



Maciej Klimiuk (Ed.)

SEMITIC DIALECTS AND DIALECTOLOGY

Fieldwork—Community—Change

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Cover illustration: Malta as seen from Gozo with the view on the natural dialect boundary,
Photo © by Maciej Klimiuk

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In memory of Peter Behnstedt

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Preface

Semitic dialectology seems to be in crisis. While its main goal is to describe previously unknown languages/dialects with data collected during fieldwork, fewer and fewer researchers are able and willing to spend their time in the field. Such research is a series of sacrifices and commitments, months spent in other countries after a long period of preparation and training, but also significant financial costs. The person conducting it is also required to have some special skills. He or she needs to communicate in the language studied or master it as quickly as possible to analyse it. Characterised by the multiplicity and diversity of research and methodology, the European tradition of Semitic linguistics has always supported fieldwork and highly valued the data obtained in this way. It should not abandon research into spoken languages in favour of, for example, only comparative studies, which can be comfortably done in armchairs.

In the spirit of this tradition and to uphold it, the present book is a collection of articles whose data was gathered primarily during field research. The volume is divided into two parts—*Studies* on various specific linguistic issues and *Texts* containing previously unpublished transcriptions of audio recordings in Arabic dialects and Jibbali/Shehret.

The first part opens with an article by Manfred Woidich on the term ‘blind’ in Arabic dialects. Besides the common term *ašma*, the author discusses a number of others, like *kaṭf*, *makfūf*, *ḍarīr*, *ḍaṣīf*, *ṣāgiz*, *mašzūr*, *ṭasīs* etc., and uses the concept of lexical absorption to explain them. In another paper, Giuliano Castagna deals with the toponomastics of the island al-Ḥallāniya in the archipelago of Kuria Muria, off the southeastern coast of Oman. He analyses, etymologically and grammatically, data obtained by interviewing one of the most prominent elders of the island. In the article that follows, we remain in Oman, where Roberta Morano conducted her field research on Arabic dialects in al-ʿAwābī district. She devotes her text to the expression of possession in this vernacular and focuses on the syntactic use and occurrence of the analytic genitive compared with the synthetic one. Aziza Al-Essa’s article draws attention to Arabic interdentalals and processes of variation and change affecting them, particularly in Saudi Arabia. Assaf Bar-Moshe describes, using the example of

the Jewish Arabic dialect of Baghdad, a construction called The Argument Flagging and Indexing Construction (AFIC). He shows that the AIFC is more frequent in use in this dialect than in any other modern dialect known today. Letizia Cerqueglini deals with internal variations in the dialects of the Mutallat region. She describes such issues as anaptyctic vowels, presentative forms, personal pronouns, final *imāla*, pausal forms, lexical items etc. Meanwhile, Liesbeth Zack presents two theories on the origin of vowels in the pronominal suffixes after two consonants in Cairene Arabic. She uses grammars and textbooks from the 19th century, which cite two sets of such suffixes: *-aha*, *-ukum*, *-uhum*, and *-iha*, *-ikum*, *-ihum*. Then we move to Morocco with three articles. Mina Afkir, discusses zero-marked nouns and how to delimit depictive secondary predicates from adverbials in Moroccan Arabic. Peter Behnstedt, without doubt the most important dialect geographer of the Arabic language, describes his language atlas of Morocco. He discusses the circumstances that surrounded its rejection and opportunities offered by latest publications. The third text on Moroccan dialects, by Felipe Benjamin Francisco, is a short description of the current situation of the Jewish Arabic dialect of Essaouira, showing that the levelling process towards the Muslim dialect has not been completed, as linguistic characteristics specific to the Jewish dialect have been preserved. The first part of the book closes with three texts on the Maltese dialects of Gozo. Ruben Farrugia focuses on acoustic measurements and accounts for the quality of vowels present in the vowel systems of two dialects—Sannati and Naduri. Maciej Klimiuk deals with vowel length in Maltese and Gozitan dialects and postulates that in rural Gozitan dialects, it is phonetic, not phonological. In the last article, Maria Lipnicka focuses on pausal diphthongisation in Gozitan dialects, comparing this phenomenon with pausal forms in the Arabic dialect of Zaḥlé in Lebanon.

The second part of the book contains texts recorded in dialects and languages from the following towns, regions or countries: al-Ḥallāniya (Giuliano Castagna), Arabkhane and Khalaf (Volkan Bozkurt), Khuzestan (Bettina Leitner), Sarāb (Ulrich Seeger), Ṭaybe (Letizia Cerqueglini), Damascus (Maciej Klimiuk), Harran-Urfa (Stephan Procházka and İsmail Batan), il-Kāf (Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun), Essaouira (Felipe Benjamin Francisco), Mauritania (Peter Behnstedt and Ahmed-Salem Ould Mohamed-Baba), and Sannat (Maciej Klimiuk and Ruben Farrugia).

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Maciej Klimiuk
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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

JL	JOHNSTONE, THOMAS M. 1981. <i>Jibbali Lexicon</i> . London: Oxford University Press.	SD	the dialect of Sannat (Sannati), Gozo
A	Arabic	TMA	Traditional Muṭallat Arabic, Palestine
AFIC	Argument Flagging and Indexing Construction	WSA	Western Sudanic Arabic
CA	Classical Arabic	ZD	Zaḥlé dialect group, Lebanon
CB	Christian dialect of Baghdad	-	morpheme boundary
DOM	differential object marking	–	minus, without
GD	Gozitan dialects	+	plus, with
HA	Hocharabisch	∅	zero
JB	Jewish dialect of Baghdad (Jewish Baghdadi)	*	reconstructed form
KA	Klassisches Arabisch	⸮	external sandhi
KhA	Khuzestani Arabic	#	pausal form, in pausa
KM	Kuria Muria		pause
MA	Moroccan Arabic	1	first person
MB	Muslim dialect of Baghdad	2	second person
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic	3	third person
MSAL	Modern South Arabian languages	AGC	analytic genitive construction
ND	the dialect of Nadur (Naduri), Gozo	C	consonant
OA	Old Arabic	CIRC	circumstantial particle
P	Persian	COL	collective noun
SM	standard Maltese	CONJ	conjunction
		DEF	definite
		DEM	demonstrative
		DEM.DIST	distal demonstrative

DEM.PROX	proximal demonstrative	PAST	past tense
DLSTEM	doubled/lengthened verbal stem	PFV	perfective
F, f.	feminine	PL, pl.	plural
FUT	future particle	PRES	present tense
GEN	genitive marker	PRF	perfect
IMPRF	imperfect	PRN	pronoun
IND	indicative mood	PRON	pronominal suffix
INDEF	indefinite	PTCP.PASS	participle passive
IPFV	imperfective	REF	referential
<i>l-/llə-</i>	nominal/pronominal flag	S	speaker
M, m.	masculine	SG, sg.	singular
MD	modifier	SGC	synthetic genitive construction
N	noun	SUBJ	subjunctive mood
NEG	negation	Š2STEM	second causative/reflexive verbal stem
NP	noun phrase	T1STEM	first reflexive verbal stem
OBJ	object	V	vowel
PASS	passive		

Part I: Studies

Lexikalische Kreativität in den arabischen Dialekten: „blind“

ABSTRACT The notion ‘blind’ is commonly rendered into Arabic with *aṣmā*. Besides this omnipresent word, both in Classical and in the modern spoken Arabic, a number of other words are in use, such as *kafif*, *makfūf*, *ḍarīr*, *ḍaṣīf*, *ṣāgiz*, *maṣzūr*, *ṭasīs*, etc., see the WAD I map 69. Many of these developed from a euphemistic paraphrase consisting of a general term for deficiencies and defects combined with a specifying noun telling in which respect these deficiencies occur. The original euphemistic expressions consist of two items, but this number is reduced by ellipsis to one item only. This semantic pathway has been described in Blank-LB (282ff.) and Blank-LS (89, 105) and was termed lexical absorption. Another case is the word *ṭasīs*, which started as an expressive term reinforcing the meaning of *aṣma*, and the whole expression, too, underwent this lexical absorption, but in a different way. The present article tries to apply this concept of lexical absorption to these words meaning ‘blind’ in Arabic in some detail. Moreover, some loanwords are discussed briefly, as well as some cases of metonymic contiguity.

KEYWORDS semantic paths, euphemism, lexical absorption, ellipsis, expressivity, metonymic contiguity, Arabic dialectology

Für den Begriff „blind“ findet sich in den arabischen Dialekten nicht nur die bekannte und omnipräsente Bezeichnung *aṣma*,¹ sondern auch eine Reihe von Lexemen, die die Bedeutung „blind“ aus anderen Wurzeln entwickelt haben. Diese wurden, soweit uns damals bekannt, im *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte*, Band I auf Karte 69 vorgestellt

1 Nachgewiesen für Malta, Mauretanien, den Maghreb, Ägypten, den Sinai, den Negev, Palästina, Anatolien, Irak, Saudi-Arabien/Dōsiri, Baḥrayn, Golf-Gebiet, Oman, Jemen, Sudan, Tschad, Mali, Nigeria, Ki-Nubi (WAD I 196 f.). Gelegentlich findet man anstelle von *aṣma* auch eine partizipiale Neubildung zum Verb *ṣimi*, *yīṣma* nach dem Schema *CaCCān*, etwa äg., sud. *ṣamyān* (HB 603b; Hill 34, Ta-Pe 232b), Tschad *amyān* (Jull 147a), Juba *amiyān* (Smi-Am 8a). In anderen Fällen kommt es infolge der phonologischen Eigenheiten des betreffenden Dialekts zu leicht veränderten Formen, so etwa *iṣma* in Mittelägypten und ilBaḥariyya (Woi-MÄ 61; Drop-Woi 89), Salalah/Dhofar *ṣamiy* (FB), Irak/Baṣra *ṣama* (Mahdi 135).

und im Kommentar (S. 169 f.) kurz besprochen. Mit der neuerlichen Beschäftigung mit diesem Thema soll versucht werden, die hier wirksamen semantischen Prozesse weiter und etwas systematischer zu verfolgen.² Zu der dabei gebrauchten Terminologie siehe die Einleitung zu meinem Artikel mit dem Thema „back, buttocks“ in WZKM 108 (Woi-B).

Man kann *aṣmā* wohl als die orthophemistische Bezeichnung sehen, zu der sich andere gesellen, die unter Umständen mit leicht verschiedenen Nuancen der Bedeutung auftreten und in anderen Registern angesiedelt sind. Im älteren Arabischen der Form, wie sie uns im Klassischen (KA) überliefert ist, empfand man aber den direkten Gebrauch von *aṣmā* als grob und wenig rücksichtsvoll, was dazu motivierte, anstelle von *aṣmā* eine Anzahl von verhüllenden, euphemistischen Bezeichnungen zu gebrauchen (Fischer 426, 430f.).³ Der Weg zu einer neuen Bezeichnung führte hier über einen Euphemismus, als solche nennt Fischer (426, 430 f.) die Wörter *baṣīr*, *ḍarīr*, *makfūf/kafif*, *ḍaṣīf*, *ṣāgiz*, *maṣḍūr*. Diese finden wir auch in den heutigen Dialekten in teilweise abweichender Gestalt wieder.

Ein anderer Weg zu einem neuen Terminus ist geradezu gegenteiliger Art, denn Ausgangspunkt der Entwicklung ist nicht der Gebrauch von verhüllenden, sondern von expressiv steigernden Formulierungen. Einen solchen Fall glaube ich in liban. *ṭasīs* „blind“ gefunden zu haben, siehe unten.

In den heutigen Dialekten lassen sich im Wortfeld „blind“ neben *aṣma* zwei Gruppen von Wörtern unterscheiden, und zwar die genuin arabischen und die aus anderen Sprachen entlehnten. Das Augenmerk dieses Beitrags liegt auf der umfangreichen ersteren Gruppe von Wörtern, die auf verschiedenen Wegen eine semantische Veränderung erfahren und sich dem Wortfeld „blind“ angeschlossen haben. Weniger häufig sind dagegen die Entlehnungen aus dem Adstrat, das heißt den Sprachen, mit deren Sprechern Kontakt besteht und die hier in einer zweiten, kleineren Gruppe besprochen werden. Abschließend werden noch einige Zweifelsfälle kurz diskutiert.

1 Arabische Wurzeln

Wie einleitend erwähnt, liegt von den Wörtern, die neue Bezeichnungen im Wortfeld „blind“ darstellen, ein bedeutender Teil auch im klassischen Lexikon vor. Da es um dieselben semantischen Pfade geht, werden Ausdrücke, die sowohl im KA als auch in

2 Eine erste Version dieses Beitrags zum Thema „blind“ wurde auf dem EALL-Workshop „Arabic and Semitic Linguistics Contextualized“ der Universität Erlangen, 11.–12.04.2014, vorgetragen, sodann in einer etwas erweiterten Form bei AIDA 13 am 11.06.2019 in Kutaisi, Georgien.

3 Nicht nur Rücksichtnahme und Vermeidung von Affront sind hier anzuführen, sondern auch das Bedürfnis, durch Nichtnennung von Worten, die unerwünschte Ereignisse bezeichnen, deren Auftreten abzuwenden, apotropäische Zwecke also. Siehe Wetzstein (S. 312). Nicht umsonst beeilt man sich, bei der Erwähnung negativer Erscheinungen, vor denen man sich selbst oder die Angesprochenen bewahren möchte, Ausdrücke wie *ilbiṣīd*, *ilʔabṣad* hinterherzuschicken. Also erwähnt man sie besser gleich gar nicht, um nichts herbeizureden.

den Dialekten vorliegen, hier zusammen behandelt. Als Ausgangspunkt für die Entwicklung der Bedeutung „blind“ dienen hier die Redefiguren Paraphrase, Metapher und Antiphrasis, die gerade zu euphemistischen Zwecken häufig Anwendung finden. Was dabei konkret gesagt wird, entspricht zunächst nicht dem eigentlich Gemeinten, jedoch bleibt durch die Verbreitung und den wiederholten Gebrauch der Redefigur das Gemeinte zunehmend an der gewählten Formulierung haften.⁴ So wird das Gemeinte mit der Zeit habitualisiert und ins Lexikon übernommen, woraufhin, falls nötig, neue Metaphern oder Paraphrasen erdacht werden. Dies ist eine bekannte Erscheinung, für die sich die Bezeichnung „semantic tread-mill“ eingebürgert hat (Pinker).⁵

Ein Wort noch zu den hier verwendeten Begriffen der syntaktischen Kontiguität und der metonymischen Kontiguität, die hier verschiedentlich gebraucht werden. Kontiguität basiert „auf der physischen ‚Berührung‘ oder Nachbarschaft, zeitlichen Bezügen und allen Arten ‚logischer‘ Beziehungen“ (Blank-LS 33, 79, 152 a) und wird als Ausgangspunkt bestimmter semantischer Entwicklungspfade gesehen. So bestehen beispielsweise Paraphrasen aus einer Sequenz von mehreren Lexemen, und aufgrund deren syntaktischer Kontiguität kann eines dieser Lexeme das Gemeinte als Bedeutung übernehmen und so eine neue Bedeutung im Lexikon hinzugewinnen (lexikalische Absorption). Ein weiterer, nicht seltener Pfad basiert auf der metonymischen Kontiguität, die besagt, dass anstelle der direkten Bezeichnung ein im gleichen Wortfeld oder „frame“⁶ angesiedelter Begriff benutzt wird. Die beiden Pfade sollen anhand arabischer Beispiele im Folgenden näher besprochen werden.

1.1 Lexikalische Absorption

Grundlage der lexikalischen Absorption ist die syntaktische Kontiguität zweier Lexeme. In unserem Zusammenhang sind hier zwei Syntagmen zu nennen. Zunächst die uneigentliche Genitivverbindung mit einem Adjektiv als Regens, dessen Bezug durch ein Nomen eingeschränkt und spezifiziert wird (Genitiv der Spezifikation). Es geht dabei um eine Paraphrase, die euphemistischen Zwecken dient und die hier

4 Paul (§ 61 84 ff.) bezeichnet diesen Vorgang als „Übergang einer okkasionellen Bedeutung in das Usuelle.“

5 Mit den Worten von Blank-NM: „Euphemistic and expressive words are subject to a general tendency: their veiling and drastic-hyperbolic power weakens the more frequently they are used. [...] the expressivity or the euphemistic character totally wears away and new euphemisms or expressive words have to be created.“ (Blank-NM 82).

6 Ein „frame“ ist eine prototypische Situation oder ein prototypischer Handlungsablauf, wie er im mentalen Lexikon gespeichert ist (Blank-LS 54 ff.; Blank-LB 86 ff.). Er besteht aus einzelnen Elementen, die durch „das gemeinsame Auftreten bzw. die direkte Abfolge oder logische Aufeinanderbezogenheit“ gekennzeichnet sind (Blank-LS 56 f.). Durch das Auftreten eines Elements werden die anderen mit diesem assoziierten Elemente ins Gedächtnis gerufen.

exemplarisch unter *kafif*, *makfuf* behandelt wird. Sodann das Syntagma mit einem Adjektiv und darauffolgendem Attribut, das expressiven Zwecken dient, hier unter *tasīs* besprochen.

- *kafif*, *makfuf*. Diese Ableitungen von der Wurzel \sqrt{kff} in ihrer Bedeutung „abhalten, eindämmen, einschränken, hindern, zurückhalten“ sind über die gesamte arabophone Welt verteilt und liegen auch im KA vor:⁷

kafif Mauretanien *kfif* (FB); Marokko *kfif* (terme poli) (De Premare T. 10, 608), so auch zahlreich belegt in Behnstedts Fragebögen (Beh-EM); Algerien *kefif* (Beau 870b; Belka 44); Tunesien/Takrouna *kfif* („aveugle, employé avec une valeur semi-euphémistique“) (Març-T 3445); Libyen *kfif/akfif* (Griff 51); Ägypten *kafif* (HB 765a; NMÄ 2 BW-4 418b); Syrien *kafif* (Barth 722); Palästina *kafif* (plus allusif, délicat) (Elihai 57a); Saudi-Arabien/Dōsiri *čifif* (Kurz 285); Irak/Bašra *kafif* (Mahdi 71).

makfuf Ägypten *makfuf* (HB 765a); Sudan *makfuf* (Qāsim 848a) als *fušḥā-sūdānī* gekennzeichnet; Palästina *makfuf* (milder als *ašma*) (Bauer 62b), *makfuf* (plus allusif, délicat) (Elihai 57a).

kafif und *makfuf* gelten allgemein als die höflicheren und rücksichtsvolleren Bezeichnung und gehören damit einem höheren Register an als *ašma*. Was *kafif* im Äg., Syr., Pal. und in Bašra betrifft, so dürften diese der Schriftsprache entlehnt sein, da sonst ³*kifif/kfif/akfif/čifif* oder Ähnliches zu erwarten wären.⁸ Bei letzteren Formen handelt es sich wohl um länger bestehende Entlehnungen, die phonologische Weiterentwicklungen des Dialekts mitgemacht haben.⁹ Auch im KA dient die Wurzel \sqrt{kff} als Quelle für euphemistische Ausdrücke für „blind“, und *makfuf* wird mit *ašmā* gleichgesetzt (Lisān 3903c).

Was die semantische Seite angeht, so sieht diese Entwicklung auf den ersten Blick aus wie eine generalisierende Synekdoche (totum pro parte) mit dem Konzept „zurückgehalten, eingeschränkt sein“ als Quelldomäne, die einer Bedeutungsverengung unterliegt. Dies wäre aber nur eine Beschreibung des „was?“, also des Vorzustands (generell) und des Endzustands (speziell), aber keine Erklärung für das „wie“, nämlich die Art und Weise, wie die Bedeutungsverengung zustande kam.

⁷ Zu *mistakaff* „blind“ siehe unten.

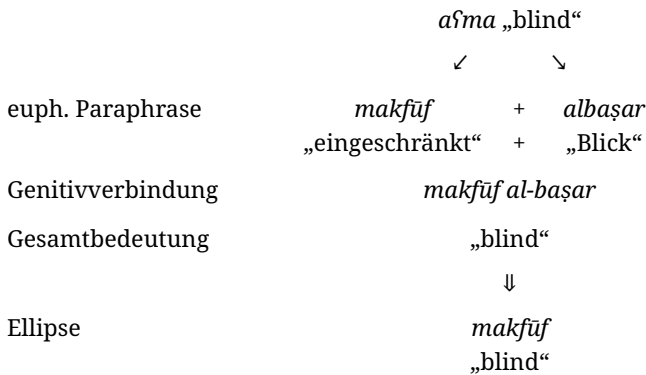
⁸ Dialekte wie das Mittelägyptische, in denen die Nominalform KaKik mit vortonigem /a/ erhalten ist, lassen einen solchen Schluss nicht zu, und die Frage, ob Entlehnung oder nicht, muss im Fall von *kafif* somit offenbleiben. Wenn in Bašra [k] „often inexplicably retained“ (Mahdi 71) und nicht [tʃ] geworden ist, dann weil es sich bei den angeführten Beispielen, darunter *kafif*, um rezentere Entlehnungen aus der Schriftsprache handelt.

⁹ In Grotzfeld (102 ff.) exemplarisch für das Damaszenische beschrieben.

Einen Weg zur Beantwortung der Frage nach dem „wie?“ bietet der Rückgriff auf das Konzept der lexikalischen Absorption mit nachfolgender Ellipse (Blank-LS 89, 105; Blank-LB 282 ff.). Zu Grunde liegt die euphemistische Paraphrase *kaffa* ~ *kuffa baṣaruḥu* „seine Sehkraft wurde behindert, zurückgehalten“ (Lisān 3903c; Bib-Kaz 909b) bzw. die daraus als uneigentliche Genitivverbindung gebildete Phrase *makfūf al-baṣar*¹⁰ „eingeschränkt hinsichtlich des Blickes“ (Lisān 3903c; Wehr-Kr 800b). *makfūf* „eingeschränkt“, syntaktisch gesehen das Regens dieser Genitivverbindung, ist direkt mit dem Genitivattribut *al-baṣar* „Blick“ verbunden, das semantisch gesehen den Fokus des Regens spezifiziert oder, wenn man so will, einengt auf den „Blick“ und damit auf das „Sehen“. Aufgrund der syntaktischen Kontiguität von „eingeschränkt, Blick“ ergibt sich für den Hörer „blind“ als Gesamtbedeutung der Phrase.

Wenn diese NP im Kontext mit und in Bezug auf Lebewesen, versehen mit Augen und damit über Sehkraft verfügend, gebraucht wird, liefert dieser Kontext einen Teil der semantischen Information „blicken, sehen“ mit. Das Attribut „Blick“ wird so in dieser komplexen NP redundant und Redundanz wird gerne beseitigt. Es kommt zu einer Vereinfachung der NP durch Ellipse des Attributs. Die Gesamtbedeutung der ursprünglich komplexen NP „blind“ bleibt so an *makfūf* hängen oder, wie (Blank-LS 89) es nennt, sie wird von *makfūf* als Regens der NP absorbiert und dieses dann in der neuen Bedeutung ins Lexikon übernommen (Blank-LB 282 ff.).

Schematisch dargestellt:



- *ḍarīr* findet sich im Palästinensischen (Bauer s. v. „blind“); auch in Ägypten als *ḍarīr* (HB 521b; BW-4 274b), ebenso im Sudan (Tam-Pe 232b; Hill 34; Wor 26), im Libanon (EM), in Saudi-Arabien/Mekka (FB); im Tschad als *darīr* (Jull 371a);

10 Für KA scheint in erster Linie *makfūf* belegt zu sein (*makfūf al-baṣar* = *ḍarīr*; Lisān 3903c). Zum Auftreten von *kaff* in späterem Arabisch siehe Fischer (431 Fn. 2). Der hier beschriebene Weg für *makfūf* zur Bedeutung „blind“ gilt ebenso für das gleichbedeutende *kaff*.

im Irak als *ḍarīr* (Woo-Bee 279a), desgleichen im Golf-Gebiet (Holes 310a), und in Ramalla (West-Bank, See-R 150,4). In Syrien gilt *ḍarīr* als „mot savant, terme euphémistique“ (Barth 458). Auch für Nordafrika ist es belegt, und zwar als „terme poli“ in der Form *ḍārēr* (Marokko, De Premare T. 8, 184) mit Überkompensierung des unbetonten kurzen Vokals in vortoniger Silbe, wodurch es sich als Entlehnung aus der Schriftsprache erweist. Letzteres gilt wohl auch, wenn man der Transkription trauen darf, für algerisch *ḍerīr* (Belka 44; Beau 588a), dessen vortoniger Vokal eigentlich elidiert sein sollte. Wahrscheinlich ist *ḍarīr* rezenter als *kafīf* übernommen worden, denn es findet sich – im Gegensatz zu *kafīf* und *baṣīr* – nirgends ein Beleg für eine Form mit Elision des vortonigen Vokals, das heißt für eine Form, die die phonologische Entwicklung eines Dialekts mitgemacht hätte.

Lane sieht *ḍarīr* auch im KA als Euphemismus und nennt es „a more respectful epithet than *aṣmā*“, mit der Bedeutung „blind; harmed by the loss of an eye, diseased“ (Lane 1777a). Der Zusammenhang mit der Basisbedeutung der Wurzel $\sqrt{ḍrr}$ „verletzt, beschädigt“ ist deutlich: „beschädigt hinsichtlich des Auges“, und die semantische Entwicklung dürfte dem gleichen Pfad gefolgt sein wie oben bei *makfūf/kafīf* beschrieben.

- *ṣāgiz* „blind“ in Cairo wird von I. Goldziher in seiner Besprechung von W. Spitta's Grammatik in ZDMG 35 (1881): 514–529, hier S. 528 angeführt; auch in älteren Quellen wie in Spiro 1895 als „old, infirm, blind, powerless“ (386a) und *ṣigiz bi ṣēnēh* als „he lost his sight“ (385), ebenso Spiro 1923 s. v. Es folgt dem gleichen semantischen Pfad der lexikalischen Absorption wie oben *kafīf*, zunächst eine euphemistische Metapher, sodann Ellipse des spezifizierenden Elements. Entsprechende Phrasen liegen im Ägyptischen vor, wie in dem Sprichwort: *ilḥazz-ī ṣāgiz naẓar* „das Schicksal ist blind“, wörtlich „... ist schwach an Sehkraft“. Im heutigen Ägyptischen bezieht sich *ṣāgiz* allerdings ohne Spezifizierung auf jedes physische oder psychische Defizit und bezeichnet „[an] incapacitated person (deaf, blind, crippled or otherwise afflicted)“ (HB 564a), insbesondere auch Altersschwäche.

Die Entwicklung von *ṣāgiz naẓar* „schwach an Sehkraft“ zu *ṣāgiz* „blind“ scheint also nicht abgeschlossen. Wie die vorliegenden Beispielsätze aus meiner Datenbank zeigen, benötigt die Lesart „blind“ einen passenden Kontext. Im ersten Beispiel sind zwei Interpretationen denkbar: *bafakkaṣ fi ummi ikminnaha ṣagza w ʔafda l-waḥdīha* „ich denke an meine Mutter, denn sie ist altersschwach und lebt allein“ oder „ich denke an meine Mutter, denn sie ist blind und lebt allein“ (Muš 83,1). Der folgende Satz suggeriert dagegen eher die Lesart „blind“, schließt aber „altersschwach“ nicht aus: *wi fiḍlit ṣammāti, waḥda minhum ṣagza wi ttanya šofha ṣala ʔaddaha* „es blieben meine Tanten übrig, die eine war blind (/altersschwach), und bei der anderen war die Sehkraft bescheiden“ (Mun 60,4). „Blind“ liegt dagegen nahe im folgenden Satz: *Umm-ī Sayyida lli kānit ṣagza ʔālit*

fi nafsaha ilbitt ilmalfūna btidḥak ṣalayya, ṭab tafāli hina warrini. Sayyida waṭṭit ṣalēha ʔāmit ilmaṣa lʕama daʕbisit fi sidraha „Umm Sayyida, die blind war, sagte sich: Das verdammte Mädchen will mich reinlegen. Gut, komm mal her, lass mich mal sehen! Sayyida beugte sich zu ihr hin, da begann die blinde Frau ihre Brust zu befummeln“ (Muš 13,3). Um eine eindeutige Verbindung mit dem Begriff „blind“ herzustellen, wird *ṣāgiz* mit *nazar* gebraucht wie in *ṣāgiz nazar* „blind“ oder mit *bi ṣēneh* wie in *ṣāgiz bi ṣēneh* (Spiro 1923)

- *ṣaḍīr* „blind“ in sudanesischen Dialekten (FB il-ʔubayyid; Qāsim 654b) geht zurück auf die Wurzel $\sqrt{\text{ṣḍr}}$ „entschuldigen, vergeben“, so auch *ṣaḍīr* „handicapped“ (Per-Tam 17a). Auch hier wird man von dieser sehr allgemeinen Bedeutung „entschuldigbar“ ausgehen müssen, die in verschiedenen Kontexten mit einer entsprechenden Spezifizierung als euphemistische Paraphrase eingesetzt wird. Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass die semantische Entwicklung von sud. *ṣaḍīr* „blind“ ähnlich verlaufen ist wie bei obigem *makfūf al-bašar*. Es überrascht auch nicht, dass in anderen Dialekten die Wurzel $\sqrt{\text{ṣḍr}}$ zu anderen Bedeutungen kommt. Äg. *maṣzūr* etwa bedeutet „mentally deficient, touched, feeble-minded“ (HB 575a), sowie „arm, in Not“ (Woidich EM), vgl. auch *ṣuzr* in Dakhla „Bedürftigkeit, Notfall“ wie in *nišīlu li lṣuzr* „wir heben das auf für den Notfall“ (Woidich EM).
- *ṭasīs* „aveugle“ ist im Libanon synonym zu *ašma* (Chak-Mil 71b), auch *ṭsīs* = *al-šamā* (Frayḥa 112b). Syrisch *ṭasīs* wird als „schwachsichtig“ = *al-ʔibšār aḍ-dašif* (Yāsīn 977) erklärt und dort als Infinitiv des Verbs *ṭass*, *ṭuss* = *ʔabšara qalīlan* „schwach sehen“ analysiert und könnte so zu den Fällen der metonymischen Kontiguität gezählt werden. Im Jemen gibt es *ṭasīs* als „blindness“ (Pia 304a) sowie als „Dunkelheit“ (Beh 775).

Für Syrien ist das Verb *ṭašš*, *ṭəšš* „voir“ (Barth 478) bzw. *ṭašš* „to see“ (Hava 432b; Lewin 217a¹¹) belegt, allerdings nur in Verbindung mit einer Negation. Man ist daher zunächst versucht, die Bedeutung von *ṭasīs* „blind“ auf Antiphrasis zurückzuführen,¹² was eine Parallele zu *bašīr* (siehe unten) wäre.

Es ist aber auch ein anderer Entwicklungspfad denkbar, für den die expressive Phrase *ašma ṭasīs* = *šadīd al-šamā* Yāsīn (977), also etwa „stockblind“, einen Anhaltspunkt liefert. Eine Ausgangsbedeutung „schwachsichtig“ für *ṭasīs* ergibt hier wenig Sinn. Yāsīn führt *ṭasīs* hier auf ein altsyrisches *tsiço* zurück, das er mit arab. *mušaffaḥ* „gepanzert, mit (Metall-)platten verkleidet“ (Wehr-Kr 522b) übersetzt. *tsiço* enthält das Zeichen {ç}, das in der Transkriptionsliste (Yāsīn 5) fehlt. Man

11 Beide Beispiele dort mit Negation: *ma ṭasset* „... hatte sie nicht sehen können“ (Lewin 106,6), *ma bṭass ṭarīʔi* „ich sehe den Weg nicht“ (Lewin 150,-1). Zu *ṭass* „sehen“ siehe ferner WAD III Karte 362b und den dazugehörigen Kommentar.

12 Bei /s/ in *ṭašš* gegenüber /s/ in *ṭasīs* handelt es sich lediglich um eine Notationsvariante, die Wurzel ist in beiden Fällen $\sqrt{\text{ṭss}}$.

kann es als altsyr. *ṭsīsō* interpretieren, das in den Wörterbüchern selbst nicht zu finden ist, wohl aber die Wurzel $\sqrt{\text{ṭss}}$, die im II. Stamm ein *ṭasses* „metallum in bracteas tutudit, laminis textit“ bildet (Brock-LS 136b)¹³, passiv als *ethpaʿṣal* „to be beaten into thin plates“ (Pa-Sm 177b). Die Wurzel scheint also mit „schlagen, stoßen, pressen“ zu tun zu haben, was mit „blind“ zusammenhängen könnte, siehe unten. Es bliebe aber auffällig, dass /s/ einmal mit {s} und einmal mit {ç} transliteriert wird, was doch auf zwei verschiedene Laute hindeutet. Aber muss hier das Altsyrische bemüht werden?

Auf den Begriff „schlagen, stoßen etc.“ bringen uns nämlich auch die idiomatischen Ausdrücke, die al-Barġūṭī¹⁴ in seinem Wörterbuch des Palästinensischen Arabisch verzeichnet (Barġ s. v. *ṭss*), und die zeigen, wie sich der Begriff „schlagen, stoßen“ (*ṭass*)¹⁵ mit den Begriffen „Blindheit“, „Auge“ verbindet: *ṣama yṭussak* „Blindheit soll dich schlagen!“,¹⁶ *ṭassasit ilʿēn = ramidat ramadan šadīdan* „es hat sich stark entzündet“. Ähnlich äg. *yittass fi nazaru* „may he be struck blind!“, *ittassēt fi nazarak?* „have you been blinded?“ (HB 539b). Man kann daher *aṣma ṭasis* als *aṣma* „blind“, versehen mit einem Intensifier *ṭasis* „geschlagen, gestoßen“ auffassen, also etwa als „durch Blindheit geschlagen“. Syntaktisch entspricht dies Phrasen wie äg. *sakṛān ṭīna* „stockbesoffen“, *ṣiryān malṭ* „splitternackt“, also einem Adjektiv mit einem folgenden Substantiv als Intensifier. Der Beweggrund zur Bildung solcher Phrasen ist hier nicht euphemistischer, sondern expressiver Art, sie dienen der Verstärkung des semantischen Inhalts des Adjektivs. Wie bei der oben angeführten Form der lexikalischen Absorption übernimmt die gesamte Phrase diese intensivierte Bedeutung, das heißt der Begriff „blind“ geht von *ṣama* auch auf *ṭasis* über. Es ist der gleiche Vorgang, den Blank „Absorption ins Determinans“ nennt (Blank-LS 90, 105), nur dass es hier nicht um ein Determinans, sondern um einen Intensifier geht. Expressive Phrasen dieser Art nützen sich in der „semantischen Treitmühle“ gleichermaßen wie Euphemismen ab und es kommt zu dem semantisch einfachen Konzept „blind“. Der syntaktisch komplexen Phrase steht semantisch ein einfaches Konzept gegenüber, was Anlass gibt, die syntaktische Komplexität durch Ellipse von *ṣama* zu beseitigen. So bleibt *ṭasis* als „blind“ übrig.¹⁷

13 Mit Dank an Werner Diem für diesen Hinweis.

14 Mit Dank an Ulrich Seeger für den Hinweis auf Barġūṭīs Wörterbuch.

15 Auch im Libanesischen „frapper, cogner“ (Chak-Mil 378b im arab.-franz. Teil).

16 Vgl. auch die deutschen und englischen Phrasen „mit Blindheit geschlagen/struck by blindness.“

17 Eine Parallele dazu bietet das äg. *ṣiryān malṭ* „stark naked“ und *malṭ* „bare, naked“ (HB 852a). Ein Beispiel aus dem Deutschen: das *Weizenbier* wird so vereinfacht zu *Weizen* (Blank-LS 90). Niederländisch *knettergek* „total verrückt“ wird umgangssprachlich zu *knetter*.

