receding, others are apparently expanding. Since the role of a variant in the process of language change depends on the social meaning that variant is loaded with, the results of the field study will be exploited to find out what semantic and social values the speakers attribute to some linguistic traits, and how (or whether) they choose to make use of such traits in their verbal interactions. This, in turn, will

shed light both on the social phenomena these linguistic choices are related to, and on the reason why each variant is being abandoned, or increasingly employed.

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## Emprunts lexicaux au kanouri dans l'arabe tchadien

Khalid Mohamed FARAH

Chercheur indépendant – Soudan. [Khaldoon90@hotmail.com](mailto:Khaldoon90@hotmail.com)

Un emprunt lexical d'une manière général, peut être défini tout simplement comme le procédé selon lequel une certaine langue adopte dans son lexique, des termes d'une autre langue soit directement ou indirectement. En ce qui concerne l'arabe tchadien en particulier, se trouvant au sein d'un milieu multilingue, ce dialecte arabe du Soudan central a emprunté en effet, plusieurs mots aux différentes langues et dialectes avec lesquels il a eu à se mettre en rapport.

Toutefois, l'influence de la langue Kanouri sur l'arabe tchadien revêt une importance particulière due à la durée relativement longue des contacts entre les arabes venant s'installer au Tchad ; au moins depuis le 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais aussi à cause d'autres facteurs politiques, économiques et socioculturels.

Sans prétendre être complète ou exhaustive, cette modeste contribution se propose de révéler un certain nombre des mots d'origine kanouri dans l'arabe tchadien, tout en s'appuyant largement sur le corpus rassemblé par P. Noel. (1923) dans son *Petit Manuel Français – Kanouri* qui n'a pas prétendu pourtant vouloir effectuer une étude comparative en se référant à l'arabe tchadien en tant que tel. L'essai se base également sur l'expérience personnelle du présent auteur qui a séjourné au Tchad du 1989 au 1993.

Mots clés : Emprunts lexicaux, Arabe tchadien, Kanouri, Royaume du Kanem-Bornou, Arabes Baggara, Arabes Shuwa, P. Noel.

## Arabic and globalization – Understanding *The Voice* of Arabs

Mona FARRAG

Tilburg University – [monafarrag@gmail.com](mailto:monafarrag@gmail.com)

This study explores Arabic cross country communication in a pan-Arab globalized setting. Taking *The Voice*, the TV singing competition, as a case study, the research investigates the languages and strategies used by Arabs during their communication. The RQs are: 1. What are the linguistic resources and features accessible to and employed by Arabs in a globalized setting that make mutual communication achievable? 2. Why do participants opt for certain communication strategies? 3. What does this communication say about identities and ideologies of Arabs? An analysis of the communication instances of the second season is carried out. For AIDA presentation, the focus will be on questions 1 and 2.

The results show that Arabs, in this setting, tend to adhere to their national dialects. Communication is achieved without classicizing or rephrasing one's own dialect. However,

participants show an attitude to converge. Levelling, within the same dialect, is used more than any other communication strategy.

Communication happens through a shared pool of linguistic resources (Holes, 1995). In addition, there is above all an attitude to make communication happen. To have an ongoing, seemingly, comprehensible communication is foregrounded by the participants. This is called the strategy of “embracing”: the interlocutor(s) embrace the speaker as being totally understood, mainly not to make him feel foreign or stranger. This is achieved as the interlocutor *generally* understands what is said and responds by nodding, smiling, giving a prayer or thanks; not actually replying to what has been said.

The framing ideology is “Yes different, but one”. Arabs in a globalized TV setting celebrate their variations, embrace their differences and disregard any that may make them look disunited or incomprehensible to each other. From that, one can see an equal, and parallel, pride taken in both the national and the pan Arab identities.

## Spoken Arabic of Baghdad. The common, the unique and the unexpected

Ahmed FERHADI

*Department of Middle East Studies, New York University, [af3@nuy.edu](mailto:af3@nuy.edu)*

Unlike other Arabic dialects which are influenced by either Turkish (Syrian, Egyptian, Lebanese) or Persian (Bahraini), Iraqi Arabic is influenced by both Turkish and Persian because it is the only Arab country that borders both languages. There was interaction between Arabic and Persian for half a millennium while Baghdad was the capital of the Abbasid Empire encompassing Persia and Arab lands from the second half of the eighth century A.D. onward. More recently, Iranian Shi'i Muslim pilgrims have been flocking to holy shrines in Kadhimain (Baghdad) as well as in Najaf and Karbala in southern Iraq since the ouster of Saddam's regime.

Like most of the Arab World, Iraq was under the rule of Ottoman Turks for centuries until World War I. In today's SIA, you would hear چرپابه (derived from Persian) and قَریوله (from Turkish karyola) both referring to 'bed frame.' You get out of bed and prepare to leave home after you drink اِسْتِکَانَ (from Turkish istikan) of tea perhaps with cinnamon دَارَسین (from Persian; it is called قرفة in many other Arabic dialects). You don your suit قَاط (from Persian) and then put on your shoes قُنْدُرَة (from Turkish Kondura).

I have attempted to utilize my knowledge of both Kurdish and Turkomani to put things in context with regard to some phonemic, morphological and lexical features of Spoken Iraqi Arabic in terms of how Persian and Turkish have jointly influenced SIA and colored it with some salient features not found in any other single spoken dialect of Arabic. There is a noteworthy culmination of instances of merging and diverging, suffixation, blending and generational variance.

My data comes from people's normal conversations, song lyrics, poems and the like. I have used the intuition of some native speakers of SIA plus my own to go over the data, which I have also run by professors of Turkish and Persian in my department.

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## **“Zara‘nā law ʔala‘et yā rēt!” On wish, hope, and other bouletic modalities in Syrian Arabic**

Daniela Rodica FIRANESCU

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

Pursuing our journey with modalities in spoken Arabic from Syria, in this paper we focus on the bouletic (or boulomaic) category, intimately related to the area of "irrealis", "possibilia" or "possible worlds". If the categories of 'alethic and 'deontic' modalities (that we have examined elsewhere) are rather the domain of truth and reality (although the literature on modalities acknowledges that certain varieties of 'deontic' are necessarily imbued with a volitive, subjective illocutionary force), 'bouletic' modalities are, par excellence, the realm of interlocutors' subjectivity.

Our paper analyzes conventionalized and non-conventionalized expressions used in spoken Arabic from Syria to convey the meanings of wish and hope that form the core of the large variety of bouletic modalities: the semantically complex expression *yā rēt* (would God...!; if only...!), as marker of 'desirable'; desiderative operators – such as *law*, *ezā*, *‘alaww*, *wēn*, *barki*, etc; various aspects of 'unsuitable' - (*makrūh/bəkarrih*), 'frightening' (*muḥīf/bəḥawwəf*), 'rejectable, repulsive' (*marfūḍ/karīh, bəšə*) - which defines a specific type of "subjectively defined necessity" that expresses in fact the speaker's perception and/or emotional attitude towards what is or is not suitable/desirable.

These expressions and others are analyzed in the context of utterance, within the frame of pragmatics, mainly the speech acts theory that proves to be most adequate to inquiring highly expressive utterances. The interpretative approach of the contextualized examples highlight the hybrid character of the illocutionary acts performed through the use of bouletic operators, proving that in Syrian - as in natural languages, in general - the bouletic modality is deeply connected with (and dependant on) other modalities, especially evaluative and deontic. Ultimately, our approach sheds light on the linguistic creativity manifested by Syrian Arabic speakers when “modalizing” their discourse: an aspect that emphasizes the virtues of the “colloquial” mode that sets no limits to expressivity.

### **Remarks on the Arabic dialect spoken in Essaouira rural area**

Felipe FRANCISCO

*Universidade de São Paulo (USP) - [felipe.francisco@usp.br](mailto:felipe.francisco@usp.br)*

The purpose of this research is to point out some linguistic features of the Arabic variety spoken in the rural area north of Essaouira, in the Chiadma tribe territory, where we had the opportunity to visit the fishermen *duwwar* of Bhaybah, under the jurisdiction of Akermoud. We have collected some new linguistic data there during our fieldwork in Essaouira, whose urban vernacular is the object of our PhD thesis and seems to be much influenced by the varieties brought from the rural area around the city. In the occasion, one of our *ṣwiri* informants, who is ethnically Arab and identifies herself as belonging to the Chiadma tribe, invited us to a one day visit to her extended family in the countryside or *ṣrubiyya*. Despite of the short time, we had the opportunity to record approximately four hours of spontaneous conversation with male and female informants, including older women. After documenting it and describing briefly its phonetics, phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon, we confirmed that the dialect spoken by the Chiadma in Bhaybah is *ṣrubī*, or of the Bedouin type (Boukous, 1995), just like other varieties of neighboring cities of the Atlantic strip area (Heath, 2002), such as Safi and Essaouira itself.

**Keywords:** Arabic dialectology, Chiadma, Essaouira, Moroccan Arabic.



## The phonology of rhotic emphasis in the Spoken Arabic of Fez

Aaron FREEMAN

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

This research considers the phonological patterning of pharyngealised /r/ in a dialect of Moroccan Arabic. Through acoustic analysis of recorded interviews targeting specific vocabulary and morphological paradigms, I assess to what degree rhotic pharyngealisation is phonemically contrastive among speakers in Fez, and whether marginal pharyngealised variants participate fully in the emphasis spread associated with the canonical emphatic consonants /t/, /d/, and /s/. Rhotic pharyngealisation is widely attested in Arabic, and in some varieties, is simply conditioned by an adjacent back vowel (Younes 1994). However, in many dialects, [r̥] has spread through morphological and lexical diffusion to attain quasi-phonemic status. Within Morocco, phonemicised /r̥/ is more typical of pre-Hilalian northern dialects, while southern dialects often retain an allophonic distribution (Heath 2002). In Fez, a traditional northern-type dialect is giving way to a Hilalian urban koiné, so the presence of conflicting models provides a testing-ground to study how individuals resolve ambiguous phonological input with respect to /r̥/, and how this is manifested in their phonetic output.

For this study, I conducted 24 mixed sociolinguistic/phonetic interviews, with the help of native Fassi interview assistants. The interviews provide a comprehensive sample of rhotics for each speaker, which were analyzed for their phonetic effects on adjacent vowels. The acoustic data indicate a wide range of individual variability in the patterning of emphatic /r̥/, tempered by predictable patterns in certain paradigms such as *ħmar̥* 'donkey' with non-emphatic plural *ħmir*; or the invariable minimal contrast between *bir̥an* 'bars' and *biran* among speakers who chose the latter as the plural form of *bir* 'well'. Speakers also exhibited variability in the scope of pharyngealisation spread from /r̥/, even though all speakers exhibited predictable long-range spread from /t/, /s/, and /d/. These results point to a phonological change in progress, moving in the direction of phonemic pharyngealized /r̥/.

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## Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic in the Royal Academy of Morocco recent publications

Laura GAGO GÓMEZ

University of Salamanca (USAL) - [lgago@usal.es](mailto:lgago@usal.es)

Since the beginning of the millennium, the use of Moroccan Arabic (MA) has spread into new settings, including formal and semi-formal domains, like Media, political discourse, Literature and artistic activities (Benítez *et al.* 2013). This spread has been accompanied by a re-valorization of this variety, that for so long has been and still is undermined in both national and the pan-arabic contexts (Hachimi 2013). So far, a lot of attention has been paid to this development and to the debate around MA, with its supporters advocating for its standardization and, even, officialization

(Miller 2015, Moustaoui 2011, 2012). In this way, previous studies have tackled related issues to this aspect, ranging from the different proposals for MA codification to the arguments provided by its advocates.

In contrast to that, this paper focusses on the stance of the Royal Academy of Morocco, who opposes heavily to the discourse of MA advocates. It provides a general picture of the Academy's conception of MA, and its relation to Standard Arabic (SA), through a very critical period (before and after the new Constitution's ratification).

In order to do so, texts published by this institution before and after 2011 (2005, 2010 and 2012) are analyzed from a sociolinguistic and discursive perspective. This analysis provides answers to three important questions: First, the conception of MA, which includes questions like how does the Academy describe MA and how is it portrayed; second, explanations of the contemporary linguistic landscape in Morocco and its recent evolution, specially, how does the Academy explain MA's spread; third, arguments provided by academicists to counteract the MA-advocates discourse and how do academicists manage to still stand up for SA and promote it among all. In all these points, the impact of the new constitutional frame is shown, tracing the evolution of the Academy's stance.

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## From Hebrew to Judeo-Arabic: 'Love in Zion' and its versions in Modern Tunisian and Baghdadi Judeo-Arabic. Linguistic analysis overall

Tania María GARCÍA ARÉVALO

University of Granada (UGR) - [taniagarcia@ugr.es](mailto:taniagarcia@ugr.es)

'Love in Zion' by Abraham Mapu is considered the first Modern Hebrew novel but also one of the most translated works since its publication in 1853. Although it is possible to find its translations into English, German or French, there is a certain group of them into Judeo-Arabic — generally speaking, can be defined as Arabic, in both its written and spoken forms, used by a Jewish speaker or writer for a Jewish public, usually in Arabophone geographic contexts, although it may be used elsewhere.

In this paper we will focus our attention in two Judeo-Arabic translations of 'Love in Zion': the first one, written in Modern Tunisian Judeo-Arabic by Messud Ma'arek which appeared at the middle of the 20th century in Souse (Tunisia) and the second one, by Shelomo Tuwayna, published in 8 instalments in the journal entitled *Maggid Mesharim* in 1900 and written in Modern Judeo-Arabic from Baghdad. Through them it is possible to observe the fundamental features of each one of these dialects from East and West taking into account, not only the differences regarding their own morphological and syntactic particularities, but also the orthographic question, the evolution of the Arabized spelling typical from Classical Judeo-Arabic from 10-15th centuries and how it is represented in Tunisian and Baghdadi Judeo-Arabic from Modern Times.

The main aim of this intervention will be to present an overall of the most important linguistic characteristics of these Judeo-Arabic dialects through the translation of a Hebrew work.

## The Arabic (and Persian) Dialects of the 'Ajam in Kuwait

Dénes GAZSI

The University of Iowa - [denes-gazsi@uiowa.edu](mailto:denes-gazsi@uiowa.edu)

In the general framework of Arabic-Persian language and cultural contact in the Gulf, this paper explores the various stages of linguistic and cultural assimilation among Kuwaiti citizens collectively known as 'Ajam. These ethnic Persians, who migrated to present-day Kuwait at the turn of the 19th-20th century, and since then have been Arabized to varying degrees, may still hold strong family and religious ties to Iran. The talk presents excerpts from my recorded data with several 'Ajamī families (*Tarākmah, Aškanānī, Lurī, Bahbahānī*) and provides a phonetic, lexical and syntactic analysis of their use of Kuwaiti dialect and respective Persian dialects. The data includes prominent examples of code-switching and code-mixing, and offers a better understanding of the underlying implications of language contact in a region that has functioned as a single commercial and maritime unit for centuries.

## Deixis sociale et référents des marques de personne en arabe libanais

Marie-Aimée GERMANOS

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

La forme des pronoms personnels (Cantineau 1939, Durand 1999, Isaksson 1999) et plus généralement des marques de personne (Isaksson 1991) est bien documentée pour de nombreuses aires dialectales. C'est moins le cas de leurs emplois non canoniques, avec des référents différents de ceux qui seraient attendus (le locuteur pour la première personne, l'interlocuteur pour la deuxième, et « l'absent » pour la troisième). Les travaux s'intéressant à la question sont relativement peu nombreux - on citera à titre d'exemple Lentin 2015 pour la valeur de « neutre » de la troisième personne du féminin singulier.

La présentation envisagée ici se penchera sur la diversité des référents des marques de personne en arabe dialectal libanais contemporain. Elle dressera un inventaire des référents possibles pour chacune des marques et s'interrogera sur les types de divergences (en nombre, en genre ou en personne) entre ces emplois et ceux théoriquement attendus.

Elle se centrera ensuite plus particulièrement sur les emplois qui relèvent de la deixis sociale. C'est le cas par exemple de l'usage de la première personne du pluriel pour renvoyer aux seuls interlocuteurs, comme à la fin de l'énoncé ci-dessous (Rahbani, *Film*, p. 49), usage qui encode entre autres la relation 'personnel médical ou soignant / patient' :

**Fawwāz** : wa??fūle ha-l-ʔaḥadīs w tfaḍḍalo ʕa-n-nōm ʔəza bətrīdo baddna nnēm bakkīr əl-layle

**Fawwāz [s'adressant à des patients hospitalisés]** : arrêtez-moi ces discussions et allez dormir s'il vous plaît. On dort [litt. : nous allons dormir] tôt ce soir.

Il s'agira donc de s'intéresser, pour ce type d'emplois, aux contextes sociaux qui rendent possible le recours à une marque donnée pour un référent particulier.

Le travail s'appuiera sur un corpus constitué à partir de productions orales de genres divers : conversations spontanées, extraits d'entretiens sociolinguistiques et émissions télévisées. Il sera enrichi par l'exploitation des textes publiés de quatre pièces de Ziad Rahbani.