1.2 Redefiguren: Antiphrase und Metapher

- *baṣīr* kann im KA, neben seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung „sehend, scharfsichtig“, auch als „an epithet applied to ‚A blind man‘...“ gebraucht werden (Lane 211b; auch Lisān 291c,2 f.). Auch der Prophet soll *baṣīr* auf diese Weise verwendet haben (Fischer 426 ff.). Fischer sieht hierin zu Recht die rhetorische Figur (Trope) der Antiphrasis,¹⁸ die aus euphemistischen Gründen eingesetzt wird.

Wir finden *baṣīr* insbesondere im Maghreb als *bṣīr/bṣēr*, das dort als euphemistisch gilt (De Premare T. 1, 243; Agu 277). Es ist ferner nachgewiesen für Libyen/Tripoli (FB; Stu-TR 290; Per-TR 171). In Tunesien/Sousse findet sich *bṣīr* (Talmudi 40, 114); in Algerien *bṣīr* „aveugle, borgne, qui ne voit pas clair“ (Beau 57a); in Marokko *bṣīr* (Har-Sob 12b, 22b; Agu-Ben 210b), bei den Zaër „on préfère l’euphémisme *bṣyr*“ (Loub 502b s. v. *aṣma*); in Casablanca *bṣīr* (FB); im Ḥassaniyya *baṣīr* „aveugle, qui ne voit pas clair“ (Tai-Chei 27b). Fischer hatte seinerzeit nur Belege aus Nordafrika zur Verfügung und schreibt: „In den heutigen arabischen Dialekten des Ostens ist dagegen die antiphrastische Verwendung von *baṣīr* m. W. noch nicht nachgewiesen worden.“ (Fischer 434,27). Hundert Jahre später hat sich unsere Datenbasis sehr erweitert und *baṣīr* „blind“ lässt sich auch für den Iraq/Baghdad (Woo-Bee 36a), für Golf-Arabisch (Qaf 45a) sowie für den Libanon (Chak-Mil 71b) nachweisen. Allerdings ist nicht auszuschließen, dass es sich dabei um Entlehnungen aus der Schriftsprache handelt, wenn auch die Bedeutung „blind“ für *baṣīr* sich nicht in Wehr-Kr findet.¹⁹ Quellen für andere Regionen melden *baṣīr* nur als „voyant, clairvoyant“, etwa für Syrien (Barth 46). Im Algerischen Arabisch (Algier, Tlemsen, Constantine) bezeichnet *baṣīr* auch den Einäugigen (Març-E 433; Beau 57a).

- *abu munduru*
abu munduru „seeing in daytime, not at night“ (= nachtblind),²⁰ belegt in Bornu (Lethem s. v. „blind“), ansonsten nicht belegt, könnte zur Wurzel \sqrt{ndr} (= **nḍr*) „sehen“ gebildet sein und seine Bedeutung durch Antiphrasis bekommen haben.
- *mistakaff*
Das Wort *mistakaff* für „blind“ ist im Oberägyptischen belegt (OÄ3): *wu baṣadēn min sū? ḥazza inni kānat ḡaddata diyya mistakaffa* „Es gehörte zu seinem Unglück,

18 Siehe Fischer (428 f.). Weitere Beispiele zur Antiphrasis finden sich in Farghal (71a), darunter *muṣāfā* „healthy“ für *marīd* „sick“, das an das äg. Idiom *huwwa b ṣafya ṣwayya* „er ist schwer krank“ erinnert, gebildet mit *ṣafya* „Gesundheit, Stärke, Robustheit“. Beispiele aus dem Libyschen sind *al-byād* „das Weiße“ für „Kohle“, *salīm* „gesund“ für giftige Tiere wie Schlangen und Skorpione (Nataf 326), zu letzterem siehe auch Fischer (428 Fn. 1) und Wetzstein (312).

19 Der Form nach Schriftarabisch in *maskīn baṣīr b-ṣyūna ttintēn* „Poor man. He is blind in both eyes“ (Qaf 45a), und *l-miskīn baṣīr bil-ṣentēn* „The poor man’s blind in both eyes“ (Woo-Bee 36a). Im Dialekt wäre eine Elision des Kurzvokals zu erwarten.

20 Nicht in Jull.

dass seine Großmutter blind war.“ (Woi-H 235,12). Das KA Verb *istakaffa* „die Augen mit der Hand beschatten“ (Lisān 3903a; Bib-Kazi 909b; Wehr-Kr 800a) gehört zu *kaff* „Handfläche“ und ist als „seine Handfläche gegen die Augen legen, um sie vor der Sonne zu schützen“ zu verstehen, was die Sicht in gewisser Weise einschränkt. Diese Ausdrucksweise wurde als euphemistische Metapher für „blind“ benutzt, wie das obige Beispiel zeigt. Man vergleiche mittelarabisches *maḡḡūb* „verschleiert“ für „Blinder“ (Naam 490; Lane 516c [nach Ṣiḡḡāḥ I 107b,-5 *al-maḡḡūb* = *aḏ-ḏarīr*]), dort als „understatement“ aufgefasst.

1.3 Metonymische Kontiguität

Einen weiteren Pfad zu einem Bedeutungswandel stellt die metonymische Kontiguität dar. Eine Bezeichnung kann die Bedeutung einer anderen Bezeichnung bekommen, wenn beide im selben Feld / „frame“ stehen und auf Grund unseres Weltwissens ein Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden erkennbar ist, wie dies bei verschiedenen visuellen Defekten der Fall ist. So können Bezeichnungen für solche Defekte für „blind“ eintreten, zunächst zu euphemistisch umschreibenden, nur andeutenden Zwecken. Dabei ist es dem Hörer überlassen, die Schlussfolgerung zu ziehen, dass „blind“ gemeint ist, was dieser auf Grund seines Weltwissens auch tut. Diese Interpretation wird bei größerer Frequenz des Gebrauchs der Metapher habitualisiert und lexikalisiert. Beispiele dafür finden sich auch in den arabischen Dialekten:

– *aḡwal*

Algerisch {ahoul} = *aḡwal* „aveugle“²¹ (Bussy 75,3; 302,4), normalerweise „schielend“ neben {ââma} = *aḡma* (Bussy 75,2). Vgl. unten Chaouen *ḡwar* „bizco, ciego“ „schielend“ und „blind“ (Mosc 367), eigentlich „einäugig“.²²

– *ḡamaš*

Oman/Bahlā *ḡamaš* „blind“ (Internetbeleg)²³, das sich zu KA *ḡamaš* „bad eyesight (because of hunger and thirst)“ (Lisān 3298b), MSA „Ambliopie, Schwachsichtigkeit“ stellen lässt, vgl. Hadramaut {ḡmš} „troubler les yeux“ (Lan-H 453, 671), und äg. *aḡmaš* „purbblind, dim-sighted“ (HB).

21 Allerdings *ḡwel* „loucheon, personne qui louche“ (Madouni 146b), ebenso (Beau 255b; Beau-S 67a) und auch marokk. nur als „louche“ belegt.

22 Die Interpretation als „blind“ (WAD I 196c) von anatolischem (Hasköy) *ḡawle* „schielend f.“ (Talay Text 1.2.4, 57,9 und passim), das dort neben *köre* „blind“ (= türk. *kör*) gebraucht wird, betrachte ich inzwischen als zweifelhaft. Die Übersetzung mit „schielend“ ist korrekt und es besteht vom Kontext her keine Notwendigkeit, die Bedeutung „blind“ zu unterstellen.

23 Sablat ḡUmān, <https://avb.s-oman.net/showthread.php?t=1216751&page=21> (Zugriff am 01.06.2020 und 05.08.2021), dort das epexegetische *w ana ḡamaš mā bašuf*, „ich bin blind und sehe nicht“.

– *aṭmaš*

Zu *aṭmaš* in Riḡāl Almaṣ/Saudi-Arabia (FB) vgl. liban. *ṭammaš* „ignorer, fermer les yeux“ (Chak-Mil 382b; Barth 486), „die Augen verbinden“ (Frayḡa 114b). Ferner gehören hierher wohl KA *ṭamasa* „to loose the glance, lustre, brightness (eye, glance)“ (Hava 438b), *maṭmūs/ṭamīs* „a blind man“ und *ṣaynun ṭāmisun* „an eye of which the sight is going or gone“ (Lane 1881b),²⁴ *ṭamasa* = *dahaba bašaruḡu* (Lisān 2704a), kontaminiert mit den Wurzeln $\sqrt{gmš}$ oder $\sqrt{smš}$; vgl. noch syro-lib. *ṭoms* „ce qui se ne voit pas, ce qui est caché“ (Deni 334). All dies sind Bezeichnungen aus dem Feld „visuelle Defekte“, die man als Euphemismus für „blind“ einsetzen kann.

– *aṣwar*

In diesem Zusammenhang sind auch Bezeichnungen für „einäugig“ wie *aṣwar* anzuführen, das KA nur „blind on one eye; one-eyed“ (Lane 2195b) bedeutet. In den Dialekten ist dies zwar im Allgemeinen auch nur als „einäugig“ belegt, etwa für Zaēr *ṣwaṣ* „borgne“ (Loub 504b), äg. *aṣwar* etc., es findet sich aber in Marokko mancherorts (Bni Yazḡa) als „aveugle (= *ṣma, bṣēr*)“ (De Premare T. 9, 284), *ṣwaṣ* „borgne, aveugle“ (COL Bd. 5 1347), dagegen Chaouen *ṣwar* „bizco, ciego“ (Mosc 367) also „schielend“ und „blind“. Gleiches gilt für Algerien: in Djidjelli (Marḡ-Dj 348, 351), Oran (FB) und Tlemcen (FB) bedeutet *aṣwar* „einäugig“ und „blind“, und auch in einem Sprachführer findet sich *ṣwer* s. v. „aveugle“ und „borgne“ (ALP 153b, 154b). Auch im Sinai finden wir das Substantiv *ṣawārah* „blindness; one-eyedness“ (Stewart 201b).

Dagegen wird für den Oman *aṣwar* allein als „blind“ angegeben: *ṣewar* (Reinhardt 63), *ṣowar* (Reinhardt 8), *aṣwar* (Brockett 163), *ṣawār* (Davey 253), eigenartigerweise bei letzterem dazu *ṣawar/ṣawār* „one-eyed“ mit /ʔ/. Auch in Zypern/Kormakiti findet sich *āṣavar* „blind“ (Borg 348), dort wird auch innerhalb des semitischen Kontexts auf altsyr. *ṣawīr* und *ṣōr* „blind“ (Nöldeke I 33) hingewiesen, siehe auch noch *ṣwārā* „caecus“ (Brock-LS s. v.).²⁵ Die Frage stellt sich, ob *aṣwar* „blind“ aus „einäugig“ im Oman auf metonymische Kontiguität zurückgeht oder einem aramäischen Hintergrund zugeschrieben werden kann.

Es scheint, dass im anatolischen Mardin kein Unterschied zwischen „blind“ and „einäugig“ gemacht wird, denn dort kommt *aṣme* als „borgne“ und „aveugle“ vor (Grigore 78). Abgesehen von Oman und Zypern/Kormakiti zeigt die Karte 69 „blind“ im WAD I keine Region, in der *ṣwar* im Sinne von „blind (auf beiden Augen)“ *aṣma* vollständig und unter Verlust der Bedeutung „einäugig“ ersetzt hätte.

24 Innerhalb des KA zeigt *ṭamasa* „become effaced, or obliterated“ (Lane 1880c) den gleichen semantischen Pfad wie \sqrt{drr} , siehe oben. Die Quelldomäne ist auch hier „Schaden, Mangel“.

25 Vgl. dazu in der heutigen Schriftsprache: *al-maṣy al-ṣawar* für „Blinddarm“ (Wehr-Kr 652b), nicht „einäugiger Darm“.

2 Entlehnungen

Wie viele Sprachgemeinschaften verfügt auch die arabische über einen einfachen Weg, abwertende oder als zu grob empfundene Bezeichnungen zu vermeiden, indem sie in einem höheren Register, etwa der Schriftsprache, zugehörige Äquivalente an deren Stelle setzen und sie als Euphemismus verwenden. Derartiges ist nichts Ungewöhnliches und lässt sich mit dem Gebrauch lateinischer oder griechischer Termini in Sprachen der westlichen Kultur vergleichen. In gleicher Weise können auch in den heute gesprochenen Dialekten, wenn *ašma* als zu direkt und unpassend angesehen wird, dafür *kafīf*, *makfūf*, *ḍarīr*, *bašīr* eintreten, als offensichtliche Entlehnungen aus der Schriftsprache, siehe oben.²⁶

Auch Entlehnungen aus anderen, als prestigeträchtig erachteten Sprachen können auf diese Weise gebraucht werden; ein wohl in allen Sprachgemeinschaften übliches Verfahren. Der WAD I (Karte 69) meldet hier für „blind“ nur zwei Fälle, bei denen offensichtlich eine Entlehnung vorliegt: das in den Fragebögen zu Nordmarokko genannte *twērta* „blind“ (FB), das auf das spanische *tuerto* „einäugig“ zurückgeht, sowie *kōr* „blind“ in Anatolien/Hasköy (Talay 57,9), worin unschwer das gleichbedeutende türkische *kōr* zu erkennen ist. Die Frage, ob solche Entlehnungen orthophemistisch gebraucht werden, also *ašma* oder ein anderes Wort ersetzt haben, oder als Euphemismus, der bei der Abfrage durch den Explorator der Höflichkeit halber angegeben wurde, bleibt zu klären.

Abschließend sei hier noch auf das Wort *muṭallim* „blind“ der Geheimsprache der ägyptischen Ḥalabi hingewiesen, das zur aramäischen Wurzel $\sqrt{t}lm$ „dunkel sein“ gestellt wird, sowie auf *ṭalīm* „blind“ bei Šāfi d-Dīn V. 57 (Šāfi d-Dīn al-Ḥillī, Banū Sāsān), beides nach Wolfer 96 (dort zitiert n. Vyc 225).

3 Zweifelhafte Fälle

- *aṭwal* Naǧdi wird mit الاعمي „der Blinde“ sowie mit *ibšīr* und *ḍarīr* gleichgesetzt (Najdi Arabic Dictionary).²⁷ Es sollte beiseite gelassen werden, bis die Bedeutung „blind“ besser belegt ist. Im Allgemeinen wird *aṭwal* mit *ǧabi* „dumm“ wiedergegeben, im

26 Manche Wörterbücher und Glossare verzeichnen den euphemistischen Charakter dieser Entlehnungen ausdrücklich, etwa wenn L. Bauer für das Palästinensische *ḍarīr* und *makfūf* als „milder als *ašma*“ angibt (Bauer s. v. „blind“), auch Elihai s. v. „aveugle“. Ähnliche Bemerkungen finden sich auch in Wörterbüchern anderer Dialekte. Dies heißt nicht, dass *ašma* verschwunden ist, es wird nach wie vor gebraucht, aber eben als direkte, und daher weniger rücksichtsvolle Bezeichnung, deren direkte Nennung auch gefährlich sein könnte, siehe Fn. 3.

27 Najdi Arabic Dictionary. <https://en.mo3jam.com/term/الاول/#dialect/Najdi> (Zugriff am 05.08.2021). Aus dem dort angedeuteten Kontext ist nicht zwangsläufig zu schließen, dass die Bedeutung „blind“ vorliegt, denn „konfus, durcheinander, unaufmerksam“ wären genauso denkbar wie eingängig: *wa tuṭlaqu ḥāḍihi l-kalimatu šalā š-šaxši llaḍi yarā maṭalan ?anta tašmilu šay?an wa waqaša minka fa yuqālu laka hal ?anta ?aṭwal?*

Irak mit „confuse, scatter-minded“ (Woo-Bee s. v.), so auch im KA (Lane 365c). Vgl. auch *تَوَلَّى* *tawlā* „vieille femme décrépite un peu tocquée“ in der Daṭīna (Lan-D 256).

- *ḥāfḍ*, *ḥāfḥ* (Voc-Wal 119) in Anatolien nach Jas-QD 130,2 (Qarṭmīn), 204,18 (Azəx). Die Interpretation als „Blinder“ ist im dortigen Kontext nicht zwingend, „Koranrezitator“ wäre genauso denkbar. Koranrezitatoren sind sehr oft Blinde, die sich damit den Lebensunterhalt verdienen.
- *akmah* ist neben *ḍarīr* für Baḥrayn belegt (Holes 310a, 466b). Für Ägypten wird *akmah* zwar zusammen mit *asma*, *ṣamyān* und *ḍarīr* s. v. „aveugle“ angeführt (Boctor 93b), doch erscheint dies zweifelhaft. Eher dürfte hier eine Entlehnung aus dem KA vorliegen. Im KA bezeichnet *akmah* „blind, blindgeboren (auch nachtblind)“ (WKAS 367b). Im Lisān findet sich *kamiha baṣaruhu* und *kamihati ššamsu ʔiḍā ʔalathā ḡubratun fa ʔaḏlamat kamā tuḏlimu lṣaynu ʔiḍā ʔalathu ḡubratu lṣamā* „die Sonne wurde verdunkelt: wenn Staub sie verdeckt und sie verdunkelt wird, wie das Auge verdunkelt wird, wenn der Staub der Blindheit es bedeckt“ (Lisān 3934c). Hier ist „bedeckt sein, verdunkelt werden“ der Ausgangspunkt. Es handelt sich um eine Metapher und erinnert an *mistakaff*, siehe oben.

Auch der umgekehrte Vorgang wäre für das KA vorstellbar: Ein ursprüngliches *kamiha*, *yakmahu* „erblinden“ könnte auch metaphorisch gebraucht werden, wenn die Sonne vom Staub verdunkelt wird. Ob sich solche semantischen Entwicklungen in Baḥrayn wirklich so vollzogen haben oder ob es sich um eine Entlehnung aus dem KA handelt, muss hier offen bleiben, da die Wurzel weiter nicht belegt ist. Auch ein aramäisches Erbe wäre denkbar, vgl. dazu altsyr. *kamhā* „caecus“ (Brock-LS s. v.).

- *līsa* „Blinder“ ist außer bei den Šukriyya-Beduinen im Sudan (Reich 132) nirgends belegt. Auf den ersten Blick ist es zur Wurzel \sqrt{lys} und zu *layyas* zu stellen, was im Sudanesischen „jem. Schaden zufügen“ bedeuten kann und mit *ʔaṣābahu bi ḍarar ʔaw ḡarāma* (Qāsim 906a) glossiert steht. Davon ausgehend würde man auch den öfters belegten Pfad „geschädigt“ > „blind“ annehmen können. Andererseits ist für *layyas* auch die Bedeutung „to plaster“ belegt (Tam-Pe 127b), ähnlich äg. „to stop up or seal up (with mud)“ (HB 807a), was ebenfalls als Quelldomäne vorstellbar ist, aus der sich die Bedeutung „blind“ über eine metaphorische Verwendung ergeben haben kann. Ebenfalls denkbar ist die Wurzel $\sqrt{lwṣ}$ als Ausgangspunkt, die ein Verb *lāṣa* oder *lāwaṣa* „(durch die Türritze od. ein Loch) spähen“ (Wehr-Kr 844b), *lāwaṣa* „to look intently on“ (Hava) bildet,²⁸ so dass eine Antiphrasis vorliegen könnte. Die Wurzel $\sqrt{lwṣ}$ ist allerdings für sudanesisches und tschadisches Arabisch nicht in dieser Bedeutung belegt.

28 /s/ für /ṣ/ in *līsa* erklärt sich dann durch Einfluss des vorangehenden /ī/.

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- NMÄ 2 Nördliches Mittelägypten: Fay (ilFayyūm)

- NP Nominalphrase
- OÄ 3 Oberägypten: (Bṣēri, von Theben bis Esna)
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An Overview of al-Ḥallānīya Place Names

ABSTRACT This paper presents a selection of 30 place names of the island of al-Ḥallānīya in the Kuria Muria archipelago. These data have been obtained by means of elicitation during a semi-structured interview with one of the most prominent elders of the island. Firstly, the scant historical data on the toponomastics of the islands are presented. Subsequently, 25 out of the 30 items are analysed both grammatically and etymologically, and a tentative English translation is provided for each of the analysed place names.

KEYWORDS Modern South Arabian, Kuria Muria, Hallaniyat islands, Jibbali, Shehret, field research

The toponomastics of al-Ḥallānīya, the only inhabited island in the Kuria Muria¹ archipelago (officially known as Ġuzur al-Ḥallānīyāt), is a field which received possibly less attention than the understudied Jibbali/Shehret dialect spoken by the islanders. Indeed, there are records of a good deal of speculation about the origin of the toponym Kuria Muria (Buckingham 1830),² as well as that of the other names by which the archipelago has been known: Zenobian islands in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (Schoff 1912: 34), Male and Female islands in Marco Polo's *Milione*

1 Arabic spelling kūrīyā mūrīyā. Also spelt kūrīyān mūrīyān, xūrīyā mūrīyā and xūrīyān mūrīyān.

2 'By Kurian-Murian would be meant the islands of Kurian and others around it: as it is common in Arabic, Persian and Hindoostanee, when speaking of several things of the same or a similar kind, to add a word exactly like the name of the thing expressed, except it always begins with an M, as Bundoock-Mundoock, for musket and all accoutrements thereto belonging; Barsun-Marsun, for plates and dishes, and all the other tableware' (Buckingham 1830: 434). It can be added here that this figure of speech, akin to paronomasia, is also commonly found in the languages of the Mediterranean-Balkan area. The following examples have been collected by the present author: Turkish *saç maç* 'hair and the like,' Bulgarian *водки модки* 'vodka and other liquors,' Italian *'cazzi e mazzi* 'various things' or 'various annoyances.'

(Cliff 2015: 283–284). In addition to that, Pliny the elder, in his *Naturalis Historia* lists a great number of islands in southern Arabia and provides the names by which they were known to him: among these, we find a few islands that match the position and physical characteristics of the Kuria Muria islands, such as Chelonitis, Deuadae and Dolicae (Holland 1847 VI: 149). In spite of this, no mention of internal place names of the archipelago can be found in the published literature.

The data presented here proceed from a fieldwork session carried out in April 2017 with a Jibbali/shehret speaker from al-Ḥallānīya, who also provided the text published in this volume (Castagna 2022: 245–253). During a semi-structured interview, the conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee was steered by the interviewer towards the names of specific places in al-Ḥallānīya, which were subsequently elicited with the aid of a physical map of the island. Unfortunately, it was seldom possible to determine the precise location of the places named by the informant, due to his unfamiliarity with maps. However, the place names presented in this paper have been double-checked and confirmed by another collaborator of the present author, who has tribal ties to the island and is considerably more familiar with maps.

The above-mentioned fieldwork session yielded 30 place names, which are listed in Table 1.

The present paper aims at carrying out an etymological analysis of the lexical items which make up the place names and, for the sake of clarity, providing a translation of their meaning. The tentative results thus obtained serve as the means of elaborating on the phonological, morphological and lexical peculiarities of Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret encountered, in contrast to mainland varieties.

Firstly, it must be pointed out that al-Ḥallānīya is colloquially referred to as *e-gizírt ſamkés ayó* ‘the island where people are’ by its inhabitants. This probably speaks to the fact that the island in question has been the only inhabited one in the archipelago

TABLE 1. Al-Ḥallānīya place names.

1	xīzót ē-zǧar	11	e-nhúr e-rḥót	21	xīzót ē-ǧafēnót
2	xīzót ē-ǧet	12	rēš eb	22	ḥār īnhít
3	xīzót ē-ger ^a béb	13	rēš ē-gemǧút	23	Rəhúr ē-ḥaṭót
4	xīzót ēḥált	14	rēš məḥábət	24	rēš ē-ktennitə
5	xīzót ē-sáʿaf	15	śaḥāṭót	25	ǧót āśáʿf
6	xīzét et-tōḥ	16	xīzét ṭaḥlún	26	xīzét ēl-lennót
7	ḥār ēk-keddót	17	xīzét mištót	27	xīzét ē-tardót
8	ḥār axléf ~ aḥléf	18	xīzét oḥūr	28	ḥār ē-sizōḥ
9	ǧadét aǧyót	19	fǧká ē-zǧif	29	ḥār ē-delatí
10	nəhúr hendí	20	xīzét āśré ~ ātré	30	nhúr e-delatí

for a rather long time. Secondly, not all the place names collected are of interest: one of the names islanders use for the main settlement, *maḥāl*, is clearly an Arabic loan-word (*maḥall* ‘place, location’).

Most of the place names above contain fixed elements: *ḥēr* ~ *ḥār* ‘mountain, hill’ (JL: 111), *n(a)hūr* ‘river, wadi,’ probably ultimately akin to Arabic *nahr*,³ *ḡadēt* ‘depression on a mountain’ (JL: 83), *ḡōt* ‘deep hole, depression’ (JL: 80), *reš* ‘head’⁴ (JL: 201), *fōká* ‘rain pool’ (JL: 55), *ḡayn al-māʔ aḡ-ḡaḥla aš-šaḥīḥa al-miyāḥ* ‘a shallow and scarce watering place’ (MLZ: 713). As for *xīzēt* ~ *xīzót*, it is a term that in spoken Jibbali/Shehret tends to be used to signify ‘place,’ although this seems to be a recent development, as *Jibbali Lexicon* does not mention it⁵ and the *Muṣṣam lisān Ḥufār* (MLZ: 307) defines it as *al-xaliḡ aš-šaḡūr*; *aš-šaḡīʔiʔ ar-ramlī al-wāqīʔ bayn ḡabalayn/minṭaqatayn* ‘a small inlet; a sandy beach located between two mountains/areas.’ The two variants may be either singular/plural, or diminutive/non-diminutive respectively. The variant *xīzót* fits into the feminine diminutive pattern (Johnstone 1973: 99; Dufour 2016: 44–45), but *xīzēt* does not seem to correspond to a masculine diminutive pattern, which, in the case of the root *x-l-y*, would yield **xīzé*.

These place names frequently feature a genitive exponent *e-*, which normally coalesces with the definite article *ε-* ~ *e-* ~ *i-* ~ *a-* and triggers the elision of /b/ and /m/ at the beginning of a term (Rubin 2014: 308–309): i.e. *ḥār ēnhīt* < **ḥār e-e-mānhīt*.

Having provided a description of the fixed elements involved, each place name will be now analysed singularly:

- 1) *xīzót ē-zḡar* contains the term *zḡar*, which is described in the *Jibbali Lexicon* as ‘kind of bitter, peppery cactus which in an emergency can be chopped up for camel fodder’ (JL: 316). Hence, the place name in question can be translated approximately as ‘place of the *zḡar* cactus.’
- 2) *xīzót ē-ḡet* can safely be interpreted as ‘place of the sister’ (JL: 90; MLZ: 683).
- 3) *xīzót ē-ger^abéb* contains the term *ger^abéb* ‘the plain between the sea and the mountains in Dhofar,’ which appears in the *Jibbali Lexicon* as *gerbéb*⁶ (JL: 78).
- 4) The second element in *xīzót ēḡált* is likely the result of the intervocalic elision of /m/ of **e-meḡált*, which can be derived from Arabic *maḥalla* ‘place of residence’

3 The *Jibbali Lexicon* (JL) does not list this term.

4 In the case of place names, this is best translated as ‘cape.’

5 However, compare *xalé* ‘empty place, something empty; loneliness’ (JL: 301) stemming from the same root *x-l-y*.

6 Without the intrusive vowel /ə/ which occurs widely in KM, and does not trigger the elision of /b/ (Castagna 2018: 135–137).

(Wehr & Cowan 1976: 199). Hence, the interpretation of this place name as ‘settlement place’ seems rather unproblematic.⁷

- 5) *xīzót ē-sáfaf* contains the term *sáfaf* < *sáfab* (see Castagna 2022: 250), which means ‘valley, watercourse’ (JL: 244).
- 6) The second element in *xīzét ēt-t5h* may be considered as a nominal form derived from the root *t-b-h* ‘to swing, to wander off’ (JL: 281). Hence, this place name may be interpreted as ‘place of the wandering.’
- 7) *hār ēk-keddót* exhibits a second element which reflects a feminine diminutive form of *kidéd* ‘long hill, long ridge’ (JL: 125). Thus, this place name can be interpreted as ‘mountain with a little long ridge.’
- 8) There are two possible interpretations of *hār axléf* ~ *ahléf* (for /h/ < /x/ (see Castagna 2022: 251): it may be either a nominal form derived from the verbal H-stem of the root *x-l-f* meaning ‘to change, to transhume’ (JL: 299), or an unattested term derived from the same root, but more semantically akin to the term *mixížéf* ‘deserted place’ (JL: 299).
- 9) The second element in *gádét agyōt* is a diminutive form of *gām* ‘flood’ (MLZ: 684). Thus, it can be translated as ‘flooded depression.’
- 10) While *nāhūr hendí* (literally ‘Indian river’) is rather unproblematic etymologically speaking, this unusual denomination calls for further investigation.
- 11) The second element in *e-nhūr e-rhót* is, in all likelihood, a diminutive form of *erhít* ‘beautiful’ (JL: 210). Thus, this place name may be interpreted as ‘the beautiful little river.’
- 12) *reš eb* literally translates as ‘big cape.’ The informant who double-checked the present data affirms that this place is also called *ras kabír* in Arabic.
- 13) *reš e-gemgút*, whose second element means ‘skull’ (JL: 76), translates as ‘cape skull.’
- 14) As for *reš maḥábəṭ*, its interpretation is less straightforward: the second element seems to be a participial form derived from the root *h-b-t* whose basic meaning is ‘to swell’ (JL: 102). The non-occurrence of the intervocalic elision of /b/ (Castagna

7 The speaker affirms that this place is located in the vicinity of the harbour, where, in actuality, the main settlement of the island is found.

- 2018: 114–115) points to the presence of an intrusive vowel between C₂ and C₃, but similarly to *ḥóboṭ* ‘swell at sea’ (Castagna 2018: 227), it seems not to be there. This place name may be translated as ‘swollen cape’ or ‘cape swell.’
- 15) *śaḥāṭót* is undoubtedly related to the term *śebḥaṭat*⁸ ‘sperm whale.’ However, it is not clear whether this form should be considered a diminutive (Johnstone 1973) or a plural form.
- 16) The second element in *xīzét ṭahlún* is related to *ṭ-h-l* ‘residue’ ‘mud’ (JL: 276; MLZ: 578), with the agentive suffix *-ún* suffix (Rubin 2014: 36). The place name can then be loosely translated as ‘place full of mud.’
- 17) *xīzét mištót* contains a problematic second element: the root *š-k-w* ~ *š-k-y*⁹ carries the basic meaning of ‘sword’ (JL: 314; MLZ: 488), hence *mištót* would fit into an *m*-prefixed place pattern¹⁰ and might indicate a ‘place of swords’ or more broadly speaking, a ‘weapon storage.’ However, this term is not attested in the available corpora.
- 18) *xīzét oḥūr* contains the element *oḥūr* which should be interpreted as < **e-moḥūr*. This means ‘raindrops dripping off the trees and bushes’ (JL: 111), and a similar meaning is reported by the *Muḡgam lisān Zufār* (MLZ: 267). Therefore, this place name may be interpreted as ‘place of raindrops.’
- 19) *foḳá ē-zǧif* can be quite transparently translated as ‘spring of abundance.’ However, it must be noted that, besides ‘abundance,’ the term *zǧif* can also mean *an-nasīm al-ṣalīl* ‘a gentle breeze’ (MLZ: 414).
- 20) The second element in *xīzét āsréb* ~ *ātréb*¹¹ bears witness to the large number of ticks found on the island. This place name can be interpreted as ‘place of ticks.’
- 21) *xīzót ē-dafēnót* contains a second element which would be unidentifiable in Jibbali/Shehret. However, a clue for its identification comes from the neighbouring Baḥari language, in which *dafēnót* indicates a species of small shark.¹²

8 Informant’s personal communication. JL and MLZ do not report this term.

9 Compare Mehri *aškay* (ML: 394), Hobyot *škí* (Nakano 2013: 83), Soqotri *ško* (Leslau 1938: 416).

10 This pattern is attested in Jibbali/Shehret (and in MSAL at large), albeit less frequently than in Arabic.

11 From the root *š-r-b* (JL: 254; MLZ: 508). Cf. the cognate Arabic root *š-r-b* ‘to drink.’ For the fluctuation between /š/ and /t/, see Castagna (2022: 246–247).

12 Fabio Gasparini’s personal communication.

- 22) *ḥār ʿnhít*, whose second element must be interpreted as a definite form < **e-māhít* ‘the poor man’ (MLZ: 887), translates as ‘mountain of the poor man.’
- 23) *nāhūr ʿ-ḥaṭṣt* is rather problematic: the element *ḥaṭṣt* seems to be a diminutive form stemming from *ḥ-s-b* > *ḥasbé* ‘Cucumis Sativus’ (MLZ: 239; Miller and Morris 1988: 122), with /t/ < /s/, and although it must be pointed out that *Cucumis Sativus* is not present on al-Ḥallānīya, another closely related species, *Cucumis Prophetarum*, can be found (Gallagher 2002: 64). Thus, the use of *ḥ-s-b* for *Cucumis Prophetarum* on the part of al-Ḥallānīya islanders is not far-fetched.
- 24) *reš ʿ-ktennītā* does not raise any major interpretation issue, as the second element *ktennītā* is the feminine sound plural of كُنُس, meaning *al-baqq* ‘cimex, bed-bug,’ from the root *k-t-n* (MLZ: 787). Similarly to *xīzét āsréb ~ ātréb* (see above), this place name speaks to the widespread presence of parasitic insects on the island. This is confirmed by Michael Gallagher’s survey of the island, which reports a large number of ticks of the *Ornithodoros muesebecki* species, as well as an unidentified member of the *Solifugae* camel spiders (2002: 29).
- 25) *gṣt āsāft*. The root *m-s-ʿ* has two basic meanings: it can indicate both a ladder/stairway and a type of pot for the storage of butter (MLZ: 870). Given the proximity of this place to the main harbour¹³ and, hence, the settlement, its interpretation as ‘butter storage’ seems to be sensible.

As for the remaining five items in the list above, namely *xīzét ʿl-lennót*, *xīzét ʿ-tardót*, *ḥār ʿ-sízóh* and *ḥār ʿ-delatí* (and the closely connected *nḥūr e-delatí*), it was not possible, at the present time, to identify their meaning with an acceptable degree of certainty. It goes without saying that the unrecorded historical events of the island (both from a linguistic and a cultural point of view) might easily account for the presence of obscure place names.

One cannot fail to notice an extensive presence of diminutive forms in the toponomastics of al-Ḥallānīya. Currently, however, the semantics of the diminutive in Jibbali/Shehret (as well as in other MSAL) lacks a proper description: Johnstone (1973: 98–99) and Watson (2012: 62) are the only partial accounts of certain properties of the diminutive in these languages.

The *raisons d’être* of some place names analysed in this paper are obscure, despite their being relatively transparent etymologically, and raise questions with regards to the unwritten history of the island: for example, *xīzót ʿ-ger ʿbéb* (a reference to the plain north of Salalah) and *nāhūr hendí*.

¹³ Informant’s personal communication.

Overall, most of the items analysed at this time can be reliably traced back to Modern South Arabian lexical roots (and Semitic in general), although some of them (especially those whose meaning could not be found at this time) call for further study involving other lexical strata of the wider region.¹⁴

To this end, a thorough *in loco* linguistic and anthropological survey of the islands (al-Ḥallānīya in the first place) must be carried out. In all likelihood, this will shed light on the meaning of the place names which have been left undescribed in the present paper, and yield more data.

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Abbreviations

- JL JOHNSTONE, THOMAS M. 1981. *Jibbali Lexicon*. London: Oxford University Press.
- ML JOHNSTONE, THOMAS M. 1987. *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-List*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- MLZ AL-MAŠŠANĪ, AḤMAD BIN MAḤĀD. 2014. *Mušgam lisān Zūfār. Ġabalī-ṣarabī faṣīḥ*. Bayrūt: s.n.

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¹⁴ I.e. Arabic, Epigraphic South Arabian and pre-documentary Malagasy (Castagna 2018: 235–256).

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ROBERTA MORANO 

The Expression of Possession in the al-ʿAwābī District (Northern Oman)

ABSTRACT Arabic dialects show different ways of expressing possession and ownership. Generally, two main constructions are used: the construct phrase (or synthetic genitive, known in Arabic as *iḏāfa*), that links together two nouns in a relationship of possessor and possessed, and the analytic genitive, which uses genitive exponents to express possession or relationship between two nouns.

Eksell Harning's work (1980) is an extensive comparative study of possessive linkers in many different Arabic dialects. However, the sources the author used for Oman were Reinhardt (1894) for the northern part of the country, and Rhodokanakis (1908) for Dhofar (south Oman). More recent studies, including the one by Davey (2016) on Dhofari Arabic, show different behaviour of genitive exponents in both areas. In the al-ʿAwābī district (northern Oman), two main genitive exponents are used, namely *māl* and *ḥāl*, indicating two different types of genitive relations.

In this paper, I will outline the syntactic use and occurrence of the analytic genitive compared to the synthetic one in the vernacular of the al-ʿAwābī district, which appear to be different from Reinhardt's study (1894) and from other Omani varieties. The analysis presented here takes into consideration a cross-dialectal approach and uses data that have been collected during three months of fieldwork in the area, through free speech recordings and direct questions to informants.

KEYWORDS Omani Arabic, Arabic dialectology, syntax, possessive constructions, field research

1 Introduction

When talking about Omani Arabic, two main works come to mind, i.e. Reinhardt's *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Omān und Zanzibar* (1894) and Rhodokanakis' *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Ḍofār (Zfār). I: Prosaische und poetische Texte, Übersetzung und Indices* (1908). These works, published at the beginning of the last century, had

been the only sources available on Omani Arabic for a long time, at least until the 1980s when researchers could once again approach the Sultanate.

We cannot forget, however, that Omani Arabic is not a single linguistic entity but rather contains many different varieties, some of which still need to be unveiled. Reinhardt's (1894) work describes the phonology, morphology and—partially—syntax of the Banū Kharūṣī dialect spoken in the area which today belongs to the district of al-ṢAwābī in northern Oman. His account is not completely reliable due to the lack of supporting data, and more recent works (i.e. Bettega 2019; Morano, Forthcoming) have demonstrated that a consistent part of his original materials are no longer valid today. This is especially true when talking about genitive markers.

This paper examines the use of synthetic genitive and analytic genitive constructions in the dialect spoken by the al-Kharūṣī and al-ṢAbri tribes in the district of al-ṢAwābī in northern Oman. The aim is to show the syntactic and pragmatic functions which the markers *māl* and *ḥāl* convey in the data collected from native speakers in the district. The analysis will also concern the comparison with Reinhardt's (1894) materials on this matter and will prove that only one of these markers (i.e. *māl*) really expresses a genitive relation, whereas *ḥāl* conveys a different function.

After a brief presentation of the data and the methodology used to gather them, the paper looks at the ways of expressing possession in the Arabian Peninsula. It then introduces a discussion on the two constructions usually adopted by modern Arabic dialects to express ownership and possession, i.e. the synthetic genitive—also known in Arabic as *iḍāfa*—and the analytic genitive, which entails the use of genitive markers. The paper will then analyse the specific functions conveyed by the markers *māl* and *ḥāl* in the dialect under investigation, demonstrating that the latter cannot be included in the list of genitive markers at least for the al-ṢAwābī district.

2 The data

The material for the present article was obtained during two fieldwork trips made in February–April 2017 and June 2018 and are part of a larger PhD project. The data were collected in the district of al-ṢAwābī, which consists of al-ṢAwābī town and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ—a strip of villages that goes 26 km long deep into al-Hajar mountains. The two places differ significantly in terms of lifestyle: the town hosts a younger population, many of whom had access to higher education and work either in Muscat or in Rustaq; the wadi, on the contrary, is inhabited by older people—on average 60+—who live on farming (dates) and breeding (goats). Therefore, the participants varied from younger literate speakers in al-ṢAwābī town to illiterate elders in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

Table 1 shows a detailed list of the participants used for this study.

In the selection of participants, three main criteria were considered: the provenance (i.e. either al-ṢAwābī town or Wādī Banī Kharūṣ); the level of education

TABLE 1. Metadata relative to the native speakers involved in the documentation process of the Arabic vernacular spoken in the district of al-ṢAwābī, in northern Oman.

Speaker	Gender	Age	Origin	Level of education	Tribe
1	F	58	al-ṢAwābī	illiterate	al-Kharūṣī
2	F	45	Wādī Banī Kharūṣ	illiterate	al-Kharūṣī
4	F	60–70	Wādī Banī Kharūṣ	illiterate	al-ṢAbrī
6	F	38	al-ṢAwābī	university	al-Kharūṣī
7	F	44	al-ṢAwābī	middle school	al-Kharūṣī
8	M	65–75	Wādī Banī Kharūṣ	illiterate	al-ṢAbrī
10	F	55	al-ṢAwābī	middle school	al-Kharūṣī
13	M	85–95	Wādī Banī Kharūṣ	illiterate	al-Kharūṣī
15	F	80–90	al-ṢAwābī	illiterate	al-ṢAbrī

(i.e. from illiterate, with no access to schooling, to higher education); and age. The latter criterion was further divided into three groups: youth (i.e. 25–40), middle aged (i.e. 41–60), and elderly (i.e. 60+). These criteria were chosen in order to better illustrate the diachronic changes that occurred in the district since Reinhardt (1894). Moreover, as Table 1 displays, the data must be considered, with only two exceptions, to be based on women’s speech, since accessing men was difficult for the author and the male data collected are not enough to expand this investigation to the gender variable.

The material presented in this paper was either elicited with native speakers or extrapolated from free speech recordings. The recordings have been then transcribed with the help of a native speaker of the same dialect under investigation in this paper. The examples reported throughout this article are glossed following the speaker’s number as given in Table 1.

3 Expression of possession in Modern Arabic dialects

Modern Arabic dialects show different ways of expressing possession and ownership, which Payne (1997: 104) calls ‘possessive constructions.’ In Arabic, as in other world languages, however, these structures are not used only to express a relationship of possession, as we will see in the course of this paper.¹ Possession can be expressed through two main constructions, namely the synthetic genitive construction (henceforth, SGC)—also known as *iḍāfa*—, which links together possessor and possessed directly, and the analytic genitive construction (henceforth, AGC), which involves the use of so-called genitive exponents.

1 Payne (1997: 126) also distinguishes ‘possessive noun phrases’ and ‘possessive clauses’: the first ‘contains two elements, a possessor and a possessed item’ (e.g.), whereas the second can occasionally present the verb ‘to have,’ or, more commonly, ‘a copular verb or particle’ (Payne 1997: 126).

Each Arabic dialect displays its own genitive exponents, which is always the result of a process of grammaticalisation of either a noun meaning ‘property’ or ‘thing’ or of a relative pronoun (cf. Rubin 2004: 328; Eksell Harning 1980: 19). The structure of a sentence with a genitive exponent is the following:

Noun (N) + Genitive Marker (GEN) + Modifier (MD).

The noun is always a substantive, whereas the modifier can be another substantive or a personal pronoun. In most cases—and in the data presented in this paper—the modifier is definite; however, it is also possible—although more rarely—to have an indefinite modifier following a genitive marker. Bettega (2019: 230) reported a few examples from his informants in Oman, which also show how the definiteness or indefiniteness of the modifier impacts on the semantics of the whole construction. In the examples reported in this paper, gathered in the district of al-Ṣawābī, the modifier is always definite and in no instances has it been possible to detect this semantic difference.

Eksell Harning’s work (1980) is an extensive comparative study of possessive linkers in many different Arabic dialects, although her work does not deal with the historical developments of these linkers. Moreover, with regards to Omani Arabic—which this paper deals with—her sources were only Reinhardt (1894) for north Oman, and Rhodokanakis (1908) for south Oman.²

More recent studies, however, show that Omani Arabic employs markers to convey various types of relationship, and not just a genitive one. These markers are also more widespread and common in the everyday speech than originally described by Reinhardt (1894) or Rhodokanakis (1908).

4 Genitive exponents in the Arabic dialects of the Arabian Peninsula

In the Arabian Peninsula, Arabic dialects show different trends when it comes to the use of genitive exponents in the AGC. According to Eksell Harning (1980: 69), the sedentary western dialects of the Peninsula (i.e. Yemeni, Hijazi and Hadramawti) ‘use the AG [Analytic Genitive] regularly and they all share the same exponents.’ On the contrary, the sedentary eastern dialects of the Peninsula (i.e. Omani, Gulf and Dhofari) show a more restricted use of the AG.³ As mentioned in the previous section,

² Cf. Eksell Harning (1980: 71).

³ Eksell Harning (1980: 71) states that ‘in Dhofār, the AG seems to be absent. The exponents and occur, but only independently,’ making a reference to Rhodokanakis (1908: 107). This has been proved wrong by Davies (2016), as will be further shown in the course of this paper.

however, this is not completely accurate, since new works on Omani varieties show a more widespread use of the genitive markers and the AGC.

Before analysing the SGC and AGC in the Omani vernacular investigated here, it is worth giving a broader picture of genitive markers employed in the Arabian Peninsula:

- The Persian Gulf: According to Qafisheh (1977: 117), the genitive exponents in Gulf Arabic are *māl* and *ḥagg*, mainly used to avoid the ‘structural ambiguity’ resulting from an SGC where the two elements are of the same gender. Moreover, Qafisheh (1977) states that there is a difference in their use: *ḥagg* is generally used with ‘animate or inanimate nouns’; whilst *māl* only with ‘inanimate nouns,’ especially appliances and spare parts. They are often also employed with nouns of foreign origin (cf. Eksell Harning 1980: 70). They do not seem to inflect in gender and number.
- Bahrain: In the Baḥārna dialects of Bahrain, Holes (2016: 223–227) reports two genitive markers, namely *māl* and *ḥagg*. He notes a slight difference in the use: if both are generally used to express a wide range of genitive relations in all speakers, *ḥagg* is more often used for the relationship of ‘one of part-whole or purpose, and not always in these cases’ (Holes 2016). One difference is, however, that *māl* presents a feminine form *mālat*.
- Yemen: In Ṣanṣānī Arabic, Watson (2009: 112) reports the genitive exponent *ḥagg* only, which does not inflect in gender or number, and whose use can be determined by rhythmic and stylistic factors.

In Oman, three main genitive markers are in use for the Omani varieties so far documented: *ḥaqq*, *māl* and *ḥāl*. These markers are in use in different parts of the countries and with different functions, as will be clear further on in Section 5. Although they are far more widespread than what Eksell Harning (1980) reported, in the data presented here both the SGC and the AGC are employed, with little pragmatic differences.

5 Synthetic genitive construction (SGC)

The SGC ‘consists of a noun in the construct state, immediately followed by a modifier’ (Eksell Harning 1980: 21). The link between the two is made through the definite article (*i*)- depending on the context:

- (1) *bistān* *el-gīrān*
 garden.SG DEF-neighbour.PL
 ‘the garden of the neighbours’ (S 15)

- (2) *maşnaḥ at-tumūr*
 factory.SG DEF-date.PL
 ‘date factory’ (S 2)
- (3) *markaz iṣ-ṣaḥḥa n-nisā*
 centre.SG DEF-health.FSG DEF-woman.FPL
 ‘centre of women’s health’ (S 7)
- (4) *malkat nūr*
 engagement.FSG Nur
 ‘Nur’s engagement’ (S3)

These examples show how the synthetic genitive construction does not exclusively indicate a relationship of possession but also a relationship of generic belonging or characterisation, despite following the same link as other nouns in a possessive construction. This is the case of examples (1) and (4), whereas example (2) provides evidence of a relationship of characterisation or description specifying the type of factory. Lastly, example (3) shows a double construct state. Although in theory there is no limit to the possible coordinated components in a construct state if the juxtaposition is maintained, very long strings of synthetic genitive are almost null in the primary data; strings that count more than three elements are usually interrupted by employing an AG construction.

In the SGC phrase, nothing can come between the noun and the modifier in the construct phrase, except for the definite article or a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. *šaḥar haḍi l-bint* ‘the hair of this girl’). This is because the demonstrative pronoun is considered in apposition⁴ to the lexical item it precedes, and is therefore not counted as cutting the construct phrase.

According to the distinction made by Qafisheh (1977: 118–119) in his study on Gulf Arabic for ordinary noun constructs, in the data it is possible to find the following: alienable possession (such as example 1 above) and inalienable possession (e.g. *yad el-bint* ‘the girl’s hand’); naming (e.g. *madīnat ar-rustāq* ‘the town of Rustāq’), where the first noun is a geographical noun and the second is a proper noun; container-contents (e.g. *fiṅān qahwa* ‘a cup of coffee’ and not ‘a coffee cup’⁵, or example 2 above), where the first is a noun denoting an object and the second is a noun of material;⁶ and

4 A construction consisting of two (or more) adjacents having identical referents.

5 Qafisheh (1977: 119) states that *fiṅān qahwa* is derived from *fiṅān min al-qahwa*.

6 Watson (1993: 183) defines this genitive relation as ‘genitive of description,’ which are usually indefinite: ‘the sense of genitive of description can be rendered attributively by making the modifier a relational () or other adjective.’

material (e.g. *xātim ḍahab* ‘a gold ring’⁷), where the first is a concrete noun and the second is a noun of material. The data collected in the al-ṢAwābī district, however, show that for the latter category the SGC and the AGC can be interchangeable irrespective of age, provenance or level of education of the speaker (e.g. *xātim māḷ ḍahab* ‘a gold ring’).

The SGC is always considered definite, if the second term of the annexation is determined, as in examples (1)–(3), and in the genitive relations of alienable / inalienable possession and naming. However, there are cases when the synthetic genitive is indefinite, such as in the genitive relations of container-content and material. In both cases, the second term of the annexation is not determined.

Another common example of SGC is the relationship of possession expressed through the possessive pronouns. In the data, this construction is mainly used with nouns that have an ‘inherent possession,’ as it is called by Payne (1997: 105). These are usually body parts, kinship and terms referring to personal adornments (e.g. *bint-ī* ‘my daughter’; *yad-iš* ‘your (FSG) hand’; *kumm-o* ‘his Omani hat’).

6 Analytic genitive construction (AGC)

The second type of possessive construction sees the use of genitive exponents (i.e. grammaticalised nouns expressing ‘property’ or ‘ownership’), and it is known as the analytic genitive. Eksell Harning (1980: 10-11) states that ‘modern Arabic dialects show a tendency towards an analytic language structure,’ probably caused by the loss of the case endings and, in some cases, by the reduction of the categories of number and gender. The truth is that the AGC is found throughout the Arabic-speaking world, although different dialects use different genitive exponents with different functions, scopes and limitations. In most of the dialects, both SGC and AGC are used, ‘and the choice between them creates a dynamic process of language development’ (Eksell Harning 1980: 11).

In her comparative study, Eksell Harning (1980: 158) divides Arabic dialects into six groups according to their use of the analytic genitive construction:

- Group I: the AGC is not used; exponents may occur predicatively or as a lexical borrowing.
- Group II: the AGC occurs sporadically; the semantic categories of the AGC cannot be structured, and formal factors are often decisive for the choice of the AGC.

7 Qafisheh (1977: 119) makes it derive from *al-xātim min ḍahab* (‘the ring made of gold’). In a few instances, however, in the district it is possible to use the analytic genitive to express a semantic relationship of qualification, and in particular of material quality (e.g. *xātim māḷ ḍahab*, lit. ‘the ring of gold’).

- Group III: the AGC is well established; the AGC is chosen for formal or stylistic reasons.
- Group IV: the AGC is well established; semantically, the majority of AGCs are found within categories of concrete possession or qualification, in which the AGC is preferred to the synthetic genitive construction.
- Group V: the AGC is very well established; formal and stylistic factors are important for the choice of the AGC, even though there is a tendency to prefer the AGC whenever is semantically possible.
- Group VI: the AGC is the ordinary way of expressing the genitive.

According to this classification, Eksell Harning assigns Omani dialects to the second group. However, as already mentioned, more recent studies show a different behaviour of exponents in both areas.

The Omani dialects for which we have documentation present three main exponents, all derived from nouns expressing possession and ownership in some way: in Dhofar, according to Davey (2016),⁸ *ḥaqq* ('right, entitlement') and *māl* ('property') are of common occurrence, with no difference in the use or function; a third type is *ḥāl* ('state'), reported also by Reinhardt (1894) and of common occurrence in my data. Reinhardt (1894: 79) states that *ḥāl* and *māl* are 'häufig'—'of common occurrence'—, however they rarely appear in the texts reported at the end of his work. He also adds other grammaticalised terms used as genitive exponents, such as the active participles *rāy/rāyāt* ('seeing'), *ṣāḥib* ('owner') and *bū* (< **abū* 'father'). The latter is also used as a relative pronoun in the dialect of the al-ṢAwābī district. With the only exceptions of *ḥāl* and *māl*, and in some cases of *bū*, none of the other genitive exponents reported by Reinhardt (1894) have been found in use in the speech of my informants.

Based on the data I collected in the al-ṢAwābī district, the most common genitive exponents used are indeed *ḥāl* and *māl*. However, only *māl* can be defined as genitive exponent, because, as will be shown further in this section, *ḥāl* is instead used mainly as a preposition and conveys a completely different type of relation.

In contrast with the genitive exponents in Dhofari Arabic, *ḥāl* and *māl* are indeclinable forms, which means that they do not agree in gender and number with the noun they refer to, acting merely as linkers between the possessed and the possessor.

The possessive phrase with a genitive exponent usually follows this construction: N + *māl/ḥāl* + MD, e.g. *dišdaša māl ar-riggāl* 'a man's dishdasha'; *ḥadiya ḥāl nūr* 'a gift for Nur'. The modifier, as in the case of the SGC, can be another noun, a participle, an adjective, a numeral or an infinitive, and it is usually definite. Examples with an

8 Davey (2016: 228), taking into consideration that Eksell Harning's work uses Rhodokanakis (1908, 1911) as a source for Dhofari Arabic, states: 'the current data in this study does indeed reveal that the AGC is far more common in CDA [coastal Dhofari Arabic] than was previously thought, and can express a variety of different possessive relationship.'

indefinite modifier are rare in the data collected, but they can be found, for example, in the categories of material (e.g. *ḥigāb māl ḥarīr* ‘a silk hijab’) and of non possessive qualification (e.g. example 7 below).⁹

In these cases—although quite rare in the primary data—the exponent does not convey a relationship of possession, but rather a description or qualification.

Similarly, this type of relationship is conveyed by the genitive marker *māl* in expressions of professions and specialisation, e.g. *duktur māl wasm* ‘doctor of traditional medicine’, *profesūr māl l-adab il-ingrīziya* ‘professor of English literature.’

Brustad (2000: 71) states that ‘constructions involving the exponents often convey specific pragmatic information that the construct phrase does not,’ and she individuates formal and pragmatic motivations in the choice of using or not the genitive exponent. Among the formal motivations, Brustad (2000: 74) considers ‘multi-term annexation (three or more nouns), the presence of modifying adjectives and parallel phrases with more than one head noun.’

In the data, *māl* can indeed be used to cut the line of coordinated items in a construct phrase, as in

- (5) *maktab al-qabūl māl el-madrasa*
 office.SG DEF-admission.SG GEN DEF-school.FSG
 ‘the admission office of the school’ (S 8)

Furthermore, the genitive exponent is preferred with foreign loanwords:

- (6) *instagram māl-iš*
 instagram GEN-PRON.2FSG
 ‘your Instagram profile’ (S 6)
- (7) *raqm-o māl whatsapp*
 number.SG-PRON.3MSG GEN whatsapp
 ‘his WhatsApp number’ (S 10)

and nouns ending with a long vowel:

- (8) *kursī māl-i*
 sofa.SG GEN-PRON.1SG
 ‘my sofa’ (S 7)

9 Bettega (2019: 230) reports one example from his informants, asked to disambiguate between a definite and an indefinite modifier in the following sentence: *qašʕa māl dxūn* (‘a jar of frankincense’) and *qašʕa māl ad-dxūn* (‘a jar for frankincense’).

- (9) *gūṭī* *māl-iš*
 shoe.SG GEN-PRON.2FSG
 ‘your shoe’ (S 15)

Words of foreign origin may or may not take the genitive marker: nouns like *tilifūn* (‘telephone’) or *tītūn* (‘toddler’) seem to prefer a synthetic genitive construction (e.g. *tilifūn-iš* ‘your (FSG) phone’, *tītūn-he* ‘her toddler’¹⁰). A possible explanation is that they are treated by the speaker as inalienable possessions and behave syntactically as such.

Among the pragmatic functions of the genitive exponent, Brustad (2000: 76, italics in the text) argues that ‘the genitive exponents fulfil specific functions that the construct phrase does not,’ and particularly, ‘the exponent places a focus on the *possessing* noun not conveyed by the construct phrase.’ This statement can explain the simultaneous use of the construct state and the genitive exponent found in the data. Thus, for example, a phrase like *kitāb el-bint* (‘the book of the girl’) can be replaced by *kitāb māl el-bint*, with no apparent difference in meaning, but a difference in function: *māl* emphasises the possessor, in this case the girl (*bint*).

This exchange in the constructions for expressing possession is valid for almost every kind of relation, except for terms having inherent possessive value, such as parts of the body and kinship (thus, it is not possible to find in the vernacular under investigation phrases like **umm māl-o* ‘his mother,’ but always *umm-o*; or like **yad māl-iš* ‘your (FSG) hand,’ but always *yad-iš*).

The exponent *ḥāl*, on the contrary, conveys a different function when compared to *māl*. As I will demonstrate in the following subsection in accordance with the data collected, *ḥāl* cannot be considered a genitive exponent, but rather it is a preposition.¹¹ If *māl* is used mainly to express a genitive relation of belonging, *ḥāl* is used in contexts that indicate a beneficial relation: in all the examples found in the data, *ḥāl* expresses a benefit for the modifier (the second item of the annexation, as stated above) and what in English translates as ‘for, to.’

- (10) *xādo* *awlād* *ṯamm-ha* *šey*
 take.PAST.3MPL child.MPL uncle-PRON.3FSG something
w-bāqit *ḥāl-he*
 CONJ.-remain.AP.MSG GEN-PRON.3FSG
 ‘her cousins took something, and the remaining was for her’ (S 1)

10 *tītūn* is a Swahili loanword. It comes from the root *toto* which indicates anything that is ‘small.’

11 Davey (2016: 230) reports some examples where the genitive exponents *māl* and *ḥaqq* appear to be interchangeable, ‘with no resulting change in meaning.’ This does not seem to be possible in the speech of my informants in any case, since *māl* and *ḥāl* convey two distinct functions in the data.

- (11) *haḍī* *l-haḍīya* *ḥāl-iš*
 DEM.PROX.FSG DEF-present.FSG GEN-PRON.2FSG
 ‘this gift is for you’ (S 7)
- (12) *haḍēlā* *l-mšākik* *ḥāl* *al-gīrān*
 DEM.PROX.FPL DEF-skewer.PL GEN DEF-neighbour.PL
 ‘these skewers are for the neighbours’ (S 13)

In example (10), the speaker is talking about the division of an inheritance, and *ḥāl* expresses a beneficial value for the modifier (in this case represented by the possessive pronoun *-he*, ‘her’). In (12), the speaker is referring to the skewers that are traditionally brought to neighbours and relatives on the second day of Eid celebrations, thus we can presume that again *ḥāl* is intended as a beneficial relationship.

Consider the following examples which show how *māl* and *ḥāl* are not interchangeable in my informants’ speech:

- (a) هذا الكتاب مال البنت
haḍā *l-kitāb* *māl* *il-bint*
 DEM.PROX.MSG DEF-book.SG GEN DEF-girl.FSG
 ‘this book belongs to the girl’
- (b) هذا الكتاب حال البنت
haḍā *l-kitāb* *ḥāl* *il-bint*
 DEM.PROX.MSG DEF-book.SG PREP DEF-girl.FSG
 ‘this book is for the girl’

These sentences were elicited from all the informants involved in this study. In all cases, regardless of age, provenance or level of education, the speakers clearly used the two different constructions to convey the two different functions. The same difference is found by Bettega (2019), who states that *ḥāl* expresses a dative case in his data, thus being a marker of clausal relation rather than genitive. As far as the data in this study are concerned, *ḥāl* can be considered as a preposition and not a genitive marker, also confuting Reinhardt’s position.¹²

12 ‘Dass das Genitiv-Verhältniss häufig durch die Wörter *māl* Besitz und *ḥāl* Zustand, mit Beibehaltung des Artikels umschrieben wird’ (Reinhardt 1894: 79).

7 Relative pronoun *bū* used as a genitive exponent

A third, more rarely used, genitive linker is *bū* (< **abū* ‘father’) also used as relative pronoun in the speech of my informants. In the data collected, there are only two examples showing *bū* in its genitive functions, and these are more often used by young speakers:

- (13) *asmaʕ* *eṣ-ṣawt* *bū* *mmi-nā*¹³
 hear.PRES.1SG DEF-voice.SG GEN mother-PRON.1PL
 ‘I hear our mum’s voice’ (S 6)

- (14) *es-siyyāra* *bū* *aḥmad*
 DEF-car.FSG GEN aḥmad
 ‘Aḥmad’s car’ (S 7)

Unfortunately, the examples are not enough to postulate any theory on the use of *bū* as a genitive exponent, and further research is needed.

The use of a grammaticalised form of a relative pronouns as genitive markers is not new to modern Arabic dialects and Semitic languages in general. Rubin (2004: 328) reports examples from Akkadian, Ge’ez, Biblical Aramaic and Mehri. Modern Arabic dialects, however, employ more often a grammaticalised noun meaning ‘property’ or ‘thing,’ as detailed so far.

8 Conclusions

Eksell Harning (1980: 160) offers two main criteria to detect how and when the AGC is preferred to the SGC: one is geographical, ‘in the western region, the AGC tends to be the ordinary way of expressing genitive,’ whereas ‘in the east, the AG is a more or less extensively used complement to the SG’ (synthetic genitive); the second criterion is socio-cultural, since ‘the AG is most extensively used in the *madani* dialects,’ less in the rural dialects and almost completely absent in Bedouin dialects. The reason lies in the major heterogeneity of urban environments compared to rural realities.¹⁴ These statements are not entirely applicable to the vernacular as presented here, since in the speech of my informants, the AGC is very productive as it is also in other neighbouring dialects, and it is not always used as a complement to the synthetic genitive but rather it expresses different genitive relations based on pragmatic and functional factors. The examples provided in this article have shown that if, on the one hand,

13 *mmi-nā* (lit. ‘our mother’) is the informal way children use to call their mother.

14 Eksell Harning (1980: 164–165).

the SGC is almost compulsory for certain type of genitive relation (e.g. inalienable possession), on the other hand, the AGC is preferred in the relations of description and content. Furthermore, we saw how in some cases the AGC and the SGC are interchangeable, as in the case of alienable possession.

No difference has been found in the use of the analytic or the synthetic construction in respect of age, gender or level of education of the speakers involved. Moreover, no difference has been found in respect of the different geographical areas that form the al-ṢAwābī district (i.e. Wādī Banī Kharūṣ and neighbouring villages). It seems, however, that Reinhardt (1894) was right in stating that the exponents *māl* and *ḥāl* were 'häufig' in the speech of his informants, despite not providing enough examples neither in the grammar nor in the texts at the end of his work.

It would be desirable for more research to be devoted to the use of exponents in Omani Arabic, expanding the investigation to other varieties spoken in areas of Oman still linguistically unexplored.

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AZIZA AL-ESSA 

Arabic Interdentals: Variation and Linguistic Change

ABSTRACT In contrast to other Semitic languages, the Arabic language has retained the interdentals /θ/, /ð/ and /ð̤/ (Versteegh 2001: 19). However, in many Arabic dialects, the plain interdentals have merged with the stops /t/, /d/ or the sibilants /s/, /z/, respectively. The emphatic interdental /ð̤/ changes to its stop or sibilant counterpart /d/, /z/ (see Al-Wer 2004). Whereas stop variants are associated with particular standard regional varieties, e.g. Egyptian and Levantine Arabic, the fricative variants are generally found in the Arabic varieties spoken in the Arabian Peninsula, the Gulf region and Iraq.

Different linguistic patterns of variation in the use of the interdentals were found to exist in contact situations in the Arab world between speakers of different dialects, and the direction of linguistic change takes a different course in different regions. In empirically and statistically tested data from different sociolinguistic studies in Arabic-speaking communities where both the fricative and stop 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).

This paper investigates processes of variation and change affecting the interdental variables (θ), (ð) and (ð̤) in the Arabian Peninsula in general and Saudi Arabia in particular. The majority of the dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula have the fricative variants; stop variants are used in urban Hijazi dialects in the western region and in Qatif dialect in the region of al-Ahsa in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. Various studies surveyed in this paper show that in contact zones between speakers of the fricatives and stop variants, the diffusion of the stop variants is characterised by a low rate of frequency. In this paper, I will present the details of the analysis of the process of variation and change affecting the interdental variables in many contact zones in Saudi Arabia in general and among Najdi speakers in Hijaz in particular, and I will argue that, with regard to the pattern and direction of linguistic change, in Saudi Arabia, speakers of the interdentals orient to a supra-local norm rather than the local norm.

KEYWORDS Arabic, interdentals, Najdi, Hijazi, supra-local, variation

1 Introduction

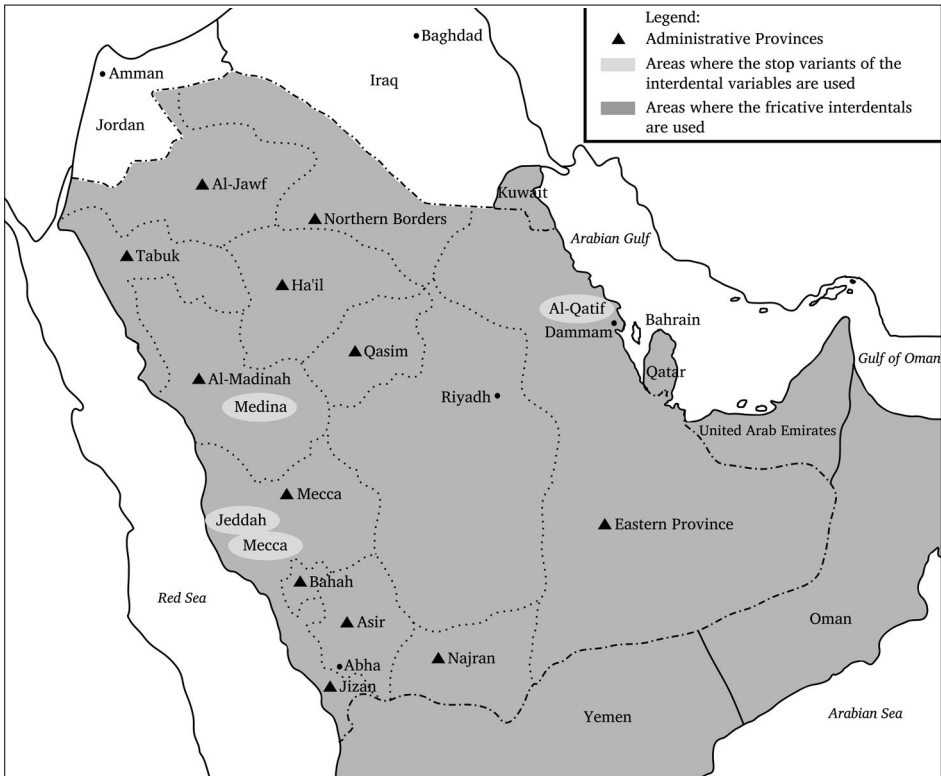
One of the consequences of dialect contact situations is the transmission of variants from one dialect to the other (Trudgill 1986: 12). This paper investigates processes of variation and change affecting the interdental sounds /θ/, /ð /and /ð/ in contact zones in the Arab world in general and in Saudi Arabia in particular. Since the interdentals are realised variably as fricatives or stops in different regions in the Arab world, they will be treated as sociolinguistic variables and therefore represented as the following symbols henceforth in this paper: (θ), (ð) and (ð̣).

The majority of the dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula have the fricative variants [θ], [ð] and [ð̣]; stop variants /t/, /d/ and /ḍ/ are used in urban Hijazi dialects in the western region and in Qatif dialect in the al-Ahsa region in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. Various studies surveyed in this paper show that in contact zones between speakers of the fricatives and stop variants, the diffusion of the stop variants is characterised by a low rate of frequency.

In this paper, the details of the analysis of the process of variation and change affecting the use of the interdental sounds in many contact zones in Saudi Arabia in general and among Najdi speakers in Hijaz in particular will be presented, and I will argue that, with regard to the pattern and direction of linguistic change, in Saudi Arabia, speakers of the interdentals orient to a supra-local norm rather than the local norm

The variation between interdental and stop variants of (θ), (ð) and (ð̣) 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 contact situation under investigation, my data show that the diffusion of the urban Hijazi stop variants in the speech of 61 Najdi speakers in the city of Jeddah is characterised 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).

The data for this paper come from empirical research carried out in 2004 in the city of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, to investigate patterns of language variation and change in the speech of 61 Najdi speakers who speak a dialect that is distinct from the local urban Hijazi dialect. Najdi and urban Hijazi are two varieties of Arabic which employ different sets of variants of the interdental variables (θ), (ð) and (ð̣). Whereas the stop variants [t], [d] and [ḍ] are used in the urban Hijazi dialect spoken in the western province of Saudi Arabia and the Baharna dialect spoken in Qatif in the Eastern



MAP 1. The geographic distribution of the fricative and stop variants of the interidental variables in the Arabian Peninsula.

province of Saudi Arabia, the fricative variants [θ], [ð] and [ð̤] are the normative use in the Najdi dialect and all other varieties spoken in Saudi Arabia (see Map 1). My data show that the rate of diffusion of urban Hijazi variants in the speech of Najdi speakers in Jeddah is variable and the diffusion of the urban Hijazi variants of the interidental variables is quite low compared to other linguistic variables investigated in my research. In this paper, I will attempt to account for the high rate of maintenance of the fricative variants among Najdi speakers vis-à-vis the stop variants of the interidental variables used by the local natives of Jeddah.

This paper is organised as follows. Section 1.1 explains the diachronic change that affected Arabic interdentals and resulted in the synchronic variation found in different regions in the Arab world. Section 1.2 surveys the sociolinguistic studies that examined these patterns of variation in the use of the interdentals in the Levant region and the Arabian Gulf region. Section 2 surveys the sociolinguistic studies of interdentals in Saudi Arabia. Section 3 examines the use of interdentals by Najdi speakers in Jeddah and presents results of the analysis of the correlation between the use of the interidental variables and the social factors of age, gender. Section 4 discusses the

results of analysis and attempts to explain the attested pattern of variation found in the speech of Najdi speakers in Jeddah with reference to the process of supralocalisation. Section 5 concludes this article.