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## Deontic Modality in Baghdadi Arabic

George GRIGORE

University of Bucharest, Romania - [gmrigore@yahoo.com](mailto:gmgrigore@yahoo.com)

The deontic modality – also known in the literature on the topic as speaker-oriented modality – indicates an obligation or permission imposed externally, compelling an agent to complete an action, in accordance with a corpus of pre-existent rules. In this paper, I will present an analysis of the possibilities to express the deontic modality – with its multiple facets – in Baghdadi Arabic, analysis based on a corpus of data gathered by me in the last ten years, during my visits to Iraq. The present analysis will point out the main modal verbs (i.e.: *yimkin* “to be possible”, *yrīd* “to want”, etc.), modal expressions (i.e.: *māku mafarr* “it is inevitable”, *akū luzūm* “there is an obligation”, etc.), pre-verbal particles (i.e.: *d-*, *d-rūh* “go immediately”, etc.) and so on used to introduce the subjective degree of the compulsoriness or the permissibility, the necessity or the acceptability of an action.

## Amin So9rat: A Moroccan rapper from the north-eastern region

Jairo GUERRERO PARRADO

Aix-Marseille University - [jairomaroc2007@hotmail.com](mailto:jairomaroc2007@hotmail.com)

Rap has become among the most cultivated musical genres in the Arab world. This is particularly true for the post-Arab spring Maghreb. As their counterparts in other countries, Moroccan rappers usually boast of representing their towns and/or regions. Given that dialect is an important element of regional identity, many of these rappers strive to sing songs in their own local accent. As regards the so-called Eastern Region of Morocco (*l-minṭaqa š-šarqīyya*), its most popular rapper is probably Amin So9rat, a committed youngster from the city of Berkane.

The present paper aims at analyzing So9rat's songs in order to provide some data on the main features of what the rapper himself calls *l-lahža š-šarqīyya* ‘the Eastern Moroccan accent’, and more specifically on the spoken Arabic of Berkane, a locality where different varieties of Moroccan Arabic and Riffian Berber coexist. Furthermore, we will comment on the main topics dealt with in the lyrics.

**Keywords:** Rap, Berkane, Moroccan Arabic, North-eastern region, dialect classification.

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## Sociolectal markers in contemporary Egyptian literature

Eva Marie HÅLAND

University of Oslo - [e.m.haland@ikos.uio.no](mailto:e.m.haland@ikos.uio.no)

The use of Egyptian *‘āmmiyya* in dialogues in realistic literature has long been widely accepted, and *‘āmmiyya* is also used occasionally in “direct speech” represented as a form of oral narrative (Woidich 2010). In both instances, we can find stylized language, in terms of “an artistic representation of another’s linguistic style” (Bakhtin [1981] 2010:362), which requires “a specific linguistic consciousness” by the “stylizer” and the “audience” (Ibid.). Thus, in order for a feature to serve its purpose as marker for the speech style of members of specific social classes, a common perception of the indexicality of the specific feature is required. In this paper I will present different features of the Egyptian *‘āmmiyya* used by writers of fictional literature for indexing the different social levels of the characters. These are features such as strong palatalization (Geenberg 2012, Haeri 1994, Haeri 1996), non-standard negation structures, de-emphatization, metathesis etc. I will also show how the different variants of these features interrelate in the novel or short story. The research is based on a selection of novels and short story collections written by Egyptian authors, published after 2011.

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## Étude des marqueurs des constructions analytiques du réfléchi et du réciproque en arabe du Caire

Julie HASLE

Centre de Recherches Moyen-Orient Méditerranée (CERMOM EA 4091) – INALCO -  
[HASLE4@hotmail.com](mailto:HASLE4@hotmail.com)

Les constructions analytiques du réfléchi et du réciproque ont été peu étudiées dans les dialectes arabes. Nous nous proposons de délivrer sommairement les conclusions que nous avons pu tirer de l’étude de leurs marqueurs en arabe égyptien, à savoir *nafs* pour le réfléchi et *ba‘d* pour le réciproque, dont nous présentons des exemples ci-dessous :

*lāzem bi-idē-na n-ġayyar nafse-na*

il\_faut PREP-mains-1PL 1PL.INACC-changer REF-1PL  
 Il faut que nous nous changions nous-mêmes ( litt. : par nos mains) (K : *ya l-mi:da:n*)  
*el-laḥga bass heyya muḥtalif-a lāken b-ne-fham baʿd*  
 ART-dialecte ADV 3SG.F différent-F CONJ PVB.INACC-1PL.INACC-comprendre REC  
 Le dialecte seulement, il est différent, mais on se comprend. (Ay)

Puisque les rôles syntaxiques ne sont pas modifiés par les constructions analytiques, les deux marqueurs de voix ont en commun de construire *a posteriori* la réorganisation des rôles sémantiques. L'approche notionnelle conjuguée à la reconnaissance du rôle de la structure actancielle dans l'étude des marqueurs de voix permettra alors également de cerner les structures qui empruntent ce modèle, tout en y apportant des nuances diathétiques, comme l'autobénéfactif ou le sociatif.

Dans les deux cas, il s'agit de marqueurs recaractérisés pour leur fonction diathétique, et non de marqueurs propres à cet emploi. Nous comparerons les caractéristiques fonctionnelles et notionnelles de ces mots lorsqu'ils occupent d'autres fonctions syntaxiques, afin de mettre en avant les critères de leur sélection en marqueurs de voix.

Ainsi, l'identification d'un ensemble de traits notionnels associés à ces mots permettra de montrer les valeurs associées aux constructions analytiques du réfléchi et du réciproque, et d'éclairer ainsi l'emploi de deux marqueurs distincts.

Nos données sont issues d'un corpus écrit et d'un corpus oral. La partie orale du corpus est composée d'entretiens réalisés avec deux locutrices natives d'arabe égyptien cairote, Amāni et Aya (Ay). Les données ont été recueillies lors de dialogues enregistrés ou par élicitation. Nous nous sommes également servie des paroles des chansons du groupe Cairokee (K). La partie écrite du corpus est issue de la littérature égyptienne, du roman *'āyeza etgawwaz* ("Je veux me marier") de Ġada ʿAbd al-ʿĀl et du recueil de poésie *Mānifestō* de Muṣṭafa Ibrāhīm.

**Mots-clés :** réfléchi – réciproque – constructions analytiques – marqueurs de voix – rôles syntaxiques – valeur notionnelle.

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## **Exploring the conventionalized directional greetings with 'where' in South Iraqi Arabic**

Qasim HASSAN

*University of Basra, quasimhassan@yahoo.de*

Many studies have shown that in some cultures questions like "Where are you going?" and "Where are you coming?" or simply "Where are you?" do not necessary demonstrate that the initiator is really interested to know where the other party is actually going to, coming from, or where he is, but they are simply types of conventionalized directional greetings amongst people in some language communities (Firth 1972, Keenan 1976, Gregor 1977, Bach & Harnish 1979, Hanks 1990, Hoem 1993, 1995, Duranti 1997, Enfield & Comrie 2015, among others). In the southern *gilit* dialect area of Iraq, "Where are you?" and related greetings ("Where?" greetings, henceforth) are deeply rooted in the remote rural areas and remained strong throughout the years, although with some signs of softness due to the partly urbanization of these *gilit* dialect communities, among

other reasons. The aim of this study is to identify some of the key features and usings of these greeting questions in South Iraqi Arabic (henceforth in this paper SIA). The data on which this study is based come from the author's daily observations of his own speech community as well as from recorded conversations between inhabitants of the southern *gilit* dialect raea.

**Keywords:** Iraq, South Iraqi Arabic, *gilit* dialects, greetings, directional greetings, Leave-taking.

## **Stereotyped representation of the foreigner in Egyptian cinema: A phono-morpho-syntactic study and corpus**

Ashraf HASSAN

*Universität Bayreuth - [ashraf1974108@gmail.com](mailto:ashraf1974108@gmail.com)*

*Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"*

This paper intends to present some of the findings - so far achieved - of my PhD thesis on the stereotyped representation of the Foreigner in Egyptian cinema, which is a corpus-based study and aims to examine how foreigners are linguistically stereotyped in Egyptian cinema.

The starting point of the research consists of the compilation of an extensive spoken corpus extracted from Egyptian movies between 1930s and 1970. The corpus includes parts performed by actors representing foreign characters and, when occurs, the interacting Egyptian characters if they imitate the foreign characters or speak with them in a form of Foreigner Talk. These foreigners are the Greeks, the Turks, and the Italians, as these were not only the largest and constant foreign communities in Egypt through its modern history, but also the most common foreign figures represented in Egyptian cinema in that period.

Then comes the analysis of this corpus, which is carried on phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels; to point out the common features among the various registers, both individually (i.e. categorizing foreigners by their language/nation, one by one) and examined as a whole, in order to determine how they vary compared to 'Standard' Egyptian Arabic. The paper is going to highlight these common features in detail as much as possible.

Furthermore, the study suggests an "Archetype" for the stereotyped Foreigner, i.e. the Greek, which has an impact on the actors who perform the role of other foreigners. In fact, some features that are common within, and typically characterize, the Greeks speaking Egyptian Arabic can be traced in the registers of the other foreigner's figures, although they cannot be explained by their relative native language, but they could if the speaker native language was Greek.

**Key-words:** Egyptian Arabic, Stereotype, Spoken Corpus, Foreigner Talk, Foreigner Performance in EA.

## **Prosodic vs. segmental marking of polar questions in Tunisian Arabic**

Sam HELLMUTH, Nadia BOUCHHIOUA, Rana ALMBARK

*University of York - [sam.hellmuth@york.ac.uk](mailto:sam.hellmuth@york.ac.uk) - [rana.alhousseinalmbark@york.ac.uk](mailto:rana.alhousseinalmbark@york.ac.uk)*

*Université de la Manouba - [bouchhioua\\_nadu@yahoo.fr](mailto:bouchhioua_nadu@yahoo.fr)*

We explore a 'text-tune adjustment' phenomenon in Tunisian Arabic (TA), observed primarily in yes-no questions, not reported in prior work on TA intonation (Aloulou, 2003; Ghazali, Hamidi, & Knis, 2007). Speech data were collected in Tunis with 12 speakers (6 female), all L1 TA speakers fluent in French (Hellmuth & Almbark, to appear). In our data, the nuclear contour in yes-no questions is typically a late peak rise (L\*+H) followed by a complex boundary (H-L%) with an epenthetic vowel appended to the last word by some speakers. Text-tune adjustment of this type is observed cross-linguistically in tonal-crowding contexts, with either adjustment of tune-to-text (e.g. compression or truncation of a complex contour on a monosyllable (Grabe, 1998)) or of text-to-tune (e.g. blocking of word-final vowel deletion in Standard European Portuguese yes-no questions bearing a complex boundary (Frota et al., 2015)).

In previous work (Hellmuth, in press) we showed that the Tunisian pattern is not due to tonal crowding, however, but occurs regardless of number of syllables in the target word, for example. Instead, the pattern behaves like a question particle, being found in yes-no questions only. Nevertheless, in our corpus data, collected with speakers who had lived all their lives in Tunis, the incidence of epenthesis varies by gender: female speakers display more epenthesis (76%) than male speakers (32%).

In this paper, we report the results of two expansions of this earlier work:

- a) parallel datacollection with speakers from outside Tunis, with the aim of documenting regional variation of the phenomenon, and potential impact on speakers' L2 English (cf. Ghazali & Bouchhioua, 2003); and
- b) a perception study to determine the relative contribution of epenthesis vs. the complex intonation contour to classification of an utterance as a question (or not), and the contribution of perceived gender to this perceptual classification.

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### Panel: Trends in the sociolinguistic study of Arabic dialects

Uri HORESH, Enam AL-WER, Areej AL-HAWAMDEH, Bruno HERIN

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

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

Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) - [b\\_herin@hotmail.com](mailto:b_herin@hotmail.com)

#### Trends in the sociolinguistic study of Arabic dialects

The Essex Arabic Sociolinguistics Research Group

Corresponding members: Enam Al-Wer [enama@essex.ac.uk](mailto:enama@essex.ac.uk); Areej Al-Hawamdeh [ammalh@essex.ac.uk](mailto:ammalh@essex.ac.uk); Uri Horesh [uri.horesh@essex.ac.uk](mailto:uri.horesh@essex.ac.uk)

Over the past decade, the Essex Arabic Sociolinguistics Research Group has been active in discussing issues pertinent to the sociolinguistic study of Arabic dialects, as well as following research students as they progressed in their production of doctoral theses on various such dialects.

Our panel will lay out key findings from recent research projects undertaken by members of the Research Group, insofar as they contribute to better understanding of processes these dialects are undergoing in light of sociolinguistic theory. Furthermore, the studies presented in the panel will highlight trends and directions in the study of contemporary Arabic varieties. These trends, interesting in and of themselves, are also instrumental for the future development of field methods for data collection, and for enriching sociolinguistic theory. We believe that our intricate use of both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis strikes a good balance often foregone in many other linguistic studies.

We strongly believe that careful exploration of both internal-linguistic and external-social factors as catalysts of language change results in compelling results which can be used by scholars of Arabic dialectology and of general sociolinguists alike.

In addition to the brief presentations (ca. 15 minutes each) of individual case studies (see below), our panel will include remarks by three moderators: Enam Al-Wer, Areej Al-Hawamdeh and Uri



Horesh, as well as comments by a discussant, Bruno Herin (INALCO, Paris, [b\\_herin@hotmail.com](mailto:b_herin@hotmail.com)), who has worked closely with the Research Group on many occasions.

### Dialects of Eastern Arabia

- Moayyad AL BOHNAYYAH, University of Essex - [msmalba@essex.ac.uk](mailto:msmalba@essex.ac.uk)

Community studied: al-ʿAḥsāʾ

Linguistic variables: unrounding of the long vowel /ɑ:/ in word-medial position; undoing of effects of historical raising for the feminine ending from /e/ to /a

Social factors: religious sect (Sunna/Shia); age; gender

Linguistic factors: phonological environment; type of syllabification

Results: both variables undergoing change in direction of koinéised regional standard, viz. unrounded variant of /ɑ:/ and lowered variant of fem. ending.

For unrounding – the salient factors are preceding environment; type of syllabification; young speakers lead both changes; male speakers lead unrounding while female speakers lead lowering. Sunnis lead unrounding, Shia lead lowering.

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

Community studied: Members of the Dosari tribe in Dammam

Linguistic variable: Fortition of the traditional glide [j] to an affricate [dʒ] for the phoneme /ǧ/

Social factors: Age, gender, education, social network

Linguistic factors: Preceding segment, following segment, number of syllables

Results: Led by male speakers, this dialect exhibits a divergence of standards, in the form of fortition: from the Gulf-wide standard (also for the dialect under investigation) [j] to the Saudi standard [dʒ]. There is a leveling out of a minority feature, aligning with majority SA, while diverging from Gulf norms.

- Deema ALAMMAR - University of Essex - [damala@essex.ac.uk](mailto:damala@essex.ac.uk)

Community studied: Ha'il (north-central Saudi Arabia)

Linguistic variables: lowering of traditionally raised [e] to [a] in the singular feminine ending; reversal of the traditional lenition of the feminine plural suffix [a:h]~[a:j] to koinéised [a:t] (morphophonological features).

Social factors: age, gender, level of contact within the city

Results: historic unconditional *imāla* reversed, led by female speakers (slightly) and younger speakers; fortition of traditional variant towards supralocal standard, led by younger speakers and men (the tradition lenition is stereotypically associated with women)

### Dialects of Western Arabia

- Abeer HUSSAIN - University of Essex - [aabhus@essex.ac.uk](mailto:aabhus@essex.ac.uk)

Community studied: Medina (NW Saudi Arabia)

Linguistic variables: lenition of /ǧ/ from affricate [dʒ] to fricative [ʒ]; vowel Syncope/epenthesis – [C1C2]~[C1VC2]

Social factors: age, gender, community (2 social groups – indigenous urban/indigenous Bedouin)

Results: Bedouin women lead the changes over Bedouin men; Can be interpreted as either change from above or from below; syncope/epenthesis each going in the other community's direction; younger Bedouins imitate traditional urban features; ages 30-45 (people at the peak of their professional lives) are in the lead in both communities.

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

Ḥarb tribe in Medina

Linguistic variable: Prepalatal [gʰ] changing to velar [g] as reflexes of /q/

Social factors: age, gender, contact (with traditional urban speakers)

Linguistic factors: preceding/following segments, number of syllables and position in syllable

Results: gʰ > g by Ḥarbi clans in Medina; correlation between contact and direction of change; young and middle-ages leading; female speakers leading the change; [gʰ] variant favoured in the vicinity of high-front vowels and certain classes of consonants.

- Najla AL-GHAMDI - Al-Taif University - [nmanie@hotmail.com](mailto:nmanie@hotmail.com)

Community studied: Ghamdi migrants to Mecca from Albāḥa (SW Saudi Arabia) to Mecca

Linguistic variables: Two degrees of monophthongization of the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ –from wide diphthongs [aʊ] and [aj] to narrow diphthongs [ɔu] and [ɛi] and to monophthongs [ɔ:] and [ɛ:]

Social factors: regionality, gender, style

Results: attention to speech is as important as in traditional sociolinguistic work on English (e.g., Labov's NYC study); there exists a local vernacular alongside levelled out forms (within the spoken varieties of the region). methodology needs to be revised to elicit the true vernacular, a problem hitherto mostly ignored, as the assumption was that dialect (as opposed to Standard Arabic) was equivalent to vernacular

### **Dialects of Southern Arabia**

- Khairia AL-QAHTANI - King Khalid University - [kalqahtani.2007@hotmail.com](mailto:kalqahtani.2007@hotmail.com)

Community studied: 'Asīr

Linguistic variables: [kʰ] and [dʰ], each as contemporary reflexes of both /d/ and /ḍ/; definite article *m-* vs *l-*

The first exhibits a sociohistorical development of a sound we thought was extinct. It shows the mechanics by which the two phonemes were merged. The results show that speakers use both variants for words of both etymologies. They've lost the phonemic distinction.