1.1 The diachronic change of the Arabic interdentalals

The interdentalals /θ/, /ð/ and /ð̤/ are traditionally used for the typological classification of Arabic dialects: Bedouin-rural-urban (Cadora 1992: 1). Whereas interdentalals are preserved in the more conservative Bedouin dialects, they are lost in most of the sedentary Arabic dialects (Versteegh 2001: 143; Holes 2004: 70). In the sedentary dialects, the plain interdentalals /ð/ and /θ/ merged with dental stops /t/ and /d/:

/θ/ + /t/ → /t/, e.g. [θa:ni] → /ta:ni/ 'second'

/ð/ + /d/ → /d/, e.g. [ha:ða] → /ha:da/ 'this'

The merger between the interdental fricative /θ/ and the stop /t/, and /ð/ and /d/ is very common in most urban Arabic dialects used in the Levant countries, Morocco and Egypt (Abdel-Jawad and Awwad 1989). In the Arabian Peninsula, the merger is attested in the varieties spoken in the cities of Mecca, Jeddah and Medina, and Qatif, Saudi Arabia. The fricative interdentalals are used in the rest of the Arabian Peninsula (including the Gulf countries and Iraq) by most of the sedentary and Bedouin populations (Map 1).

As for the third emphatic fricative /ð̤/, Al-Wer (2004) argues that a phonetic change and not a merger had taken place in sedentary dialects. She proposes the following historical development of interdentalals into stops. At some point in time during the pre-Islamic period, a merger occurred first between the original *dād* /ɟ/, a voiced emphatic lateral fricative sound which was described by Sibawayh but not heard today except rarely in some remote areas in the south of Saudi Arabia, and the emphatic voiced fricative interdental /ð̤/. At a later stage, a phonetic change took place resulting in the change of /ð̤/ to its emphatic stop counterpart /ɟ̤/:

/ɟ̤/ + /ð̤/ > /ð̤/ > /ɟ̤/

The latter phonetic change only affected the sedentary dialects. Modern Bedouin dialects did not incorporate the change of the fricative /ð̤/ into dental stop /ɟ̤/. Whereas Bedouin dialects retained the interdental system of Classical Arabic: /θ/, /ð/ and /ð̤/, sedentary dialects merged interdentalals with stops: [t], [d] and [ɟ̤]. In modern sedentary Arabic dialects, the process of change continues as stops variably change into sibilants [t] > [s], [d] > [z], [ð̤] > [z̤]. No contemporary Arabic variety has both sounds, the interdental fricative [ð̤] and the emphatic stop [ɟ̤], as separate phonemes (Al-Wer 2004: 22).

1.2 The synchronic sociolinguistic variation in the use of interdentals in studied Arabic-speaking communities

Various sociolinguistic studies investigated the correlation between the use of the interdental variants and stylistic and other social factors in urban Arabic dialects where the interdental fricative variants are no longer in casual everyday use. Schmidt's (1974) study of Cairene Arabic, Kojak's (1983) of Damascus and Hama (Syrian), Abdel-Jawad and Awwad's (1989) of Jordanian Arabic and Daher's (1998) study of Damascus Arabic investigated and compared the distribution of the dialectal stop variants with the standard fricative variants in different speech styles. All the studies indicated that dental stops are replaced by their counterpart standard fricative.

The interdentals are also investigated as sociolinguistic variables in dialect contact studies which focus on contact situations in Arabic-speaking communities where the speakers of two varieties which employ different sets of the interdental variants come into contact. In such communities, the contact takes place between sedentary dialects where stop variants are used and Bedouin dialects where fricative variants are the normative use. Different linguistic patterns of variation were found to exist in these contact situations.

In the Levantine region, data from Jordanian Arabic show that the stop variants are expanding at the expense of the interdental fricative variants (Al-Wer 1991, 1999, 2004). Al-Wer (1991) investigated the variation in the use of the local fricative variants [θ] and [ð] and the non-local (Palestinian) prestigious variants [t] and [d] in the speech of 116 indigenous Jordanian women in three different towns in Jordan. Her data show that the younger and more educated female speakers of indigenous Jordanian varieties adopt the urban Palestinian variants. Al-Wer (1999) reports that the alternation between interdental and stop has become commonplace among speakers of the indigenous varieties of both sexes and ascribes the high rate of maintenance of the local variants [θ] (approx. 70 %) and [ð] (approx. 63 %) in her 1991 study to 'a correlation between the pressure exerted by the local community and speaker's awareness of alternations: the greater the awareness of the alternation the stronger the pressure to maintain the local features, thus resulting in limited diffusion of the non-local forms' (Al-Wer 1991: 54). Al-Wer (2004) provides information in real time on the progression of the change from interdental to stop in Jordan. She revisited the town of Sult, one of the towns which was investigated in her 1991 study to collect data from a smaller sample of speakers. The data show that the interdental variables have undergone a dramatic change. Whereas the change from local [ð] to urban [d] is near completion in the speech of young women, the change from interdental fricative [θ] to stop [t] has roughly doubled (from 28 % to 45 %). Al-Wer explains the difference in the behaviour of plain interdental /θ/ and emphatic interdental /ð/ in terms of the different parameters involved in the change from one sound to the other. She argues that the change which affects (θ) is a merger between the variants [θ] and [t]. However, the change

which affects the emphatic /ð/ is a straightforward phonetic change from fricative to stop, i.e. [ð] to [d̥]. Al-Wer explains the disappearance of the local fricative variant [ð] in terms of sociolinguistic stereotyping. She argues that, unlike plain interdentals /θ/ and /ð/, /ð/ is extremely stigmatised in Jordan. She maintains that ‘this sound is used to mimic and ridicule speakers of the dialects which have it’ (Al-Wer 2004: 25). Therefore, it is abandoned in favour of the urban variant.

In the Gulf region, Holes (1995) points to the emergence of new patterns of dialect use in Bahrain and Iraq. Holes examined the dialect used in Manama, capital of Bahrain, to show the effect of urbanisation on dialect change. He reported that the contact situation in Bahrain between the Baharna group and the Arab group in Manama led to the rise of a new standard based on the dialect of the more dominant group: the Arab group. The change in the Baharna speakers’ realisation of Arabic interdentals from [f] to [θ], [d] to [ð] and from [d] to [d̥] is one of the features which are changing towards this new standard which is the product of the fusion of Arab and Baharna dialects in Manama. Holes also examines a similar case in Iraq which was documented by Abu-Haidar (1991). In Baghdad, Christian Baghdadis, who speak a sedentary dialect which employs stop variants of the interdental variables, invariably style-shift when they interact with Muslim Baghdadis. On the other hand, Muslim Baghdadis are not changing the interdental fricatives of their dialect in any context.

2 The sociolinguistic studies of interdentals in Saudi Arabia

In Saudi Arabia, the majority of the dialects spoken in different regions use the fricative variants of the interdental variables. The stop variants /t/, /d/ and /d̥/ are used in the cities of Mecca, Jeddah, Medina (in the western region). In Qatif (in the eastern region), the reflexes of /θ/ and /ð/, /ð/ are /f/, /d/ and /d̥/ (cf. Watson 2011). The investigation of the variation in the use of interdentals has been carried out in two cities in Saudi Arabia: Mecca and Jeddah. No research has been conducted to investigate the use of the interdentals in the eastern region of Saudi Arabia.

Al-Jehani’s (1985), Al-Ahdal’s (1989) and Al-Ghamdi’s (2014) studies of Meccan Arabic investigated the use of interdentals in the speech of Meccans. The population in Mecca is ethnically divided into tribal and non-tribal groups. Whereas non-tribal Meccans use the stop/sibilant variants of the interdental variables, the tribal group use the fricative variants. The variation in the use of the interdentals across the social groups is exemplified in Table 1.

Al-Jehani and Al-Ahdal reported a general low rate of transmission of the stop and sibilant variants in the speech of the tribal population. They found that the fricative and stop/sibilant variants of the interdental variables function as ethnic markers: the former for the tribal group and the latter for the non-tribal group, hence the low accommodation to these variants by both parties. Data in Al-Ahdal study show

TABLE 1. The variation in the use of the interdentals in Mecca.

The interdental variable	Tribal pronunciation	Urban pronunciation	Gloss
/ð/	a. [ha:ða] b. [iða]	a. [ha:da] b. [iza]	'this' 'if'
/θ/	a. [θa:ni] b. [maθalan]	a. [ta:ni] b. [masalan]	'second' 'for example'
/ð/	a. [naði:f] b. [ðulm]	a. [naði:f] b. [zulm]	'clean' 'injustice'

that the tribal speakers used [s] the urban sibilant variant of (ð) 20 % of the time. On the other hand, the non-tribal speakers used the tribal variant [ð] 20 % of the time. Based on this reciprocal convergence, Al-Ahdal predicted that tribal and non-tribal variables are moving towards each other and therefore the diffused variety in Mecca has a chance of focusing. He predicted that the target model for this focused variety would be the Najdi variety which he identified as the 'national identity' of the country. Al-Ghamdi (2014) examined the variation in the use of the interdentals in the speech of Ghamdi emigrants from the south western region of al-Baha in Mecca. The data from her study show a high rate of maintenance of interdental fricatives and a low rate of use of the stop variants. The adoption of the stop variants was found to be significantly correlated with the integration of the Ghamdi community in the Meccan society.

Al-Shehri (1993) examined the variation in the speech of rural immigrants from the south-western region of Saudi Arabia in Jeddah. Al-Shehri found that the accommodation of urbanised rural speakers to the urban usage of the stop variants [t] and [d] is extremely low, and no accommodation to the sibilant variants [s] and [z]. Like Al-Jehani and Al-Ahdal, Al-Shehri drew upon the concept of ethnicity to explain the lack of accommodation to the urban stop variants. He explains that stop variants are the most salient phonological features of the urban Hijazi dialect because 'linguistically speaking, these variants represent radical phonetic distance from the local norm (i.e. interdental variants) of the indigenous Arabian dialects, and thus represent a marker of unindigenous speech' (Al-Shehri 1993: 119). The fricative interdentals have become markers of ethnicity and the indigenosity of the rural immigrants vis-à-vis the urban Hijazi locals.

Al-Qahtani (2015) examines the variation in the use of /ð/ in Tihāmat Qaḥṭān, a remote southern location in Saudi Arabia. In this region, Al-Qahtani found that [ɬ^s], the ancient lateral realisation of the phoneme /ð/ which was described by Sibawayh, is used variably with the emphatic interdental [ð] (the supra-local and majority realisation in Saudi Arabia). The data strongly suggest that there is a change in progress from the old variant (the lateral) to the supra-local variant (the interdental). This change appears to be led mainly by the younger women in the two villages investigated in this study. She adds that this change is socially motivated by the presence of speakers from outside these villages which could have influenced the local dialect and raised

the locals' awareness of this variant as a 'minority feature' vis-à-vis other dialects spoken in Saudi Arabia (Al-Qahatani 2015: 174).

3 The use of interdentalals by Najdi speakers in Jeddah

3.1 Methodology

Data for this research were collected over a five-month period from February through June 2004 from 61 male and female speakers by means of social interviews. I conducted the interviews with 50 male and female speakers. Eleven male speakers were interviewed by two male assistants and by two of my female speakers. Speakers were interviewed for 30–60 minutes in their homes most of the time and some at work. The speakers were born in Hijaz or emigrated from their cities of origin at an early age, not later than their late teens. The interdental variables were examined in relation to three social variables: age, gender and contact. The sample was stratified into 4 age groups that represent three generations of male and female Najdi speakers. Out of the 61 speakers interviewed for this study, 55 represent different generations of different families. This generational scheme allowed me to trace linguistic changes across different generations and to reveal the intricacy of the sociolinguistic situation in the community. Speakers were also classified according to their level of contact with Hijazi locals. A contact index which focuses on regular face to face verbal interaction with locals was used to classify speakers into two groups: low contact speakers and high contact speakers. It is a hierarchy of four criteria which correspond to different levels of interaction or contact with urban Hijazi locals. Speakers scored one point for each criterion they fulfilled. These criteria include (1) formal relationships at school and work or marketplace; (2) participation in neighbourhood affairs; (3) close friendships with Hijazi locals and (4) kinship and intermarriage with Hijazis in the family. A score of 1 indicates 'low contact'; a speaker in this case maintains only formal contact with urban Hijazis. Participants who score between 2–4 are considered high contact speakers. The data were auditorily analysed. At least 30 tokens per speaker for each variable were quantified and coded. In cases where a lexical item is repeatedly used by the same speaker, a ceiling of three tokens of individual items was imposed to avoid lexical effects. The collected data were further subjected to statistical analysis of variance using SPSS 14.

3.2 Data and analysis

The linguistic analysis of the variation in the use of the interdental variables among Najdi speakers shows that the stop variants [t], [d] and [ɖ] occur mostly in frequently used words which have /θ/ or /ð/; for example [d] is used in words such as [hada]

‘this’, [kida] ‘like that’ and the verb [haða] ‘take’ and its derivations, and [t] is used in numerals which have /θ/, for example [itne:n] ‘two,’ and in other words such as [aktar] ‘more.’ Najdi speakers are transferring particular words into their inventory. It seems that the diffusion of the urban Hijazi variants takes place gradually through certain lexical sets, such as the ones that were present in the speech of our informants. According to Trudgill, in contact situations the incomplete accommodation of adult speakers to the target variety involves lexical diffusion (Trudgill 1986: 58). As for preadolescents, Chambers (1992: 693) recognises lexical diffusion as one of the mechanisms of dialect acquisition. The phonological acquisition of the variants begins with individual words, and then at a later stage after a considerable number of instances have been acquired, a rule is generalised. Al-Wer (2004: 25) states that the merger which affected the Arabic interdentals, i.e. the change from fricatives to stops, may have taken place by gradual lexical diffusion. Mergers by transfer are externally motivated in the sense that they are triggered by contact between different speech communities (Labov 1994: 327). The lexical diffusion of the stop variants in the speech of Najdi speakers in Jeddah involves different phonological processes i.e. a merger in the case of (θ) and (ð), but a simple phonetic change from fricative to stop in the case of adults’ acquisition of [d].

3.3 The social embedding of the variation in the use of the interdental variables

The results of the analysis of the variation in the use of the interdental variables of (θ), (ð) and (ð̣) in relation to three social factors: contact, age and gender is presented in Table 2.

The analysis of the use of the interdental variables across age groups which is given in Table 2 shows a low rate of variation in the use of the stop variants [t], [d] and [ḍ]. The ANOVA test at 5 % significance level indicates that the differences between

TABLE 2. The use of the interdental variables according to age.

Age group	(θ)			(ð)			(ð̣)		
	% [θ]	% [t]	N	% [ð̣]	% [d]	N	% [ð̣]	% [d]	N
10-24	99	1	607	99	1	658	99	1	618
25-38	99	1	369	97	3	413	94	6	434
39-55	98	2	350	97	3	356	94	6	376
over 55	5	95	380	89	12	464	89	12	451
Total	1706			1891			1789		
ANOVA	F = 1.6, P = 0.196			F = 4.866, P = 0.004			F = 1.855, P = 0.148		

speakers in the use of the stop variants by age are significant at $P = 0.004$ in the case of [d], but insignificant in the case of [t] ($P = 0.196$) and [ɖ] ($P = 0.1480$). Three observations can be made about the data presented in Table 2. Firstly, the rate of variation in the use of the interdental variables is very low taking into consideration the length of time spent by the speakers in the city of Jeddah. 90 % of the speakers who participated in this study, including 81 % of the oldest age group, were born and raised in Jeddah or in the cities of Mecca and Medina where the urban Hijazi variety is used. The length of stay of the Najdi community extends over 70 years. For the majority of speakers, the exposure to the urban Hijazi variety supposedly took place early in their lives, at school and/or at work. However, in relation to the adoption of the urban Hijazi stop variants [d], [t] and emphatic [ɖ], the linguistic outcome is not in proportion with this long period of time spent in Jeddah. The phonological distinction is maintained in the speech of Najdi speakers although the opposition between the variants involved in the contrast does not carry significant semantic functional load. In the absence of intra-linguistic constraint, the diffusion of the urban Hijazi variants is expected to occur. Nevertheless, the data indicate that the diffusion of the urban variants is characterised by a low rate of frequency. More importantly, the distribution of the variants across the age groups indicates the low rate of acquisition of the urban Hijazi variants by the Najdi youngsters, which 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). The youngest speakers in this study show a minimal rate of variation (1 %). The majority of speakers in the young age group (70 %) belong to the second generation of Najdis born in Jeddah to mothers who themselves were born in the region of Hijaz.

Equally important, the distribution of the urban variants across the age groups show that the urban variants [d], [t] and [ɖ] were adopted by first-generation speakers, but the transmission of the urban variants was thwarted in the following younger generations. Table 3 shows that the difference between the oldest speakers and all other age groups with regard to use of the urban variant [d] is statistically significant; however, the difference between the oldest age group and the youngest age group is highly significant at $P < 0.001$. With the exception of the oldest age group, the linguistic behaviour of all age groups indicates a case of dialect divergence as the use of the stop variants is receding in the speech of Najdi speakers. It seems that the adoption of the urban Hijazi variants which had started at an earlier point of time as shown by the variation rate in the speech of the oldest speakers has not further progressed in the speech of the subsequent generation. The fricative variants, on the other hand, show a high rate of maintenance among speakers of all age groups. It seems that age is not the determinant factor for the acquisition of the interdental urban variants.

To be able to account for the lack of acquisition of the urban variant among young Najdi speakers, we have to probe further the social context of the dialect

TABLE 3. T-test of the significance of the difference between age group (over 55).

Age groups in comparison	T-test
Over 55\39–55	P = 0.018
Over 55\25–38	P = 0.008
Over 55\10–24	P = 0.001

TABLE 4. The use of the interdental variables according to contact.

	(θ)			(ð)			(ḍ)		
	% [θ]	% [t]	N	% [ð]	% [d]	N	% [ḍ]	% [ḍ]	N
Low contact	100	0	770	100	0	890	99.80	0.20	830
High contact	97	4	936	91.52	8.48	1001	95	5	1049
	t-test = -3.079, P = 0.003			t-test = -3.410, P = 0.001			t-test = -2.722, P = 0.0109		

TABLE 5. The use of the interdental variables according to gender.

	(θ)			(ð)			(ḍ)		
	% [θ]	% [t]	N	% [ð]	% [d]	N	% [ḍ]	% [ḍ]	N
Male	99	1	836	94	6	889	94	4	889
Female	97	3	870	97	3	1002	98	2	1002
	t-test = -1.450, P = 0.152			t-test = 0.168, P = 0.867			t-test = 0.968, P = 0.339		

contact situation. We have to uncover the ‘social embedding of language change’ (Labov 1972: 162) by examining the correlation of the interdental with the other social variables of contact and gender.

The results of the quantitative analysis given in Table 4 clearly establish contact as an important social variable. The data in Table 4 indicate that there is a correlation between the use of the urban Hijazi variants [d], [t] and [ḍ] and the level of contact with Hijazi locals. The data show that variation in the use of the urban Hijazi variants is limited to speakers who maintained a high level of contact with urban Hijazis. High contact speakers used [d] 9 % of the time and [t] 4 % of the time. The difference between speakers according to the level of contact is statistically significant at P = 0.001 in the case of [d]; at P = 0.003 in the case of [t] and at P = 0.010 in the case of emphatic [ḍ]. We can establish with confidence that there is a correlation between the rate of usage of the stop variants and the level of contact with urban Hijazi locals. It is urban Hijazi-oriented speakers who adopted the stop variants in their speech.

With regard to correlation between the use of the stop variants of the interdental variables with gender, the data presented in Table 5 show that male speakers use

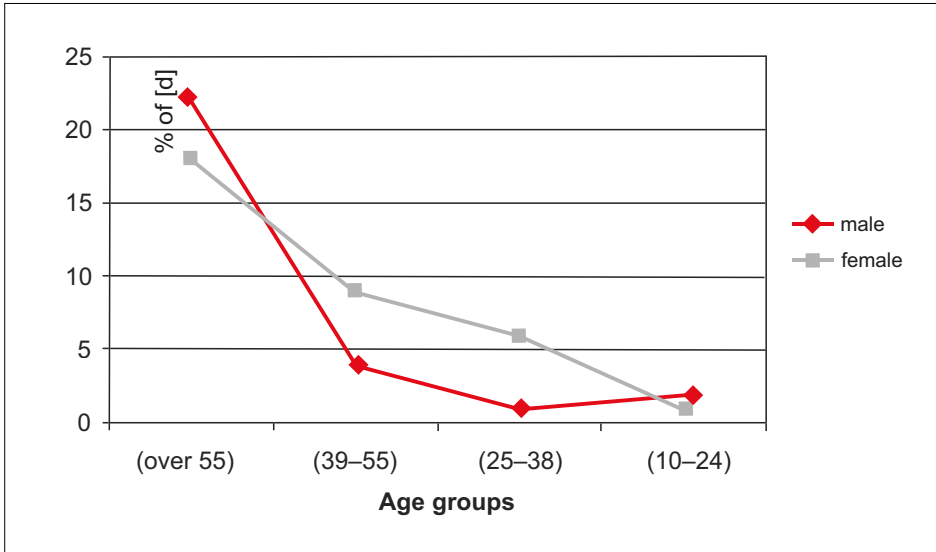


FIGURE 1. Use of [d] by age and gender in high contact speakers.

more of the stop variants of the variables (δ) and (δ) than women. Men used [d] 6 % of the time and they used emphatic [d] 4 % of the time. On the other hand, female speakers' use of the urban Hijazi variant [t] is higher than male speakers. However, this difference between men and women with regard to the usage of the urban Hijazi variants is not statistically significant.

Since contact emerged as a determinant factor in the variation of the interdental variables, the correlation between age and gender in high contact speakers with regard to the use of the stop variants [d], [t] and [d] is investigated and the results are illustrated in Figures 1, 2 and 3.

A glance at Figure 1 quickly ascertains that there is a steady decline in the use of the urban Hijazi variant [d] among speakers from both sexes. As we explained before, this inverse pattern of variation is actually the result of the level and degree of contact which speakers maintained with urban Hijazi locals. The information illustrated in this figure clearly indicates difference by gender. Male and female speakers differ in their use of the urban Hijazi variant. The oldest male speakers produce the highest number of tokens with [d] realisation of the variable (δ); they used [d] 22 % of the time. The oldest female speakers, on the other hand, used less of [d]; they used the urban Hijazi variant 18 % of the time. In the middle-age group, male speakers' use of [d] sharply drops to 4 %. On the other hand, 9 % of the token of the variable (δ) were realised as [d] by female speakers from the same age group. In the age group (25-38), female speakers used the urban Hijazi variant 6 % of the time whereas male speakers' rates of usage of the urban Hijazi variant drop to 1 %. However, in the youngest age group, male speakers' use of the urban Hijazi variant starts to rise again; 2 % of

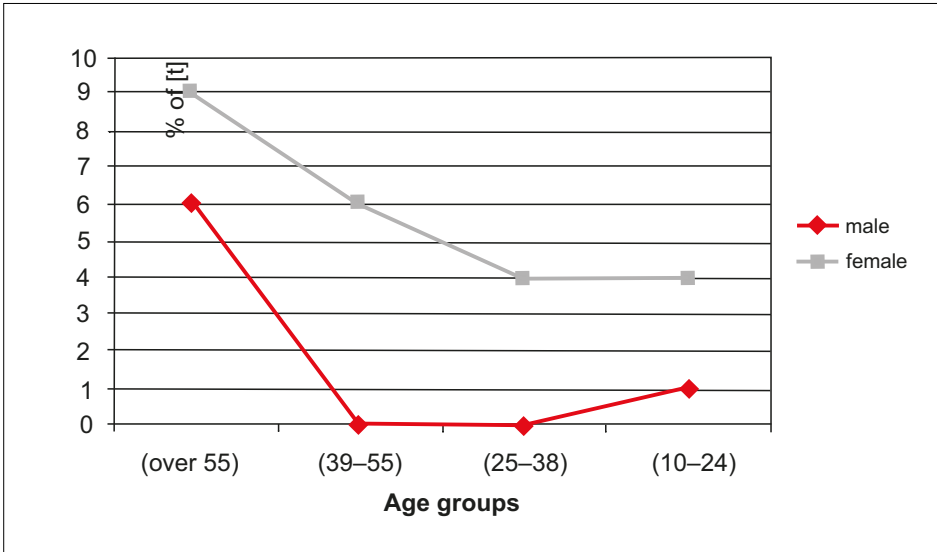


FIGURE 2. Use of [t] by age and gender in high contact speakers.

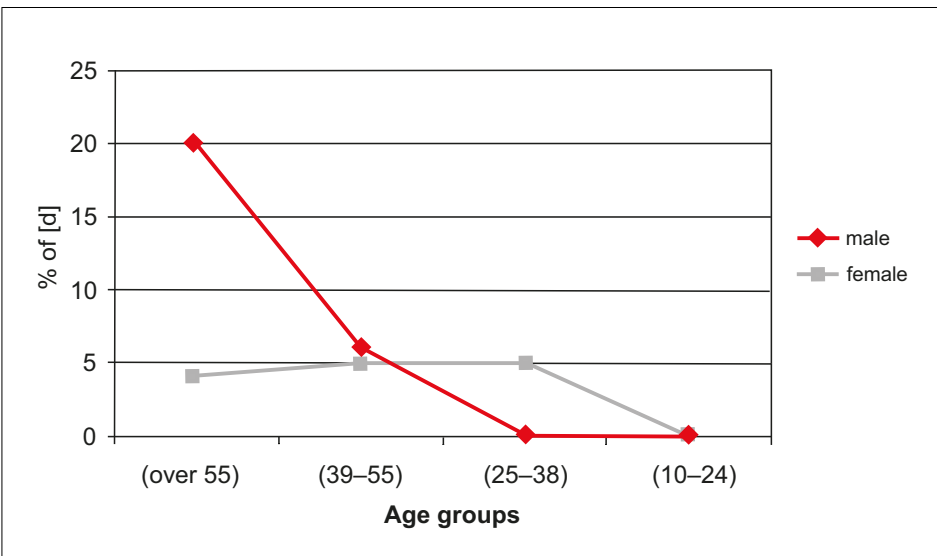


FIGURE 3. Use of [d] by age and gender in high contact speakers.

the tokens of the variable (δ) were realised as [d] by young male speakers. On the other hand, the use of [d] continues to decrease in the speech of young female speakers; it falls from 6 % to 1 %. The apparent time data given in Figure 1 illustrate the recessive use of the urban Hijazi variant [d] among male and female speakers except for the young male speakers.

Figure 2 clearly shows that there is a correlation between the use of the urban Hijazi stop variant [t] and female speakers. Female speakers showed a higher rate of use of [t] than male speakers across all age groups. It is noticed that although there is a decline in the use of [t] among male and female speakers, it is steeper in the case of male speakers. In the oldest age group, whereas women used [t] 9 % of the time, men used the urban Hijazi variant 6 % of the time. In the middle-age group, women's use of [t] decreased; female speakers in the (39–54) age group used [t] 6 % of the time. On the other hand, male speakers from the same age group did not use the urban Hijazi variant. In the (25–38) age group, female speakers used [t] 4 % of the time. However, the stop variant [t] was not used by the male speakers in the same age group. In the youngest age group, [t] is showing a tendency to stabilise in the speech of the youngest female speakers who used it 4 % of the time. The use of [t] reappears in the speech of the youngest speakers as they used it 1 % of the time.

Figure 3 illustrates the distribution of [d̥] in male and female speakers across different age cohorts.

The data in Figure 3 show that male speakers' use of [d̥] has receded to disappear from the speech of age groups (25–38) and (10–24). On the other hand, women's use of [d̥] increased in the middle-age group. Female speakers in the next age group showed the same rate of usage as the middle-age group; however, the use of [d̥] drops to 1 % in the speech of the youngest female speakers.

Like [d̥] and [t], [d̥] emerges as a recessive variant in male and female speakers. Although, the younger women appear to be leading the change towards the urban Hijazi variant [d̥] in age groups (25–38) and (10–24), the disappearance of [d̥] from the speech of young male speakers and its decline in the speech of the youngest female speakers indicate that [d̥] is a recessive variant.

4 Discussion

The analysis of the data has shown the maintenance of the fricative variants in the speech of low contact Najdi speakers and a low rate of variation and recessive use of the stop variants in the speech of high contact Najdi speakers. Although contact emerges as the most significant social factor determining the diffusion of the stop variants in the speech of Najdis, the low rate of use of these variants in the second generation of young high contact speakers remains remarkably low. In the ideal circumstances of dialect contact situations, children usually speak the local vernacular following the linguistic pattern of their peers (Kerswill and Williams 2000; Payne 1980). The linguistic behaviour of young Najdi speakers seems to contradict this widely reported outcome of dialect contact. However, it concurs with the previously reported pattern of variation found in the speakers of other regional dialects which employ the fricative of the interdental variables in Saudi Arabia (see section 2 of this paper). The high

level of maintenance of the fricative variants and the low rate of transmission of the stop variants in the speech of Najdi and speakers of other regional dialects can be explained in terms of the operation of the process of supralocalisation which is a 'process by which, as a result of mobility and dialect contact, linguistic variants that have a wide geographical currency spread at the expense of those which are much more locally restricted' (Britain 2011). Supra-local varieties which emerge in dialect contact zones tend to favour features that are found across a region or a country, and they tend to avoid salient linguistic features that are strongly associated with a particular dialect or particular social group. The operation of the process of supralocalisation is evidenced by the fact that Najdi speakers, like other regional groups in the city, do not make wholesale adoption of the urban Hijazi variety. On the one hand, they abandon traditional Najdi forms on the phonological and morphosyntactic level in favour of the urban Hijazi forms (cf. Al-Essa 2008, 2009). On the other hand, they maintain the use of the fricative variants of the interdental variables and avoid the local stop variants. As mentioned earlier, a supra-local variety favours 'unmarked' features that have a wider regional distribution. The Najdi speakers rid their speech of the marked forms of their dialect, e.g. affricated variants of /k/ and /g/, but they maintain the fricative variants of the interdentals because they are aware that fricative variants have a wider geographic and demographic distribution in the region. Unlike the stop/sibilant variants which are restricted to the Hijazi cities of Mecca, Medina and Jeddah, the fricative variants of the interdentals have a wider regional distribution, not only in Saudi Arabia but in the Gulf countries and Yemen, as well (see Map 1).

The high rate of maintenance of the fricative variants of the interdental variables in the speech of Najdi speakers and speakers of other Arabian varieties in Saudi Arabia is also associated with the speakers' perception of the stop and sibilant variants of the interdental variables as an 'exonorm.' Unlike all other varieties in Saudi Arabia, the urban dialect of Hijaz has been largely shaped by geopolitical and socio-religious factors, most importantly the external migration of different ethnic groups from outside the Arabian Peninsula in the past centuries. Previous sociolinguistic studies which investigated the use of the interdental variables in other speech communities in Mecca and Jeddah reported that the stop and sibilant variants have become stereotypical of the urban Hijazi variety and that they are perceived by the tribal population as 'non-Arabian' speech features. (cf. Al-Jehani 1985; Al-Ahdal 1989; Al-Shehri 1993). This social perception of the stop variants as 'substrate' features is accentuated by their phonetic saliency. The stop variants [t], [d] and [ɖ] are phonetically distinct from the fricative variants which make them overtly noticed by the community members and they become the subject of social comment. The fact that the stop variants carry such detectable social loading as a marker of another distinct ethnic group whose roots lie outside the Arabian Peninsula worked as a deterring factor against the adoption of the stop variants.


Finally, we cannot conclude this discussion of language variation and change in Saudi Arabia in relation to the interdental sounds without alluding to the fact that there is a lack of a standard spoken variety that is associated with the people of the country. We cannot speak with certainty of 'Saudi Arabic' which is based on a 'prestigious' dialect associated with a politically or commercially urban centre in the same way we speak about Egyptian Arabic which is associated with the speech of Cairo. We cannot speak of a standard Saudi dialect in which a foreigner may learn to interact with Saudi people. There are manuals to teach different varieties according to the purpose of the learners and the region where they plan to visit or work in geographic, political and social divisions worked against the rise of a standard variety that is recognised collectively by the people of Arabia as such prestigious. With the establishment of the Kingdom in 1932, the different regions of Arabia were unified under one central government for the first time in many centuries. The modernisation process which followed the discovery of oil in 1932 and accelerated after the oil boom in the 1970s led to massive internal migration to major urban centres. The economic growth and in-migration affected the linguistic and cultural makeup of these urban centres. Speakers of different regional dialects interact in the melting pot of major cities like Jeddah, and it is these conditions of dialect contact and economic prosperity which actuate the rise of a supra-local variety which could function as a regional standard for the people of Saudi Arabia. It seems that the interdentals /θ/ and /ð/, /ð̤/ are part and parcel of this emerging regional standard variety in Saudi Arabia.

5 Conclusion

The interdental variables (θ), (ð) and (ð̤) show different patterns of geolinguistic distribution in the Arab world. Whereas stop variants [t], [d] and [d̤] are associated with particular standard regional varieties, e.g. Egyptian Arabic and Levantine Arabic, the fricative variants /θ/ and /ð/, /ð̤/ are found in the Arabic varieties spoken in the Arabian Peninsula, the Gulf region and Iraq. The transmission of either type of variants is investigated in different Arabic-speaking countries in various sociolinguistic studies with different outcomes. Urban centres in Jordan, Bahrain, Iraq and Saudi Arabia were found to be the locus of language change with regard to the use of the interdental variables. Speakers of different dialects responded to the supra-local norms of their regions and hence linguistic change takes a different course in different regions. The urban centres of Hijaz, i.e. Mecca, Jeddah and Medina which are the locus of the stop variants of the interdental variables in Saudi Arabia witnessed massive in-migration by speakers of Arabian dialects that employ the fricative variants of the interdental variables. The results from this study and previous studies show a low rate of variation in the use of stop variants [t], [d] and [d̤] and a high degree of maintenance of the fricative variants of the interdentals /θ/, /ð/ and /ð̤/. I explained that

Najdi speakers are orienting towards a supra-local linguistic norm that is Arabian in essence. The fricative variants have become social markers used by the speakers to signal their Arabian identity. The survival of the fricative variants in the speech of Arabic-speaking communities which have longer history of urbanisation and contact, i.e. Iraq and Tunisia lend further support to the likelihood of the maintenance of the fricative variants in the speech of the people in Saudi Arabia. Another scenario still to be contemplated is that the large conurbation centres in Hijaz such as the city of Jeddah might facilitate the transmission of the stop variants in the speech of third-generation immigrants.

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Substrate Breaking Free: The Case of the Argument Flagging and Indexing Construction in the Jewish Dialect of Baghdad

ABSTRACT The Argument Flagging and Indexing Construction (AFIC) is commonly used in the Jewish Arabic dialect of Baghdad (JB) to mark arguments of the clause. Traces of equivalent constructions can be found in older Semitic languages as well as Modern Arabic dialects, and it is widely accepted that the existence of the AFIC in JB reflects Aramaic substrate. Nonetheless, neither Syriac nor any modern Aramaic or Arabic dialect present the diversity of syntactic functions and sub-constructions that the AFIC in JB does. Moreover, despite the peculiar semantic or pragmatic nuance that accompanies its use in JB, the AFIC is much more common in use in JB in comparison to other modern dialects. These differences motivated the current study, which aims at understanding the way the AFIC was absorbed into JB as well as the way it was further developed in the dialect.

KEYWORDS argument marking, historical linguistics, the Jewish dialect of Baghdad, Semitic languages, Aramaic, Arabic dialectology

1 The AFIC

The Jewish Arabic dialect of Baghdad (JB) employs a particular construction to mark constituents of the clause as arguments. This construction, which we call the Argument Flagging and Indexing Construction (AFIC), typically marks the argument twice—once by a flag and once by a person index:

- (1) *tənqáf-u* *l-əl-bərgəl*
steep.IPFV.2MSG-3MSG 1¹-DEF-bulgur
'you steep the bulgur'

1 As a central topic of this article, the morpheme *l-* will be glossed as is throughout the article.

The object in example (1), *al-bargāl* ‘the bulgur,’ is preceded by the morpheme *l-*. This morpheme, which historically goes back to the dative preposition (see § 2), flags it as the argument of the construction. Apart from that, the same object, which is a 3MSG one, is indexed by a 3MSG pronominal suffix on the verb. We get, then, a construction that can be literally translated to English as ‘you steep it [to] the bulgur,’ whereby the object is flagged by ‘to’ and further indexed by ‘it.’

The terms FLAG and INDEX are adopted from Haspelmath (2019: 94), who distinguishes between them as two means of argument marking. The former relates to the use of case markers and adpositions whereas the latter to argument marking via person indexes. However, while the flag only highlights the argument that the construction marks, the person index is in charge of assigning it with a syntactic function. In (1), the pronoun is suffixed directly to the verb, marking the former as an accusative pronoun. The agreement between this pronoun and the flagged argument assigns the same syntactic function to the argument. This is why ‘bulgur’ serves as the direct object in the sentence.

Other than marking direct objects, the AFIC may mark indirect objects, oblique arguments and genitive arguments respectively, as the following examples show:

- (2) *qal-l-u* *l-əs-sāyaq*
 say.PFV.3MSG-to-3MSG I-DEF-driver
 ‘he said to the driver’
- (3) *muḥarram* *ʔlē-həm* *l-əl-aslām*
 forbidden.PTCP.PASS.MSG on-3PL I-DEF-Muslims
 ‘[it is] forbidden for the Muslims’
- (4) *abū-ha* *l-əmm-i*
 father-3FSG I-mother-1SG
 ‘the father of my mother’

The differences between the marking of the different syntactic functions by the AFIC can be formulated as follows:

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| (a) Direct object marking: | VERB-Ø-INDEX | FLAG-ARGUMENT |
| (b) Indirect object marking: | VERB-I-INDEX | FLAG-ARGUMENT |
| (c) Oblique marking: | VERB preposition-INDEX | FLAG-ARGUMENT |
| (d) Genitive marking: | NOUN-INDEX | FLAG-ARGUMENT |

Formulas (a)–(c) show that the difference between direct object marking, indirect object marking and oblique object marking lies in the type of gram that comes between the verb and the index. When a direct object is marked, no gram interferes,

when an indirect object is marked, the dative preposition *l-* is infix between the verb and the person index, and when an oblique argument is marked, a preposition other than *l-* comes between the verb and the person index. In addition, while the verb, the gram and the person index constitute a single phonological word when direct and indirect objects are marked, two separate phonological words are produced when an oblique argument is marked. As for genitive argument marking, it stands out from the other formulas since its person index is suffixed to a noun rather than to a verb. A pronominal suffix on a noun is a possessive pronoun, and thus the flagged argument that agrees with the pronoun is assigned with the function of the genitive.

Naturally, argument marking in JB does not have to be realised through the AFIC. There are additional ways to mark objects, or oblique and genitive arguments. Through the use of the AFIC, a specific semantic or pragmatic goal is achieved:

- When direct objects are marked, the AFIC serves as a differential object marking (DOM) instrument, whereby only definite objects are marked. Indefinite objects cannot be marked by the AFIC. The same goes for indirect objects, although indefinite indirect objects are, essentially, very rare.
- The AFIC will be used to mark oblique arguments in order to focus on them or to mark the bit before the climax in a narrative. Thus, to achieve pragmatic goals.
- Finally, when genitive relation is marked by the AFIC, the main noun must be inalienable.

To achieve these semantic or pragmatic goals, however, it is not necessary to use the full AFIC, namely a construction in which the argument is both flagged and indexed. In certain cases, only a flag or a person index might take part in the construction. Moreover, in the case of direct object marking neither a flag nor a person index has to take part. In total, four different constructions can, potentially, be used. We term them Strategy 1–4:

Strategy 1—indexed and flagged argument (full AFIC)

Strategy 2—indexed but flag-less argument

Strategy 3—index-less but flagged argument

Strategy 4—index-less and flag-less argument (marker-less construction)

The distribution of the different strategies across syntactic functions in our corpus² is presented in Table 1:

² This research is based on a corpus of JB oral texts (Bar-Moshe 2019).

TABLE 1. The distribution of the different strategies across syntactic functions.

	Strategy 1	Strategy 2	Strategy 3	Strategy 4
Direct object marking	85	94	3	49
Indirect object marking	28	5	5	N/A
Oblique marking	10	2	N/A	N/A
Genitive marking	28	2	N/A	N/A

In Bar-Moshe (2021), the restrictions that dictate the distribution that we see in Table 1 are discussed in detail. Considerations such as the NP type of the argument, its definiteness and individuation, word order, the inclusion of additional arguments into the clause and others are taken into account. We will not repeat them here, but will, nevertheless, highlight the following points about the different marking strategies:

1. Strategy 1 is the most common way by which arguments are marked when the need to achieve the semantic or pragmatic goals that were noted above arises. The only exception is direct object marking, where Strategy 2 is slightly more common.
2. Strategy 2 is mainly used when the argument opens with a definite article. In fact, it is limited to these types of arguments in the case of oblique and genitive marking. While it is rarely used when the need arises to mark indirect objects and genitive or oblique arguments, it is the most common way by which direct objects are marked.
3. Strategy 3 is very rare. Due to the absence of the person index, which, as we know, is in charge of assigning the argument with the syntactic function, Strategy 3 is used only when the syntactic function of the argument can be clearly inferred otherwise from the clause. Moreover, when direct objects are marked using Strategy 3, they are limited to pronominal demonstratives.
4. The only function that is compatible with Strategy 4 is direct object marking. This means that definite direct objects can be marked (or rather can be left unmarked) in the same way that indefinite direct object are, which contradicts our claim above that the AFIC is used as an instrument of DOM. Indeed, DOM is, theoretically, violated under Strategy 4, but the reason for that is parallel unrelated historical developments which are discussed in details in Bar-Moshe (2022: 38–40) and will be further elaborated on in § 2.2.

That different strategies can be synchronically used, as reflected by Table 1, raises the suspicion that diachronic developments that are still ongoing are involved. In the following sections, we will find out whether this suspicion is justified.

2 The diachronic development of the AFIC

Arabic replaced Aramaic as the lingua franca in Iraq following the Arab conquests in the seventh century. The process of adapting Arabic was quicker in the urban centres and in southern Iraq. By the eleventh century, the Jews had stopped using Aramaic as a written language (Khan 2007: 106–107), which means that they ceased using it as a spoken language even before that.

That the AFIC reflects an Aramaic substrate in JB, as well as in Mesopotamian and Levantine Arabic in general, is widely accepted in the literature (Blanc 1964: 130; Diem 1979: 47; Hopkins 1997: 358; Rubin 2005: 106, 115; Palva 2009: 22; del Río Sánchez 2013: 135–136). Thus, looking at the construction in Aramaic and in neighbouring dialects might teach us about the way the four strategies have developed and the constraints that dictate their use.

2.1 The AFIC in Semitic

Marking a direct object by the AFIC³ received much more description in the linguistic literature in comparison to other syntactic functions. Indirect object marking is usually discussed together with direct object marking, many times without even noting the difference between them. Genitive marking received less treatment in comparison to direct object marking, but still much more than oblique marking, which is almost never mentioned. These tendencies correspond to the distribution of the different functions in JB, as reflected in Table 1, and they probably correspond also to the statistical prominence of the different functions in Semitic. The available information about marking the different syntactic functions with the AFIC in Semitic is gathered in the following paragraphs, function by function.

2.1.1 Direct object marking

Marking the direct object by the dative preposition is a known phenomenon in Semitic languages like Arabic, Aramaic, Late Biblical Hebrew, Mishnaic Hebrew, Akkadian, Ge'ez, Tigrinya and Tigré (Khan 1984: 468–469; Mansour 1991: 44; Rubin 2005: 92, 95, 107, 109–110). Classical Arabic (CA) and Middle Arabic, as well as modern Arabic dialects,

3 The term AFIC as well as the division into four different strategies were, naturally, not termed and noted as such by scholars other than the author. Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience, they will be used here to refer to equivalent constructions that were identified in the literature.

present the use of the preposition *li-* as a direct object flag (Rubin 2005: 110). This use is marginal, however, especially as far as CA is concerned (Blau 2017: 67).

The full AFIC was widespread in Syriac as well as in later Eastern Aramaic dialects like Babylonian Talmudic and Mandaic (Rubin 2005: 100–101, 103). In Arabic, it is found in Baghdadi sources dated as early as the eleventh century, as well as in Judeo Middle Arabic and Christian Palestinian Middle Arabic (Blanc 1964: 130; Levin 1994: 325; Rubin 2005: 106). As for Modern Arabic, it can be found in Lebanese dialects (Féghali 1928: 362; Koutsoudas 1978: 529), Syrian dialects (Cowell 1964: 435, 439; Grotzfeld 1964: 127), and *qəltu*-dialects like the Muslim dialect of Mosul (Jastrow 1979: 49), the Jewish dialect of Siverek (Nevo 1999: 75), the dialect of Tikrit (Johnstone 1975: 107) and the Karaite dialect of Hit (Khan 1997: 93). Specifically for the dialects of Baghdad, the full construction is present also in the Muslim (MB) and the Christian dialect (CB) (Blanc 1964: 128–130; Abu-Haidar 1991: 116; Erwin 2004: 332). Blanc claims, however, that it is rarer in both in comparison to JB.

Strategy 2 is attested to some extent in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and in Syriac (Nöldeke 1898: 218–220; Hopkins 1997: 351, 353). It is absent, as far as we could gather, from any other modern Arabic or Aramaic dialect apart from some *qəltu*-dialects and MB. Indeed, Blanc (1964: 128) notes the option to use Strategy 2 in all three dialects of Baghdad⁴ when a definite article precedes the object. This matches our findings about object-NPs that open with a definite article, but ignores other types of object-NPs that may be hosted under the unflagged strategies. Interestingly, no flag precedes the NP in all the examples that Blanc provides of object-NPs that open with a definite article in CB and JB.⁵ In some of the examples that he provides from MB, on the other hand, a flag precedes the definite article. In other modern Arabic dialects, all the examples of object-NPs that open with a definite article show that it is further preceded by a flag (see, for example, Levin 1987: 33–35 for the dialect of the Galilee, and Brustad 2000: 356–357 for Syrian dialects). This is, probably, not a coincidence—it is possible that the unflagged but indexed construction is a feature of *qəltu*-dialects⁶ that penetrated, to some extent, also into MB.

An equivalent construction to Strategy 3 can be found in Syriac (Hopkins 1997: 353–354), in Ge'ez (though rarely, Hopkins 1997: 354) and in Christian and Jewish Middle Arabic texts (Blau 1966–1967: 414). Neither Blanc (1964) nor Abu-Haidar (1991)

4 Interestingly, neither Abu-Haidar (1991) nor Mansour (1991) mention the option to leave the construction unflagged in CB or JB, respectively.

5 Only one example of object-NP that opens with a definite article and is also preceded by a flag is given by Blanc (1964: 128), but it seems to be a theoretical one, as it is shared by all three dialects.

6 The option to leave the flag out is attested also in the Jewish dialect of Arbīl (Jastrow 1988: 55), the Jewish dialect of Nusaybin/Qamišli (Jastrow 1989: 158) and the Jewish dialect of Siverek (Nevo 1999: 75). All three dialects belong to the *qəltu* group. Strategy 2 seems to be absent from the neo-Aramaic dialect of Maṣlūla (Hopkins 1997: 358; as well as the descriptions of Spitaler 1938, Correll 1978 and Arnold 1990).

mention such a construction in CB or MB. As for other Arabic dialects,⁷ Féghali (1928: 362) notes it in Lebanon, but mentions that it is not as common as Strategy 1 although it probably used to be quite common in the past. Both Spitaler (1938: 219) and Correll (1978: 15) agree that Strategy 3 occurs only rarely in Maflūla and that it should not be considered the norm.

Finally, the marker-less construction is not mentioned specifically in the available descriptions due to the absence of any formal marker. However, all the examples that Abu-Haidar provides for the use of the full construction in CB are repeated with the marker-less construction, giving the impression that they stand in free variation, or in her own words, that they have ‘the same semantic value’ (Abu-Haidar 1991: 116). As she only gives examples of object-NPs that open with a definite article, it is difficult to judge whether free variation is valid for other types of object-NPs as well. In any case, at least in JB we know that no free variation applies for the marker-less construction in terms of the types of the NPs that it can cover, as it is incompatible with proper nouns, with pronominal demonstratives and with pronominal quantifiers.

2.1.2 Indirect object marking

Not much could be said about indirect object marking using the AFIC in Semitic since it is rarely mentioned in the literature. Still, it is clear that the option to do that was available in Syriac (Diem 1979: 48; Khan 1984: 468) and Maflūla (Arnold 1990: 286, 300). As for modern dialects, Blanc (1964: 131) notes examples only from JB. One additional example from JB is given by Mansour (1991: 44), who provides an equivalent example from Mishnaic Hebrew.

2.1.3 Oblique marking

Oblique marking using the AFIC is attested in Syriac (Diem 1979: 48; Khan 1984: 468, 475), in Ge’ez (Rubin 2005: 107) and in Mishnaic Hebrew (Mansour 1991: 44). However, the Syriac and Mishnaic Hebrew examples that Khan and Mansour provide differ from those we find in JB. In both, the preposition repeats itself twice, once before the person index and once as the flag, as reflected from the following Syriac example: *beh bə-haw zabnā* ‘at it—at that time’ (Khan 1984: 468). On the other hand, in JB, as example (3) shows, the argument is always flagged by the morpheme *l-*.

7 Unindexed but flagged constructions were noted also in Cypriot Arabic (Borg 1985: 138), Malta (Aquilina 1959: 115) and Andalusian Arabic (Corriente 1977: 126), but they have probably developed for different reasons than the ones we will note below.

Back in 1964, Blanc wrote that he could not find traces of oblique AFIC in any other Arabic dialect but JB (Blanc 1964: 132). The only mention of an equivalent construction in modern Arabic dialects other than JB that, as far as we are aware, was gathered since is from the dialect of the Karaites in Hit, where Khan (1997: 93) noted one example with the preposition *ʕala-*. As for JB, Blanc provides a few examples using the prepositions *b-* and *ʕand-* and says that they are equivalent to examples without the AFIC (Blanc 1964: 131). Free variation as such is not the case, however, since, as we already established, the oblique AFIC is pragmatically marked.

Finally, oblique marking with the AFIC is attested also in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Maṣlūla (Diem 1997: 48).

2.1.4 Genitive marking

A genitive construction equivalent to the AFIC can be found in Aramaic and Ge'ez (Rubin 2005: 106–107), but unlike JB, a relative pronoun (rather than the dative preposition) is the source of its flag (Rubin 2005: 328). Thus, *za-* is employed as a flag in Ge'ez and *zy* in Syriac. Nonetheless, the option to use the flag *l(a)-* in the genitive AFIC has developed in both languages, probably in analogy to the use of this flag to mark the direct object (Barth 1911: 50; Hopkins 1997: 355). This can be seen in Table 2:⁸

TABLE 2. Direct object and genitive marking through the AFIC in Syriac and Ge'ez.

Language/ Strategy	Syriac		Ge'ez	
	Accusative	Genitive	Accusative	Genitive
Marker-less	<i>q̄tal malkā</i>	<i>bayt malkā</i>	<i>qatala nəḡuśa</i>	<i>beta nəḡuś</i>
Strategy 1	<i>q̄tal-eh l-malkā</i>	<i>bayt-eh zy malkā</i> <i>bayt-eh l-malkā</i>	<i>qatal-o la-nəḡuś</i>	<i>bet-u la-nəḡuś</i>
Strategy 2	<i>q̄tal-eh malkā</i>	<i>bayt-eh malkā</i>		
Strategy 3	<i>q̄tal l-malkā</i>	<i>bayt(ā) zy malkā</i>	<i>qatala la-nəḡuś</i>	<i>bet za-nəḡuś</i>

The flag *l(a)-* is productive in the case of the genitive AFIC only in Strategy 1. Its absence from Strategy 3 in Ge'ez was explained by the rarity of the strategy in general (Hopkins 1997: 355). We can see, however, that it is also absent from Strategy 3 in Syriac, which is not a coincidence. Barth (1911: 50) believes that the development of the flag *l-* in the genitive AFIC in analogy to the accusative AFIC was facilitated by the occurrence of a third person index preceding the flag in both the accusative and

⁸ The data in Table 2 is gathered from Hopkins (1997: 353–354).

genitive construction. We believe, then, that the absence of a person index can explain why this analogy did not penetrate into Strategy 3 in both Syriac and Ge'ez.

According to Hopkins (1997: 356), the full genitive AFIC is rare, at least in Syriac and in other literary Aramaic dialects. When it is used, the main noun is usually *šmā* 'name' or some other inalienable noun. Hopkins (1997: 359) assumes, thus, that it was a colloquial feature. Indeed, in some Modern Aramaic dialects, the AFIC is the normal genitive construction (Rubin 2005: 104). In Maṣlūla, for example, object marking and genitive marking look exactly like in Ge'ez (Arnold 1990: 301–302; Hopkins 1997: 357–358). More specifically, *l-* is used in Maṣlūla as the flag in the case of the full genitive AFIC, whereas a relative marker is used in Strategy 3 (Diem 1979: 48; Arnold 1990: 301–302; Hopkins 1997: 357–358).

As for Arabic, the full genitive AFIC is absent from CA (Diem 1979: 48; Hopkins 1997: 359). However, the preposition *l-* may be used in CA to mark genitive relation (Brockelmann 1908–1913 II: 237; Procházka 1993: 48, 50–51; Versteegh 1997: 78; Brustad 2000: 70; Rubin 2005: 331). In the modern dialects, the full genitive AFIC is found in Lebanon (Féghali 1928: 363), Cypriot Arabic (Borg 1985: 130), Maltese and in the Maghreb⁹ (Diem 1979: 49). In *qəltu*-dialects, it was noted in Mosul (Jastrow 1979: 49) and in CB (Blanc 1964: 131; Abu-Haidar 1991: 116). Blanc (1964: 131) mentions the occurrence of the construction also in MB. In terms of the semantic constraint on the inalienability of the main noun in the construction, Blanc (1964: 131) notes that the genitive AFIC is common in use with kinship terms whereas the genitive exponent *māl-* is not. He compares the noun-noun phrase *abu Səlmān* to *abu-nu s-Səlmān*, both meaning 'Səlmān's father,' saying that the former can be used as 'kunya or teknonym' (Blanc 1964: 131). Melcer (1995: 75) also notes the same semantic restriction in his account of the analytical genitive in JB. As for CB, all the examples of the genitive AFIC that Abu-Haidar (1991: 116) provides conform to the inalienability constraint as well.

2.2 The diachronic development of the AFIC in JB

The survey in § 2.1, combined with what we know about the use of the AFIC in JB, as was generally sketched in § 1 and as elaborated in more detail in Bar-Moshe (2021), enables us to draw some conclusions regarding the diachronic development of the AFIC and its sub-constructions in JB.

9 Diem does not note a source or an example to support this statement. He might have referred to an equivalent construction that occurs 'in certain urban and mountain dialects' (Boumans 2006: 221) of Morocco. This construction makes use of the genitive exponent *d* as a flag when kinship terms are involved.

For reasons that will be discussed in § 2.3, we believe that Strategy 1 was absorbed into the Baghdadi superstrate at first and that Strategies 2–4 were developed later on internally in the dialect. In the next few paragraphs, we will describe the forces that led to the development of the sub-constructions one by one.

Since Strategy 2 is mainly employed to mark direct objects, its diachronic development can be mainly accounted for by this function. The motivation behind the development of Strategy 2 was originally phonetic—to avoid the repetition of the sound *l-* twice. Thus, it applied at first only to object-NPs that open with a definite article. Later on, the ability to host NPs that do not necessarily open with a definite article has developed. This development was enabled because in the absence of the flag, and taking into consideration that the AFIC is a vehicle of DOM, the definiteness of the object NP was generalised as a sufficient condition for its objecthood. The penetration of Strategy 2 into indirect object, oblique and genitive marking probably developed in analogy to direct object marking, and applies in the same environment, namely, when the argument opens with a definite article. When indirect object marking is concerned, like in the case of direct object marking, NPs that do not open with a definite article can also take part in the construction, given that they are definite and that the indirect objecthood of the argument cannot be challenged.

Strategy 3 is productive only in the case of direct and indirect object marking, with the limitation that the direct or indirect objecthood of the NP is clear, namely that the chances that the direct object would be confused as an indirect object, or vice versa, are low. In the absence of a person index that can point at the argument marked by the construction, confusion can be avoided mainly by the inclusion of an additional argument into the clause. The hearers can, then, reason out more easily which of the two arguments fulfills which syntactic function. In fact, it might be the case that Strategy 3 even developed out of the necessity to involve an additional argument in the clause. To avoid the production of a too heavy construction, the person index might have been sacrificed. It is also important to note that while only pronominal demonstratives can constitute the NP under Strategy 3 in the case of direct object marking, no such restriction applies in the case of indirect object marking. Considering the evidence provided in this paragraph, we would like to argue that the ability to mark direct objects using Strategy 3 has developed in analogy to the ability to mark indirect objects with the Strategy, and that it is still very restricted. As for oblique and genitive marking via Strategy 3, the former would yield an ungrammatical combination, while the latter cannot be considered a sub-AFIC construction. Putting a genitive argument into Strategy 3 would produce a definite noun-noun construction. This construction, as an old Semitic marker of genitive relation, cannot have developed out of the AFIC. Moreover, it is not restricted to inalienable nouns. Thus, it cannot be considered a sub-AFIC construction.

Strategy 4 is noted in Table 1 as applicable only to direct object marking. It is incompatible with indirect objects since the produced construction would lack any

trace of the dative preposition *l-*, whose existence is obligatory when indirect object marking is concerned. As for oblique and genitive marking with Strategy 4, the construction that would potentially be produced is grammatical indeed but cannot be considered a sub-construction of the full AFIC because it is diachronically unrelated to it. When an oblique argument is put into Strategy 4, we get a pragmatically neutral preposition phrase, and when a genitive argument is put into Strategy 4, we get an indefinite noun-noun construction, which is not restricted to inalienable nouns. Moreover, neutral preposition phrases and noun-noun constructions are, naturally, not a recent innovation. It follows, then, that Strategy 4 is restricted to direct object marking under the scope of the AFIC. But why do we even consider a marker-less construction as AFIC? The answer to that lies in the historical development of Strategy 4. Unlike Strategy 1–3, which mark only definite objects, Strategy 4 can mark both definite and indefinite objects. This is, however, a mere historical coincidence. In Bar-Moshe (2022: 39–40), we argue that the compatibility of Strategy 4 with definite direct object marking is a later development of Strategies 1–3. Basically, with the erosion of the marking power of the flag and the person index through the development of Strategy 2 and 3, definiteness was reanalysed as a sufficient condition for DOM. This opened the door to the omission of both the flag and the person index. Thus, the marker-less construction is homonymic: it can host indefinite objects and definite objects. The latter case is, however, a later development and is the only one that can be considered as AFIC.

The historical development of the AFIC, as described in the previous paragraphs, is simply a result of language use. Direct object marking with the AFIC underwent so many changes and presents such a diversity of marking strategies because definite direct object marking is quite a common habit. In comparison, definite indirect object marking is rarer. The only reason for the still quite high diversity in the case of indirect object marking is analogy to direct object marking, which results from the use of the same markers. The same cannot be claimed for oblique and genitive marking, which consist of a unique element. In the former case, a preposition (necessarily not *l-*) is involved in the construction and in the latter, a noun rather than a verb. These are considerable differences that allowed oblique and genitive marking through the AFIC to develop in different directions.

2.3 The absorption of the AFIC into JB

In the current section, we would like to address the question of the Aramaic-Arabic continuum in relation to the AFIC. More specifically, we will show that the different sub-constructions were not absorbed into JB but rather developed internally. Our discussion will be limited to direct object and genitive marking since they received

relatively more attention in the literature so far, thus enabling us to present quite a full picture of the distribution of the different AFIC strategies in Aramaic, Old Arabic and JB:

TABLE 3. The distribution of AFIC strategies in Aramaic, Old Arabic and JB.

	Aramaic	Old Arabic	JB
Direct object AFIC	1; 2; 3	3; (4, not DOM)	1 > 2 + 3 > 4
Genitive AFIC	1; 2; (3, not <i>l</i> -)	3	1 > 2

At the time of contact between Arabic and Aramaic, the full AFIC was clearly employed in Aramaic. It seems reasonable, then, that the Aramaic speakers who started to adopt the Arabic language forced the construction on their Arabic speech as well. Since the dative preposition was used in Old Arabic also for direct object and genitive marking, it might have also been used, even if in different circumstances, to mark these functions in the superstrate prior to the contact with Aramaic. If this is true then the use of the flag probably did not catch the speakers of the superstrate by surprise. The addition of the person index into the construction in the superstrate, on the other hand, was probably considered a more substantial innovation.¹⁰

Table 3 gives the impression that at the point of the language contact, the speakers also brought Strategy 2, and possibly even Strategy 3, with them and forced them on the superstrate. This is possible, but even if this was the case, the synchronic Strategy 2 and 3 are different than the ones that existed in Aramaic, and as we saw above, developed out of the full AFIC. In the following paragraphs, we shall provide additional evidence to support this claim.

The conditions that promoted the development of Strategy 2 in JB could not have given rise to Strategy 2 in Aramaic. As we already established, the repetition of the sound *l*, once as a flag and once as a definite article, opened the door to the exclusion of the flag from the full construction in JB. It could not have been the case in Aramaic, where no definite article in the form of *l*- had existed.¹¹ The fact that an unflagged

10 Having said that, taking into consideration that the diachronic material of the flag in Ge'ez and Syriac is a relative marker and that the relative marker in JB is identical to the flag, it might be the case that the Arabic speakers interpreted the construction as consisting of two appositive components—a person index and an NP. Following this logic, an expression like *abū-ha l-amm-i* ‘my mother’s father,’ in example (4), could be thought of as literally meaning ‘the father of her, who is my mother.’ In fact, Diem (1986: 238–239) explains the emergence of the genitive semantics by an erosion in the appositional relation between the two components. This is not limited to the genitive AFIC, however, as the same type of apposition occurs in Strategy 1 and 2 regardless to the syntactic function of the argument.

11 In Old Aramaic, the article was suffixed to the noun and in Syriac, it had already lost its meaning (Rubin 2005: 68, 86–88). Hence, similar sound reduction to the one that occurred in JB cannot be hypothesised for Aramaic.

construction had existed in Aramaic, however, might have facilitated the omission of the flag in JB more quickly.

Turning to Strategy 3, the case of the direct object AFIC should be distinguished from the case of the genitive AFIC. The genitive AFIC in JB could not have developed from the equivalent Aramaic one simply because the latter consisted of the relative marker rather than the morpheme *l*-. The chances that the Aramaic speakers adapted and used the JB relative marker, which is, coincidentally, also reflected by the morpheme *l*-, are very slim. As for direct object marking using Strategy 3, the clear and peculiar circumstances under which it occurs in JB simply render the scenario that it continues the Aramaic unindexed but flagged construction less likely. As we saw in § 2.2, Strategy 3 probably developed out of the necessity to mark an additional indirect object argument. In the case of direct object marking, it is restricted to a single type of NP—pronominal demonstrative. Moreover, this construction is barely taken advantage of since in the absence of a person index, the risk of confusing the object with the subject increases.

A final note is in order to explain the diversity of syntactic functions and sub-constructions that JB presents in comparison to other modern dialects, including *qeltu*-dialects and MB. It might simply have to do with the marginal role that the AFIC plays in other dialects in comparison to JB. As Levin (1987: 36) puts it, the occurrence of the AFIC ‘in Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian dialects is marginal and restricted in comparison to Iraqi dialects,’ and as Blanc noticed, the construction is more common in use in JB in comparison to CB, not to mention MB (Blanc 1964: 128–130). This is especially true to direct object marking in JB, where the AFIC serves strictly as a DOM instrument, which does not seem to be the case in any other Arabic dialect.

To conclude, the sub-AFIC strategies operate, synchronically, under different constraints than the ones under which they operated in the substrate or in the superstrate at the point of contact between Aramaic and the Arabic. Moreover, different constraints dictated the use of the sub-AFIC strategies that had existed in the substrate and in the superstrate back then. It follows, then, that the sub-AFIC constructions have developed out of the full AFIC internally in JB.

3 The diachronic development of the flag *llə*-

Bar-Moshe (2021: 436–438) showed that pronouns can also be marked by the AFIC. When that happens, the pronoun is flagged by the allomorph *llə*- rather than *l*-. Although the pronominal AFIC is not restricted in terms of the syntactic function of the argument, the corpus consists only of examples where it serves as the direct or indirect object. As a matter of fact, even those are rare—a pronominal argument was flagged four times by *llə*- as the direct object of the clause and five times as the

indirect object of the clause. Out of the total nine examples, seven reflect the use of Strategy 1 and two of Strategy 3. The flagless Strategies 2 and 4 would yield an ungrammatical structure. The seven examples of the use of pronominal argument marking under Strategy 1 are pragmatically marked. Their pronoun is contrastively focused. As for Strategy 3, it is unclear whether focus is involved in its use as well. In any case, it can only be used to flag indirect pronominal objects.

The intriguing question that we would like to address in this section is how come a separate allomorph developed to flag pronominal arguments, namely why was the flag *l*- replaced by *llə*- in the case of the pronominal AFIC? We will try to answer this question by focusing on the most prominent feature that distinguishes both allomorphs—the sound *l*, which repeats itself twice in the latter allomorph. The only evidence for a somewhat parallel phenomenon in other Arabic dialects comes from Daragözü and Maltese.

The genitive exponent in Daragözü presents two allomorphs: *lə*- preceding nouns, but *lil*- preceding pronouns. As for the dative preposition, its form is *l*-, and Jastrow does not mention any alternative allomorph for it in his detailed description of the dialect (Jastrow 1973: 49–50, 94–95).

The dative preposition in Maltese, which similarly to JB can also flag direct objects, presents the allomorphs *l*- and *lil*-. The latter may be used to flag both nominal and pronominal arguments. In practice, mainly highly individuated nominal arguments like proper nouns are flagged by it. As for pronominal ones, they may be flagged by *lil*- in coordinated constructions or when they are contrastively focused (Camilleri and Sadler 2012: 120–121).

Comparing JB to Maltese and Daragözü, JB correlates more closely with Maltese in terms of the syntactic roles (objects) and the semantic constraints (individuation) on the NP that the allomorphs flag, but it correlates more closely with Daragözü in terms of the manner by which the allomorphy is conditioned (nominal vs. pronominal argument flagging). Since both Daragözü and JB belong to the *qəltu* family, this similarity cannot be disregarded as it might point to an old *qəltu* phenomenon. The fact that traces of similar allomorphy cannot be found in any other *qəltu* dialect is, however, quite problematic, especially because Daragözü and JB are located almost at the north most and south most extremes of the *qəltu* area, respectively. It cannot be excluded, then, that we are looking at a phenomenon that has developed independently in each of the dialects. In the case of JB and Maltese, it seems quite safe to assume that the similarities have developed in each of the dialects independently. Anyway, the evidence is too circumstantial to make a clear cut conclusion about the genetic relation of the allomorphy in the three dialects.

Curiously, the sound *l*- occurs twice in the allomorph that precedes the pronoun in all three dialects. As far as we are aware, Daragözü, Maltese and JB are the only dialects that present such repetition. What could be the reason for this repetition? In

the following paragraphs, we would like to propose four explanations. Although the first three explanations will be refuted, at least as far as JB is concerned, they will be useful to lead us to the fourth explanation.

1. Anatolian dialects other than Daragözü exhibit genitive exponents whose origin is, most probably, a relative element. These include forms like *dīl-*, *dīla-*, *dēl-*, *dēla-* and *dēl-*. Equivalent forms, like *lēl-* in *Āzəx* or *līl-* in Daragözü have probably also been derived from a relative exponent (Jastrow 1978: 125; Eksell Harning 1980: 42). Generally speaking, a noun and a relative clause in Semitic exhibit the same kind of relation as a noun and an additional nominal attribute, and so, relative exponents are equivalent to genitive exponents (Cohen 2019: 9, 44), which can explain why the latter developed out of the former in Daragözü. However, this explanation does not satisfy the reality in JB (and most probably neither in Maltese) since the allomorph *llə-* reflects the dative preposition and not a genitive exponent.
2. Focusing on the allomorph *llə-* in JB, it is tempting to claim that it reflects a combination of the flag (or, diachronically, the dative preposition) and a definite article. However, since the allomorph is specifically limited to the flagging of pronouns and since a pronoun cannot be determined by a definite article, this claim can be rejected. If any, this kind of development should have influenced the allomorph preceding nominal arguments.
3. As we already maintained, the flag originates from the dative preposition. It might be claimed, then, that while its status as a flag was synchronically established, its diachronic value as a dative preposition in the speaker's mind was gradually forgotten. To compensate on that, the dative preposition might have been added with the time. Two issues invalidate this hypothesis, however. For once, there is no reason to assume such a development in the pronominal case and not in the nominal case. Secondly, while this might explain cases where a pronoun is assigned with the function of the indirect object, it cannot account for the marking of direct objects or genitive and oblique arguments.
4. Alternatively, we would like to argue that the morpheme *llə-* developed for pragmatic reasons. Apparently, *l-* is not the only preposition that changes its form when a pronoun is suffixed to it in JB. The preposition *mən-* 'from' also does. Moreover, the change in both prepositions involves a similar operation that geminates the consonant. Thus, like *llə-ha* 'to her' and *llə-ni* 'to me,' one finds *(m)mənn-a* 'from her' and *(m)mənn-i* 'from me' (Bar-Moshe 2019: 63). As one can see, in the case of the preposition 'from,' the last consonant, *n*, always geminates whereas the first, *m*, does not. Although Blanc (1964: 122) argues for a stable initial gemination of *m* before a pronominal suffix, it does not seem to be the case in practice. If initial gemination takes place when a pronoun is suffixed to the preposition 'from' in the corpus, it is quite difficult to distinguish from a single consonant. The decision

whether to geminate the first consonant is, possibly, pragmatically conditioned. When the pronoun is focused, the allomorph is *mmənn-* and when not, it is *mənn-*. This claim cannot be validated, however, since the need to focus on a pronoun following the preposition ‘from’ arises quite rarely and so the corpus does not consist of any example of a focused pronoun. Nonetheless, the few pragmatically neutral examples that involve the preposition in the corpus seem to lack initial gemination.

If the gemination of the first consonant of the preposition (*m*)*mənn-* occurs only when the pronoun is focused then focus might be the motivation behind geminating the first consonant also in the case of *llə-*. We already mentioned the close relationship that *llə-* has with focus—when the pronoun is flagged under Strategy 1, it is focused regardless of the syntactic function that it fulfils. The seven examples that are included in our corpus can support that. In these examples, the message can be conveyed differently, without involving the preposition *llə-*, but it would render the pronoun unfocused. If focus is indeed the reason behind the use of *llə-* then the motivation behind the gemination can be explained by iconicity, namely elongating the consonant to symbolically mark focus. As was mentioned above, the allomorph *lil-* in Maltese is also used to flag contrastively focused pronouns, and so, the gemination can also be explained by iconicity in the case of Maltese.

It should be noted that the argument that the morpheme *llə-* marks is not always focused. Apart from the two examples in which Strategy 3 is used, where the pronoun does not seem to be focused, there is only one example where the allomorph *llə-* takes part in the clause although the pronoun is unfocused:

- (5) *baħ^əġ* *ma* *llə-ha* *nəhāya*
 sea not llə-3FSG end
 ‘an endless sea’

Example (5) presents an argument of a semantic type that we have not encountered in our survey yet—an existential possessive one. Since the argument in this example is pronominal, the preposition changes its form into *llə-*. The pronoun, a 3FSG one, refers to the noun *baħ^əġ*¹² ‘sea.’ This noun is modified by a following relative clause, in which *llə-* plays the role of the predicate.