These are two separate variables with two identical variants. Statistics show very clearly that they aren't treated as separate phonemes. This is a case of hypercorrection – use of a sound speakers know was disappearing.

For the definite article, space emerges as a social factor.

This study shows the benefit of quantitative sociolinguistics to understanding historical linguistic processes.

There is a connection to the local economy. Women react linguistically by adopting outside features, because their situation is such that the local community has very little to offer them. But for men, the case is not only that they are not constrained by local features, but that the authentic local dialect has commercial value, as it affords them a sense of “authenticity” when selling local goods.

### **Dialects of the Horan region in Jordan**

- Areej AL-HAWAMDEH - Jerash University/University of Essex - [ammalh@essex.ac.uk](mailto:ammalh@essex.ac.uk)

Community studied – Sūf (northern Jordan)

Linguistic variables: “unnatural processes” – fortition of “dark l” (develarization of [ɫ] to [l]); depalatalization of /k/ (from [tʃ] to [k])

Results: Extralinguistic (social) factors overpower internal linguistic factors. Power of tight social network. Women preserve traditional features more consistently.

-Noora Abu Ain - University of Essex - [nqmabu@essex.ac.uk](mailto:nqmabu@essex.ac.uk)

Community studied: Saḥm (northern Jordan, near the Jordanian-Syrian-Palestinian border)

Linguistic variables: fortition of “dark l” (see above); Horani traditional [u] > [i]

Results: Saḥm is even less conservative than Sūf in terms of [ɫ] > [l], probably due to frequent communication with Irbid – fast road, Irbid as its urban centre, 2 universities there, etc. The dialect of Irbid itself, the closest big city, is originally Horani, while Amman served as its urban centre, but now Irbid itself is functioning as the urban centre for smaller places like Saḥm.

### **General discussion: The advantages of quantitative analysis of variation in Arabic**

- Deema AL-AMMAR, University of Essex, [damala@essex.ac.uk](mailto:damala@essex.ac.uk)

The importance of statistical programs in sociolinguistic studies.

Our statistical program of choice, Rbrul (D.E. Johnson, 2009): the tools and features that facilitate the process of data analysis in sociolinguistic studies, e.g., linear and logistic regression models, flexibility in coding, interaction between factors (predictors), continuous variables.

Examples from our data showing how we treated the variables using this program from the coding stage to the final results.

## Spittin' in Egyptian: the language of Egyptian Arabic rap lyrics

Bohdan HORVAT

*Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv - [horvat.bohdan@gmail.com](mailto:horvat.bohdan@gmail.com)*

Who are Egypt's most significant wordsmiths in the genre and how they produce and popularize new vocabulary? If as a phenomenon of global popular culture rap is associated with violations of the standard language, where do these violations occur in the case of Egypt? Being a form of resistance culture and social critique how does it address the audience, and what linguistic means does it use to communicate views and promote ideas?

Focusing on the analysis of rap lyrics of some of the most widely known acts of the last decade in Egypt, the paper aims to study the confluence of different levels of contemporary Egyptian Arabic (youth language, slang, mems and social media, political discourse, popular heritage), Standard Arabic (media Arabic, popular propaganda, religious discourse), and English (American hip-hop culture). In this paper, I analyze how rap lyrics enrich and affect Egyptian Arabic on some level, while drawing linguistic material from other levels of it, and incorporating vocabulary from other 'Arabics', American hip-hop, switching codes and creating 'egyptish' words.



## Persian loanwords in Baghdadi Arabic

Ștefan IONETE

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

Arabs and Persians never ceased to influence each other due to their proximity. This statement is also valid on a linguistic level, with the exchange particularly observable on the vocabulary. Mesopotamian Arabic was the most exposed to influence, being the closest neighbor of territories inhabited by Persian populations. For this study, I chose to analyze the Baghdadi Arabic as exponent of this dialectal group. Throughout the past centuries up until today, loanwords were transferred from one language into the other.

In my paper, I will analyze the phonetic and semantic transformations of Persian loans and their evolution in Baghdadi Arabic (i.e. the Persian *čangāl*, "fork", formed a lexical family in Baghdadi Arabic with the verb *čangāl*, meaning "to fasten together", "to hook together" and with the noun *čingāl* pl. *čnāgīl* meaning "hook", "safety pin", "fork"). Also, I will examine whether the loanwords are borrowed directly from Persian or through Ottoman Turkish, such as *pušt*, "someone with an ugly character", from *pušt*, "scoundrel" < turk. (Reinkowski, 1998: 242), which, in its turn entered Ottoman Turkish from Persian (*pošt*, "back", "rear"). Thus, although the original word is Persian, its meaning in Baghdadi Arabic was altered by Ottoman Turkish.

My study is based on published dictionaries, phrasebooks and textbooks as well as on a corpus of data that I gathered in the past two years directly from Baghdadi Arabic speakers.

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## The cognate object in the Spoken Arabic of Lebanon

Ana IRIARTE DÍEZ

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

The cognate accusative is one of the numerous ways of lexical repetition in written Arabic that has received greater attention by grammarians for its common concurrence and its clear syntactic function (Johnstone, 1991). In grammars of written Arabic, the grammatical classification of the cognate accusative is determined by its morphosyntactic differences (e.g. whether it stands alone or complemented and how that affects the grammatical case).

The free data gathered for this study through a participant observation method shows that the linguistic mechanisms applied in the formation of the cognate accusative are also quite popular among users of Lebanese Spoken Arabic.

The prevailing oral nature of the spoken variety of Lebanon, along with the almost total absence of case endings make the morphosyntactic features of this phenomenon a debatable matter and therefore obliges us to differentiate between 'cognate accusative' and 'cognate object'.

This study attempts to provide a preliminary analysis of the morphological, syntactic and semantic specificities of the cognate object in Lebanese Spoken Arabic (LSA) stressing its oral nature, and characterizes it as a living, dynamic and available linguistic resource. The aforementioned considerations lead us to base both our analysis and our classification mainly on the cognate object's semantic implications.

In our study, we identify three types of cognate object in LSA:

- The *emphatic cognate object*, which adds greater force to the meaning of the verbal form:
  - (1) Badd-e kassr-ik **teksīr**  
Want-I I-break-you breaking  
'I want to break you into pieces'
- The *defining cognate object*, which delimitates the meaning of the action:
  - (2) Daxal **daxl-e bet-fazze'**  
Entered.he.PFV. entrance-NSI HAB.she-horrify  
'He made a horrifying entrance'
- The *hyperbolic cognate object*, which expresses that the action of the verbal form happens in an excessive or exaggerated way:
  - (3) Wa'a'-te-llak **wa'a'**-a [ʁʌ]  
Fall-PFV.I-for.you.M.SG fall.NSI [ʁʌ]  
'You won't believe the fall I had...'

**Keywords:** dialectology - Lebanese spoken Arabic - cognate object - root repetition

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## Remarks on agreement feature inheritance and Phase theory

Marwan JARRAH

Newcastle University - [m.a.s.jarrah@ncl.ac.uk](mailto:m.a.s.jarrah@ncl.ac.uk)

Data from Jordanian Arabic (JA) (attested by 40 native speakers) shows that the verb is always inflected for agreement with the subject even in situations where the (null) complementizer is expected not to project. These situations include the so-called Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) constructions where the embedded subject gets its structural Case from the matrix verb:

(1) l-mumarid<sub>i</sub> badhu [l-binit 'itkūn musta'idih l-al-'maliya].

DEF-nurse want.3SM DEF-girl be.3SF ready to-DEF-operation

The doctor wants the girl to be ready for the operation.'

Sentence (1) would not be grammatical under Chomsky's (2007) proposal on feature inheritance where the complementizer (as a phase head) is the locus of agreement features. Given there is no projected complementizer in the bracketed clause in (1), the verb therein would not agree with the subject, contrary to fact. In order to account for the grammaticality of sentence (1), tense is assumed to be independently endowed with unvalued, uninterpretable agreement features, something that accounts for the absence of bare infinitives in JA (and in all other Arabic varieties). This means that the complementizer, when projected, keeps its agreement features, the matter that turns it into an agreeing head, the case we find overtly in JA. Consider (2) where *ʔinn* agrees with the subject:

(2) ʔabū-i fakar ['in-**ha** l-binit šaaf-at l-'wlaad].

Father-my believed.3SM that-3SF DEF-girl sawe-3SF DEF-boys

'My father believed that the girl saw the boys.'

Interestingly, *ʔinn* agrees with the object when the latter occurs in a pre-subject position, as (3) demonstrates:

(3)..... ['in-**hum** l-muḍafin l-mudīr kaḥaf-hum].

..... that-3SP DEF-employees DEF-manager sack.3SM-3PM

'... that the employees the manager sacked them.'

Sentence (3) is evidence that valuation of *ʔinn*'s agreement features is ruled by locality. In view of this, the so-called phases ought not to be defined as the locus of  $\Phi$ -features, as non-phase heads (e.g. tense) can be independently endowed with them.

## The language structure in a bilingual setting: The case of children from mixed marriage

Jidda Hassan JUMA'A

Department of languages and Linguistics,

University of Maiduguri, Nigeria, [jidda2004@yahoo.com](mailto:jidda2004@yahoo.com)

This study focuses on children of mixed marriage whose parents are from different ethnic background, while the children mother is of Shuwa Arab descendent, the father hails from Kanuri descended. The area in which they live in Maiduguri is multilingual, where Kanuri, Hausa and Shuwa Arab are to some degree spoken there. The focused children in this study, speak Shuwa (Nigerian) Arabic with their mother and father sometimes at home but with children within the neighborhood, Kanuri and Hausa are used for purposes of communication with age mate and peer group. The study establishes that the focused children intellectual development is not yet ripe to distinguish between the common codes they used among themselves and the code they use in communicating with their mother. They are however practically convinced that the language they

use in both situations is Shuwa Arab- even though it is not-. Their inability to differentiate between the code they use in communicating among themselves i.e. mixing Shuwa Arab and Kanuri and the language used by their mother to communicate with them had eventually led to unnoticed interferences between the two languages and hence producing a hybrid language of a mixed structure.

**Key words:** Shuwa Arab, Kanuri, Hausa, bilingual, hybrid language.

## Recent remarks on Emirati Arabic: the variety of Dubai

Najla KALACH

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

The aim of this paper is to present some features of nominal and verbal morphology of the variety spoken in the well-known city of Dubai located on the southern shore of the Arabian Gulf and the capital of the Emirate of Dubai, the second largest of the seven Emirates that make up the United Arab Emirates.

The study is based on data gathered between 2015 and 2016 by the author during recent fieldwork in the United Arab Emirates and the informants were mostly young women aged between 20 and 40 years old. The purpose is to contribute to the previous studies on Gulf Arabic, making some considerations regarding the current spoken language in Dubai and analysing whether there have been significant changes since they have been few studies on Emirati Arabic in the last thirty years.

## Mixed Varieties in Political Language: The Presidential Debate between °Amr Mūsa and °Abd alMin°im Abu ǦFutūḥ

Nina van KAMPEN

*Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (Inalco) - [ninavankampen@gmail.com](mailto:ninavankampen@gmail.com)*

To be successful, an utterance must contain an information that is received and considered legitimate by the addressee. In order to use a language that is most likely to be received, the speaker therefore adapts each utterance - consciously or unconsciously - to the context in which it is produced. In the diglossic language context existing in Arabic speaking-countries, speakers adapt their language to the context by moving up and down the linguistic continuum between standard Arabic and the various dialects, thus creating mixed varieties of Arabic.

This paper aims to contribute to the typological description of modern mixed Arabic in Egypt, and to offer a different perspective on the description of political language in Egypt, which has until now been focused mainly on political speeches (Holes 1993; Mazraani 1997; Bassiouney 2006). The data analysed in this study consists of one presidential TV debate between °Amr Mūsa and °Abd alMin°im Abu ǦFutūḥ - two candidates for the Egyptian presidential elections of June 2012. The linguistic choices of these two candidates, as well as those of the moderator Muna aš-Šazly, are examined.

This paper explores the use of three morphosyntactic variables (demonstratives, relatives and negative markers) in the data, and observed some similarities and differences between the different speakers. An explanation for the differences can be found in the context in which the utterances are produced. We identified three main socio-pragmatic factors influencing code choice in this TV debate: (1) the degree of spontaneity of discourse (is the speaker improvising?), (2) the addressees (does the speaker address his interlocutors in the studio or the Egyptian people viewing the debate?), and (3) the type of discourse (does the speaker talk without being interrupted, or is it a dialogue where multiple speakers interact?).

**Key words:** Egyptian Arabic, diglossia, mixed Arabic, political language, pragmatics

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## **Preliminary Remarks on the Endangered Gozitan Dialect of Għarb, Malta**

Maciej KLIMIUK

*Okan Üniversitesi - [klimiuk.maciej@gmail.com](mailto:klimiuk.maciej@gmail.com)*

Over a dozen dialects are spoken in Gozo—the second largest island of the Republic of Malta. The oldest record about them comes from *Lexicon Melitense-Latino-Italum* by M.A. Vassalli (1796). In the early 20th century, they were studied by H. Stumme (*Maltesische Studien*, 1904; *Maltesische Märchen, Gedichte und Rätsel*, 1904; (with B. Ilg) *Maltesische Volkslieder them Urtext mit deutscher Übersetzung*, 1909). The most recent publication that includes texts in Gozitan dialects is *Ethnotextes maltais* by G. Puech (1994). Materials on phonology were gathered by J. Aquilina and B.S.J. Isserlin in *A Survey of Contemporary Dialectal Maltese: Volume I Gozo* (1981). D.A. Agius described morphologically marked masculine and feminine sound plurals and unmarked broken plurals in Gozitan dialects in a paper entitled "Morphological Alternatives in the Gozitan Dialects and Maltese" (1992).

One Gozitan dialect—that of Għarb—is in imminent danger of becoming completely extinct. The number of speakers is difficult to estimate, yet it currently has no or very few young users. Older speakers of the Għarb dialect are embarrassed to use it in public, due to animosities in Gozitan society. It is connected with local superstitions and prejudices and thus stigmatized.

Based on extensive field research, which I conducted in 2015–2016 with Maria Lipnicka, a researcher at Heidelberg University, my paper will be structured as following:

In the beginning of my presentation, I will talk about the methodological difficulties facing a researcher in Għarb, e.g. social dynamics surrounding the dialect, multilingual environment. Then I will present selected issues in the phonology and morphology of the dialect, compared with other Gozitan dialects (e.g., Xewkija, Sannat, Nadur). I will discuss in detail a number of phonemes (e.g., *ʃ*, *g*) preserved in Għarb, but not in other Gozitan dialects, pausal phenomena, pronouns and selected verbs of the I form. The issues discussed will be illustrated using recordings from the field. The materials presented in this paper describe an endangered Gozitan dialect, which probably retains some of the oldest features of dialects spoken once in Malta and Gozo.

## **Conventionalized patterns of code-switching between Egyptian and standard Arabic**

Małgorzata KNIÁZ

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

The majority of research on code-switching (CS) between standard Arabic and vernaculars has focused on its grammatical constraints (Eid 1982, 1988; Abou Hagar 1998) or investigated diglossic CS as a universal phenomenon with reference to Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame model (Bassiouny 2003, 2004, 2006; Boussofara-Omar 1999, 2003). The current study takes different approach. We aim to provide some conventionalized patterns of CS between Egyptian and standard Arabic that might serve as the basis of regional grammar of so called Educated Spoken Arabic.

The data consist of ten hours of recordings from television talk show Al-Mashad. The theoretical basis of the study is Muysken's typology of code-mixing. We state that diglossic CS should be

defined as congruent lexicalization which is similar to style shifting in monolingual discourse and typical of closely related languages that “share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language” (Muysken 2000:177).

Although the analysis of the data shows a great diversity in the participants' linguistic behavior, some recurrent patterns and characteristics have been observed. The presentation will focus on three issues: demonstratives, verbs and *hunāka*. The results of the research indicate as follows:

- Demonstratives are used as formality markers, i.e. their realization conforms with the place that discourse occupies on the continuum scale between Egyptian and standard Arabic. At the same time, Egyptian demonstratives tend to be used with particular lexical items regardless of the formality level, e.g. *mas'ala* (issue):  
*il-iḥwa fi filasṭīn taṣaddu li-l-mas'ala di bi-qadri ma yastaṭī'u*
- The use of *hunāka* triggers switching to Standard Arabic.

There is a correlation between the lexico-semantic status as well as the form of a verb and its realization, e.g. verbs in Form I are usually used in Egyptian Arabic. Some verbs tend to appear in a particular symbiotic or hybrid form.



## Le discours politique en Tunisie entre *fuṣṣḥā* et *‘āmmiyya*

Cristina LA ROSA

Università di Catania, Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche - [cristinalarosa82@gmail.com](mailto:cristinalarosa82@gmail.com)

Le discours politique tunisien a toujours accordé à la *fuṣṣḥā* une place de choix dans les situations officielles exigeant le recours à un registre élevé de langue ; quelques hommes politiques et chefs d'États, toutefois, ont occasionnellement prononcé des discours dans lesquels ils utilisaient d'autre variétés d'arabe, à savoir la *‘āmmiyya*, et une troisième variété 'mixte', caractérisée par des éléments dialectaux ou dialectalisants (Blau 1997). Cette langue 'mêlée', dans laquelle les variétés linguistiques passent graduellement de la *fuṣṣḥā* à la *‘āmmiyya* et ne sont pas délimitables de façon nette (Lentin 1997, 2004), peut être un choix, volontaire ou bien inconscient, du locuteur. Dans le premier cas de figure, bien que le destinataire du monologue soit toujours le peuple, lorsque l'occasion et les objectifs du discours changent, le chef d'État choisit un registre différent tendant tantôt vers le haut, tantôt vers le bas du *continuum* linguistique selon la stratégie discursive retenue (Banks 2005, Maalej 2012, Kesseiri 2015).

On analysera dans cette étude les caractéristiques linguistiques de quelques extraits de discours politiques tunisiens on se concentrant sur le mélange linguistique *‘āmmiyya/fuṣṣḥā* et sur l'alternance des éléments dialectaux et standards. Emblématique est, à ce propos, le célèbre discours de Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. ‘Alī à la Nation, tenu lorsque éclata la révolution tunisienne de 2011, lequel, prononcé dans une variété dialectale influencée par l'arabe standard, permet de mettre en évidence quelques traits fondamentaux de l'arabe tunisien (voir, entre autres, Gibson 2011 et Baccouche 2011), à tous les niveaux d'analyse : phonologique (voir, par exemple, Durand 2012 ; Mion 2008 ; Ph. Marçais 1977), morphologique (Mion 2004, 2013), syntaxique (W. Marçais 1950, Mejri 2003) et lexical (Lajmi 2006).

**Mots-clés :** arabe tunisien, *‘āmmiyya*, variétés mixtes, analyse du discours politique.



## Double negation and its areal diffusion in North Africa

Mena LAFKIOUI

CNRS-LLACAN Université Sorbonne Paris Cité-Inalco - [mena.lafkioui@cnsr.fr](mailto:mena.lafkioui@cnsr.fr)

This paper addresses the phenomenon of double negation marking in North African Arabic, with a special focus on basic clause negation. Despite the generalized use of a discontinuous negator in non-emphatic contexts, some Arabic varieties of North Africa still make use of the archaic proclitic negator *ma* in these same contexts. A case in point is Skura Arabic (southern Morocco), of which some recently collected data will be presented. The paper also discusses the role of North-African Arabic in the development of the Berber negation system within the framework of areal diffusion. In this respect, the paper will show – by building further on Lafkioui (2013) – that Lucas' (2013: 402) claim that, in Berber, Stage II negation has been borrowed from Arabic is unconvincing for different reasons, the main reason being that the Berber data on which the analysis is based are too scarce on a comparative level and therefore inconclusive as evidence. The influence of Arabic may be rather regarded as a stimulus to preserve NEG2 in the Berber languages in which this morpheme had become similar to the Arabic equivalent, while most of the so-called *kem* languages, where NEG2 did not undergo a palatalisation, have lost it (Brugnatelli 1987, Galand 1994).

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## Ways of expression of verbal aggression in Egyptian Arabic

Valery LAKUSTA

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv - [leralaku@gmail.com](mailto:leralaku@gmail.com)

Expressiveness is usually inherent in speech, as it reflects speaker's emotions, mood, approval or dissatisfaction with the events and actions, as a result of which we evaluate the surrounding reality. In various verbal communication situations people can brake ethical code using the lexicon, that is considered to be obscene. The gradual transition towards the "legalization" of profanity in the language in recent times has become increasingly appreciable. It is obvious that the coarse language in all its diversity has always been clear to speakers, but its use was a taboo - one way or another, the use of abusive language was appropriate to certain social groups and education. Nowadays, swearing is a "national treasure", it is becoming more and more popular almost among all social groups. Despite the respect of refined style, the presence of obscene words and expressions in the Arabic language is very strong. The study discusses the problem of use of taboo-related words, vulgarisms and abusive expressions in Egyptian Arabic. It also includes the detailed classification of profanity lexicon and touches the problem of use of euphemisms by the speakers.

The paper revealed, that the semantic of invectives and profanity is oriented at different vices of people, so it reflects the value system of linguocultural community. Thus, the semantic classification of invectives in Egyptian Arabic reveals major human vices, which are condemned in Egyptian society, and their lexical diversity and the presence of euphemisms allow us to conclude, that the use of verbal aggression is widespread in the test culture. In general, poor

intellect, lack of character, the topic of women's sexuality and homosexuality are blamed, therefore these categories are presented the most in Egyptian invective and profanity.

**Key words:** verbal aggression, profanity, coarse words, vulgarism, euphemism

**Data collection and methodology:**

As the topic of verbal aggression and use of profanity in Arabic language in general and in EA in particular wasn't studied deeply before, I collected the information on the coarse words with help of interview method asking native speakers to provide me with the examples. Also, I used the social media as Youtube and Facebook to find the data. Here are some works, that I used in writing the paper:

- 1. Gabriel M. Rosenbaum The use of slang and coarse words in modern Egyptian writing. – *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí*. – 2004 – No. 8. – pp. 185-205.
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## Le Journal de la Médina. Analyse d'un récent projet éditorial en arabe tunisien

Angela Daiana LANGONE, Giuliano MION

Université de Cagliari, Iremam Aix Marseille Université - [langone@unica.it](mailto:langone@unica.it)

Université de Chieti-Pescara - [giuliano.mion@unich.it](mailto:giuliano.mion@unich.it)

Le panorama éditorial maghrébin présente depuis désormais quelques années des initiatives de publication de journaux et de revues rédigés en arabe dialectal : ce phénomène a été analysé surtout pour le cas marocain où des publications telles que *Xbār Blādna*, *əl-'Amal* et *Nišān* ont été l'objet de plusieurs recherches scientifiques selon des différentes perspectives (par ex. Langone 2003 et 2016, Aguadé 2006 et 2012, Miller 2012, Benítez Fernández 2012, Caubet 2012).

Notre intervention s'insère, par conséquent, dans un parcours de recherches bien consolidé concernant la présence de l'arabe dialectal dans la presse contemporaine en Afrique du Nord. En particulier, l'objet de cette communication portera sur un nouveau produit éditorial publié à Tunis et intitulé *Le Journal de la Médina (Žarīdət lə-mdīna)*, un journal écrit pour la plupart en arabe dialectal tunisien (*dārža*) et avec des petits morceaux en anglais et en français. A l'instar de *Xbār Blādna* et de quelques autres cas marocains, ce journal tunisois, dont le premier numéro est paru au mois de novembre 2015, est à diffusion gratuite et avec un soutien financier étranger (allemand, dans le cas analysé).

La communication proposée entend présenter des réflexions relatives à la(/les) langue(s) employée(s) dans le journal ainsi qu'au contexte sociolinguistique postrévolutionnaire qui a engendré ce type de publication.

## Khuzestan Arabic and the discourse particle *ča*

Bettina LEITNER

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

The dialect of the southwestern Iranian province Khuzestan belongs to the gilit-subgroup of Mesopotamian Arabic. It also shows great affinity to other North East Arabian dialects such as the Arabic dialects of Bahrain or Najdi Arabic. The province's vernacular language has been given very little attention in the field of Arabic dialectology so far. Khuzestan Arabic is an Arabic enclave in a predominantly Persian-speaking environment. As such it is stronger influenced by Persian, which is the language of education and work, than by Modern Standard Arabic. For the same reason, this peripheral Arabic dialect also shows some interesting conservative features.

In the first part of the paper I will present some data collected during fieldwork carried out in the context of my PhD project on the grammar of Khuzestan Arabic. The data, which was gathered recently (Sept. 2016) in Ahwāz and some of its surrounding towns, will be compared with the results of Bruce Ingham's seminal studies on Khuzestan Arabic published in the 1970s.

The second part is dedicated to an interesting syntactic feature which hitherto has only attracted the attention of dialectologists marginally. It focusses on the discourse particle *ča* that serves similar functions as the particle *lašad*, found for example in Shādegān and southern Iraq, and is usually translated as “then, so, in that case” (Woodhead & Beene, 1967). The analysis of the particle will concentrate mainly on its syntactic and semantic peculiarities. For instance, it is used in questions for emphasis or amazement as in: *ča wēneč?* “So, where are you (I am waiting for you)?”.

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## ***B(i)- / fi* comme marqueur de l’objet dans les dialectes arabes. Premiers compléments**

Jérôme LENTIN

*Inalco* - [jlentin@club-internet.fr](mailto:jlentin@club-internet.fr)

En 2004, M. Woidich présentait à la 6<sup>e</sup> conférence de l’AIDA une étude sur *fi* comme marqueur de l’objet, étude qu’il qualifiait lui-même de ‘preliminary and preparatory stage’ d’une longue recherche encore à mener. Se concentrant sur le cas égyptien, il proposait de premières hypothèses : *fi* était caractérisé comme un ‘marker for intensification and prolongation’, dont l’usage est déterminé principalement par l’aspect lexical du verbe, à la fois télélique et progressif, c’est-à-dire référant à un événement à la fois accompli et considéré dans son développement. Il observait aussi que, dans certains cas, *fi* peut être utilisé après des verbes d’activité’.

Dans la présente communication on se propose de prolonger la réflexion, à partir d’exemples proche orientaux, maghrébins (en particulier tunisiens et libyens, à partir de travaux récents) et d’attestations plus anciennes conservées par des textes en moyen arabe. L’attention se portera, entre autres, sur les catégories de verbes concernées, sur la possibilité de cette construction avec marqueur de l’objet même après des verbes à l’accompli, et on s’interrogera sur la pertinence du critère de progressivité du procès.

Au delà, on s’efforcera de montrer qu’il s’agit d’un des procédés linguistiques, de natures diverses, et souvent associés (comme par exemple le recours à la IIe forme dérivée) qui permettent certes d’insister sur l’implication de l’agent, ou sur l’orientation vers l’objet, mais, fondamentalement, de décrire les procès de façon circonstanciée, concrète, spécifiée, ‘incarnée’. À ce propos, on s’interrogera sur l’opportunité d’une distinction entre *b(i)- / fi* comme marqueur de l’objet et comme préposition régime (verbes ‘transitifs indirects’), dans des cas comme (syrien) *fehem* ‘comprendre’ / *fehem b-* ‘s’y connaître en’).

Enfin, on présentera quelques réflexions sur la spécificité de *b(i)- / fi* par rapport à d’autres marqueurs de l’objet comme le plus fréquent *l(i/a)-* ou encore ‘*ala*’.

## Pausal forms in the dialects of Gozo, Malta

Maria LIPNICKA

Heidelberg University, Germany - [maszenka@gmail.com](mailto:maszenka@gmail.com)

The occurrence of pausal forms in the dialects of Gozo, the smaller island of the Maltese Archipelago, was addressed the first time by A. Borg in *Reflexes of pausal forms in Maltese rural dialects?* in 1976.

Despite of several attempts to describe the Gozitan dialects (e.g. J. Aquilina and B.S.J. Isserlin in *A Survey of Contemporary Dialectal Maltese: Volume I Gozo* 1981; D.A. Agius *Morphological Alternatives in the Gozitan Dialects of Maltese* 1992; G. Puech *Ethnotextes maltais* 1994) the paradigmatic character of pausal phenomena for this dialect group hasn't been discovered yet.

The dialectological research that I have been conducted in the years 2012-16 in cooperation with Dr Maciej Klimiuk (2015-16) has shown that the distribution of pausal forms is still preserved all over the island. Moreover, further evaluation of the collected data indicated the central importance of this phenomenon for the the prosodic and phonological system of Gozitan dialects in general.

During the presentation, I will reveal the paradigms underlying the distribution of pausal forms in the Gozitan dialects along with synchronic and diachronic remarks on phonology and prosody of aforementioned vernaculars.

## The Spoken Omani Arabic of 'Ibri: a “crossing point” in Gulf dialects

Letizia LOMBEZZI

Sapienza Università di Roma-Universidad de Cádiz, . [letizia.lombezzi@uniroma1.it](mailto:letizia.lombezzi@uniroma1.it)

'Ibri is located half-way in between Mascat and Dubai, and is very close to the Emirates border. This proximity facilitates young male citizens, that look for job opportunities in the rich Emirates. Effectively, it is easy to find an occupation beyond the border: in Dubai, for the business sector; in Buraymi or Al-'Ain for administration or health sector related professions (health sector for female nurses too); in various locations across the Emirates if serving as military or police staff (airport and border police includes female staff too).

'Ibri speakers, the majority of whom come back home after work, have daily contacts with their Gulf neighbors. This style of life makes the speech of 'Ibri inhabitants critical for developing two levels of analysis:

1-features of the 'Ibri Spoken Arabic, in the general frame of Omani Arabic;

2-tracks of contamination among Gulf variants, due to both recent and historically motivated 'contacts and changes.'

Several pairs of variables must be taken into account: social, referring to *badawiyy* or *ḥaḍariyy*; geographical, referring to the inner part of the country, or to west/east and north/south sides.

In principle, the area of 'Ibri should be “*ḥaḍariyy* of the north”. Nevertheless, we find elements that go beyond this classification. Phonology, for example, shows a series of combinatory possibilities that hardly fit a schematic and annotated classification; then, we may also find the *ghawah* syndrome in occasional 'Ibri speeches.

According to what emerged from my collection of data in the city, I offer here a general morpho-phonological description of the local register. I also provide unpublished Omani texts, composed by teachers of “dialect”, with examples of syntax and lexicon.

I intend to demonstrate how strong is the mismatching between political and linguistic borders in the Gulf area.

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### Syllable without onset or *schwa* in an open syllable: *?ahla huma murru*

Nabila LOURIZ

*University Hassan II, Casablanca - [nabilita@gmail.com](mailto:nabilita@gmail.com)*

There has been a remarkable increase in the interest in the study of syllable structure in Moroccan Arabic (MA). Despite the different approaches adopted, they all agree on (i) the fact that the onset is obligatory, and (ii) the location of vowels in the quadrisyllabic consonantal root. Precisely, the vowel is inserted between the first two consonants and the last two consonants. That is a root of the shape CCCC is realized as CəC.CəC where schwa occurs in a closed syllable and shares the mora with the coda consonant. By way of illustration, in *wəl.dək lə-k.bir* (your eldest son) each syllable has an onset and schwa occurs in closed syllable.

However, a dialect spoken by monolingual Arabic speakers in seems to represent a challenge to this generalization. The same example mentioned above *wld+k l+kbir* would be syllabified as *wəl.dək əl.kbir* (your eldest son). In which case the sequence of CCCC is realized as əC.CCəC. This is something that is not predicted by the syllable template provided for MA. This syllabification is not acceptable because the onset is obligatory in MA, and this form provides a syllable without an onset. If we consider the last consonant of the previous word to be the onset, then we will end up with a schwa in open syllable *wəl.də.kəl.kbir*, which is also considered to be ill formed.

I will provide an analysis of such forms based on hours of real data collected from spontaneous speech of monolingual speakers of MA spoken in Kandar. I will present other examples where syllabification in this particular dialect leads to schwa in open syllable or to an onsetless syllable. I will examine the different factors that determine syllabification in this dialect such as morphology, germination, ambisyllabicity, and tempo. I will conclude the paper by providing a new account of syllable structure in the dialect in question.



### The encoding of pain in modern Arabic dialects: a typological perspective

Stefano MANFREDI

*Structure et Dynamique des Langues (SeDyL) - [stef.manfredi@gmail.com](mailto:stef.manfredi@gmail.com)*

*INALCO, CNRS : UMR8202, Institut de recherche pour le développement [IRD] : UR135*

Pain is universal; it is part of the human experience regardless of its different cultural implications. As such, the grammatical encoding of Pain has provided a fertile ground for cross-linguistic comparison (Halliday 1998; Schott 2004; Reznikova et al. 2007, 2012; Lascaratou 2007). Despite this, we still lack understanding of how the linguistic expression of Pain varies across varieties of the same language and, more in particular, across Arabic dialects.

Based on original data elicited by means of a situational questionnaire, this paper aims at investigating the syntactic variation affecting Pain predicates in a number of modern Arabic

dialects. Since prototypical Pain predicates involve at least two arguments related to different semantic roles (i.e. the experience and the experiencer), the analysis focuses on the syntactic encoding for these semantic roles. The study shows that the comparison of closely related dialects allows revealing some fine-grained parameters of typological variation. For instance, the semantic role of experiencer in “headache” predicates is encoded as an oblique (prepositional) argument in Egyptian Arabic (ex.1), whereas it represents the direct object of the transitive verb *wajja* ‘hurt’ in Sudanese Arabic (ex. 2).

1) “Headache” predication in Egyptian Arabic

*and=i šudā*

at=1SG.OBL headache

“I have headache.” (lit. “At me headache.”)

2) “Headache” predication in Sudanese Arabic

*rās=i gā'id yi-wajji'=ni*

head=1SG.OBL sit\ACT.PTCP.SG.M 3SG.M-hurt=1SG.OBJ

“I have headache.” (lit. “My head is hurting me.”)

In the light of the above, the paper seeks to individuate a number of semantic and syntactic properties of different Pain predicates in order to make typological generalizations about them and to eventually identify restrictions on their cross-dialectal variation.

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## The Discourse Marker *yaʕni* in Spoken and Written Egyptian Arabic

Michal MARMORSTEIN

Hebrew University of Jerusalem - [michal.marmorstein@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:michal.marmorstein@mail.huji.ac.il)

In this paper I present a comparative analysis of the discourse marker *yaʕni* (lit. ‘it means’) in spoken and written Egyptian-Cairene Arabic. The data are extracted from a corpus of interviews which I conducted and recorded in Cairo in 2011, and a collection of contemporary Egyptian Arabic prose.