Unlike the seven examples of the use of *llə-* under Strategy 1, no special pragmatic value is assigned to the argument in (5). Moreover, while the same message can be conveyed without flagging the pronoun (despite the loss of the focus on the pronoun) in the seven examples, the message in example (5) cannot be conveyed

12 The noun *baħ^əġ* is a masculine noun, but the speaker refers to it with a feminine pronoun.

other than with *llə*-¹³. It is possible, then, that the allomorph *llə*- has generalised to become the vehicle by which pronominal datives are flagged, regardless of their semantic role.

To sum up, nominal arguments are flagged by *l*- while pronominal arguments are flagged by *llə*-. This allomorphy is quite unique in Arabic dialects and, as far as we could gather, a similar phenomenon can only be found in Daragözü and Maltese. However, the allomorphs of the flag in both dialects operate in quite distinct morphological or syntactic circumstances. Nonetheless, we attempted to understand the reason behind the allomorphy bearing these differences in mind. Four explanations were provided, but the first three were incompatible with the reality in JB. The only acceptable explanation is that the allomorph *llə*- developed iconically to mark focus by gemination. Synchronically, however, unfocused pronouns are also marked by the same allomorph. This, we maintain, is a result of the generalisation of the allomorph as reflecting the (diachronic) dative marker before pronominal suffixes, regardless of whether they are pragmatically marked or not.

4 A note about the name AFIC

The AFIC and its constituents received different names in the literature:

- The person index was termed ‘anticipatory object suffix’ (Rubin 2005: 100), ‘resumptive verbal object’ (Rubin 2005: 106), ‘anticipatory pronominal suffix’ (Blanc 1964: 128; Abu-Haidar 1991: 116), ‘resumptive agreement pronoun’ (Khan 1984: 468), ‘appositional pronoun’ (Brockelmann 1908–1913 II: 226–227) and ‘object pronoun’ (Blanc 1964: 131).
- The flag was termed ‘notae accusative/genitive’ (Hopkins 1997: 349; Rubin 2005: 109), ‘object marker’ (Khan 1984: 469), ‘direct object flag’ (Coghill 2014: 335) or simply ‘*l*’ (Blanc 1964: 128).
- The name of the construction itself has been derived in many cases from the combination of the different terms for the flag and the person index. Apart from these combinations, we also found the names ‘prepositional accusative construction’ (Rubin 2014: 104) and ‘object pronoun plus epexegetic object introduced by *l*’ (Blanc 1964: 131). Specifically for the genitive AFIC, the names ‘double construct state’ (Mansour 1991: 44) and ‘object of a noun’ (Blanc 1964: 131) were found as well.

13 Apart from the dative, however, the preposition *fənd-* is normally used to mark existential possession in JB.

Some of the names that were proposed above fit the needs of previous descriptions of the AFIC in Semitic since these descriptions focused on a certain construction or on a certain syntactic function. However, they fail to represent the diversity of functions and sub-constructions that the AFIC offers in JB. This applies, naturally, to all the names that involve words like ‘accusative,’ ‘object,’ ‘verb,’ ‘noun,’ ‘construct state,’ etc. Also, the adjective ‘anticipatory’ does not take into account possible changes in word order (Bar-Moshe 2021: 420–424, 428–429). Other names stress the diachronic essence of the construction and disregard its synchronic reality: ‘appositional’ cannot represent Strategy 3 or 4 and neither can ‘resumptive’ or ‘epexegetic,’ although they capture quite well the nature of the relation between the person index and the argument; ‘prepositional’ fails, at least in the case of direct and oblique object marking, where synchronically it can be argued that the flag lost its prepositional value. Moreover, it also cannot be applied for flag-less strategies.

The name that we chose for the construction, AFIC, is neutral and simply allows to capture the most basic synchronic and syntactic essence of the construction, namely that it involves a flag and/or a person index and that it marks arguments of the clause.

5 Conclusions

The AFIC, a construction that goes back to Aramaic, presents quite a diversity of syntactic functions and sub-constructions in JB in comparison to other Semitic languages or Arabic dialects. Moreover, there is quite a significant overlap between the different sub-constructions and between the different syntactic functions in JB, which suggests that the synchronic argument marking system is unstable, and which points to diachronic developments that have not finalised. The aim of this paper was to account for these diachronic developments.

In § 1, we introduced the different syntactic functions that the AFIC is capable of marking as well as the different sub-constructions by which each of the functions can be marked. We saw that the AFIC is semantically or pragmatically marked. In the case of direct (and indirect) object marking, the AFIC is a vehicle of DOM by which only definite direct objects are marked; in the case of oblique marking, the AFIC is used to focus on the argument or to achieve a narrative goal; and in the case of genitive marking, the AFIC is restricted to inalienable nouns. Constructions by which an argument is marked without achieving these semantic or pragmatic goals are not considered as AFIC.

In § 2, following a detailed survey of the AFIC in Semitic, we argued that at the time of contact between Aramaic and Arabic only the full AFIC was absorbed from Aramaic into JB, and that despite the occurrence of equivalent sub-constructions

in Aramaic, their counterparts in JB were developed later on under peculiar circumstances:

- The indexed but unflagged construction (Strategy 2) developed out of the phonetic necessity to avoid the repetition of the sound *l* twice, once as a flag and once as a definite article. Naturally, it was restricted, at first, to arguments that open with a definite article, but later on its use was extended to accommodate other types of NPs as well. At least in the case of direct object marking, the omission of the flag opened the door to the reanalysis of definiteness as a sufficient condition for DOM.
- The flagged but unindexed construction (Strategy 3) has probably developed to reduce the heaviness of the AFIC when the need to involve an additional argument in the clause arises. Indeed, the omission of the person index yields a lighter construction, but at the same time gives rise to syntactic ambiguity, which explains why this construction is used quite rarely and only when the syntactic function of the argument can be easily established otherwise. Moreover, in the case of direct object marking, Strategy 3 is restricted to pronominal demonstratives.
- Finally, the marker-less construction (Strategy 4), which is restricted to direct object marking, reflects a further step in the reanalysis of definiteness as a sufficient condition for DOM. If definiteness is sufficient then neither a flag nor a person index are needed to mark a definite direct object. This brought about the synchronic circular reality, whereby definite and indefinite direct objects are marked (or rather unmarked) similarly. This reality is, however, a mere historical coincidence.

In § 3, we accounted for the diachronic development of the allomorph *llə-* of the flag, which is used to mark pronominal arguments. Although synchronically the allomorph precedes any personal pronoun, we presented evidence to argue that it might have been used to precede focused personal pronouns only. The gemination in the allomorph, we believe, is an iconic reflection of the focus.

Finally, we attributed the substantial diachronic developments that the AFIC underwent in JB to language use—specifically, to the extensive use of the AFIC in JB in comparison to other dialects, and furthermore, to the extensive use of direct object marking over the other syntactic functions. These developments emerged independently in JB and changed the grammatical nature of the substrative construction, giving rise to the innovative synchronic variety.

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LETIZIA CERQUEGLINI 

Observations on Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic Internal Differentiation

ABSTRACT In this paper, I show some internal variations in different areas of the Israeli Muṭallaṭ. Muṭallaṭ Arabic, first described by Jastrow (2004), is considered a unitary linguistic area within rural Muslim Palestinian Arabic. I consider here only the traditional varieties, spoken by elders over age 70. In particular, I analyse the diverse diffusion of the loss of emphasis of */q/ and the affrication of */k/ that characterises the entire Muṭallaṭ linguistic region. Dialectal differences are also found in anaptyctic vowels, presentative forms, personal pronouns, final *imāla*, pausal forms, lexical items, among other features.

KEYWORDS Muṭallaṭ Arabic, Muṭallaṭ Arabic dialectology, Palestinian Arabic, affrication, Arabic in Israel, field research

1 Traditional Arabic dialects spoken in Israel

The dialectal geography of Arabic in Israel involves a striking number of varieties that attest to an intense linguistic history and kaleidoscopic modern landscapes. Local sedentary dialects are labelled with the common term Palestinian Arabic (not including local Bedouin varieties) and encompassed within the dialectal area called Greater Syria (Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian Arabic) (Palva 1984). The exiguous territory included within the boundaries of contemporary Israel is home to a multitude of indigenous Arabic varieties as well as to exogenous types that arrived through the immigration of foreign Arabic-speaking families, groups and religious communities (Cantineau 1939; Cleveland 1967; Fischer and Jastrow 1980; Shahin 2000). Ancient and modern political events, the strategic position of Israel between Africa, Asia, and the Mediterranean, and the presence of places sacred to a plethora of faiths have been in continuous interplay, leading to the linguistic and cultural enrichment of the southern Levant (Borg 2007). Until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the

local Bedouin, sedentary, urban and rural Arabic dialects reflected the traditional life patterns of pre-industrial, patriarchal societies (Blau 1960; Féghali 1928; Rice and Sa'ed 1960), endogamous to varying degrees, and extraordinarily linguistically conservative, as the first modern linguistic portraits of some of these communities revealed (Dalman 1928–1942; Spoer and Nasrallah 1909; Schmidt and Kahle 1918; von Müllinen 1907).

The establishment of Israel marked a decisive linguistic turning point. For local Arabic speakers, alongside classical and standard Arabic models, the reference language became Hebrew, increasingly spoken in public offices, state infrastructures and the media (Henkin 2011; van Mol 2003). The level and degree of literacy of the local Arab society proceeded in parallel with an increasing mastery of Hebrew (Amara 2007). In the first decades, the female population, which had relatively little access to formal education, remained less exposed to contact with the new language (Amara 1999; Piamenta 1992). Nonetheless, the situation evolved rapidly over the generations in both sedentary and Bedouin communities (Halloun 2003ff.; Henkin 1995; Levin 1994; Piamenta 1966). Exogenous Arabic types, spoken by Jewish immigrants from Arab countries (Spolsky and Cooper 1991; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999), and Christian vernaculars from neighbouring states were introduced into the local landscape and sometimes mixed with local varieties (Piamenta 2000; Shachmon 2017; Shachmon and Mack 2019). The creation of political borders had several effects. The lifestyle of the Bedouin communities became sedentary (Kressel 1975; Marx and Shmueli 1984), levels of formal education increased over time, especially for women, and the dialects spoken within the new Israeli borders progressively lost contact with the once contiguous dialects spoken beyond them. The results of the progressive loss of contact between the two sides of the border are already evident in the strong koineization among the Arabic varieties spoken in Israel and the diverging directions developed by these in relation to the varieties of the Palestinian Authority, especially among young speakers in the last decade (Durand 1996). The second half of the twentieth century brought a significant wave of progress that inexorably transformed Israeli Arab societies and led to a deep transformation of the material culture, with profound impacts on the linguistic horizon (Cerqueglini and Henkin 2016, 2018). This contribution focuses on the 'traditional' Arabic dialects, i.e. the systems that still reflect the linguistic practices of pre-modern local Arab societies. These are now spoken only by elders over the age of 70, including speakers of Bedouin, rural and urban varieties, and are often hardly mutually intelligible. Mutual intelligibility strongly increases among younger generations, who speak a koineized variety wherein dialectal features fade. Many of the Arabic dialects spoken in Israel and Palestine have been extensively documented, from the rural, urban and Bedouin Galilean varieties with their communal variants (Blanc 1953; Geva-Kleinberger 2004, 2009, 2018), the foreign types (Geva-Kleinberger 2011, 2012), the varieties of the northern and central coasts (Geva-Kleinberger 2004; Geva-Kleinberger and Tavor 2003; von Müllinen 1907),

the communal dialects of Jerusalem and its surrounding area (Piamenta 1966, 2000), to the varieties of the Negev Bedouin tribes (Alatamin 2011; Henkin 2010; Shawarbah 2007, 2012). Nonetheless, some traditional dialects, such as that of the Muṭallaṭ region (Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic, TMA) and their neighbouring northern Cisjordanian rural types, are disappearing without sufficient documentation. The only available description of the Muṭallaṭ dialects consists of a remarkable article by Jastrow (2004), which traces a phonological and morphological profile of these dialects, which emerge from this description as a quite homogeneous regional linguistic expression. Prof. Jastrow's masterful work deeply inspired me and aroused in me a strong interest in what I thought were unique and, in a sense, mysterious local varieties, very different from the Arabic of the Galilee and Jerusalem, with some typical traits of the Bedouin dialects of the contiguous area, different from the neighbouring northern Palestinian Authority (Nablus-Samaria), and an exceptional lexical richness and specificity. Unfortunately, since then Prof. Jastrow has not addressed TMA varieties, nor have other researchers done so in a systematic manner. To fill this significant gap in the research of this subject and in line with the interests of my students at Tel Aviv University, most of whom come from the Muṭallaṭ, I have dedicated myself to the collection of an oral corpus of TMA varieties.

2 The Israeli Muṭallaṭ Region

The Muṭallaṭ (Hebrew: Ha-Mešullaš) lies along the border with the Palestinian Authority (PA), between Umm el-Faḥm to the north and Kufur Ḳāsim to the south. It comprises the eastern Plain of Sharon, between Nahal Taninim to the north, the Yarkon to the south, the Israeli Central Plain to the west and the Samaritan Mountains to the east. The Muṭallaṭ, with its sedentary, agricultural lifestyle, is considered linguistically homogeneous. TMA is generally considered a conservative rural Muslim dialect, characterised by the preservation of interdentals, voiceless uvular (among men) and pre-uvular (among women) articulation of *q, environment-based affrication of *k, and preservation of long unstressed vowels (Jastrow 2004). The young Muṭallaṭ Arabic speakers who have taken my courses on Arabic dialectology and Palestinian Arabic dialectology in the past five years have repeatedly pointed out that 'Muṭallaṭ Arabic' seemed to them too general a linguistic category. They supported their claim with the fact that the so-called Muṭallaṭ had by no means in the past ever represented a unitary region with a deep historical identity like that of the Upper Galilee, the Lower Galilee, the Carmel or the Jerusalem area. The Muṭallaṭ became a geographic and military concept when the term *mešullaš* 'triangle' was coined in Hebrew to indicate the area of Kufur Ḳāsim, Ġalġūlya and Kufur Bara (originally: the 'Small Triangle,' to differentiate it from the 'Big Triangle' between Čanin, Ṭulkarem and Nablus). Here, Israelis had established control prior to the 1948 war. Of course, this

situation in itself generated a sense of solidarity and belonging among the people of this area. The concept of a unitary region later extended to the entire area along the border with the West Bank, from the Green Line northwards, as people living there suffered from similar vicissitudes of separation, loss and military control. Nonetheless, evident linguistic and cultural differences are still evident among them and are especially striking in terms of lexical choices. Probably only the area of the original ‘Small Triangle,’ i.e. the southern part of the Muṭallaṭ, north-northeast of Tel Aviv, has a unitary linguistic identity, most prototypically reflecting the features described by Jastrow (2004).

The Traditional Muṭallaṭ linguistic area can be subdivided into four main sub-areas:

1. Umm el-Faḥm/Zalafe/ṢArṣara (Northern TMA),
2. Bāḩa l-Ġarbiyya,
3. Ṭīra/Ṭaybe/Ḳalanswe (Central TMA),
4. Kufur Ḳāsim/Kufur Bara/Ġalġūlya (Southern TMA).

Across these micro-areas, the same features may be present to different extents, while often fade, lexical patrimony and heritage are quite varied. Therefore, my main interest here is the comparison of the different varieties included under the general label of ‘Muṭallaṭ Arabic.’ Along the way, this work reveals many surprising linguistic facts, which will be discussed here only briefly. More than one hundred and seventy elders, women and men over the age of 70 have been recruited so far as informants for the present research. They have provided linguistic data from different areas of the Muṭallaṭ region over the course of five years (2016–2019) in the form of folktales, narratives and spontaneous conversations among speakers of the same age, cross-generational conversations in the form of interviews on specific topics, songs, proverbs and jokes. I feel deeply indebted to them and their families for their cooperation, hospitality, efforts and generosity. The linguistic atlas of the Muṭallaṭ currently in preparation is dedicated only to them, a linguistic monument to the years of their youth.

3 The socio-linguistic profile of the Muṭallaṭ dialects: uniformity and internal variation

Due to the absence of major urban centres of acculturation, the diffusion of linguistic models and the innovation as well as the rural character of Muṭallaṭ society, the traditional varieties spoken in this area are still quite well preserved, especially among elderly women. Contrary to other regions, such as the Galilee and Jerusalem, the population of the Muṭallaṭ is homogeneously Sunni Muslim. According to Jastrow (2004), the religious unity of the Muṭallaṭ is one of the major causes of its dialectal evenness. Interestingly, Jastrow (2004) stresses the linguistic uniformity of the Muṭallaṭ area,

but in the title of his contribution, he refers to its ‘dialects.’ My inquiry aims to shed light on the coexistence of both uniformity and differentiation within the ‘Muṭallaṭ linguistic region’ considering its socio-historical background, some aspects of which are mentioned above. In addition to the fact that the Muṭallaṭ only became a socio-political entity after 1948, we should also consider that intermarriage between people from different cities and micro-areas of the Muṭallaṭ, from south to north, was quite rare in the past and remains so. Over the last four years, more than fifty students from the Muṭallaṭ attended my courses, men and women between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, from different social backgrounds, degrees of religious devotion and different micro-areas. Interestingly, yet not surprisingly, none of them reported that his or her parents came from two different areas of the Muṭallaṭ. This is not unusual in the region. The Bedouin tribal order in a quite restricted and homogeneous area, for example the Negev, works in exactly the same way. Community seclusion is customary in the Muṭallaṭ, even within a shared religious and socio-economic landscape. As in every community, jokes, sayings and preconceptions circulate to ironically stigmatise the attitudes and traits of people from neighbouring communities, marking neat distinctions between different social identities. The social differentiation seems to be reflected in a number of linguistic features, notwithstanding the undoubtedly unitary quality of some general, structural characteristics. As we will see below, some linguistic features differ to various extents from place to place, tracing a very nuanced picture. Thus, for example, the final *imāla*, the affrication of **k*, the de-emphasising/fronting of **q* and the pre-pausal lowering of *-i(C)#* are realised to different degrees and with variable frequency and distribution among the speakers of different settlements.

4 Unitary features and diverse distributions

The first account of the distinctive features of the TMA dialects appears in Palva (1984), who provides a very informative table in which some linguistic features are observed cross-dialectally in Palestine and Transjordan. The distinctive features typical of TMA (**/q/ > /k/* and **/k/ > /č/*) are found in the row called ‘Rural Central Palestinian.’ Here, Palva notes that the affrication of **/k/ > /č/* takes place in all environments. He reports the phenomenon in both *dīč* (‘cock,’ SG), after /i/, and *dyūč* (PL), after /u/. **/q/ > /k/* is also treated as a common feature of the entire dialectal group.

From the lexical point of view, the spatial adverb for ‘here’ is reported to be both *hān* and *hēn*. In fact, in my corpus, northern TMA seems rather to be characterised by *hōn*, while southern TMA shows *hēn*. The form *hān* appears in the Bedouin varieties still spoken in the Galilee (Rosenhouse 1984). The temporal adverb for ‘now’ is reported to be *halḳēt* and *halloḳēt*. The latter form appears only twice in my corpus, while the former is very common in the central and southern TMA varieties. In my corpus, *hassa* is very frequently used for ‘now,’ while the northern varieties use *assa* instead.

Interestingly, Palva (1984: 15) affirms that ‘Central Palestinian dialects are in many respects more conservative than the Galilean dialects. They have also been indirectly influenced by Bedouin dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian type (*biḳūl*).’ Jastrow (2004) provides the following list of the features shared throughout the Muṭallat:

1. the complete interdental series (sounded, soundless and emphatic),
2. the preservation of *-h-* in the third personal pronominal suffixes *-ha-*, *-hum* and *-hin*,
3. the fronting of */q/ > /k/,
4. the palatalisation of */k/ > /č/.

Except for the complete interdental series, these features are quite problematic, as they by no means appear consistently throughout the Muṭallat. Jastrow noted that the behavior of the palatalisation of */k/ > /č/ was quite unclear. Indeed, after having stressed the importance of the */k/ > /č/ process as an identity factor for Muṭallat Arabic speakers, he reported that this shift was ‘by no means complete; quite to the contrary, there are many words in which the old *kāf* has not been fronted, but preserved as such’ (Jastrow 2004: 168). He reported three words where the shift was not detected: *akal* ‘he ate,’ *akli* ‘something to eat, a meal’ and *kull* ‘all, every.’ Jastrow assumed that there were probably as many words with a shift */k/ > /č/ as words in which */k/ has been preserved, that the conditions of the sound change had not yet been established, and that the shift had probably been triggered by the presence of front vowels, ‘including fronted /a/.’ He wondered why there was *hača* ‘he spoke,’ but *akal* ‘he ate.’¹ He hypothesised that this was probably the case because the prefix conjugation of *akal* is pronounced *bōkil* with /k/, due to the presence of the preceding back vowel.

As we will see below, according to my data, classified by place of origin, the prefix conjugation of ‘to eat’ is not pronounced *bōkil* with a /k/ in all TMA. In fact, the form itself diverges across the region, as stated below in Table 10. Nor do *akal*, *akli*, and *kull* appear everywhere and always with the plosive velar.

Indeed, the affrication of */k/ significantly decreases from south to north, as Jastrow noted. Jastrow reports some comparative examples of affrication of suffixed second person singular and plural pronouns between Umm el-Faḥm (in the extreme north of the Muṭallat) and Kufur Bara (in the south, just north of Kufur Ḳāsim). Both varieties have *dāarak*, ‘your (MSG) house,’ *dārič*, ‘your (FSG) house,’ *dārčīn*, ‘your (FPL) house,’ but for ‘your (MPL) house,’ Umm el-Faḥm has *dārḳum*, while Kufur Bara has *dārčūm*.

The general impression is indeed that the affrication of */k/ in the northern system is more consistent. It seems to clearly correlate with the presence of front vowels, while, proceeding towards the south, the local systems seem increasingly chaotic.

1 The *hamza* is transcribed only where it is pronounced; in TMA it is heard only rarely.

In the south, the rules of affrication of */k/ seem to have been overextended and overdeveloped already in local TMA varieties, probably because this innovation came from the north and was locally subjected to reanalysis and implementation. In the southern TMA varieties, it is not unusual to hear the same word pronounced in both plosive and affricate ways by the same speaker, as I will report below. This could be considered evidence of the exogenous character of the shift, introduced from the northern area into the south and reanalysed there.

Interestingly, in the southern Muṭallaṭ, young people exaggerate the use of /č/, which they perceive as a linguistic marker of identity, sometimes ironically applying it to improper cases. Apropos, one day in one of my Arabic dialectology classes, in order to mock their friends from Kufur Ḳāsim, two young men from Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya pronounced the name of their town 'Čufur Čāsim!' This locution sounded very interesting to me mainly because the affricated pronunciation of Kufur Ḳāsim > **Čāsim is a clear overextension of the */k/ > /č/ rule. In fact, in the southern TMA phonemic chain, while */k/ becomes /č/, the place of the velar plosive /k/ is taken by */q/, which is pronounced fronted, i.e. completely deemphasised (the fronting of */q/ > /k/, mentioned in the list above.). But the /k/ sound that is derived from */q/ never becomes /č/. Therefore, shouting 'Čufur Čāsim!' to their mates, the two students from Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya sought to exaggerate the attitude of the southern people towards the use of the affrication of */k/ to /č/, pushing it beyond its phonological limits.

In fact, such a joke is made possible by the fact that in southern TMA varieties */q/ is fully deemphasised/fronted into /k/. Thus, because of the spread of affrication in the south, northern people hint at the possibility that southern people could push themselves as far as */q/ > /k/ > /č/, but this never happens.

Furthermore, going northwards, the fronting of */q/ works differently. In Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya, for example, men pronounce */q/ as /q/ or /k/ and women /k/. Further north, */q/ is usually realised as /k/ or just /q/ by those with some education, even among the elders. Further details on geographic and social distribution and realisation of */q/ and */k/ are provided below.

Other features, which are consistent throughout the TMA varieties, are listed in Jastrow (2004). The vowel system is considered unitary and defined as conservative, with three short vowels (/a/, /i/, /u/) and five long vowels (/ā/, /ē/, /ī/, /ō/, /ū/); the old diphthongs */ay/ and */aw/ became /ē/ and /ō/ respectively. Long stressed vowels in open syllables are shortened when they lose the stress, but this kind of shortening does not take place if the syllable is closed, differently from Cairene Arabic, as Jastrow noticed, and from other neighbouring sedentary Palestinian varieties, but similar to what happens in Galilean Bedouin dialects. A series of exceptions to this general rule is produced by the suffixation of the negation -š/-iš, which causes the reduction of the long vowels even when they remain accented (*šufnāč*, 'we saw you [FSG]' vs. *ma šufnāčiš*, 'we did not see you [FSG]'). TMA also preserves an independent feminine form in verbs and pronouns for the second and third plural persons. The perfect verbal forms with a suffixed

consonant cluster require an anaptyctic vowel, with possible different placement of the stress: for ‘I hit,’ there is *đárabit* and *đarábit*. Jastrow proposes these forms as full alternatives, without further considerations of geographic and social order.

5 Further observations on Muṭallaṭ dialectal differentiation

In the last five years, I had the opportunity to teach courses on Arabic dialectology to Palestinian Arabic native speakers of different local varieties from the Golan, the Galilee, the central coastal plains and the Negev, but, for the most part, from the Muṭallaṭ. Most of the students come from the Muṭallaṭ. Tel Aviv University is indeed very close to their home area. Fortunately, I had the opportunity to teach several students from all areas of the Muṭallaṭ, from Umm el-Faḥm in the far north of the region to Kufur Kāsim and Kufur Bara at the southern boundary.

As I explained some very classical topics of comparative Arabic dialectology, such as the pronunciation of consonants, vowel system, anaptyctic vowels, *imāla*, pausal forms, syllable structure, pronominal forms, verbal conjugations and so on, students were often requested to pronounce specific words that contained the characteristic that we were discussing in the class. The students liked to raise their hands when in their home village or city the feature in question produced a peculiar outcome compared with what they heard from friends from neighbouring areas. Furthermore, they often added that their grandparents knew a different pronunciation, grammatical form or different word for a certain object.

Certain inter-dialectal differences were certainly expected between the dialects of the different regions of Israel. Indeed, differences between the tribal varieties in the Negev or communal dialects and rural vs. urban dialects in the Galilee are well known and have been addressed in the dialectological literature (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019; Blanc 1953). But what struck me most was the exceptional internal diversity of the Muṭallaṭ varieties that was revealed.

The internal dialectal diversity revealed itself in so clear a way as to be almost suspect. Indeed, today, when speaking of the history of the Arab dialectal varieties spoken in Israel, one must proceed with some caveats. It is necessary to examine the area’s history, as frequent relocations of the Arab populations (Hadawi 1970; Mills 1932; Palmer 1881), the movement of settlements and, inevitably, linguistic mixing all took place (Bergsträsser 1915). Thus, I began asking specific questions about the origins of each informant and, most of all, of his or her family, going back several generations. Through my increasingly frequent visits with families in the Muṭallaṭ, first through my students, and then more and more autonomously, I came to realise that in the decades around the Israeli War of Independence, the Muslim Arab population of the central coastal plains, from Jaffa and Šix Mūnis to the old Ṭanṭūra, had gradually moved towards the central Muṭallaṭ, especially towards Ṭaybe and Ṭira.

It is difficult to trace the path of the relocations, because, according to my informants' reports, some families changed their names during the process through the new matrimonial networks that were being established or by taking on the names of the local host families. This immigration from the central plains to the Muṭallat region was, nonetheless, restricted to a relatively small number of families and individuals from the villages of the plains. Furthermore, it must be said that, according to the maps sketched before 1948 (Robinson 1856) and historical and archeological reports (Cytryn-Silvermann 2004; Tavernari 2012), the villages scattered over the central plain between the Muṭallat region and the Mediterranean were not numerous or heavily populated. The stretch of coast between Jaffa and Caesarea was marshy and malarial, and thus it was avoided by the caravan trade routes, which passed instead along the eastern hills. The eastern hills, constituting the current Muṭallat region, were very heavily populated, being rich in water and at an elevation that allowed the cultivation of olive trees, a fundamental activity of the local pre-industrial society, as is clearly expressed by some elderly informants in the stories I have recorded.

From a dialectological point of view, the *Sprachatlas* of Bergsträsser (1915) clearly notes the linguistic uniformity of the eastern hills and the adjacent western plains. Furthermore, even today, the oldest informants describe the dialect of the people who came from the western plains as nearly the same as that of the central Muṭallat hills, with just a few lexical differences.

In his *Sprachatlas*, Bergsträsser sketches what is today the Muṭallat and the adjacent coastal plains as a uniform linguistic area, characterised by the following:

1. affricate pronunciation of the consonant *ǧim*, while Galilee, Jaffa and the urban centres of what constitutes today's Palestinian Authority are characterised by the fricative pronunciation *ž* (1915: Karte 2),
2. totally deemphasised (or fronted) realisation of **q*, different from the emphatic realisation found in the Galilee and Jaffa (1915: Karte 4),
3. affricate pronunciation of **k*, with the exception of Jaffa (1915: Karte 3).

To sum up, the arrival of external elements from the western plains and coastal cities after 1948 did not significantly impact the dialectal configuration of the Muṭallat region, as, with the exception of Jaffa, they belonged together within a uniform linguistic area. Interestingly, in 1915, Bergsträsser did not report any internal dialectal differentiation among the varieties spoken in the region corresponding to today's Muṭallat, such as the differential treatment of **q* and **k* in the different Muṭallat sub-regions reported by Jastrow (2004) and mentioned above.

The affrication of **k* is a widespread phenomenon in the southern Levant. The dialects of the Bedouin tribes of northern Israel who live in the central and southern Galilee have this feature in addition to the affrication of the original **q > ǧ* (Rosenhouse 1984). These features are indeed common among the Najdi/North-Arabian/Jordanian

Bedouin types, of which the Galilean Bedouin dialects are a part (Cantineau 1936, 1937). The affrication of **k* is found among the sedentary dialects of what is today the Palestinian Authority, both in the immediate vicinity of the border with the Israeli Muṭallaṭ (Bergsträsser 1915) and towards the south, around Ramallah (Seeger 2009a, 2009b, 2013), yet not throughout the area. The areas of Ṭūlkarem and Bāka š-Šarkīyya show the affrication of **k* and the fronting of **q* (personal observation), while neither shift is evident in the hills of Šomron (Bergsträsser 1915).

The geographic distribution of the different treatments of **q* and **k* seems to point to the existence of a sedentary conservative area, with the emphatic pronunciation of **q* and the plosive pronunciation of **k* in the central massif of Šomron. This conservative mountainous area seems to be surrounded by Bedouin dialects, to the north and to the east, that are characterised by affrication of **k* and **g* < **q*, and sedentary dialects, located to the north-west and to the south, characterised by a mixed character. Indeed, in both the Muṭallaṭ (as I will demonstrate) and the rural areas around Ramallah (Seeger 2009a, 2009b, 2013), the fronting of **q* and the affrication of **k* are not distributed homogeneously. In particular, in the Muṭallaṭ, the affrication of **k* is governed by different phonetic rules in the different areas, with an extreme overextension of the phenomenon in the southernmost sub-region, around Kufur Kāsim, while in the northernmost area, the affrication takes place close to front vowels, as it does in the Galilean Bedouin varieties (Rosenhouse 1984). The affrication could thus be a historically contact-induced linguistic change that entered from the northern Muṭallaṭ due to contact with Bedouin varieties of the Galilean type, and then spread towards the southern Muṭallaṭ and the rural area north of Ramallah, where the rules governing the affrication were clearly reinterpreted.

Comparing my data with the outlines sketched by Seeger (2009a, 2009b, 2013), it clearly appears that the continuity between the rural area of the Muṭallaṭ and the rural area north of Ramallah is expressed by the diverse distribution of further features, such as the final *imāla* in the FSG ending, the pronominal system, the personal suffix of the third MSG, the negated suffix of the third MSG and the ending of the suffix of the third MPL of verbs with the third radical consonant *y*. In both these areas, different treatments of these features are scattered across the settlements. This picture seems to point out to a situation of contact between ancient southern Levantine rural dialects and surrounding Bedouin varieties (Najd, Jordan), where the rural varieties acquire exogenous features to different extents in each settlement.

The contact between rural and Bedouin varieties in the Muṭallaṭ and around Ramallah was probably due to the Bedouin presence along the local stretch of the Cairo-Damascus caravan route (Tavernari 2012) between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries. According to archeological findings, in the southern Levant the caravan route consisted of tracks that ran along the line of the Muṭallaṭ settlements. Jerusalem and Ramallah were touched by the caravan route, which continued along the Muṭallaṭ, as both the internal Palestinian mountain region and the western coastal plains were

avoided for different practical reasons. The historical presence of the caravan route and the passage of diverse Arabic-speaking groups could help explain the high degree of internal variation of dialectal features and lexical items across the Muṭallaṭ region. One should be aware, nonetheless, that the internal dialectal variation is not only a historical phenomenon across the settlements of the Muṭallaṭ. Linguistic dynamicity is very well expressed today through the use of different words for objects associated with modern life. For example, plastic cups are called *čulučib* in Kufur Ḳāsim, from the expression *kul w-kibb* lit. ‘eat and throw,’ and *xadpami* in Ṭaybe, from the Hebrew word *xadpašami*, ‘disposable,’ reflecting the actual Modern Hebrew pronunciation. A small part of the population of Ṭaybe also uses *čulučib*. Indeed, an interesting aspect of Muṭallaṭ internal variation, both among traditional and neo varieties, is the diffused and gradual way in which features change across sub-regions, genders and age groups.

Nevertheless, some features clearly represent specific sub-regions. Among these are the extended use of affrication in the south and the striking contour-rising and vowel-lengthening of pre-pausal syllables and development of a slight internal conditioned *imāla* in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya. Interestingly, the frequency of such community-specific features seems to have increased over the last generations. The prosodic profile of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya is perceived as extraneous and unique by speakers of other communities within the Muṭallaṭ. In fact, it could be seen as a local evolution of the central and northern Levantine prosodic types (Bergsträsser 1924; Chahal 1999; de Jong and Zawaydeh 2002; Hellmuth 2019).

5.1 Internal diversity and utility of the TMA annotated corpus

In light of the historical and sociolinguistic observations made so far on the character of the Muṭallaṭ region, it becomes easier to understand how the linguistic features that characterise the entire area are found to varying degrees in the different communities from north to south, as I explained regarding the **k > č* shift. Considering this situation, I felt the need for an annotated corpus for the study of the frequency and contexts of use in which the phenomena that characterise TMA manifest themselves throughout the region. The data provided by the corpus will be presented in a visual format in the form of a linguistic atlas.

The first linguistic insights into TMA internal dialectological differentiation that I present here are based on my 245,000-word corpus of TMA, collected so far (2015–2019) across the Muṭallaṭ settlements and comprising narrative, spontaneous and guided conversations, proverbs, greetings and blessings, poetry and songs of different genres and for various occasions. The corpus currently consists of 300 pieces of different genres and lengths that have been recorded and transcribed and are being annotated for roots, morphological categories and English meanings. The annotation for morphological categories is very important because it enables the searcher

to see all occurrences of the same roots across different vocalic patterns in order to establish the influence of morphophonology on the realisation of */k/, the fronting of */q/, the emergence of *imāla* rising and the colour of anaptyctic vowels across different communities and genders. Pausal forms are annotated. While a detailed description of the content of the corpus and the annotation system that is being followed is beyond the scope of this discussion, I include here some basic explanations necessary for understanding the criteria followed in the transcription of the data provided in the paragraphs below. The transcription does not follow IPA rules but rather the transcribing standards traditionally followed in Arabic dialectology (e.g. *š* for *ʃ*, *ǧ* for *dj*, *ṭ* for *θ*, etc.). The transcription is not phonological: e.g. if */q/ is pronounced *k*, *k*, or in both ways in the same text, it is transcribed each time just as it is articulated. The same is true for */k/ and for the entire vowel system, including the anaptyctic vowels. In relevant cases, the transcription marks prosodic lowering and lengthening. Secondary emphatic articulation, which is quite rare, is not marked.