The discourse marker *yaʕni* is one of the most frequently occurring items in spontaneous talk in Egyptian Arabic. In conversations, *yaʕni* serves to indicate the speaker's cognitive efforts to produce the most satisfying expression of his/her intended message (Marmorstein 2016). This function has two main realizations: (i) *yaʕni* prefaces the **focus** (i.e., the new and/or pragmatically unexpected information) of a clause or a supra-clause segment; (ii) *yaʕni* pre/post-frames **elaborations**. Focus-prefacing *yaʕni* is often clustered with silent pauses and filled ‘delay markers’, attesting the increased cognitive labor involved in the processing of information that is inactive in the speaker's mind. Elaboration, on the other hand, is grounded in prior talk. It serves to modify or clarify previously introduced content or the speaker's stance toward it.

In written Egyptian Arabic, *yaʕni* is also used, though only to frame elaborations. This stands to reason, since writing does not involve online processing of information, which is the primary motivation for using the focus-prefacing *yaʕni* in conversation. When used in writing, it appears that *yaʕni* serves as a rhetorical device, to mark a style that is ‘pedagogical’, through which ideas are gradually developed in short bits. The frequency of use of *yaʕni* varies among different genres: the more evocation of ‘spokenhood’ is desired, the more *yaʕni* is employed (and vice versa). The study of *yaʕni* across spoken and written Egyptian Arabic provides then insight into the extendibility of conversational items into the written mode, and helps us characterize the new forms that written Egyptian Arabic takes.

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## Speaking of dialects - a discussion of terms

Gunvor MEJDELL

University of Oslo - [gunvor.mejdell@ikos.uio.no](mailto:gunvor.mejdell@ikos.uio.no)

*Lugha, lahja, 'āmmiyya*, and *dārija* are all used to refer to the vernacular varieties that are the central concern of AIDA.

My paper intends to trace the usage of these terms in various Arabic sources (dictionaries, scholarly and journalistic publications) from the mid of the 19th century till today. When and in what kind of contexts do they emerge, and how do they relate to each other, in terms of synonyms, hyponyms and hyperonyms, or in terms of counter concepts?

## Congruence and uniform structure principle: keys for problematic code-switching cases

Djamila MENDAS, Lotfi BENHATTAB

University of Oran - [mendas.djamila@yahoo.fr](mailto:mendas.djamila@yahoo.fr) [hattab 2000@yahoo.fr](mailto:hattab 2000@yahoo.fr)

The present paper tries to test the validity of the notion of congruence and the Uniform Structure Principle against an Algerian Arabic-French code-switching corpus. These two principles represent an important corner stone underlying the latest version of the Matrix Language Frame Model as it has been developed by Myers Scotton in 2002. The instances of code switching investigated and interpreted in our paper stand as a challenge to the ability of the Matrix Language Frame Model to account for problematic instances of this phenomenon involving languages or varieties in contact. The use of a lexical item from a language in a string from another one is, according to Myers Scotton, guided by compatibility between the languages or varieties involved in contact situations. Sufficient compatibility or congruence is a pre-requisite to obtain code switching patterns. The different developments of the structural model as it has been advocated by this scholar seem to show some haziness in relation to this very concept of congruence. It is one of the most hotly debated issues related to the structural and morpho-syntactic interpretation of code-switching. Our paper is a trial to add a modest contribution to this debate. It is divided into two parts. The first part of our paper investigates the feasibility of the Uniform Structure Principle on an Algerian Arabic/ French bilingual data. The second part of our study explores the relationship between this principle and congruence in accounting for challenging instances of Algerian Arabic-French code-switches. The results of our investigation highlight the fact that both congruence and the Uniform Structure Principle are flexible paradigms that can be adapted and interpreted to account for language-specific patterns and structures. The results also reflect the complexity and uniqueness of some language structures which become more obvious when different languages are in contact.

**Key words:** Codeswitching, Grammar-based approaches, Matrix Language Frame model, Congruence, the Uniform Structure Principle, Algerian Arabic/ French code-switching data.

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## اسمات الملكية في اللهجات العربية: حوافز التنوع ومظاهر الإنحاء

عبد العزيز المسعودي Abdelaziz MESSAOUDI  
جامعة سوسة - [abdelazizmessaoudi@yahoo.fr](mailto:abdelazizmessaoudi@yahoo.fr)

تتميز اسمات الملكية في اللهجات العربية بخاصيتين بارزتين هما التنوع والإنحاء. لذلك تهتم الورقة برصد مظاهر التنوع وآليات الإنحاء انطلاقاً من الأشكال التركيبية التي صنفناها أربع مجموعات كبرى هي (1) مركب الإضافة المتكون من مملوك + مالك (2) المركب الوصفي المتكون من مالك + مملوك (أهل، بو، أم، مولى كذا (3). (مركب الانتماء المتكون من: مملوك + واسم الملكية + مالك: الكتاب) متاع / تبع (.فلان (4) الملكية الحملية: الفلوس عندك. تحتوي المركبات (2-4) على اسماء لفظية وقع إحاؤها عبر مسار تجريدي استعاري. وهي تنتمي على التوالي إلى حقول القرابة والتملك والفضاء.

وقد لاحظنا لهذا التنوع في مستوى الأشكال الدالة حوافز مفهومية تتجلى في التوجه mapping التالي (1): تتحقق الملكية القابلة للنقل alienable في تراكيب الانتماء أي التراكيب التحليلية التي تفصل بين طرفيها أداة واسمة لعلاقة الملكية تنتمي إلى مجال التملك (2) ownership تتحقق الملكية غير القابلة للنقل inalienable في تراكيب وصفية تنصدها واسمات مستمدة من حقل القرابة تعبر عن مدى الترابط والحميمية بين المالك والمملوك؛ لذلك شاع استعمالها في ملكية أعضاء الجسد (3). الملكية المؤقتة تتشكل في مركبات الإسناد الاسمي ويضم خبرها أسماء تفيد المصاحبة أو الحلول (4) أما مركب الإضافة الموجود في العربية المشتركة فهو تحقق نحوي لحالة إعرابية كونية genitive case، لذلك يعبر عن ملكية خالية من التفاصيل الثرية الموجودة في سائر الأشكال. بفضل هذا التوجه تقترح الورقة حوافز دلالية وتداولية للتنوع واسمات الملكية. اللهجات العربية - الملكية - الإنحاء - المسار - التنوع - الأيقونية - قابل / غير قابل للنقل

### Disturbing old balances and establishing new ones: an impact assessment of Romance loan words on some schemata of Arabic Maltese morphology

Manwel MIFSUD  
University of Malta

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

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

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

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



## Enabling lexicographers: building a digital frontend for the New Dictionary of Tunis Arabic

Karlheinz MOERTH, Daniel SCHOPPER, Omar SIAM

*Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ACDH-OeAW) - [karlheinz.moerth@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:karlheinz.moerth@oeaw.ac.at) - [daniel.schopper@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:daniel.schopper@oeaw.ac.at) - [omar.siam@oeaw.ac.at](mailto:omar.siam@oeaw.ac.at)*

While the initial *e* in *eLexicography* is usually explained as an abbreviation of *electronic*, some interpret it as *enabling* or *enhanced*. For many researchers, working with electronic tools entails having to rely on technicians who solve problems for them. One of the goals of this undertaking was to liberate lexicographers from this dependence providing them with tools to accomplish important tasks such as publishing digital dictionaries by themselves.

Our presentation is an interdisciplinary contribution in the broader field of digital humanities applying methods of this community of practice to the field of Arabic dialectology. It showcases new research results having been achieved as part of the TUNICO project (Linguistic Dynamics in the Greater Tunis Area; Austrian Science Fund P25706-G23), a joint project of the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The three-year project ended in July 2016 and was set at the borders of traditional dialectology and research-driven experimental tool development in the field of eLexicography. The paper will discuss new methodologies focussing on the needs of dialectologists working on Arabic varieties. It will outline the latest development steps in the technical part of TUNICO which included experiments with different interfaces to grant access to the micro-diachronic dictionary which was compiled on the basis of historical dialectological research and a corpus that was created in parallel with the dictionary. Particular attention will be given to the issues of ease of use, reusability and visualisation. The paper will deal with relevant interoperability mechanisms such as e.g. encoding standards or language related norms as well as with infrastructure components that were developed in the project.

## An Omani evolving lexicon: from Carl Reinhardt (1894) to nowadays

Roberta MORANO

*University of Leeds - [mlrmo@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:mlrmo@leeds.ac.uk)*

Oman is a country in constant evolution linguistically, economically and socially. Most of the linguistic studies carried out so far in the Sultanate are located in specific areas of the country and date back to the end of nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth century.

Carl Reinhardt's work – *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Oman und Zanzibar*, dated 1894 – is one of the most detailed and richest description of Omani Arabic, specifically of the grammar, including the phonology and morphology, of the Banū Kharūṣ vernacular, spoken in the area of Nizwa and Ristāq (northern Oman), but also among the élite of Zanzibar island. The main purpose of his work was to provide a valuable linguistic guide to the German soldiers quartered on the island and in the Tanganyika region, which were for short time an imperial German colony. The material supplied by Reinhardt still plays an absolutely essential role for neo-Arabic linguistics and dialectology, although it has some main issues, such as the lack of Arabic original script and of a comprehensive glossary.

Reinhardt's lexical data, nevertheless, is extremely rich and characterized by some specific traits which make this vernacular different from any other Southern Arabic dialect.

In this paper, I will try to outline this richness of Omani lexicon, starting from some examples in Reinhardt's nineteenth-century core and exploring the variety and changes they underwent in time. These examples will be presented for specific semantic categories (e.g. body parts, food, animals), following the same format as that of the Behnstedt and Woidich's *Word Atlas of Arabic dialects / Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte* (2011). Furthermore, a group of specific variations between the original meaning of a root and its different use in the Banū Kharūṣ vernacular, and a few borrowings from foreign languages will be presented and analyzed.

## La proposition relative chez les Ghomara (nord du Maroc) : une variation au-delà des marqueurs relatifs ?

Amina NACIRI-AZZOUZ

Universidad de Zaragoza - [aminanaciriazouz@gmail.com](mailto:aminanaciriazouz@gmail.com)

La proposition relative a été décrite et étudiée en arabe marocain, tant en mettant l'accent sur les pronoms relatifs qu'en l'étudiant d'un point de vue syntaxique ; dans le dernier cas, la plupart du temps dans une perspective comparative large en tenant compte soit des autres dialectes arabes, soit du contexte de bilinguisme et même en le comparant avec d'autres langues.

Ghomara est une région située au nord-ouest du Maroc dont la variété arabe présente une importante variation due à la variation interne et à un changement linguistique en cours à cause d'un processus de nivellement dialectal qui touche le milieu rural nord-marocain. Dans ce contexte, l'objectif de cette communication est de présenter la phrase relative en arabe ghomari, un parler *jebli* appartenant aux dialectes maghrébins dits 'villageois'. Cette étude se base sur un corpus recueilli à l'intérieur des terres et sur la côte méditerranéenne de Ghomara dans le cadre d'une thèse doctorale sur l'arabe de celle-ci. La présentation se concentrera sur la variation de pronoms relatifs où on trouve le pronom relatif invariable (*ə*)*lli*, largement répandu dans les dialectes arabes ; mais surtout le pronom relatif *d-*, ses variantes et ses usages dans la phrase relative, ce dernier encore très commun parmi les Ghomara. On tentera à cette occasion d'analyser les structures syntaxiques liées à la relativisation en arabe ghomari incluant le degré de détermination de l'antécédent, la fonction du pronom relatif, l'usage des pronoms de reprise, les relatives substantives, etc. en soulignant les différences trouvées parmi l'homogénéité de cette structure dans les dialectes marocains décrits.

## Towards a compilation of a Nubi dictionary: A pilot study on the sociohistorical linguistic diversity and standardization

Shuichiro NAKAO, Yakub HASSAN

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

The Nubi language, an Arabic-based creole spoken by the Nubi people in Kenya and Uganda, is a relatively well investigated variety of Arabic in the sense that it already has four descriptive grammars (Owens 1977, Heine 1982, Wellens 2005, Lufin 2005), while there have been no dictionary. It is thus remarkable that, Yakub Hassan, a Nubi grass-root researcher has recently started compiling a public Nubi vocabulary by means of the social network service (*Kamus ta Rutan Nubi ma Ingilis*, <https://www.facebook.com/NubiEnglishDictionary/?fref=ts>), which has already been utilized as a source for linguistic study (e.g. Avram 2015). This grass-rooted project is now heading towards a publication of the first Nubi dictionary, reflecting the language endangerment of Nubi since around the 1990s and the need of pedagogical standards entrenched among the Nubi community for the sake of language retention.

This presentation aims at analyzing this project from linguistic and sociolinguistic viewpoints as well as returning the profit of such empirical analyses to this project. For this ultimate purposes, this presentation sheds light on three types of sociohistorical linguistic diversity of the Nubi language that matter and should be taken into account in establishing (tentative) pedagogical standards: (i) Transcriptional Diversity (word demarcations and segmental spellings) recently arising from the use of Nubi on line and in other publications, (ii) Dialectal Diversity anchored by the geographical diversity of the Nubi communities in Kenya and Uganda and the adstratal diversity in these areas, and (iii) Diachronic diversity of modern Nubi as spoken today and early/archaic Nubi as regained from old vocabularies compiled around 1905–1915 (as analyzed by Kaye & Tosco 1993, Avram 2015, Nakao 2016), the lyrics of traditional Nubi songs, and the speeches of older generations.



## Darija and the boom of advertising in Morocco: the case of the mobile operators

Omar OULD GARCÍA

University of Madrid Post-graduate student (UCM) - [omarould@ucm.es](mailto:omarould@ucm.es)

When analysing the new uses of *darija* it should be pointed out that since the beginning of this century, *darija* has been used in social networks as it was stated by Caubet (2012: 377-378) “avec l’apparition des *msn*, *myspace* et surtout de *Facebook* fin 2007, et des forums, on a beaucoup utilisé la graphie latine pour des raisons pratiques et sans présumé idéologique”. Moreover, it has been even used in written press as it has been explained by Benítez (2012) as it is the case of *Telquel* and in radio and TV as noted by Miller (2010).

The main objective of this paper is to analyse the reasons publicists have to use *darija* in written advertising and more specifically in mobile operator companies adverts.

The reason for which mobile telephony adverts have been chosen is that it is a sector growing at a fast pace. This growth has a close relation with the recent production of whole advertising campaigns in *darija* dialect and the sector being the leader when it comes to number of adverts produced per year (35%).

Rooted on the importance of the sector some written adverts have been selected by the author to illustrate the use of written *darija*. Benítez (2012) has previously dealt with the different conventions used by the magazine *Telquel* for transcribing Moroccan Arabic.

The corpus will be accompanied by a linguistic and a semiotic analysis which will help to address some particular aspects of Moroccan culture. At the same time, we should not forget how culture and tradition are expressed by the Moroccan advertisers, in a country tied to ancient traditions of centuries that currently aims to progress at the same pace of the fastest growing economies in the world.

**Key words:** Arabic dialectology, *Darija*, advertisement, written *darija*, *e-darija*.

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## **Le texte inédit de la deuxième constitution mauritanienne qui fut écrit en ḥassāniyya en 1961. Historique et analyse des traits linguistiques du manuscrit**

Ahmed Salem OULD MOHAMED BABA

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

En 1958, la Mauritanie devint une république autonome et une année plus tard, le 22 mars 1959, elle s'est donné une première constitution. Le pays obtint son indépendance de la France le 28 novembre 1960, quelques mois après, le 20 mai 1961, une deuxième constitution est écrite. Le texte de cette deuxième constitution mauritanienne fut traduit du français en ḥassāniyya et conservé dans un manuscrit inédit jusqu'à ce jour.

La situation socio-politique à la veille et au lendemain de l'indépendance était marquée par la formation de plusieurs partis politiques qui n'étaient pas d'accord sur la politique linguistique à suivre par le jeune État.

L'une des institutions qui joua un rôle très important dans l'éducation des masses fut la Radio Nationale de Mauritanie qui s'occupa dès sa création de diffuser, outre en français et un arabe (standard et dialectal), dans les langues nationales (wolof, halpoular, soninké) des programmes d'information et de formation pour les populations du pays. Malgré les moyens très limités, la Radio Nationale de Mauritanie s'occupa de faire connaître aux mauritaniens les symboles du nouvel État, à savoir, l'hymne national (musique et texte) ; les grandes questions nationales (faire face aux revendications du Maroc sur le pays) ; la géographie du pays ; les événements nationaux les plus importants (inaugurations, visites des hôtes illustres, etc.), etc.

Il semble que cette constitution fut traduite en ḥassāniyya pour permettre sa diffusion par la radio mauritanienne et pour que ce texte, qui symbolise la souveraineté du pays, soit connu par toute la population arabophone dans sa langue maternelle, le ḥassāniyya. Le manuscrit fut l'œuvre d'un journaliste mauritanien qui travaillait au Service des informations appartenant à la Présidence du Conseil de Gouvernement de l'époque.

Nous offrirons un historique des conditions socio-politiques dans lesquelles le texte fut traduit en ḥassāniyya et nous analyserons les principaux traits de ce texte juridique écrit en dialecte ; le code de l'écriture du texte dialectal et le vocabulaire ḥassāniyya utilisé pour rendre les termes juridiques ainsi que quelques échantillons du texte.

## **#m3l4 #a5oya : Instagram hashtags as a window on young Egyptians' literacy practices**

Ivan PANOVIĆ

*Nanyang Technological University, Singapore - [ivan@ntu.edu.sg](mailto:ivan@ntu.edu.sg)*

In this paper, I analyze and discuss literacy practices of young Egyptians on Instagram. By taking a social practice approach to literacy, I focus on hashtagging of posts, and interactions taking place in the subsequent comments.

Even though the Arabic script has long been supported in various digital environments, literacy practices of using the Roman script supplemented by digits to write regional varieties of Arabic have anything but disappeared (Aboelezz 2009; Palfreyman and Khalil 2003; Yaghan 2008). In fact, this so-called 'romanized Arabic', which many Egyptians refer to as Franco, is regularly encountered in many off-line contexts as well (Aboelezz 2012a, 2012b; El Essawi 2011). More importantly, as research conducted in other parts of the Arab world demonstrates, young Arabic speakers continue to introduce orthographic innovations (Abu Elhij'a 2012).

Here, I attest similar, previously undocumented, innovations among young Egyptian adults. I focus on twenty-five hashtags written in Franco, taking into account their (often several) variants. From the corpus of hashtagged posts (photos), I select fifty Instagram users (twenty-five of each gender) who are unquestionably identified as Egyptians. I then proceed to examine patterns of hashtagging in approximately fifty posts of each one of them, and compare my findings with those on linguistic metafunctions of hashtags ('marking experiential topics, enacting interpersonal

relationships, and organizing text') that have been identified in a large English-language microblogging corpus (Zappavigna 2015). Where applicable (i.e. where hashtags form an integral part of multi-word posts, whether meaningful phrases or sentences), special attention is given to their syntactic and pragmatic functions. Finally, through a close reading of comments on users' posts, I discuss the users' heteroglossic and heterographic practices (Schulthies 2014), script choice and script-alternation, as well as patterns and functions of written code-switching involving Arabic and English.

By focusing on vernacular literacies of young Egyptians in a context where writing in a dialect is the norm, this paper is a contribution to the growing field of the sociolinguistics of writing (Lillis 2013) where case-studies from the Arab world are still few and far between.

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### Le(s) futur(s) en arabe de Tripoli (Libye) : Temps, aspect, modalités ?

Christophe PEREIRA, Najah BENMOFTAH

*Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO)* - [christophe.pereira@inalco.fr](mailto:christophe.pereira@inalco.fr)  
- [njoughben@gmail.com](mailto:njoughben@gmail.com)

L'arabe de Tripoli contemporain possède divers marqueurs qui permettent d'exprimer différents futurs : le participe actif, la conjugaison préfixale nue et trois préverbes. Dans les travaux anciens sur l'arabe de Tripoli, seuls la conjugaison préfixale nue et le préverbe *b-* sont mentionnés ; le préverbe *ḥā-* n'a été signalé que dans les travaux plus récents portant sur le système aspectuel de l'arabe de Tripoli (Pereira 2008 : 345). A notre connaissance, il existe un troisième préverbe, *taw-*, dont les emplois en arabe libyen n'ont jamais été examinés. Quant à l'arabe des Juifs tripolitains, pour exprimer le futur, il a recours à d'autres marqueurs formés sur le verbe *ḥəbb-yḥəbb* « aimer, vouloir » : il possède (*y*)*ḥəbbet* (*y*)*ḥəbbu*, ainsi que les formes courtes (*n*)*ḥəm-*, *ḥən-* et *ḥət-* (Yoda 2005 : 194). Dans tous les travaux antérieurs, le futur n'a été abordé que succinctement et les analyses qui y sont proposées sont peu approfondies et parfois approximatives. L'examen de la distribution de ces marqueurs à partir de corpus spontanés en arabe de Tripoli contemporain permettra de compléter les travaux précédents en précisant leur sémantisme afin de déterminer les valeurs aspecto-temporelles et modales de chacun d'entre eux (Taine-Cheikh 2004, 2009).

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## Forms and functions of the diminutive in Tunis Arabic

Stephan PROCHÁZKA

University of Vienna - [stephan.prochazka@univie.ac.at](mailto:stephan.prochazka@univie.ac.at)

In his monumental grammar of Tunis Arabic H.-R. Singer listed more than 250 diminutives derived from both nouns and adjectives (Singer 1984: 480-496). Singer remarked, however, that many of the forms collected by Stumme (1896: 67-84) more than half a century before, were no longer known in his time. Data from recent fieldwork in Tunis suggests that the number of actually used diminutives has again decreased during the last decades.

Stumme (1896), Cohen (1975), and Singer (1984) for Tunis, but also such new publications as Lahrouchi & Ridouane (2016) for Morocco, deal mainly with the formal aspects of diminutives. As for Tunis Arabic only Maalej (2010) analyses the functions of a few forms in addressing non-acquaintances.

This paper will first discuss the question whether or not the diminutive in Tunis Arabic can still be regarded a productive morphological category. Second, I will try to analyse some of its pragmatic functions beyond smallness and endearment. In this attempt, we will follow the approach of comprehensive studies on the topic such as Dressler et al. (1994) and Badarneh (2007).

The material will be presented in a comparative perspective with the Bedouin-type dialects of southern Tunisia presented by Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun. Such a comparison may provide insights into the development and use of diminutives and throw light on the differences and similarities between sedentary and Bedouin dialects within the dialects of one country.

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## Origin of plural adjectives of the *fuṣāl* pattern in the modern Arabic dialects

Marijn van PUTTEN

Leiden University - [marijnvandenputten@gmail.com](mailto:marijnvandenputten@gmail.com)

An oft-cited shared innovation of the modern Arabic dialects is the use of an adjectival plural *fuṣāl* as opposed to the Classical Arabic *fiṣāl* (Ferguson 1959: 627; Cohen 1962: 137; Blau 1977: 24). This pattern is well-attested, and the regular plural formation, for example in Egyptian Arabic, e.g.:

### CAr. Egyptian

*kabīr* pl. *kibār* *kibīr* pl. *kubār* 'big'

*xafīf* pl. *xifāf* *xafīf* pl. *xufāf* 'light'

*ḡadīd* pl. *ḡidād* *gidīd* pl. *gudād* 'new'

So far, no satisfying explanation of this innovation however has not been provided. Earlier explanations have relied on *ad hoc* assimilation of *i* next to labials and later spread. But there is no evidence that such a development has taken place.

This paper will show that, not only adjectives, but also nouns may shift an original *\*fiṣāl(ah)* pattern to *fuṣāl(a)* in Egyptian, or reflexes thereof in Moroccan and Christian Baghdadi Arabic. Nouns that undergo this shift consistently contain emphatic consonants. Therefore, there appears to be a certain vowel harmony shifting original *\*i* to *u* in emphatic environments. This gives a

much broader basis for explaining an analogical spread of (originally emphatic-only) *fuṣāl* adjectival plural to non-emphatic adjectival plurals.

Finally, we will show that, while this development appears to be widespread, it cannot be seen as a shared innovation of the modern Arabic dialects. Earlier data (especially from Andalusī Arabic) shows that this development is not found everywhere and therefore cannot be attributed to a single shared ancestor of the modern dialects.



## Apocopated verbs forms in spoken Arabic

Jan RETSÖ

University of Gothenburg, [jan.retsö@sprak.gu.se](mailto:jan.retsö@sprak.gu.se)

One of the main grammatical differences between the Arabiyya and the modern spoken Arabic dialects is the marking of modal categories in the finite verbs. In the Arabiyya there are five different morphological variants of the imperfect serving as distinguishing markers between moods. One of them is the so-called apocopated imperfect, *mağzūm* (*yaqtul/yaqūm/yabni*) marking the jussive mood but also negated preterite. These forms are sometimes said to be absent in Arabic dialects. It turns out, however, that there exist such forms in some variants of spoken Arabic belonging to the so-called *badawi*-type. Sporadic occurrences in North Arabian *badawi* were noticed already by Socin in 1901 and later by Cantineau in 1937. Later studies have documented similar forms in South Western Arabia (Razih and Saʿda in Yemen), in South Arabia and in the Gulf region. Frequent occurrences are finally found in some dialects on the Sinai Peninsula by Nishio (1992) and De Jong (2000, 2015). There are two factors in the material documented so far which make the assumption of a direct diachronic relationship between these forms and the *mağzūm* of the Arabiyya problematic: a) the distribution of the forms in the dialects where we e.g. in the Sinai find apocopated from from Illy roots but not from Ilw/y; b) the function of the apocopes which often is indicative, not jussive etc. To this is added the relationship between the apocopes and the imperatives in these dialects. The paper will give a preliminary survey of the evidence and discuss some of the diachronic points.

## Diminutives in Tunisian Bedouin Dialects: A formal and pragmatic analysis

Veronika RITT-BENMIMOUN

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

Hitherto only marginal space has been given to diminutives within the study of Arabic dialects. Among the few in-depth studies are Taine-Cheikh (Ḥassānīya), Badarneh (Jordanian Arabic), Watson (Yemeni Arabic), and Masliyah (Iraqi Arabic); Masliyah's study is the only dialectal one referred to in EALL). This may partly be due to the infrequent use of diminutives in many dialects. Diminutives are commonly said to be more frequent in Bedouin dialects than in sedentary or urban contexts. They are well known to be tightly bound to women's speech and when talking to and about children. Badarneh presented a much wider variety of connotations in spoken Jordanian Arabic, and Taine-Cheikh in Ḥassānīya-Arabic. Relying on my corpus and on long-term fieldwork the use of diminutives in Tunisia's South Tunisian Bedouin dialects will be analyzed.

At first, the most remarkable morphological patterns and other important formal characteristics will be discussed (e.g. plural of diminutives, nouns with pre- and suffixes, diminutives of adjectives denoting colours and physical or mental disabilities, diminutive with the suffixe *-ūn*, diminutives of proper names; cf. Ritt-Benmimoun 2014). It will also be investigated upon whether diminutives are also common with other word classes, as for instance numbers and verbs. Their syntactic use (e.g. agreement of attributive adjectives with a diminutive) within a syntagm will also be analyzed. The main focus of the presentation will be on the pragmatic use of diminutives. Has the use of diminutives become a marginal phenomenon attached mainly to the speech of old women or is it a much-liked and frequently used tool for the expression of a wide range of emotions? Are the connotations expressed with diminutives similar to those in Ḥassānīya and Jordanian Arabic? For that purpose we will draw on different sources, like diminutives in daily speech, examples from my corpus of texts, and diminutives in poetry.

The material will be presented in a comparative perspective with Tunisia's prestige variety, the dialect of the capital Tunis, presented by Stephan Procházka. These two studies will give a valuable insight into the development and use of diminutives and throw light on the differences and similarities between sedentary and Bedouin dialects within the dialects of one country.

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## Euphémisme et/ou violence verbale féminine. Sur le comportement langagier de jeunes filles cairotés

Sherin RIZK

Faculté des Lettres- Université de Helwan - [sherinrizk@hotmail.com](mailto:sherinrizk@hotmail.com)

La recrudescence de la violence verbale dans le discours actuel des jeunes est considérée comme phénomène digne d'être analysé par les sciences du langage. Si la « violence verbale » est une transgression des interdits et des tabous langagiers, « l'euphémisme » est un moyen de les contourner. L'étude de ces deux concepts dans ce qu'on appelle généralement « le langage des jeunes » est intéressante dans la mesure où elle pose la question de son « caractère masculin ». En effet, plusieurs linguistes classifient le « langage des jeunes » en tant que « langage masculin » justement à cause de l'aspect « violent » auquel il est associé.

Il serait donc intéressant d'aborder la question des pratiques langagières des jeunes de ce nouvel angle qu'est le sexe. L'objet de ce nouvel article sera de mettre à l'épreuve l'hypothèse de la politesse du langage des femmes auprès de groupes de jeunes filles cairotés. Nous essayerons de répondre à ces questions : ces filles parlent-elles le même langage des garçons ? Ou leur langage a-t-il quelques spécificités ? Ont-elles recours à un langage poli et euphémique ou peut-on parler de "violence verbale féminine" ?

Pour regrouper autant que possible les avantages des deux types d'enquêtes qualitatif et quantitatif, notre enquête a renfermé 3 phases. Nous avons collecté premièrement des données sur le journal du Facebook de certains internautes en nous reposant sur la méthode d'observation participante. Ensuite, en utilisant ces données, nous avons formé un guide d'entretien composé de "déclencheurs". Il s'agit de genre de questions semi-directives avec des citations ; des images ou même des vidéos qui sont censées « déclencher » des débats et par conséquent incitent les enquêté(e)s à parler en favorisant les confrontations discursives entre eux (5 heures d'enregistrements). Notre troisième genre de corpus était un questionnaire qui copiait en



quelques sortes le guide d'entretien mais sous une forme de questions fermées pour faciliter le traitement des données avec un logiciel statistique comme celui que nous avons utilisé, SPSS.

**Mots clés :** Sociolinguistique -- langage des jeunes – langage des femmes- variation sexolectale – violence verbale – euphémisme – tabous.

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### ***arifti kalāmi* 'know what I'm sayin'? A Darfur Arabic verb conjugation feature explained by language contact**

Caroline ROSET

*University of Amsterdam - [c.j.roset@uva.nl](mailto:c.j.roset@uva.nl)*

The Arabic spoken in Darfur is much affected by the local substrates. Although some of those languages, mostly belonging to the Nilo-Saharan phylum, are endangered in favor of Arabic, they still act as the L1 or 'mother tongue' of many Darfurians.

At first sight, the effect of the Nilo-Saharan substrates is most salient in the phonology of Darfur Arabic, such as by the virtual lack of pharyngeals in the dialect. The influence is also felt syntactically: for example, verbs are often placed in the end of the sentence, just like the SOV word order in the local languages. From a morphological perspective, there are for instance no synchronic gender distinctions, also by analogy with the main substrates.

As to verb conjugation in the Arabic spoken in Darfur, the Nilo-Saharan transfer also seems apparent, but in a less straightforward manner than the contact features mentioned above. In this respect, a corpus of Darfur Arabic registered in 2011 to 2013 displays a characteristic feature: some verbs in all persons of the imperfect conjugation end in *-i*, where they do not in other varieties of Arabic. Examples are *nadōri* 'I want'; and *ba.arifi* 'she/he knows'.

In my talk, I will show examples of those verbs in context and offer possible explanations for the appearance of these particular endings. I will argue that interference with the Nilo-Saharan substrates may partially explain the feature. What else could account for the occurrence of this suffixed vowel? Speaking of interference: the AIDA 12 audience will be asked to think along on this matter.



### **Les pseudo-verbos dans le dialecte de Benghazi : valeurs possessives et non possessives**

Aisha SAAD

*Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle - Paris III - [aicha\\_soliman@yahoo.fr](mailto:aicha_soliman@yahoo.fr)*

Cette communication porte sur les valeurs possessives et non possessives des pseudo-verbos présents dans le dialecte de Benghazi. L'ensemble des dialectes maghrébins, dont le dialecte de Benghazi, emploient le relateur *šind* dans la construction possessive. Néanmoins, le dialecte de Benghazi exprime aussi la possession par plusieurs autres relateurs qui, à l'origine, ont une valeur

différente : comitative, directionnelle, dative et locative. Ces relateurs ont subi un processus de grammaticalisation qui leur permet d'être employés comme modaux (*ʕind, ʕōr, fi*), existentiels (*fi, ʕind*), attributifs (*ʕind, ʕōr; bi, fi, mʕā*) et expérientiels (*ʕind, fi, bi*). Le recours à tel ou tel relateur dépend de facteurs sémantiques et syntaxiques. Etant donné que *AVOIR* possède plusieurs usages dans les langues de monde, et se prête à la formation de périphrases (Benveniste 1966), nous nous interrogerons sur les emplois que les pseudo-verbos du dialecte de Benghazi peuvent remplir. Une attention particulière sera accordée au relateur *ʕind* dont l'emploi et la valeur ne cessent de se diversifier.

**Mots clés** : pseudo-verbos, énoncés non verbaux, prédication possessive, localisation, modalité, dispositions subjectives.

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## How Jewish is Judeo-Arabic? Moroccan Jews in Israel remembering their Arabic

Dr. Joshua SABIH

University of Copenhagen - [joshua@hum.ku.dk](mailto:joshua@hum.ku.dk)

In the last two decades, Israeli Jews of Moroccan origin have begun using Moroccan Arabic (or Judeo-Moroccan) as an act of remembering their cultural identity as *maroqa'im*. This act of remembering has been fleshed out in, inter alia, plays, TV-drama, comedy and film through the medium of the use of Moroccan Arabic and/or in Hebrew bland.

This paper shall reframe the question of Judeo-Arabic and its Jewishness within the issue of cultural identity of Moroccan Jews in Israel. The type or types of lectors that Moroccan Jews enact in various speech situations depend in large part on the interplay between the states identity politics and the Mizrahi cultural, political and religious awareness as a distinct and hybrid community!

In addition, this paper shall focus on the use of Moroccan Arabic in TV-drama, stand-up comedy and plays to present a new material or linguistic corpus from and through which Moroccan Jews in Israel articulate their revived "judeity"!