Most of my informants are over the age of seventy, with some isolated exceptions between the ages of sixty and seventy. The informants are 54 men and 67 women. None attended school after the first grade. In all cases, they can be considered elders whose dialects represent TMA varieties.

In fact, dialectal communities are divisible by generational varieties. Elders over the age of seventy speak the traditional varieties of the local dialects. The middle generation consists of people between fifty and sixty-five years of age, educated at various levels, depending on gender, economic possibilities and socio-cultural constraints. Young people include those under forty-five years of age, in general highly educated, often up to university level, in Modern Standard Arabic, Hebrew and other languages.

As noted above, the disappearance of the traditional lifestyle—due to formal education in Hebrew, Standard Arabic and English and changes in material life—endangers the traditional varieties, which are converging toward a koineized language in which dialectal differences fade. Many TMA lexical sectors are no longer used or understood by younger people. Several prosodic and phonological distinctions are no longer salient. Both morphology and syntax have been deeply restructured.

The lexical annotation enables a search by English meaning and semantic category (object used for digging, drilling, cutting, sowing, transporting containers, liquid container, grain container, etc.). Indeed, words for objects of material culture are often not directly translatable between different languages. To avoid possible misunderstandings, photographs have been added to each of the agricultural and domestic objects mentioned in the corpus.

The search for objects through images, English terminology and semantic categories has produced an unexpected finding; many names of household utensils, especially supports and metal objects, have different names in the different areas of the Muṭallaṭ, while the terminology for containers, cutlery and agricultural objects is far more homogeneous. Moreover, from a comparative perspective, the terminology

related to agricultural and domestic objects and their formal typology are quite surprisingly different from those described so far in Palestinian varieties, especially in relation to the non-Arabic names, studied mainly in the areas of Jerusalem, Ramallah and the Galilee (Basis 2009; Bassal 2004, 2006–2007, 2010, 2012; Bauer 1903, 1926; Dalman 1928–1942; Diem 1979; Elihai 2004; Fraenkel 1886; Griffith 1997; Elizur 2004; Féghali 1918; Fleisch 1974; Halayqa 2008, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2014; Halloun 2000; Hasson 1984; Hopkins 1995; Neishtadt 2015; Piamenta 1973; Rubinovitch 1923; Shehadeh 1983; von Mülinen 1907; Weninger 2011). Further typological and linguistic comparisons are currently being carried out, in particular with other Syro-Lebanese material cultures and both sedentary and Bedouin linguistic facies (Arnold and Behnstedt 1993; Borg 2003, 2004, 2008; Jastrow 2001; Retsö 2006).

Below are some quantitative data on internal TMA dialectal variation extrapolated from my TMA corpus. For each dialectal region—North, Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya, Centre, South—I selected a sample of 15 prose texts (around 20,000 words) from 10 men and 10 women, as a balanced sample.

5.2 The affrication */k/ > č: geographic and sociolinguistic distribution

The data from the TMA corpus reported in Table 1 show a differential treatment of the affrication of */k/ > č across the four major areas represented here. The occurrences indicate the number of times */k/ is pronounced č, not necessarily overlapping with the number of words in which the affrication is manifested, i.e. in the same word the affrication can happen more than once. The roots indicate the number of different roots in which the phenomenon is manifested. The *k/č* overlap indicates the percentage of occurrences of both affricated and non-affricated pronunciation. Each gender group (women and men) in each of the four areas area was assigned the same number of words (10,000) from about ten texts from the TMA corpus as a sample. The data stems from such samples.

TABLE 1. The affrication */k/ > č in TMA across the Main Areas of the Muṭallaṭ.

		North	Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre	South
		10,000 words	10,000 words	10,000 words	10,000 words
Women	occurrences	1,230	2,002	2,434	3,878
	roots	37	34	36	31
	<i>k/č</i> overlap	1.20%	1.34%	2.83%	6.78%
Men	occurrences	1,036	1,245	1,728	2,678
	roots	36	35	36	30
	<i>k/č</i> overlap	1.05%	1.12%	1.65%	3.66%

While the number of roots employed in the texts is almost the same among men and women, since the sample prose texts deal with the same topics (marriage, agriculture, natural medical remedies), the number of affricated realisations of */k/ increases meaningfully from north to south, in line with the observations provided by Jastrow (2004). What emerges from this merely quantitative analysis is that there is a remarkable gender-based difference in producing the affricated */k/, with a wide preponderance of this phenomenon among women. A qualitative analysis of the cases in which the affrication is manifested is left for a further monographic enquiry. In general, corpus data support Jastrow's hypothesis (2004) of an impact of the surrounding vowels on the affrication (northern *dārčēn/dārġum* vs southern *dārčēn/dārčum*). While cross-generational observations are beyond the scope of the present article, cross-generational comparative data show how affrication decreases among younger people in the north, while it is overextended and implemented in the south.

5.3 The de-emphasising/fronting of */q/: geographic and sociolinguistic distribution

The quantitative data regarding the fronting or de-emphasising of */q/ are quite homogeneous. Yet, in the north and in the area of Bāqa l-Ġarbiyya, there is a clear gender-based difference in the degree to which the fronting is realised. Among the men, */q/ are pronounced with higher energy than among the women, yet without emphasis.

TABLE 2. The de-emphasising/fronting of */q/ in TMA across the Main Areas of the Muṭallaṭ.

	North	Bāqa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre	South
	10,000 words	10,000 words	10,000 words	10,000 words
Women	k	k	k	k
Men	ķ	ķ	ķ/k	k

5.4 The final *imāla* in the feminine singular ending

Similar to what has been reported by Seeger (2009a, 2009b, 2013), the realisation of the final *imāla* of the feminine singular ending is not homogeneous. The phenomenon seems to follow different phonetical rules in the different areas. So, while in the northern area the *imāla* is in general of middle height (-e, not -i), in the south the rising is more intense (-i). Furthermore, in the area of Bāqa l-Ġarbiyya, the *imāla* rising seems to correlate with the height of the preceding vowel, as shown in Table 3. The differences in the degrees of *imāla* rising across the different varieties are purely

phonetic, with no phonological implications. The phonological vowel system is unitary, as in Jastrow (2004).

TABLE 3. The final *imāla* in the feminine singular ending.

	North	Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre	South
	20,000 words	20,000 words	20,000 words	20,000 words
<i>madrasa</i> 'school'	-a/-e	-a (<i>midrasa</i>)	-e	-i
<i>mʕallima</i> 'teacher' (F)	-a/-e	-e	-e	-i
<i>sxnūna</i> 'warmth'	-a	-a	-e	-i

5.5 The third person masculine singular pronominal suffix

As Seeger (2009a, 2009b, 2013) noted, the treatment of the third MSG pronominal suffix may vary across local varieties. In TMA, this morpheme does not vary as widely as it does around Ramallah. The morpheme */-u/ can be high or lowered to -o, both after names and after verbs.

TABLE 4. The third person masculine singular pronominal suffix.

North	Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre	South
-u	-o	-o	-o

5.6 Distribution and quality of anaptyctic vowels

In comparison to the sedentary dialects of the Galilee and the Bedouin dialect of the southern Levant, TMA varieties in general do not easily tolerate -CC groups at the ends of words. This phenomenon is reflected in both the nominal and the verbal morphologies. The main reference work on anaptyxis in central rural Palestinian varieties is the work of Palva (1965), who accounts for the existence of different anaptyctic systems in the Lower Galilee and mentions the phonological laws that rule the functioning of the anaptyctic system of Ṭurṣān. As Table 5 shows, different TMA areas have different rules for anaptyxis, regarding the nature of -CC cluster as divided and the type and length of the vowel used as a divider. In northern TMA, as in some of the Lower Galilean types described by Palva (1965), the anaptyxis is absent when the second radical consonant of the word is *r* or *l*. In Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya, anaptyxis is always there: frontal/dental consonants attract the vowel -i-, while in other cases -e- is used. The anaptyctic vowel is a fully articulated vowel, similar to the vowel used in

Ṭülkarem. In central TMA varieties, the anaptyctic vowel is always used and it is very short and quite centralised (°). A full vowel appears after an emphatic sound in all varieties except southern TMA, where the anaptyctic vowel is stably a full *-i-*.

TABLE 5. Distribution and quality of anaptyctic vowels.

(**The vowel */u/ in the group CvCC is usually lowered to *-o-* in the northern TMA varieties, similar to what happens in several Galilean types. Likewise, */i/ in the same group CvCC is usually lowered to *-e-*. ***In fact, in central TMA, the current word for ‘oven’ is *wakḳāde*)

	North	Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre	South
<i>al-Quds</i> ‘Jerusalem’	<i>al-Ḳods/al-Kods**</i>	<i>al-Ḳudis/al-Kudis</i>	<i>al-Kuds/al-Kud°s</i>	<i>al-Kudis/al-Kud°s</i>
furn ‘oven’	<i>forn</i>	<i>furen</i>	<i>fur°n***</i>	<i>furin</i>
ḥarb ‘war’	<i>ḥarb</i>	<i>ḥareb</i>	<i>ḥar°b</i>	<i>ḥarib</i>
xubz ‘bread’	<i>xob°z</i>	<i>xubez</i>	<i>xub°z</i>	<i>xubiz</i>
milh ‘salt’	<i>melḥ**</i>	<i>miliḥ</i>	<i>mil°ḥ</i>	<i>miliḥ</i>
naṣr ‘victory’	<i>naṣer</i>	<i>naṣer</i>	<i>naṣer</i>	<i>naṣir</i>

5.7 The pre-pausal lowering of *-ī(C)#*

I report here an example of the lowering of *-ī(C)#*, i.e. of stressed *ī* in pre-pausal position. A similar phenomenon is observable for *-ū(C)#*, which is lowered to *ō* under the same conditions.

TABLE 6. The pre-pausal lowering of *-ī(C)#*.

	North	Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre	South
<i>qalbī</i> ‘my heart’	<i>ḳ/kalbī</i>	<i>ḳ/kalbē</i>		

5.8 Third person singular independent personal pronouns

The series of the independent personal pronouns shows some inter-dialectal differences across TMA varieties, more in terms of preference than of exclusive use. For example, *huwwe/hu* ‘he’ and *hiyye/hi* ‘she’ are both known to TMA elderly speakers.

TABLE 7. Independent personal pronouns.

	North	Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre	South
‘he’	<i>huwwe/hu</i>	<i>huwwe</i>	<i>hu/huwwe</i>	<i>hūtu/hūti/hu</i>
‘she’	<i>hiyye/hi</i>	<i>hiyye</i>	<i>hi/hiyye</i>	<i>hūtha/hīti/hi</i>

Notably, the long forms are formally feminine nouns and therefore show the degree of the final *imāla* according to the internal rules of each dialect. In the north, elderly people prefer to use the long forms, while young people prefer the short forms. According to the data yielded from the corpus, in central TMA, the elders use the long forms when the pronouns are uttered in isolation (in a pause), while they use the short forms within an utterance. In the south, the independent pronouns pronounced in isolation are *hūti/hīti* and *hūtu/hūtha*, which are also found scattered across the varieties described by Seeger around Ramallah (2009a, 2009b, 2013).

Pragmatic investigations are being carried out in order to reveal the existence of possible additional rules of alternation of long and short pronominal forms in context. Regarding the plural forms of the third person masculine and feminine, southern TMA has *hummi* (M) and *hinni* (F), while central TMA more frequently has *hum* (M) and *hin* (F). The second person masculine and feminine are generally separated in both the singular and the plural, especially in the southern and the central varieties. The southern series is *inta* (MSG), *inti* (FSG), *intu* (MPL) and *intin* (FPL). The northern series sounds: *inti* (M and F), *into* (MPL), *inten* (FPL).

5.9 Demonstrative pronouns

The series of the demonstrative pronouns for close and far objects was originally unitary from a morphological point of view, yet it shows the outcomes of different phonological systems. Notably, the northern variety has just one form for the masculine and the feminine singular close demonstrative. While the final *-a* does not appear in the northern series, it appears very consistently in Bāḡa l-Ġarbiyya. As with other linguistic features, in the series of the demonstratives central and southern varieties are consistent with each other. Similar to what was noted regarding the independent pronouns, the different treatment of **/k/* in the masculine and feminine forms of the second person show that in the southern varieties, the extension of the affrication of **/k/* close to *-a-* and other back vowels is quite a recent phenomenon.

TABLE 8. Demonstrative pronouns.

	North	Bāḡa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre and South
'this' (M)	<i>hāḡ</i>	<i>hāḡa</i>	<i>hāḡa</i>
'this' (F)		<i>hāy</i>	<i>hāḡi</i>
'these' (M, F)	<i>haḡōl</i>	<i>haḡōla</i>	<i>haḡōla</i>
'that' (M)	<i>haḡāk</i>	<i>haḡāka</i>	<i>haḡāk</i>
'that' (F)	<i>haḡiĉ</i>	<i>haḡiĉ</i>	<i>haḡiĉ</i>
'those' (M, F)	<i>haḡlāk</i>	<i>haḡūlāka</i>	<i>haḡōlāk</i>

5.10 Presentative forms

Presentative forms are used for introductions such as ‘here I am!’ and ‘there he is!’ and are one of the grammatical fields in which TMA internal variation is expressed at its best. Table 9 reports only some of the many series of presentative pronouns found across the Muṭallaṭ.

TABLE 9. Presentative forms.

	North	Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre and South
‘I’	<i>hiyyāni</i>	<i>haḡāni</i>	<i>hayni/haḡani</i>
‘you’ (M)	<i>hiyyātak</i>	<i>haḡanti</i>	<i>hayyak</i>
‘you’ (F)	<i>hiyyātič</i>		<i>hayyič</i>
‘he’	<i>hiyyātu</i>	<i>hāḡu</i>	<i>hayyu/haḡahū</i>
‘she’	<i>hiyyātha</i>	<i>haḡahī</i>	<i>hayha/haḡahī</i>
‘we’	<i>hiyyātna</i>	<i>haḡāhna</i>	<i>hayna</i>
‘you’ (M)	<i>hiyyātkum</i>	<i>haḡantu</i>	<i>hayčum</i>
‘you’ (F)	<i>hiyyāčġin</i>	<i>haḡanten</i>	<i>hayčġin</i>
‘they’ (M)	<i>hiyyāthum</i>	<i>haḡahumme</i>	<i>hayhum/haḡahummi</i>
‘they’ (F)	<i>hiyyāthin</i>	<i>haḡahinne</i>	<i>hayhin/haḡahinni</i>

5.11 The position of the stress in the perfect paradigm

As Jastrow noted (2004), the perfect paradigm of the strong verb presents two different forms for the first and second person singular: *kátabit* and *katábit* (the treatment of the anaptyctic vowel works according to the rules of each dialect). Jastrow also remarked that, in any case, these forms never overlap with the third person feminine singular, which is always *katbat*. According to my data, the form *katábit* ‘I/you (M) wrote’ is typical only of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya.

5.12 The position of the stress in the third person masculine plural of the imperfect

In the third person masculine plural of the imperfect, TMA varieties, especially in the southern area, use two different forms derived from different anaptyctic strategies interchangeably. Thus, in the recordings, both *byúskunu* and *byúsknu* ‘they dwell’ can be heard, similar to what Blanc observed among the Galilean Druze (1953).

5.13 TMA internal lexical variation

One of the most striking aspects of TMA internal variation is the presence of several clearly different lexical items for objects associated with the traditional life. Alongside lexical internal variation, TMA dialects also use different roots for very basic actions and states, even for the verb 'to be.' Furthermore, the morpho-phonological outcomes of even simple and very frequent verbal forms vary across TMA varieties. Table 10 reports a small number of cases. The existence of a southern lexical facies that diverges from the central and northern one is a matter of fact, clearly demonstrated among TMA varieties and continuing in members of the young generations.

TABLE 10. Some examples of the internal TMA morpho-lexical variation.

	North	Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyya	Centre	South
'broom'	<i>miknasa/e</i>	<i>moṣṣaḥa/mičinse</i>	<i>mičinsi</i>	
'I was'	<i>kun't</i>	<i>bakét</i>		
'he eats'	<i>bōkel</i>	<i>bōkel</i>	<i>bōkel/byočel</i>	<i>byōčil</i>
'plastic cups'	<i>kubbayāt plastik</i>	<i>kabābi plastik</i>	<i>xadpamí</i>	<i>čulūčib</i>
'watch!'	<i>fakkir</i>	<i>šūf</i>	<i>šūf/baḥḥar</i>	<i>šūf</i>
'he types'	<i>bikbis</i>	<i>byikbis</i>	<i>buṭbuš</i>	
'girls'	<i>banāt</i>	<i>banawitti</i>	<i>banāt</i>	
'cemetery'	<i>mağğanna</i>	<i>mikbara</i>	<i>makbara</i>	
'olive tree'		<i>zītōn</i>	<i>resīs</i>	
'bee'		<i>samle</i>	<i>naḥle/i</i>	
'cauliflower'		<i>kambūṭa</i>	<i>zāhara</i>	
'slim'		<i>ḍīf</i>	<i>rakaš</i>	
'baskets'		<i>sallāt</i>	<i>slāl</i>	

6 Conclusions and further plans: towards a linguistic atlas of Traditional Muṭallaṭ dialects

I hope I have at least partially demonstrated the existence of different aspects of variability within the borders of the linguistic region called the Muṭallaṭ, in particular among its traditional dialects. The distribution of linguistic characteristics identifies at least four areas from north to south. From a lexical point of view, at least two macro-areas are clearly evident, one northern and one southern, with profoundly different characters. I have reported only a small number of the changing features. Many others are currently under investigation. Due to the complexity of the distribution of linguistic features and in order to provide a historical interpretation of the

internal diversity of the area, I will prepare a linguistic atlas of the area that represents the geographical and social distribution of variable characteristics.

To conclude, the preliminary analyses carried out so far have encouraged me to support the hypothesis expressed by Palva (1984) that the Muṭallat is a transitional area, characterised by koineization phenomena rather than shared innovations (as in the case of the overextension of *k > č in the south). The region has historically been subject to influences from both rural central-southern Palestine (Galilee and the Ramallah area) and the Bedouins of the Syrian area. As a general pattern, innovative features seem to begin in different focal areas and move from north to south along the path of the caravan route. Morphological and lexical elements are differently distributed across the area in a complex and nuanced way. Therefore, each feature should be identified and described on a geographical basis.

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LIESBETH ZACK 

The Pronominal Suffixes After Two Consonants in Cairene Arabic: A Historical Overview

ABSTRACT Grammars and textbooks of Cairene Arabic dating from the nineteenth century show two sets of suffixes after two consonants: the suffixes as used in modern Cairene Arabic: *-aha*, *-ukum* and *-uhum*, and a set with the vowel *i* between word and suffix: *-iha*, *-ikum* and *-ihum*. This second set of suffixes started to disappear at the end of the nineteenth century. The vowel *i* in *-iha*, *-ikum* and *-ihum* is an epenthetic vowel which is inserted between the two consonants at the end of the word (e.g. *ism*) and the suffixes *-ha*, *-kum*, *-hum* in order to break up the cluster of three consonants. However, the origin of the vowels *a* and *u* in the suffixes *-aha*, *-ukum* and *-uhum* is disputed. Some scholars, such as Birkeland (1952) and Diem (1991), argue that these vowels are remnants of old case endings, while others such as Owens (2006) and Watson (2002) claim that they are the result of vowel harmony, in which the epenthetic vowel is influenced by the vowel in the following syllable.

This paper will use historical written sources of Cairene Arabic to investigate the occurrences of these suffixes before the nineteenth century. Then, nineteenth-century sources are used to show the decline and disappearance of the suffixes with *i*. Finally, the two theories concerning the origin of the vowels of the suffixes will be discussed in light of these findings.

KEYWORDS Cairene Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, historical dialectology, pronominal suffixes, language change

1 Introduction

In modern Cairene Arabic, the pronominal suffixes after two consonants (CC) are as follows:

TABLE 1. Pronominal suffixes in Cairene Arabic after CC.

	MSG	FSG	PL
1	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ina</i>
2	<i>-ak</i>	<i>-ik</i>	<i>-ukum</i>
3	<i>-u</i>	<i>-aha</i>	<i>-uhum</i>

In Cairene Arabic, clusters of three consonants are not allowed.¹ Therefore, in 3FSG and in the plural forms (Table 1, in boldface), an extra vowel is needed in order to avoid a cluster of three consonants. This vowel is stressed. In 3FSG the vowel is *a*, in 1PL it is *i*, and in 2PL and 3PL it is *u*.

Sources from the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century display two varieties for 3FSG, 2PL and 3PL. Besides the forms mentioned in Table 1, there existed another set of suffixes. This set contains the buffer vowel *i*.

TABLE 2. Pronominal suffixes in Cairene Arabic after CC in the nineteenth century and today.

	Nineteenth century	Current situation
3FSG	<i>-iha, -aha</i>	<i>-aha</i>
2PL	<i>-ikum, -ukum</i>	<i>-ukum</i>
3PL	<i>-ihum, -uhum</i>	<i>-uhum</i>

The set of suffixes with *i* started to disappear at the end of the nineteenth century, and this process was completed at the beginning of the twentieth century. This raises some questions that will be addressed in this paper: Why were there two different sets of suffixes? Which one is the oldest? Why did the suffixes with *i* disappear? I will attempt to shed light on these questions by looking at the suffixes in pre-twentieth-century texts. This is no easy task, considering that this is a feature that can only be found in texts in Arabic script that are vocalised, or in transcribed texts. Although the latter can be found in abundance in the nineteenth century, they are very scarce in earlier periods.

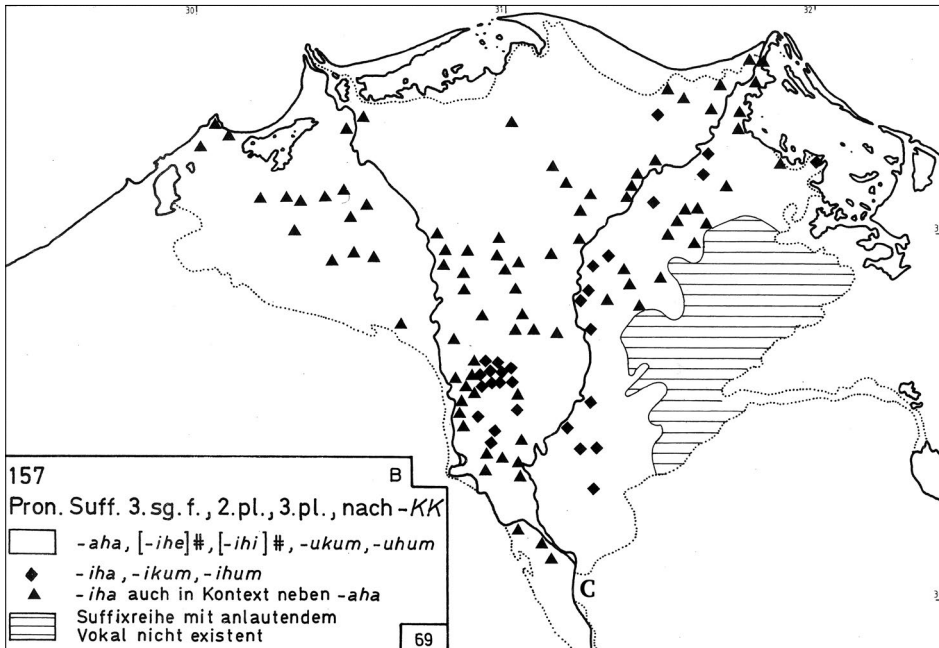
The article will first discuss the current situation with regard to the vowels of the suffixes in Cairo and the Delta. Then, evidence from texts from the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries will be given, followed by an overview of suffixes found in texts

¹ See Woidich (2006: 17).

from the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. In the final part, two opposing views on the origin of these vowels will be given: while some researchers claim they are remnants of old case endings, others propose that they are epenthetic vowels that were affected by vowel harmony. These two theories will be discussed in light of the situation in Cairene Arabic.

2 The current situation in Cairo and the Delta

Map 157 in Behnstedt and Woidich's (1985b) dialect atlas of Egypt (see Map 1) shows that there are three distinct groups of suffixes in the Delta.² The unshaded part, which covers most of the Delta, represents the set of suffixes *-aha*, *-ukum*, *-uhum*. The suffix *-aha* is pronounced as *-ihe* or *-ihi* in pausa. The second group, indicated with a diamond, has suffixes with the vowel *i*: *-iha*, *-ikum*, *-ihum*. The third group, marked with a triangle, has both *-iha* and *-aha*. According to Behnstedt and Woidich's (1985a: 78) *Anmerkungen zu den Karten*, the *i* in the second and third group can be explained as an epenthetic



MAP 1. Pronominal suffixes 3FSG, 2PL, 3PL after CC (Behnstedt and Woidich 1985b: map 157). © Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden. C for Cairo added by the author.

2 The shaded part on the right, which represents the Šarqiyya, will not be taken into consideration here. Also, the region to the south of Cairo, in the Nile Valley, is not relevant here because the suffixes contain an unstressed *schwa*. See Behnstedt and Woidich (1985a: 78).

vowel to break up the sequence of three consonants. However, the vowel *i* in the pausal forms *-ihe#* and *-ihi#* in group 1 (which has *-aha* in context and *-ukum* and *-uhum* for the other forms) has a different origin. Because of pausal *imāla* (raising of final *a*), *-aha#* became *-ahe#* / *-ahi#*. The *i*-sound then spread to the left of the suffix. This is the group to which Cairo belongs as well. Note, however, that Cairo does not have the pausal forms *-ihe#* and *-ihi#*. The dialect of Cairo does not have pausal *imāla* anymore; this feature disappeared in the nineteenth century (see Blanc 1973–1974; see also section 4.3 below).

3 Pre-nineteenth-century Cairene Arabic

Pre-nineteenth-century sources written in the dialect of Cairo are rare.³ There are no reliable texts in transcription, and colloquial texts written in the Arabic script are very scarce. Moreover, texts written in Arabic script in which information about the vowels of the suffixes can be found are even harder to find, as it was not common practice to mark texts with vowel signs.⁴ Below, two texts are discussed in which some information can be found; one from the fifteenth, and one from the eighteenth century.

3.1 Fifteenth century: ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbuḡāwī

One of the earliest texts that contains information about the vowels of the suffixes is ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbuḡāwī's fifteenth-century *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa muḏḥik al-fabūs*.⁵ Al-Bašbuḡāwī was born in Cairo in 1407 and died in Damascus in 1464. His humorous poems contain a good deal of colloquial elements, some of which are vocalised. In his study of this text, Vrolijk (1998: 153) mentions one example of the vocalised suffix هم كُنْهُمْ *kannuhum* 'as if they are.' He also mentions three vocalised examples of the 3FSG suffix with the vowel *a*: مَهْرَهَا *mahrahā* 'her dowry,' وَمُهَا *w-ummaha* 'and her mother' and فى رَاسِهَا *fī rāsahā* 'on her head' (Vrolijk 1998: 153). I need to clarify here that in the first two examples the *fathā* cannot be explained by the accusative case, as in both instances the noun containing the suffix is the subject: خَطَّيْتُ لَكَ عَزْوَئِيَّ مَهْرَهَا 'and her mum cries meow'⁶ (Vrolijk 1998: 82 a l. 10), and عَشْرِينَ فُرُورِي *ʿashrin fūrūrī* 'I got you engaged to a bride whose dower is twenty *para*'⁷ (Vrolijk 1998:

3 See Davies and Doss (2013: 26).

4 See Zack (2019: 210–212).

5 Text edition and study by Arnoud Vrolijk (1998). The work consists of two parts: the study (in English) and the text edition. When referring to the edition of the Arabic text, the letter *a* is mentioned after the page number.

6 The poem is about a little kitten.

7 The *para* was $\frac{1}{40}$ of a piastre.

83a l. 11). Of course, in the third example فى راسها (Vrolijk 1998: 139a l. 14), the noun is preceded by فى, so if there was a case ending, it would have been a *kasra*. However, this last example poses a problem because *rās* ends in a single consonant and therefore the suffix would be expected to be *-hā* rather than *-ahā*. An explanation could be that it should be read as *raʔsahā*. There are two other instances in which the word is vocalised as راسها (Vrolijk 1998: 140a l. 11 and p. 141a l. 13).

Vrolijk states that the suffix was *-ihā* when the syllable preceding the suffix contained an *i* or *ī*:

There is some evidence, however, that the intermediary vowel becomes ‘i’ when the last syllable of the preceding word has an ‘i’ or ‘ī’ vowel: بِيَدِهَا *bīdihā* ‘in her hand’ (82: 9). (Vrolijk 1998: 153)

Vrolijk suggests that this is a case of vowel harmony in which the vowel of the noun influences the vowel of the suffix. Because the word *ʔid* is colloquial, he does not seem to consider the possibility that the *i* is in fact the genitive case ending. However, because *ʔid* is preceded by *bi-*, it cannot be excluded that the vowel does in fact indicate the genitive case, making this a mixed form containing both colloquial and classical elements. However this may be, one example is not enough to establish a general rule. Another important point is that in this example no vowel at all is needed because *ʔid* (like *rās*) ends in one consonant and therefore takes the suffix *-hā*. This example is from a line of poetry, so the extra vowel is probably dictated by the metre.⁸ The only other examples with *-ihā* that I have found in this text are words that are preceded by a preposition. For instance, forms like على رجليها (Vrolijk 1998: 112a l. 3) and فى يومها (Vrolijk 1998: 114 l. 15) are ambiguous because the *kasra* could be explained as the genitive case ending. Also, the word اسمها ‘her name’ (Vrolijk 1998: 112a l. 2) with an *i* in the preceding syllable, but the suffix *-ahā* rather than *-ihā*, contradicts Vrolijk’s theory of vowel harmony.

Besides the examples mentioned by Vrolijk (1998: 153), I have found additional instances of vocalised suffixes in which the vowel before the suffix is different than the one expected in Classical Arabic:⁹

-ahā:

على ظهرها ‘on her back’ (Vrolijk 1998: 112a l. 8 and 139a l. 15);

ان المركب بطنها مَعَوَّقَةٌ فى الثوبية ‘the belly of the boat is held back in the water’ (Vrolijk 1998: 141a l. 1).

8 This is not the case in the examples of راسها, because these all occur in prose text.

9 For instance, كَنَهَا ‘as if she’ (Vrolijk 1998: 98a l. 13) and تحتها ‘underneath her’ (Vrolijk 1998: 98a l. 14) both have *a* as in Classical Arabic.

-*ukum*:

يا حُرَيْبُكُمْ يَا بَنَاتِي ‘Oh your restive one (?), oh my good luck’ (Vrolijk 1998: 106a l. 4).¹⁰

No additional examples of the suffix هم with vocalisation were found.

There are two passages, ‘The letter of Funayn’ (pp. 137a–139a) and ‘About the difference between a boat and a horse and what relates to this’ (pp. 139a–141a) in which the suffix 3FSG is written as هِيه, representing the suffix *-ihi* with strong *imāla*, which can still be found in the Delta (see section 2 above). Examples are تَحْتِيه ‘underneath her’ (Vrolijk 1998: 138a l. 15),¹¹ قال لِيه ‘he said to her’ (Vrolijk 1998: 140a l. 16) and رَجْلِيه ‘her leg’ (Vrolijk 1998: 140a l. 17). ‘The letter of Funayn,’ from which the first example is taken, is a letter written by a fictional character from the Egyptian countryside and was ‘an attempt to imitate and ridicule the speech of a *baladī* character’ (Vrolijk 1998: 141). The fact that al-Bašbuḡawī wrote the suffix with *hā?* rather than *alif* and also marked the suffix with two *kasras* shows that he took some trouble to stress the fact that this was not Cairene Arabic.

3.2. Eighteenth century: *Lisb al-Manār*

The text of the shadow play *Lisb al-Manār* ‘The play of the lighthouse,’ about the famous lighthouse in Alexandria, dates from the sixteenth century, but the only surviving manuscript containing the text dates from 1707.¹² The play was meant to be performed rather than read in silence, and the manuscript shows signs of being used during performances.¹³ Shadow plays were meant to entertain the masses. It is therefore not surprising that *Lisb al-Manār* contains many colloquial elements.¹⁴ Although the text is only sparsely vocalised, there are two instances of vocalised suffixes that concern us here: كَلُّهُمْ *kulluhum* (Kahle 1930: 8a l. 9) and كَلِّهَا *kullaha* (Kahle 1930: 19a l. 7). However, كَلُّهُمْ is the subject of the sentence, so this could also be interpreted as the Classical Arabic case ending *u*. كَلِّهَا would have been in the nominative if it had been Classical Arabic: وارض قبرص والجزاير كَلِّهَا تتطاع لقوله ‘and the land of Cyprus and all the islands obey his words.’ So here we do have proof of the suffix *-aha*.

10 According to the rules of Classical Arabic, حرين should have been in the accusative (see Caspari and Wright 1862, vol. II: 63). The meaning of حرين is not entirely clear. It is also used on p. 82a l. 7: يَا حُرَيْنِ النَّاسِ يَبْنَتِي. As both examples are from children’s rhymes, and the one on p. 82a is full of diminutives, it seems most likely that حُرَيْنِ is the diminutive of خرون ‘restive.’

11 See also Vrolijk (1998: 153).

12 See Kahle (1930: 3–8) and Zack (2012: 333–334). References to Kahle’s (1930) edition of the Arabic text are marked with the letter a after the page number.

13 See Kahle (1930: 1).

14 See Zack (2012: 335).

What the examples in sections 3.1 and 3.2 show is that the forms with *a* and *u* most likely were the norm. There are no unambiguous examples of suffixes with *i* from this period that could not be attributed to the genitive case; however, the 3FSG form *-ihi* was clearly stigmatised.

In the following paragraph, the appearance of the suffixes in nineteenth-century sources will be discussed.

4 The nineteenth century

From the second half of the nineteenth century, many textbooks, language guides and grammars of Cairene Arabic were published. These were written both by native speakers and orientalist and aimed at teaching Arabic to foreign travellers. Most of these used transcribed Arabic, or both transcription and Arabic script, which makes them very useful sources for phonological research.¹⁵

4.1 *-ikum / -ukum* and *-ihum / -ukum*

Many nineteenth-century sources have *-ikum* and *-uhum*, which are the forms that are used in Cairo nowadays. Some examples with *u* (ordered from the oldest to the most recent sources) are:

- *hommà kân andohoum innâb*¹⁶ (Cadri 1868: 134) ‘they had grapes’;
- *buddûhum (biddûhum)* (Spitta 1880: 54) ‘they want’;
- *wêhum saḥṭâhum ḥagar kullûhum* (Spitta 1883: 146) ‘and she turned them all into stone’;
- *aan’doukoum* (Vaujany 1884: 19) ‘you (PL) have’;
- *ma ṣandokumṣ adab* (Spiro 1912: 50) ‘you have no manners.’

There are also a number of sources that mention *-ikum* and *-ihum*. Examples with *i* include:

- *houmma kân ândehom* (Nolden 1844: 141) ‘they had’;
- *intom andikom; nafsi-kom, nafsi-hom* (Nakhlah 1874: 63; 137) ‘you (PL) have’; ‘yourselves, themselves’;
- *كَبَشَتْ كَبَشَهْ ذَهَبٍ وَرَمَتْهَا فِي وَسْطِهِمْ* (Dulac 1889: 67) ‘she took a handful of gold and threw it among them’;
- *nafsi-kum, nafsi-hum* (Thimm 1898: 42) ‘yourselves, themselves.’