## "كان" في اللهجة العربية بماردين

محمد شاير Mehmet ŞAYIR

Gazi University, (أنقرة), [mmmsayir@gmail.com](mailto:mmmsayir@gmail.com)

إن الهدف من هذا البحث هو محاولة لطرح الأشكال المختلفة لاستخدام فعل "كان" كفعل ناقص وفعل تام التصرف في اللهجة العربية بماردين، حيث يفترض البحث أن "كان" قد اتخذت أشكالاً وصيغاً جديدة كما اتخذت معانٍ مختلفة قد تختلف تماماً عن وضعها ودلالاتها في اللغة العربية المعيارية، كما قد تختلف عن وضعها في الكثير من اللهجات العربية الشائعة. وقد تعكس هذه الأشكال والصيغ المختلفة كذلك التفاعل بين هذه اللهجة واللغات الأخرى المستخدمة في المنطقة.

يتبين من خلال دراسة هذه اللهجة أن "كان" تأتي على الأشكال المختلفة التالية وبمعانٍ مختلفة:

- ١ - أمام الفعل المضارع بدون تصريف.
- ٢ - أمام قد التحقيقية (ك - كل) بدون تصريف.
- ٣ - بعد قد التحقيقية (ك - كل) وأمام الفعل الماضي.
- ٤ - بعد قد التحقيقية (ك - كل) وأمام الفعل المضارع.

- ٥ - أمام الفعل في زمن المستقبل بدون تصريف.
- ٦ - أمام أو بعد الاسم والضمير والصفة.
- ٧ - في الجملة الشرطية بمعنى "لو".
- ٨ - أمام الفعل المضارع بمعنى الترجي.
- ٩ - أمام الفعل المضارع بمعنى الحث على فعل الشيء.
- ١٠ - أمام الفعل المضارع بمعنى "ليت".

وعند دراسة هذا الفعل الناقص في هذه اللهجة ورصد التحولات التي تعرض إليها نظرا إلى وضعه في اللغة العربية المعيارية قد نخلص إلى القول بأن هناك أشكالا وصيغا مختلفة تتميز بها هذه اللهجة. وتتمحور هذه الدراسة حول الصيغ المختلفة لفعل "كان" من خلال طرح الأمثلة المختلفة لهذه الصيغ بجميع أنواعها وتفصيلها ورصد التفاعل بين اللهجة واللغات المستخدمة في المنطقة. الكلمات المفتاح: ماردين، اللغة العربية، اللهجة المحلمية، مديات، اللهجة الجزائرية، كان.

## Accessing Hip-Hop: Analyzing Meknassi rappers' adoption of Casablanca features

Sarah SCHWARTZ

University of Texas [Austin] - [srschwartz@utexas.edu](mailto:srschwartz@utexas.edu)

This paper examines the speech of two Meknassi rappers who have adopted linguistic features of Casablanca Arabic in the course of their hip-hop careers in order to emulate the speech of their colleagues in Casablanca. The paper seeks to answer the questions: How and why do Moroccan rappers from outside of Casablanca incorporate Casablanca features into their speech? What acoustic and phonological cues do they access in producing such features? What, if any, social capital are they attempting to access through usage of another regional dialect? This paper proposes that Meknassi rappers adopt Casablanca phonological features in order to claim the linguistic capital associated with the Casablanca dialect within the Moroccan hip-hop community, where Casablanca constitutes one of the most important rap scenes.

The paper compares the realization of the phoneme /t/ between two male Casablanca and Slaoui rappers who natively produce the variant [tʃ] and two male Meknassi rappers who do not natively produce the variant [tʃ] but began to produce it when they began their rap careers. Within Morocco, the phoneme /t/ displays regional allophonic variation, and the variant [tʃ] is specifically produced in the region between the coastal cities of Salé and Casablanca; these two cities are also home to two of the oldest and most important rap scenes in the country. Analysis is based on 4.5 hours of data collected during a field trip to Morocco in the summer of 2016, focusing solely on sociolinguistic interview data. Preliminary results indicate that these rappers converge to [tʃ] to varying degrees, dependent upon their role in the linguistic market of the Moroccan rap scene – as predicted by Bourdieu's model of the linguistic market, the speakers accessed this linguistic capital at a rate inversely proportional to the amount of power they held in the linguistic market. The Meknassi rapper who had never lived in Casablanca or Salé, in particular, showed the most variation in his speech, alternately producing his native variant [ts] and the non-native [tʃ] variant, in order to access the Cassaoui variant's legitimacy within his community of practice. The author's prior research has suggested that this variant in particular indexes masculinity and toughness within the Moroccan rap scene.

## The dialect of Sfax (Tunisia)

Zeineb SELLAMI

Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) - [sellamize@gmail.com](mailto:sellamize@gmail.com)

This paper aims to describe the most outstanding features of the Arabic spoken in Sfax, the second largest city in Tunisia, which is located 270km southeast of Tunis. It is based on a fieldwork conducted in the old city of Sfax in September 2016. To the best of our knowledge, this dialect hasn't been documented yet, except for one short description written by Dhouha Lajmi, which was

based on her “empirical experience of the linguistic situation in Sfax” (Lajmi 2009). This article is an attempt to fill this lacuna in the field of Tunisian dialectology, by providing a linguistic sketch of the most prominent features of the Sfaxi dialect on the phonological, morphological, and morphosyntactic level.

Despite falling into the pre-hilali category, this dialect retains some archaisms that make it very different from other varieties in the area, as well as the other pre-hilali Tunisian dialects.

**Keywords:** Tunisia, Tunisian dialectology, Sfax, pre-hilali.

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## **Perceptual dialectology of Egypt. A view from the Berber-speaking periphery**

Valentina SERRELI

*Universität Bayreuth - [valentinaserreli@msn.com](mailto:valentinaserreli@msn.com)*

Perceptual dialectology is a subbranch of folk linguistics first systematized by Dennis Preston in the 1980s (Preston 1989). With the technique of mental mapping, borrowed from cultural geography, perceptual dialectologists seek “to discover where ordinary people believe things, kinds of populations, and even prevailing ideologies exist” (Preston 2010: 18). In the Arabic-speaking context, a map task experiment was conducted by Theodoropoulou & Tyler (2014) among students at Qatar University to identify dialect boundaries and labels across the whole Arab world.

This paper discusses lay speakers' awareness of the linguistic variation in Egypt, based on data collected through the technique of mental mapping among students attending the last two years of secondary school in the Egyptian Oasis of Siwa. Siwa is a Berber enclave situated 50 km away from the Libyan border, where mass Arabization started back in the 1980s-1990s and whose geographical and social peripherality limited dwellers' mobility and contact with outsiders. The map task was part of a questionnaire administered in 2011, that sought for psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic information with the aim of understanding the patterns of language use in the oasis, through the study of speakers' attitudes, beliefs and ideologies (Serreli 2011).

Students were requested to locate on a map of Egypt languages and dialects spoken in the country, writing them down and circling the region where they are spoken. The results show that they are aware of the major linguistic differences in Egypt, although they did not give the same attention to all areas. The dialect areas identified by the informants will be outlined and discussed, together with the labels they chose to identify each variety.

## **Dialect contact in the speech of children and adolescents; Palestinian refugees in Syria**

Ourooba SHETEWI

*University of Newcastle upon Tyne - [o.shetewi@ncl.ac.uk](mailto:o.shetewi@ncl.ac.uk)*

Little is known about young people's linguistic behaviour in towns outside Damascus (Miller 2004) where geographical diffusion (Britain 2009) is a likely force of variation and change. This study investigates the linguistic choices of 38 boys and girls (3; 2- 17; 9) in a Bedouin speech community of Palestinian refugees near Damascus. It examines the influence of age and gender on their use of socially-marked linguistic variables that are realised differently in Bedouin and urban dialects; namely, the phonological variables ( $d^{\text{c}}$ ), (q), ( $\delta^{\text{c}}$ ), ( $\theta$ ), ( $\delta$ ) and the morphophonological feminine ending (a).

Recordings of sociolinguistic interviews and a picture-naming task were carried out by two fieldworkers, a Damascene and a local speaker, in order to elicit spontaneous data from participants and examine variation patterns with different speakers and in different contexts.

One-way ANOVA and Univariate tests were used to examine variation as a function of context, age, gender and the interaction of age and gender. Patterns of variation were highly dependent on linguistic variables. For example, little to no variation occurred with (a); all participants used the local variant almost categorically at 96 %. Interdental variables showed the most amount of variation in relation to the social variables. For example, older speakers used the local variant of (ð) significantly more than younger speakers ( $P = .001$ ). Boys used the local variant of (ð<sup>5</sup>) significantly more than girls in the interview with the local speaker ( $P = .027$ ) and 9-11 year-old boys used the local variant of (ð<sup>5</sup>) significantly more than girls in the same age group ( $P = .001$ ). This study fills a gap in the knowledge of young people's linguistic behaviour in dialect contact situations and sheds light on a dialect that has not been previously studied.

## Éléments lexicaux hébreux ou pseudo-hébreux dans le parler arabe des juifs de Fès - emplois contextuels, dérivations sémantiques, adaptations phonologiques

Jonas SIBONY

Centre de Recherches Moyen-Orient Méditerranée (Inalco) - [sibony.jonas@gmail.com](mailto:sibony.jonas@gmail.com)

Le parler judéo-arabe de Fès (Maroc) est une déclinaison de l'arabe fassi dont la culture spécifique et le mode de vie des locuteurs engage un renvoi vers la culture juive et se réfère constamment aux corpus de références de celle-ci (Bible hébraïque, Talmud etc.). En cela, nombre de mots hébreux et araméens s'immiscent dans la langue. Ces apports apparaissent majoritairement à l'écrit ou dans la langue des lettrés. Pourtant, une quantité plus modeste d'entre eux, mots hébreux ou pseudo-hébreux, s'intègre dans la langue parlée courante des hommes comme des femmes du quartier juif. Etant coupés de leur étymologie, ces mots sont utilisés par les locuteurs juifs arabophones qui ne savent souvent plus qu'ils ne sont pas d'origine arabe ou berbère. Puisqu'ils évoluent indépendamment de leur corpus d'origine, à l'intérieur d'un système linguistique d'adoption, leur emploi se contextualise et leur sens se modifie. Les mots sont prononcés selon les dynamiques phonologiques du vieil arabe de Fès et certains véritables néologismes se forment sur des racines hébraïques. Ces mots n'ont le plus souvent jamais été utilisés dans ces sens ou sous ces formes en hébreu et puisqu'ils sont ici totalement intégrés à l'arabe dialectal, quelle que soit leur étymologie, ce sont objectivement des mots arabes. En voici un exemple :

- *ḥāmēṣ*: nom hébreu du pain levé, proscrit lors de la fête de Pessah. Etymologiquement, *ḥāmēṣ* signifie « aigre, amer ». Il est en lien à l'arabe classique *ḥāmiḍ*, « aigre », darija *ḥāməḍ*. Dans le parler arabe des Juifs de Fès, il peut s'utiliser dans son sens hébreu comme dans l'énoncé : *f-pisāḥ, ḥrām naklō l-ḥəbz u kəll ma howa ḥāmēṣ*, « lors de la fête de Pessah, il nous est interdit de manger du pain ou tout ce qui est (contient) du *ḥāmēṣ* ». Mais une fois son intégration faite dans la langue parlée, il devient au Mellah un adjectif courant dont le sens s'est élargi puisqu'il est utilisé comme synonyme de *ḥārām / ḥrām* et signifie alors « illicite d'après la loi mosaïque », comme illustré dans l'exemple suivant *ḥāmēṣ ḥlēya nəšrəb əš-šrāb*. Il va même se re-substantiver : *ʿāmlə ʿlēh ḥāmēṣ*, « ils l'ont mis en quarantaine ».

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## Women's voices from Artās: the contribution of Hilma Granqvist's field notes to the lexicography of Palestinian Arabic

Rosanna SIRIGNANO

Universität Heidelberg (GERMANY) - [ros.sirignano@gmail.com](mailto:ros.sirignano@gmail.com)

In this paper, I will show the preliminary results of the fieldwork I undertook in the West Bank village of Artās in 2015. It is based on my previous research about the contribution of the renowned anthropologist Hilma Granqvist (1890-1972) to the lexicography of Palestinian Arabic. After Granqvist's death the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) acquired all the material resulting from her fieldwork in Artās (1925-1930), including a vast amount of women's accounts, proverbs, folk songs and tales written in Colloquial Arabic. From the preliminary linguistic analysis of the texts, it emerges that Granqvist's collaborators did not reproduce the exact vernacular spoken in Artās. After two years of training in Arabic dialectology at University of Heidelberg, I carried out fieldwork in Artās aiming at describing the local dialect in order to produce a correct transcription of the field notes. In Palestine, I became aware that attempting to reconstruct the texts would lead to further distortions and consequently I had to reexamine my approach. Despite of the fact that the field notes contain several linguistic "revisions" made by different agents, they could still provide a considerable contribution to the lexicography of Palestinian Arabic, especially considering that women specific lexicon is usually underrepresented in glossaries of Arabic dialects and women's issues are rarely recorded in text collections of Arabic dialects. For example, from Granqvist's field notes emerge some significant linguistic issues, such as previously undocumented lexical items or new meanings for words already documented in Palestinian Arabic repertoires. Moreover, the importance of Granqvist's field notes will be stressed, in that they represent a unique corpus of oral female literature, a direct testimony of *fellahīn* women in the thirties, and a valuable record of Palestinian history and culture during the British Mandate.

## On pragmatics of circumstantial clauses in Egyptian proverbs

Tatyana SAVVATEEVA

Lomonosov Moscow State University - [alakina.st@gmail.com](mailto:alakina.st@gmail.com)

This research concerns a problem of syntax and pragmatics of circumstantial clauses (*jumal ḥālīyya*) in Egyptian Arabic, and particularly, in Egyptian proverbs.

According to the most common definition, a circumstantial clause characterizes a state or condition (*ḥāl* – lit. "state, condition") of a main clause subject or object at the moment described in the main clause. Some scholars agree that in Arabic it is used "to express an action or event which took place simultaneously with the situation or event expressed in the main clause" (modal and temporal circumstantial clauses) [Woidich 2004: 191]. Thus, these clauses may be regarded as so-called *adverbial determinants* that do not refer to any particular part of the sentence, but to the utterance in general [Shvedova 1964: 181].

The formal structure of an utterance corresponds with its meaning. This approach appeared in the European linguistics in the 20th century, but it did exist in the medieval Arabic linguistics and Arabic rhetoric (*ilm al-balāġa*).

Firstly, we claim that *ḥāl* is not a clause, it is a syntactic position that could be represented by a single word (a participle) OR a clause – as any other position in Arabic sentence. In traditional Arabic grammar *ḥāl* is described as a "second predicate" (*ḥabar*), or comment, that forms the semantic and pragmatic focus of the sentence [Pak, Soukhareva, 255]. So, when occurs in Egyptian paremia, *ḥāl* represents the essence of a proverb. As it is stated in the Shvedova's determinant theory: in sentence-final position this syntactic structure is shifted to semantic focus. However, circumstantial clauses in dialects (rarely, but in Standard Arabic as well) may not only accede, but also precede the main clause [Brustad 2000: 340].

Secondly, the structure of a proverb which contains a circumstantial clause is that of three types: S + (*w(i)*- + S) (1), GC + (*w(i)*- + S) (2), N/Adj + (*w(i)*- + S) (3), a conjunction *w(i)*- (*waw al-ḥāl*) is optional. A circumstantial clause may accede a noun, a genitive construction or a clause:

- (1) *ibn-u 'ala kitf-u w-huwwa dāyir yidawwar 'alee-h* [Badawi, 736] His son is on his shoulders, but he is looking for him around;  
 (2) *kull(i) ta'hīra w-fī-ha heer* [Badawi, 11] There is [something] good in every delay.  
 (3) *'arnab wi b-yākul laḥm* [Al-Bagli, 102] A rabbit, but eats meat.

In the case (3) a noun normally does not have a definite article, and the circumstantial clause gives such a characteristic to the object that underlines its main feature or contradicts it. The fact that a circumstantial clause may equally supplement in the sentence a noun or a clause demonstrates that pragmatically this noun is an equivalent of a whole clause. The question arises about the syntactic position that this single noun would have in a sentence.

**Key words:** Egyptian proverbs, syntax of Egyptian Arabic, circumstantial clauses, pragmatics.

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## الثنائيات في اللهجة المحكية في ماردين

محمد حقي صوتشين Mehmet Hakki SUÇIN

جامعة غازي (أنقرة)، *Gazi University - mhakkisucin@yahoo.com*

تستهدف هذه الدراسة إلى النظر في الألفاظ الثنائية في اللهجة العربية المحكية في ماردين بجنوب شرق الأناضول من حيث الخصائص الدلالية والمورفولوجية وذلك حسب نظرية الثنائية المورفولوجية (Morphological Doubling Theory-MDT) التي وضعها كل من شارول إينكلاس و شريل زول عام 2005 لنر هل سلوك الثنائيات في اللهجة المحكية في ماردين تنطبق لما وصل إليه الباحثان أم لا، علمًا بأن المعطيات التي بين أيدينا تشير إلى أن اللهجة الماردينية تتضمن نماذج مختلفة من حيث الدلالة والبنى الصرفية، مثل: *أمان زمان* (يفيد الترجي بمعنى أنا دخيل عليك)، *نار و شرار* (الشدة في المزاج ومعاملة الآخرين)، *أخبيز و ملح* (بمعنى المعاشرة)، *مرض قرص* (بمعنى المرض والداء)، *قلس و عنيد* (الضعيف الذي يلجأ للعناد)، *خفيف ونظيف* (بمعنى أن يكون الأمر خال من أي مشكلة)، *خالق مخلوق* (يفيد التشابه بين شخصين)، *چول خلا* (بمعنى مكان غير مسكون)، *ساغ سول* (بمعنى من هنا وهناك أي يمين شمال)، *شاب و ما تاب* (يفيد عدم الاعتبار والاستفادة من الموعظة رغم الشيخوخة... (وغيرها من أمثلة من مختلف أنواع الألفاظ الثنائية التي من شأنها قد تضيف شيئًا جديدًا في دراسات اللهجات العربية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ثنائيات، ألفاظ ثنائية، اللهجة الماردينية، نظرية الثنائية المورفولوجية



## Étude des particules apparentées aux vocatifs/exclamatifs *yā* et *iyyā(k)*

Catherine TAINÉ-CHEIKH

LACITO, CNRS /UMR7107, Université Paris III - Sorbonne nouvelle, Université Paris IV - Paris Sorbonne - [cath.tainecheikh@gmail.com](mailto:cath.tainecheikh@gmail.com)

L'arabe standard connaît différentes particules vocatives ou exclamatives servant à interpeler (*yā*, *hayā*, *a-yā*, *ʾayyūhā*) ou à mettre en garde (*ʾyyā-ka*).

Dans les dialectes, *yā/ya* est la particule la plus fréquemment employée pour le vocatif et sa présence devant les termes d'adresse a été relevée à maintes reprises (voir par exemple Yassin 1978, Holes 1986, Rieschild 1998, Henkin 2010).

Barth (1967: 92-93), qui voyait dans la particule du vocatif un élément destiné à l'origine à attirer l'attention (*Aufmerksamkeit*), fait le rapprochement, d'une part, avec le *jā* (= *yā*) démonstratif qui peut apparaître après les pronoms personnels au Dağina et en palestinien (ex. *ḥanna jā el-Arab* 'wir, da die Beduinen') et, d'autre part, avec *ʾij-jā* (< *yā* précédé de *ʾi-*) devenu une marque d'accusatif lorsqu'il introduit un pronom suffixe.

Dans des publications parues souvent ultérieurement à l'ouvrage de Barth (*Die Pronominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen*), on relève des attestations de *yā/ya* avec des sens et des emplois plus variés encore : particule interrogative 'n'est-ce pas ?' (Barthélémy 1969: 913) ou pseudo-interrogative (Borg 2004: 472); particule d'insistance 'c'est... que' (Jullien de Pommerol 2000: 1325) ou marqueur de focus (Owens 1996: 151, Wellens 2003: 171).

D'autres attestations de sens plus ou moins proches ont été relevées avec les formes *yāk* ou *iyyāk*, notamment au Maghreb.

Si l'on excepte la conjonction alternative *yā* 'ou' et *yā... yā...* 'ou bien... ou bien...' (Cowell 1964: 395; Marçais & Guiga 1958-61: 4407) — bien attestée mais vraisemblablement d'origine persane —, les autres particules en (*iy*)*yā(k)* pourraient avoir un étymon, sinon identique, du moins proche. Mon objectif, une fois les données réunies, est d'analyser la nature de ces relations et de préciser les chaînes de grammaticalisation/ pragmaticalisation.

## Vowel Harmony in Old and Central Asian Arabic Dialects

Zviadi TSKHVEDIANI

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

Vowel harmony in the word-forms of old Arabic dialects is discussed in the works of medieval Arab grammarians. Valuable information regarding vowel harmony is provided by Sibawayhi, Ibn Jinni, Ibn Hasnuni, al-Mubarrad and others. In the medieval Arabic grammatical tradition the vowel harmony is denoted by the term al-'itbā' and is perceived as assimilation both at isolated and syntagmatic levels of the word-forms. For example, in the basic C1VC2V:C3, C1VC2C3 > C1VC2VC3 and C1VC2VC3 structures: *fā'i/īl* > *fī'i/īl* as well as in the derived forms with -C1C2VC3, -C1V:C3: *mu-fi/īl* > *mīfi/īl* and C1VC2Y3 stems: for instance, *ʾašīy* > *ʾiṣīy* formant vowel change (a>i) in isolated and syntagmatic position. In addition to the above-mentioned cases vowel harmony is analyzed in: the stem words and affixes, prosthetic 'alif of the imperative mood, doublets of one-syllable roots and pausal forms, -āt plural of *fu/i'l-at* type names in which anaptyctic vowels are combined with root vowels, for instance, *rukbat* (sing.) and *rukub-āt* (pl.), *sidr-at* (sing.) and *sidir-āt* etc.

In the Arabic dialects of central Asia the vocal structure of derived roots is relatively inconsistent. For example, C1VC2VC3 structure in the isolated position is subject to changes on the syntagmatic level due to vowel harmony (*šūḡul* and *šūḡl-ak*). C1VC2VC3 structure can be identified in verb



roots through vowel harmony (cf. *tu-ktub* in the imperfect). Some root structures are characterized by synharmonism peculiar to old Arabic dialects; for instance, *kivīr*, *gilīl*. Anaptyctic vowels are combined with root vowels in one-syllable forms: *gidir* < *qidr*, *gutun* < *qutn* etc. Vowel harmony in a number of word-forms reflects the general situation in old Arabic dialects of central Asia and conforms to the common Arabic dialectical forms.

**Key words:** Old Arabic dialects, Central Asian Arabic, vowel harmony.

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## Le Maroc 'affrique' : la valeur sociale de ce phénomène phonétique

Ángeles VICENTE

Universidad de Zaragoza (UZ) - [mavicen@unizar.es](mailto:mavicen@unizar.es)

On connaît que l'affrication est une caractéristique phonétique de quelques variétés ou sociolectes marocains. On a montré à plusieurs reprises qu'elle existe chez les locuteurs de tous les âges dans la variété marocaine parlée au nord-ouest du pays, où il s'agit d'un trait fortement marqué régionalement, mais aussi que l'affrication est très utilisée dans les pratiques langagières des jeunes marocains avec des valeurs identitaires (Ziamari, Caubet, Miller & Vicente, sous presse).

Les phonèmes touchés par ce procédé sont : a) l'occlusif /t/ qui devient l'allophone [ts] (aussi transcrit [tʃ]), b) le phonème chuintant /š/ sourd qui devient l'allophone [č] (qui peut être aussi un phonème) ; et c) le phonème chuintant /ž/ qui devient l'allophone [ǰ].

Dans cette communication, on montrera plusieurs exemples de ces affrications dans les différentes variétés marocaines pour essayer d'expliquer s'il s'agit des variantes stables ou variables. En plus, on examinera comment cette caractéristique est marquée socialement surtout dans quelques régions ou sociolectes et quelles valeurs elle véhicule.

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## اللغة الخاصة بالسجناء في المغرب، دراسة سوسiolسانية

Mona WARCHAN منى ورشان

Université Ibn Tofail, Kénitra - [mona.warchan@gmail.com](mailto:mona.warchan@gmail.com)

من المعروف أن داخل كل جماعة لسانية هناك تنوع لغوي، سواء في مستواه الأفقي كـ"التعدد اللهجي" أو في مستواه العمودي كالتمايز بين لغة كل من الطبيب و النجار. في هذا السياق تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية إلى الكشف عن نسيج لغوي متداول ضمن جماعة خاصة، وهي جماعة السجناء (الحق العام) بالمغرب. كما تهدف أيضا إلى رصد المظاهر اللسانية ( معجمية-صرفية-تركيبية-دلالية ...) و التفاعلية المميزة لهذا المتن و ذلك في ضوء اللسانيات الاجتماعية التفاعلية التي تترجمها أعمال كل من : Hymes 1974 . Gumperz 1989 ....

من هنا ستعالج هذه الدراسة آليات توليد هذه اللغة الخاصة بالإضافة لمستويات "التشفير اللغوي" فيها في سياق "سوسiolساني"، و سنعمد في هذا الاطار على تجميع متن لغوي Corpus عبر أدوات البحث الميداني، و خاصة "الاستبيان المفتوح" و"المقابلة النصف موجهة" مع عينة من المستجوبين(سجناء) داخل فضاء السجن ، و نقترح في هذا الاطار السجن المركزي بمدينة القنيطرة باعتباره السجن الوحيد الذي يضم سجناء محكومين بعقوبات طويلة المدى. و ذلك لضمان رصد العينات اللغوية و ضبطها.

و بناء عليه يمكن صوغ اشكالية بحثنا كما يلي :

- ما هي مظاهر التنوع اللغوي في اللغة الخاصة بالسجناء و الآليات اللسانية المولدة لها؟  
و بالنظر لطبيعة إشكالية بحثنا فقد ارتأينا توزيع مفاصل هذا الموضوع إلى ثلاثة مستويات أساسية :
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  - \_ المستوى الميداني : إجراءات البحث الميداني و تقديم المتن و تصنيفه لسانيا .
  - \_ المستوى التحليلي : التحليل اللساني و البعد الاجتماعي / المواقف .
- ثم خلاصة تركيبية للبحث و نتائجه .

الكلمات المفتاحية : اللغة الخاصة \_ السجناء \_ التداخل اللغوي \_ الجماعة المتكلمة \_ العربية المغربية \_ اللسانيات الاجتماعية

## On Morpho-syntactic levantisms in Maltese

David WILMSEN, Amany AL-SAYYED

American University of Sharjah (AUX) - [dwilmsen@aus.edu](mailto:dwilmsen@aus.edu)

American University of Beirut

Maltese is usually classified as a North African Arabic variety. Yet, since Stumme's short (1904) study, researchers have noticed "some curious similarities with the Eastern dialects" and "suggestive Levantine traits" Mifsud (2008). Investigations of these tend to concentrate upon the phonology and lexicon (Borg 1994, 1997), with slight attention paid to morphology and syntax. Yet the morpho-syntactic correspondences between Maltese and Levantine varieties of Arabic range between regular and predictable to singular and startling. We report on a long-term project in documenting some of those, including polar interrogation with a reflex of /š/; the prohibitive/dehortative system, also exhibiting reflexes of /š/; differential object marking with reflexes of /l-/; and the construction of pronominal circumstantial clauses. None of these is exclusive to Maltese and the Levant alone. Polar interrogation with /š/ is found in the southern Arabian Peninsula, the Levant, and North Africa (Wilmsen 2014, 2016). The Maltese prohibitive is largely southern Levantine in form, but its dehortative is common to eastern Mediterranean dialects of Arabic (Wilmsen 2016; Al-Sayyed and Wilmsen forthcoming). Differential object marking with reflexes of /l-/ is found in the Levant and Mesopotamia (Camilleri and Sadler 2012; Döhla 2016). Analogous polar interrogation and differential object marking techniques are attested in Andalusí Arabic. The Maltese pronominal circumstantial clause is otherwise almost unique to Syro-Lebanese Arabic, with an isolate in the Be'eri Arabic of Upper Egypt (Woidich 2006). Mifsud's explanation of these correspondences, "that successive waves of impact reached the Maltese shores from different Arab stations and at different points in the island's history" does

not preclude an alternate explanation: that some or all of these are pre-diaspora (640 AD) traits, originating, along with the precursors to the North African Arabic varieties “in an area from central Syria to north-western Arabia” (Retsö 2000), some ultimately originating in the southern peninsula.

### Particularities of verbal negation in the Lebanese dialect of Zeitoun, Keserwan

David WILMSEN, Natalie KHAIRALLAH  
*American University of Sharjah (AUX) - [dwilmsen@aus.edu](mailto:dwilmsen@aus.edu)*

The dialect of Zeitoun village in the northern Keserwan district of Lebanon exhibits both the split-morpheme negators *ma ... š* of the southern and highland Levant (cf. Baskinta [Abu Haidar 1979: 109–110]) and the pre-verbal negator *mā* without the post-positive *-š* of the northern Levant (cf. Bišmizzīn [Jiha 1964: 181] cp. 4, fn. 14), with the *-š* of negation optionally appearing in identical contexts:

(1) *yārayt ma-šil-nā-hon-š, yārayt ma-šil-nā-hon[ø]*  
 would.that neg-carry.pfv-1pl-obj. pro.3pl-neg  
 'I wish we hadn't removed them; I wish we hadn't removed them'

It also exhibits the form *'a ... š* of southern and highland Levantine Arabic dialects:

(2) *'a -b-a-ʿrif-š ixt-ə*  
 neg-hab-1s-know.ipfv-neg sister-poss.pro.1s  
 'I don't know, my sister!'

Abu Haidar (*op. cit.*) proposes that the negator *'a* can only appear before labial consonants, such as the *b*-prefix marking habitual action or imminent futurity. Others (Driver 1925; Palva 2004; Lucas 2010) note that it also occurs with the prohibitive, usually marked by the 2nd-person prefix /t-/. Neither holds for the Zeitouni dialect, in which prohibitives negated with sole *-š* may be formed without the prefix, the consonant being whatever the radical might be:

(3) *xaf-š 'a Mōrīn*  
 fear.proh-fs-neg prep name  
 'Don't worry about Maureen'

Sole post-positive *-š* also occurs in negation of an unmarked imperfective verb:

(4) *Mōrīn t-akl-š laylə nhār*  
 name 3fs-eat.ipfv-neg night day  
 'Maureen doesn't eat, night and day'

Another feature that is occasionally noted in the literature (Driver 1924; Thackston 1999; Wilmsen 2014) is the negation of perfective verbs with sole post-positive *-š*. This, too, occurs in the Zeitouni dialect:

(5) *Maya redd-it-š 'aley-yə daḥl-ik*  
 name answer.pfv-3fs-neg prep-obj.pro.1s int-pro.2fs  
 'Maya didn't answer me, did she?'

Finally, a word-final consonant cluster generated by the enclitic *-š* does not attract stress:

(6) *'a -b-á-ʿrif-š ya 'imm-ə*  
 neg-hab-1s-know.ipfv-neg voc mother -poss.pro.1s  
 'I don't know, O my mother'.



## Cairene Arabic in the 19th century: a comparison of three textbooks

Liesbeth ZACK

University of Amsterdam - [e.w.a.zack@uva.nl](mailto:e.w.a.zack@uva.nl)

For my research on the dialect of Cairo in the 19th century, I composed a database of salient features of Cairene Arabic found in sources from that period. In doing this, I discovered some remarkable similarities between three works, all textbooks for teaching Egyptian Arabic to foreigners: Nolden's *Vocabulaire français arabe* (1844), Sacroug's *The Egyptian Travelling Interpreter* (1874) and Vaujany's *Vocabulaire français-arabe* (1887). The books contain, among other things, a vocabulary, grammar, Arabic phrases and information about Egyptian weights and measures. It turned out that Sacroug and Vaujany had copied extensive parts of Nolden's book, without referring to their source. The two works are not exact copies (or, in the case of Sacroug, an exact translation) of Nolden's work: although both authors took Nolden's *Vocabulaire* as their basis, they also considerably reworked and added to it. In my paper, I will compare the dialect of Cairo as described in the three books on some phonological, morphological and lexical aspects, thereby discussing the possible reasons for the changes made by the authors in their descriptions of the language. As more than thirty years passed between the publication of Nolden's book and that of the other two books, some of the changes made in the later works can be attributed to language change that took place during this period of time.

## Pausal forms in the Arabic of Nazareth

Amal ZU'BI

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (HUJI) - [amal.zubi@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:amal.zubi@mail.huji.ac.il)

The aim of this paper has been to describe the system of vocalic and consonantal variants in pause pertaining to certain speakers of Arabic in Nazareth and to determine a set of features that characterize the Nazarene Arabic (NA) of these groups.

In Nazareth, I detected pausal forms in the speech of middle-aged and elderly Muslims and elderly Maronites. In addition to changes in vowel quality in the speech, in pausal position final syllables also undergo other modifications relative the form in normal speech. It is worth noting that, in the speech of these groups, the closed syllables often undergo only a change of vowel quality, but this may also be accompanied by lengthening. Final open syllables have changes in vowel quality and secondary changes such as diphthongization. In the speech of Muslims and Maronite Christians, words occurring in pausal position may undergo different kinds of change according to syllable type. Five types were identified: (1) lowering of vowels, (2) lengthening of vowels, (3) Diphthongization, (4) raising of vowels, and (5) aspiration.

Pausal forms described above are quite rare in Palestine, but they occur in other Arabic dialects. Till now only pausal final *imâla a > i > e* had been attested in central Palestinian dialects, and aspiration had been attested in Bedouin dialects in Negev. Other pausal forms that are documented in the current research (such as lengthening, diphthongization and raising of vowels) were hitherto unattested in Palestinian dialects. Interestingly enough the pausal forms in NA are very similar to those of Lebanon and some areas of Syria. Diphthongization in pause also exists in Lebanon and Syria, upper-Egypt, some areas of Morocco and Yemen. Lengthening of vowels in pause also exists in Lebanon, and some areas of Syria, upper-Egypt and south-western Yemen.

# Notes



# Notes

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# Notes



**AIDA** (fr. *Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe*) – International Association of Arabic Dialectology / الرابطة الدولية العربية لدراسة اللهجات العربية – is an association of researchers in Arabic dialects, from all over the world.

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

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

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- ▶ Karima Ziamari (Moulay Ismail University, Meknes, Morocco) – vice-president
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- ▶ Liesbeth Zack (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands) – general secretary
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<https://aida12.sciencesconf.org/>

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- ▶ Catherine Miller (IREMAM, Aix Marseille Univ)
- ▶ Christophe PEREIRA (LACNAD, INALCO, Paris)
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