15 For more information about these types of books, see Zack (2016 and 2017).

16 The transcriptions have been kept as in the original sources.

Some sources use both *u* and *i*:

- *tīqdar tohhot-tóhom tãhht el kursee au fil shâbakeh* (Sacroug 1874: 296) ‘you may put them under the seat or in the net’; *hoom’ma aandêhom* (Sacroug 1874: 249) ‘they have’;
- *aħadû nafsúhum* (Van Berchem 1889: 99) ‘they stood up’; *wêqâmet elmara gâbet elħadîde min ennâr wêkauwethum fi kaṣbihum* (Van Berchem 1889: 101) ‘the woman stood up, got the iron from the fire and ironed their heels’;
- *biddikum (auch buddükum) tiḍrabu* (Seidel 1896: 37) ‘you (PL) want to hit.’

Spitta’s and Seidel’s examples with *bidd* ‘to want’ are interesting because they show vowel harmony: besides *biddúhum*, a form *buddúhum* existed (Spitta 1880: 54) in which *bidd* has become *budd* under the influence of the vowel in the next syllable. Seidel’s (1896: 37) *biddikum/buddükum* shows the same phenomenon. I have not found any other examples except for these two with the word *bidd*.

Spitta (1880) is also interesting for another reason. Although his book is a very detailed, scholarly description of the grammar of Cairene Arabic, and lists numerous variations, it does not mention *î* as ‘Bindevocal’ for the suffixes *-kum* and *-hum* (see Spitta 1880: 54).

The last grammar which mentions the forms *-ikum* and *-ihum* is Marriott ([1930]). However, its date of publication is misleading because it is based on C. A. Thimm’s book that first appeared in 1897. It is very likely that this information was not updated in subsequent editions. Another late source which mentions these forms is Chagavat’s *Vocabulaire français-italien-arabe*, which has no year of publication but most probably dates from the early twentieth century.¹⁷ He mentions for instance *andékom, andêhom* (Chagavat s.d.: 305).

4.2 *-iha* and *-aha*

Whereas most sources give either the forms with *i* or those with *u* for the suffixes 2PL and 3PL, but not both, the situation is different when it comes to the suffix 3FSG. The majority of the sources from the nineteenth century give both options *-iha* and *-aha*, as can be seen in Table 3.

It is only at the beginning of the twentieth century that the suffix *-iha* falls into disuse, as the table shows. Mahmoud Salem still mentions *-iha* 1940, although it

17 Although undated, some information about its year of publication can be deduced from a list of other publications by the author mentioned at the end of the book. Of the 18 titles, only one can be found in WorldCat: *Mahomet et les Khalifes et l’Empire Ottoman* (see <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/14992167>, accessed 30 April 2020). This book was published in 1912. Therefore, his *Vocabulaire* must have been published after that.

TABLE 3.
Distribution of the
suffixes *-iha* and *-aha*
in 30 texts.

	<i>-aha</i>	<i>-iha</i>
1844 Nolden		
1868 Cadri		
1869 Hassan		
1874 Nakhlah		
1874 Sacroug		
1879 Goldziher		
1880 Spitta		
1883 Spitta		
1884 Mosconas		
1884 Vaujany		
1886 Probst		
1887 Wied		
1890 Vollers		
1892 Haggemacher		
1895 Vollers-Burkitt		
1893 Dirr		
1893 Fiske		
1896 Seidel		
1898 Probst		
1898 Robertson- Ayrût		
1900 Nallino		
1901 Willmore		
1904 Fiske		
1906 Prüfer		
1912 Spiro		
1913 Klippel		
1917 Gairdner		
1927 Elder		
1928 Hug-Habachi		
1940 Salem		

needs to be noted that Salem is in many ways more conservative than most other sources and therefore is not a reliable source to establish when a certain feature became obsolete.¹⁸

Some examples with *-iha*:

- *anà farragtohoum alal madina kollihà* (Cadri 1868: 346) ‘I showed them the whole city’ (note also *farragtohoum* with *u*);

¹⁸ Salem’s 1940 publication is the second edition. It is unknown when the first edition was published. It could be much earlier and therefore account for some of the archaic features.

- *fālamā sâfhâ faly ḥabbîha* (Spitta 1880: 181) ‘when Ali saw her, he fell in love with her’;
- *kanit siḥḥitik izzayyi-ha min wa-t ma-chuftik?* (Salem 1940: 113) ‘how have you been since I saw you last?’

And some examples with *-aha*:

- *mà rouhtahâc aslan* (Cadri 1868: 246) ‘I’ve never been there’;
- *es-sâfa tâwwahâ dâqqet t’lâte* (Hassan 1869: 32) ‘it has just struck three’;
- *issmaha ayh* (Nakhlah 1874: 97) ‘what is her name?’;
- *min waqtâha* (Haggenmacher 1892: 98) ‘since then’;
- *bint-â-ha* (Nallino 1900: 29) ‘her daughter.’

Nallino remarks:

I vocaboli terminanti con due consonanti, davanti ai suffissi che cominciano per consonante devono prendere una vocale eufonica (§ 3), ossia *â* od *î* innanzi a *hâ*, *î* innanzi a *nâ*, *û* innanzi a *kum*, *hum*. Da *bint* figlia : *bint-â-ha* la figlia di lei, *bint-î-na* nostra figlia, *bint-û-kum* la figlia vostra, *bint-û-hum* la figlia loro. Al Cairo e nelle sue vicinanze si accentua (§ 4) *bintâhâ*, *bintîna*, *bintûkum*, *bintûhum*. (Nallino 1900: 30)

The words ending with two consonants before suffixes beginning with a consonant must take a euphonic vowel (§ 3), namely *â* or *î* before *hâ*, *î* before *nâ*, *û* before *kum*, *hum*. For *bint* daughter: *bint-â-ha* her daughter, *bint-î-na* our daughter, *bint-û-kum* your daughter, *bint-û-hum* their daughter. In Cairo and its surroundings it is stressed (§ 4) *bintâhâ*, *bintîna*, *bintûkum*, *bintûhum*.’ (translation by the author)

What is interesting here is that Nallino first confirms that both *a* and *i* can be used before the suffix *-ha*, but then twice mentions the example *bintaha* only, which implies that this was the preferred form at that time. This is corroborated by Spitta’s *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten* (1880). In the following paradigm (Figure 1), we can see that although he does not mention the forms *-ikum* and *-ihum* (see section 3.1), he does mention both forms *-iha* and *-aha*:

4) Auf eine doppelt geschlossene kurze Silbe ausgehendes Substantiv: <i>ṣuġl</i> „Geschäft“.	
<i>ṣuġloh</i> sein Geschäft	<i>ṣuġlûkum</i> ihr Geschäft
<i>ṣuġlâha</i> (<i>ṣuġlîha</i>) ihr Geschäft	<i>ṣuġlûkum</i> euer Geschäft
<i>ṣuġlak</i> dein (m.) Geschäft	<i>ṣuġlîna</i> unser Geschäft.
<i>ṣuġlik</i> dein (f.) Geschäft	
<i>ṣuġly</i> mein Geschäft	

FIGURE 1. The suffixes after CC in Spitta (1880: 153).

The fact that the form *šugliha* is given between brackets indicates that for Spitta it was not the standard or preferred form. Spitta makes three statements about the vowel of the suffix 3FSG:

Ferner steht er [=e], obwohl gerade nicht häufig, vor dem Suffix der 3. P. sing. fem. *hâ*, wenn dieses an Formen gehängt wird, die mit zwei Consonanten eindigen. Beispiele: *šandêha* „bei ihr“ [...]. (Spitta 1880: 53)

On the same page, he mentions:

Der Zwischenvocal *â* kommt nur vor dem Suffix der 3. P. fem. sing. *hâ* (*ha*) vor, wenn dasselbe an Substantiva oder Verba tritt, die mit zwei Consonanten schliessen; er wechselt in dieser Function mit dem eben erwähnten *ê*, von dem er überhaupt schwer zu unterscheiden ist, und dem gleich zu besprechenden *î*. (Spitta 1880: 53)

And on the next page:

Der Zwischenvocal *î* kommt zunächst als Bindevocal vor dem Suffix *hâ* (*ha*) vor, z. B. 7, 2 *bardiha* „sie auch“; 7, 7 *šandiha* „bei ihr“, wo auch, wie eben erwähnt, *ê* und *â* stehen können. (Spitta 1880: 54)

Summarising Spitta's three statements, it can be concluded that *a* was the most common vowel for the suffix 3FSG. Besides these, the vowels *i* and *ê* were used as well, although the use of the latter was 'nicht häufig' ('not often').

Taking the evidence from the sources into consideration, it can be concluded that the forms with *-ikum* and *-ihum* disappeared from Cairene Arabic at the end of the nineteenth century. The form *-iha* was more common than *-ikum* and *-ihum* and seems to have survived longer: well into the twentieth century. However, even when the two forms existed side by side, the form with *a* seems to have been the preferred one.

4.3 The nineteenth century: appearance and disappearance of a suffix

As discussed in section 3, there are no texts that show the suffixes with *i* in Cairene Arabic before the nineteenth century. This does not mean that they did not exist at all, but merely that at the moment there is no evidence of their existence. The available texts do indicate that the forms with *a* and *u* were used at that time, and that the 3FSG suffix with strong *imāla* (*-ihî*) was stigmatised. The numerous attestations of suffixes with *i* in nineteenth-century sources is interesting considering their absence in the earlier texts.

The appearance of the forms with *i* coincides with the waves of mass immigration from the surrounding countryside to Cairo that took place during the nineteenth

century. Two devastating epidemics in 1831 and 1835 killed nearly a third of Cairo's population, but mass migration from the countryside made up for this loss, keeping the number of inhabitants stable.¹⁹ During the remainder of the nineteenth century, deaths continued to exceed births in the capital, so its growth was dependent entirely on the arrival of rural migrants.²⁰ Taking into consideration the influx of migrants from the countryside, it is not surprising that Cairo became a melting pot of different dialects, which accounts for the existence of different suffixes side by side. Peter Trudgill has shown that in situations of dialect contact, stigmatised forms tend to disappear in favour of unmarked forms.²¹ Woidich (1994: 504–505) uses this theory to explain the disappearance of another feature from Cairene Arabic in the second half of the nineteenth century, the pausal *imāla*:²²

As townsfolk tend to look down on the peasants and a strong *imāla* was certainly characteristic of peasant speech as it is today, the former avoided it and used the context form instead in order to be different and to avoid being ridiculous. On the other hand, rural speakers who wanted to adapt themselves to urban speech avoided *imāla* for the same reason. (Woidich 1994: 505)

This is likely also the reason why at the turn of the twentieth century, the suffixes with *i* disappeared: they were associated with rural speech. This is corroborated by the current distribution of suffixes with *i*, which shows that it is a feature found in the Delta, especially in the Minūfiyya province, located directly to the north of Cairo. The first generation of immigrants used these 'rural' suffixes, which is why they were recorded in the grammars and textbooks, and both sets of suffixes existed side by side. But the forms with *i* were stigmatised by the original inhabitants of Cairo due to their association with rural speech, and as the children of the immigrants took over the 'neutral' forms of Cairene Arabic, the forms with *i* disappeared.

5 The vowels: Case endings or epenthetic vowels?

The origin of the vowels *i*, *a* and *u* that come between CC and the following suffixes in Cairene Arabic is disputed. Some scholars, such as Harris Birkeland (1952) and Werner Diem (1991), claim that these vowels are remnants of old case endings. Others, such as Janet Watson (2002) and Jonathan Owens (2006), argue that they are the result of vowel harmony, in which the epenthetic vowel is influenced by the vowel of the

19 See Abu-Lughod (1971: 83 fn. 4).

20 See Abu-Lughod (1971: 115).

21 See Trudgill (1986: 11; 143).

22 See also Blanc (1973–1974).

following phoneme. This discussion is quite a significant one because it addresses the question of whether the modern Arabic dialects are descendants of a form of Arabic in which case endings still existed. In this section, I will analyse these two theories in further detail.

5.1 Theory 1: Vestiges of case endings

Proponents of the theory that the vowels are vestiges of case endings are Harris Birkeland (1952) and Werner Diem (1991). Carl Brockelmann (1908) already proposed that the vowels of the second person singular are remnants of the case endings. He writes about **kā̃*, **kī̃*:

In den neuarab. Dialekten sind die Vokale durchweg abgefallen, und die Geschlechter werden nur noch durch Erhaltung der dem ursprünglichen Suffixvokal entsprechenden Nominalendungen, die auch auf das Verbum übertragen werden, unterschieden: m. *ak*, f. *ik*. (Brockelmann 1908: 309)

Birkeland (1952) also focuses on the suffixes of the second person singular, stating that:

We must be allowed to [...] conclude that in *bētak* < **bētakā* it is the accusative which is preserved, in *bētik* < **bētikī* it is the genitive. The fact that an old case-ending appears as an auxiliary vowel is well-known. And that the quality of this vowel is determined by the following vowel is quite natural. (Birkeland 1952: 12)

Although Birkeland presents the use of old case endings as auxiliary vowels as a well-known fact, he does not actually cite sources supporting this. However, as shown above, Brockelmann (1908: 309) was a proponent of this view and was possibly the inspiration for Birkeland's theory.

Birkeland does not mention the auxiliary vowels of the suffixes *-ha*, *-kum* and *-hum* explicitly, but he does mention that '[t]he *u* in *ki'tābu* is not the *u* of *-hu*, but the auxiliary vowel, which before *u* was the original case-ending of the nominative [...]' (Birkeland 1952: 30). This shows that Birkeland extends his theory to the vowels of other suffixes.

Diem (1991: 301) supports Birkeland's view: while according to Diem the inserted vowel is originally a case ending, now become defunct, the choice of case ending was actually dependent on the next vowel. He constructs the reduction of the final vowels of the suffixes of the second person singular in three stages:

1. *bint-aka*, *bint-ikī*
2. *bint-ak*, *bint-ikī*
3. *bint-ak*, *bint-ik*

Diem argues that first the case system broke down, but that the dialect still kept the short vowels associated with the cases, and that therefore the choice of short vowels in the suffixes was due to vowel harmony. The final short vowels only disappeared after that, leaving the remnants of the case system in the vowels of *-ak* and *-ik*. As for the other suffixes, Diem states that:

„Vokalharmonie“ [...] zeigt sich auch bei anderen gebundenen Pronomina; vgl. etwa für den Dialekt von Kairo *bint-u* < **bint-u**hu*, *bint-aha*, *bint-ukum*, *bint-uhum*; nur *bint-ina* ist eine Ausnahme. (Diem 1991: 301)

Summarising, it can be said that both Birkeland and Diem claim that the auxiliary vowels can be traced back to old case endings, but that the choice of vowel was determined by vowel harmony, i.e. the vowel of the following syllable.

5.2 Theory 2: Vowel harmony

The second theory states that the vowels did not originate from a form of the language in which old case endings still existed; rather, they were epenthetic vowels whose quality changed because of vowel harmony. Proponents of this theory are, amongst others, Janet Watson and Jonathan Owens. Watson describes the system of vowel harmony in Cairene Arabic as follows:

Whenever three consonants are potentially juxtaposed within the utterance, epenthesis of [i] occurs between the second and third consonant. Within the word, but not across word boundaries, the epenthetic vowel is realized as [u] to the left of /u/. (Watson 2002: 64)

Watson explains the *a* in *-aha* as follows:

The [a] vowel in *ḥabbaha* ‘he loved her’ is due to assimilation of [guttural] from the following guttural consonant and guttural vowel. (Watson 2002: 183 fn. 6)

Owens has a similar view:

The epenthetic vowel is usually a high vowel whose precise value, front, back or mid, is determined by consonantal context. In a few dialects, including WSA²³ and Cairene, the value of the epenthetic vowel is determined by the nature of the following consonant formed by the pronominal suffix. There are three epenthetic vowel values, [i, u, a]. [u] occurs before a suffix with [u], [a] occurs before *-ha* and otherwise [i] occurs. (Owens 2006: 108)

23 Western Sudanic Arabic.

Owens objects to the idea that the vowels *u*, *i*, *a* are remnants of old case endings because this would imply that the Arabic dialects, and therefore also Cairene Arabic, are a direct descendant of Old Arabic with a case system, a notion that he rejects. He comments on Birkeland's (1952) theory of remnants of case endings:

[...] Birkeland offers no independent motivation for his explanation, other than, implicitly, the phonetic identity with CA case suffixes. There is no obvious explanation, for instance, as to why the genitive *-i* should have been preserved before *-na*, *-u* before *-hum*, nor does Birkeland explain how the case endings were converted to non-morphological epenthetic status. (Owens 2006: 235)

Even though both theories have a different starting point, an earlier variety of the dialect that either had, or did not have, case endings, the conclusion is the same: the choice of vowels in the suffixes is due to vowel harmony.

6 Conclusion

In the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, two sets of pronominal suffixes after CC existed side by side in Cairene Arabic: one in which the vowel varies (*a* or *u*, depending on the vowel of the following suffix), and another containing the epenthetic vowel *i*. It is hard to establish which set of suffixes is the oldest one, due to the scarcity of historical colloquial texts that display the vowels. It is possible that the system with the epenthetic vowel *i* is the oldest one, and vowel harmony thereafter resulted in the other set of suffixes. There is, however, no data to back this hypothesis. Texts from the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries display the suffixes *-aha*, *-ukum* and *-uhum*, but do not show suffixes with *i* that cannot be explained as the genitive case ending, except for the stigmatised suffix of the third person feminine singular with *imāla*: *-ihī*.

The suffixes with *i* are nowadays found in parts of the Delta. In the nineteenth century, there was a wave of mass migration from the countryside to Cairo. The suffixes with *i* could therefore be heard in the streets of Cairo, and were subsequently recorded in grammars and textbooks. It is possible that the original inhabitants of Cairo associated these with rural speech. The disappearance of the suffixes with *i* can therefore be explained by the wish of speakers of Cairene Arabic to dissociate themselves from these stigmatised forms.

As for the two theories about the origin of the extra vowels after CC, and whether these are remnants of case endings or epenthetic vowels whose quality changed due to vowel harmony, the current study has shown that vowel harmony does indeed play a role in the formation of the suffixes. This can be seen in the pausal form of the suffix *-aha*, which is *-ihe#* / *-ihī#* in some parts of the Delta. This goes back to a suffix

-*aha* that was pronounced with pausal imāla: -*ahe#* / -*ahi#*. The *e* or *i*-sound of the last syllable then influenced the vowel in the syllable to its left, turning it into *i*. This shows that vowel harmony can spread to the left, which makes it likely that the suffixes -*iha*, -*ikum* and -*ihum*, containing an epenthetic vowel *i*, were influenced in a similar style and became -*aha*, -*ukum* and -*uhum*. Additional proof of this is *budduhum* (< *bidduhum*), recorded by Spitta (1880), and *buddukum* (< *biddukum*) (Seidel 1896), which show that the vowel *u* of the suffix could even influence the vowel of the preceding noun.

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Zero-marked Nouns in Moroccan Arabic: Depictives or Adverbials?

ABSTRACT The major issue that is raised in this paper is how to delimit depictive secondary predicates from adverbials in Moroccan Arabic (henceforth MA). In syntactic description, depictives and adverbials are both adjuncts and hence are non-obligatory elements in sentences. A basic contrast between the two, however, is ‘their different semantic orientation within the event-internal modification’ (Schroeder 2008: 340). Depictive constructions are adjuncts that add a second predication to one of the participants involved in the main predication, while adverbials are event-oriented in that they add information about manner, time or place to the meaning of a verb. Cross-linguistic research has shown that while it is easy to make a distinction between depictives and adverbials in some languages such as English because they have different morpho-syntactic correlates, in other languages ‘the distinction between participant- and event-orientation is often difficult to draw, and languages abound with constructions which straddle the line between the two’ (Reinöhl and Himmelmann 2011: 131). Much of the research that has examined this issue of how to delimit depictives from other adjuncts such as adverbials was carried out on European languages. The goal of this paper is twofold. First, it provides data from MA, a typologically different language where in some cases depictives converge formally with adverbials and hence the need to find criteria that help distinguish between the two arises. Second, it analyses a special category of depictives that are realised by zero-marked nouns and that are under-resourced compared to the prototypical depictives, which occur in the form of adjectives.

KEYWORDS depictives, secondary predicates, adverbials, adjuncts, zero-marked nouns, Moroccan Arabic

1 Introduction

Depictives are described as a kind of predicates that add a second predication to one of the participants involved in the main predication. They occur in constructions where ‘a single clause contains two predicative constituents, which do not form a complex predicate in the way serial verbs or periphrastic predicates do’ (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004: 59). A depictive describes a physical or a psychological state or condition, and it can be semantically oriented to any one of the participants or what is also referred to as a controller; it can be subject-oriented as in (1), where the adjective *ṣəyyan* ‘tired’ describes the state of the subject, or object-oriented as in (2), where *barəd* ‘cold’ describes the state of the direct object.

- (1) *kla* *ḅda-h* *ṣəyyan* (subject-oriented)
 eat.PRF.3MSG lunch-3MSG tired
 ‘he ate his lunch tired’
- (2) *ṣrəb* *l-ḥlib* *barəd* (object-oriented)
 drink.PRF.3MSG DEF-milk cold
 ‘he drank the milk cold’

One of the basic properties of depictives is temporal overlap. In his seminal paper, Halliday (1967: 63) defined a depictive as ‘an attribute which characterises the attribuant (i.e. the direct object) in relation to the process, but as a concomitant, not a result, of the process.’ As in (2), the depictive describes a state of affairs which holds at the same time as the eventuality encoded by the main predicate unfolds. The state denoted by the depictive *barəd* ‘cold’ is linked to the temporal frame set by the main predicate in that it holds during the process of drinking; that is, while the event unfolds. Temporal overlap is also what distinguishes depictives from other secondary predicates such as resultatives as in (3).

- (3) *səbḅ-at* *ḍar-ha* *biḍ-a*
 paint.PRF-3FSG house-3FSG white-FSG
 ‘she painted her house white’

The object-oriented depictive *barəd* ‘cold’ in (2) and the resultative secondary predicate *biḍ-a* ‘white’ in (3) are not to be distinguished in terms of their syntactic structures. They rather differ as to the way they fit in the temporal frame set by the main predicate. As opposed to a depictive, the resultative *biḍ-a* ‘white’ designates ‘the state of an argument resulting from the action determined by the main verb’ (Asada 2012: 54).

Adverbials are entities which refer to the manner, place or time of an action. They may also modify an adjective or another adverb. The adverbs which are examined

in this paper are manner adverbs. A sentence such as ‘John walked slowly,’ with the manner adverb ‘slowly,’ ‘makes the claim that there was a leaving event of which John was the agent and which was slow’ (Katz 2003: 457). Furthermore, as in (4), they are VP-adverbs because they modify the predicate as opposed to S-adverbs, which are described as propositional modifiers (Jackendoff 1972). Another feature that characterises adverbs is that they occur with an eventive verb as opposed to a stative verb, which denotes a state predicate.

- (4) *dəff-u* *b-ʒ-ʒəhd*
 push.PRF-3MSG by-DEF-force
 ‘he pushed him by force’

One basic contrast between depictives and manner adverbials is their semantic orientation within the event-internal modification. Depictives have a participant orientation while manner adverbials have a process or action orientation (Schroeder 2008). Depictive constructions, which are secondary predicates, add a second predication to one of the participants involved in the main predication, and they can be subject-oriented or object-oriented as in (1) and (2). Adverbials, on the other hand, are event-oriented, and they add information about manner, time or place to the meaning of a verb or a clause as in (4), where the adverb *b-ʒ-ʒəhd* ‘by force’ modifies the main predication rather than assigns a specific property to one of the participants.

In syntactic description, however, both depictives and adverbials are characterised by optionality. They are both adjuncts and hence are non-obligatory elements in sentences; they are free supplements. A depictive can be omitted ‘without rendering the remaining string ungrammatical or changing the structural relationship among the remaining constituents’ (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004: 65). The adjective *ʕəyyan-a* ‘tired’ is optional in *kla-t ʕda-ha ʕəyyan-a* ‘she ate her lunch tired’ because it can be omitted as in *kla-t ʕda-ha* ‘she ate her lunch’ without affecting the remaining structure of the sentence. Yet, it is non-optional in (5), where it constitutes a basic entity in the argument frame of the main predicate rather than an adjunction.

- (5) *ka-t-ban* *ʕəyyan-a*
 IND-3FSG-look.IMPRF tired-FSG
 ‘she looks tired’

The same optionality holds true for adverbials. In (6), the adverb *b-z-zərb-a* ‘quickly’ presents an instance of adjunction and hence can be omitted without having any impact on the structural relationship that holds between the remaining entities, namely the subject and the verb.

- (6) *xrəʒ* *b-z-zərb-a*
 leave.PRF.3MSG with-DEF-quickness
 ‘he left quickly’

Cross-linguistic research has shown that while in some languages such as English it is easy to make a distinction between depictives and adverbials given their different morpho-syntactic correlates, in other languages ‘the difference between depictives and adverbials is much less clear-cut, both in formal and semantic terms, than is often assumed’ (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004: 59). Much of the research that has examined this issue of how to delimit depictives from other adjuncts such as adverbials was carried out on European languages. The major goal of this paper is to provide data from MA, a typologically different language where adjuncts functioning as adverbials and as depictives are sometimes morpho-syntactically similar. An attempt will be made to see on what grounds the line between the two can be drawn and what criteria can be used to delineate the extent to which these two constructions can be delimited.

2 Data

The data which informs the present study is twofold. It was elicited from native speakers of MA, and it was also drawn from Maas’ corpus.

Typological surveys of secondary predicates have shown ‘a high heterogeneity of coding devices for secondary predicates both intra- and inter-linguistically’ (Schroeder et al. 2008: i). Many constructions are candidates for secondary predication, and there is a variety of formal means to express depictives across languages. MA, as other languages, also makes use of a range of formal means to express secondary predication. MA speakers resort to both nominal and verbal strategies to express depictive meaning (Maas 2008). Prototypical depictives, which are very common in many languages as shown by cross linguistic research, are those that occur in the form of adjectives as ‘raw’ in ‘he ate the meat raw’ in English or *sxun* ‘hot’ in *ʃrəb l-ħlib sxun* ‘he drank the milk hot’ in MA.

This paper examines another category of depictives that are realised by zero-marked nouns as in (7) because they are under-resourced compared to prototypical depictives.

- (7) *ʃrəb-t* *l-ħrir-a* *təlʒ*
 drink.PRF-1SG DEF-soup-FSG snow
 ‘I drank the soup very cold’

The zero-marked noun *təlʒ* ‘snow’ is an adjunct that adds a second predication to the direct object *l-ħrir-a* ‘the soup,’ one of the arguments involved in the main predication. Its basic property is that it is a metaphor that is employed instead of ‘very cold,’ an

adjective modified by an adverb of degree to show the intensity of something. Nouns similar to *təlɜ* ‘snow’ in MA are *ʃsəl* ‘honey’ to describe something very sweet or *ħədɜ-a* ‘bitter melon’ to describe something very sour. *ʃsəl* ‘honey’ and ‘very sweet,’ for instance, lead to one another through their similarity according to the metaphorical way. *ʃsəl* ‘honey’ is used outside its conventional meaning to express a concept that is similar to it, hence indicating ‘mappings across conceptual domains’ (Lakoff 1993). Building on the contemporary theory of metaphor, Lakoff (1993) made the strong claim that a metaphor is not only part of ‘the realm of poetic language’; it is also part of the ordinary system of thought and language. This is why everyday language is loaded with metaphors.

In MA, zero-marked nouns can also occur in the same position in the structure of the sentence as in (8), where the substantive *ɖulm* ‘injustice’ is also an adjunct, but is event-oriented rather than participant-oriented and hence an adverb.

- (8) *dda-ha* *ɖulm*
 take.PRF-3FSG injustice
 ‘he took it [the land]¹ unjustly’ (Maas’ corpus, J-93-1)

This suggests that, from a formal point of view, entities such as *təlɜ* ‘snow’ in (7) and *ɖulm* ‘injustice’ in (8) cannot be assigned to depictive or adverbial expressions on the basis of their morpho-syntactic properties.

3 Findings

3.1 Formal properties

Nouns such as *təlɜ* ‘snow’ and *ɖulm* ‘injustice’ exhibit formal overlap because they share many morpho-syntactic properties. First, they both allow syntagmatic expansion to the left because they can be both morphologically specified for definiteness as in (9) and (10).

- (9) *ɖ-ɖulm* *dya* *l-ʃaʔil-a* *xayb*
 DEF-injustice of DEF-family-FSG bad
 ‘the injustice of the family [is] bad’

- (10) *dab* *t-təlɜ* *lli* *taħ* *b-z-zərb-a*
 melt.PRF.3MSG DEF-snow which fall.PRF.3MSG with-DEF-quickness
 ‘the snow which had fallen melted quickly’

1 ‘it’ refers to a piece of land.

Second, both nominal forms allow syntagmatic expansion to the right as in (11) and (12).

- (11) *q-dulm* *f-xdəmt-ha* *dfəʕ-ha* *t-xrəʒ*
 DEF-injustice in-work-3FSG push.PRF-3FSG 3FSG-leave.IMPRF
 ‘the injustice in her work pushed her to quit’

- (12) *t-təlʒ* *dyaʕ* *ʒ-ʒbəl* *qaʕəħ*
 DEF-snow of DEF-mountain harsh
 ‘the snow of the mountain <is> harsh’

3.2 Delimitation criteria

Three criteria were found to delimit zero-marked nouns that are depictives from those that are adverbials, showing that they do not have the same semantic orientation and that *qulm* ‘injustice’ is event-oriented while *təlʒ* ‘snow’ is participant-oriented.

3.2.1 Concomitance

One criterion that was found to delimit zero-marked nouns as adverbials from those that have the status of depictives is concomitance. A noun that expresses an adverbial modification can function as a manner concomitant preceded by the relator *b-* ‘by’ while a noun that expresses a depictive secondary modification cannot.

The domain of concomitance includes different instrumental and comitative relations that vary in their syntactic coding and that are classified on the basis of participant relations in a sentence (Seiler 1974; Stolz 1996, 2001). As Lehmann and Shin (2005) stated, concomitance is a subdomain of the functional domain of participation where the concern is with ‘the internal linguistic structure of situations.’ A situation involves participants (entities) that have specific features such as [+/- human], [+/- animate], [+/- concrete] and that fulfill distinct participant roles as in the following sentence.

- (13) *Yazid* *ta-i-lʕəb* *mʕa* *Rayhana*
 Yazid IND-3MSG-play.IMPRF with Rayhana
 ‘Yazid is playing with Rayhana’

In (13), there is a core situation where both participants are [+ human] and where Yazid is the actor and Rayhana is the concomitant. However, because this is a reciprocal situation, the roles are symmetric and hence could be subject to reversibility; that is, instead of having ‘Yazid is playing with Rayhana,’ we could also have ‘Rayhana is playing with Yazid.’ Based on this notion of participation, Lehmann and Shin (2005)

posited a functional framework that includes seven concomitants, namely partner, companion, vehicle, tool, material, manner and circumstance.²

Manner is a concomitant that applies to the whole situation. In ‘Linda opened the door by force,’ ‘force’ applies to the situation core (‘the opening was by force’) (Lehmaan and Shin 2005). The examined zero-marked noun *ḡulm* ‘injustice,’ as illustrated in (14), can be preceded by the relator *b-* ‘by’ and hence functions as a manner concomitant, which asserts its status as an adverbial.

- (14) *dda* *l-ḡarḡ* *b-ḡ-ḡulm*
 take.PRF.3MSG DEF-land by-DEF-injustice
 ‘he took the land by injustice [unjustly]’

b-ḡ-ḡulm ‘by injustice’ (that is, unjustly) applies semantically to the taking of the land, and the concomitant *ḡulm* ‘injustice’ can be conceptualised as an abstract [– concrete] instrument.

Nominal forms such as *təḷz* ‘snow,’ on the other hand, cannot be used with *b-* ‘by’ and express manner, which stresses their status as object-oriented depictives.

- (15) ? *ḡrəb-t* *l-ḡrir-a* *b-t-təḷz*
 drink.PRF-1SG DEF-soup-FSG with/by-DEF-snow
 ? ‘I drank the soup with/by snow’

ḡrəb-t l-ḡrir-a b-t-təḷz ‘I drank the soup with/by snow’ is a possible proposition, but it conveys a different meaning where *b-t-təḷz* ‘with/by snow’ is no longer a depictive.

3.2.2 The similitive marker *bḡhal* ‘like’

Another criterion that was found to delimit *ḡulm* ‘injustice,’ as an adverbial, from *təḷz* ‘snow,’ as a depictive, is the similitive marker *bḡhal* ‘like.’ The noun *təḷz* ‘snow’ can be preceded by the similitive marker ‘*bḡhal*’ as in (16).

- (16) *ḡrəb-t* *l-ḡrir-a* *bḡhal* *t-təḷz*
 drink.PRF-1SG DEF-soup-FSG like DEF-snow
 ‘I drank the soup like snow’ [that is, I drank the soup very cold]

By contrast, *ḡ-ḡulm* ‘injustice’ cannot occur with it, which betokens its status as an event-modifying entity.

2 A detailed description and discussion of the different types of concomitants in Moroccan Arabic is beyond the scope of this paper.

The zero-marked noun *muḥami-a* ‘a lawyer’ in (19), as opposed to *l-muḥami-a* ‘the lawyer’ in (18), does not have a definite referent. It rather activates a lexical concept and hence has a predicative function. This function also holds in nominative sentences in MA as in (20), where the basic function of the nominal predicate *muḥami-a* ‘a lawyer’ is to activate a lexical concept.

- (20) *ana* *muḥami-a*
 PRN.1SG INDEF.lawyer-FSG
 [- REF]
 ‘I am a lawyer’

The investigated nouns *ḍulm* ‘injustice’ and *təɫɜ* ‘snow’ are also [- REF]; they both have a predicative use.

From a formal point of view, [+ REF] has been associated with the definite article and [- REF] with the indefinite one. There is not, however, a one-to-one relation between referentiality and the concept of definiteness. Previous work that examined determination in MA (Harrell 1962; Marçais 1977; Youssi 1992; Caubet 1993) has been very biased by the European school tradition, and hence has contrasted the definite article /l-/ (as associated with [+ REF]) with the indefinite articles /ʃi-/ , /waḥəd l-/ and zero morpheme (Ø) (as associated with [- REF]). Maas (2011) asserted that determination in MA is more complex than this. For instance, he pointed out that the marker /l-/ ‘the,’ which is conventionally labeled as a definite article, is also used for indefinite referents as shown below.

- (21) *ma-bʒa-u-ha-f* *ḥit* *ma-ʃənd-ha-f* *l-wəɫd*
 NEG-like.PRF-3PL-3FSG-NEG because NEG-have-3FSG-NEG DEF-boy
 ‘they didn’t want of her because she does not have the boy’

In (21), the noun *wəɫd* ‘boy’ is marked with the determiner /l-/ ‘the,’ but it is [- REF]. It does not point to an existing entity, and it does not have an identified referent; no definite boy is denoted. This shows that there is an asymmetrical relation between referentiality and definiteness and that MA, a typologically different language, displays a different system of determination marking.

The examined zero-marked nouns *təɫɜ* ‘snow’ and *ḍulm* ‘injustice’ behave syntactically and semantically in a different way depending on the referentiality of the direct object of the sentence, that is, the second argument of the main predicate. The nominal form *ḍulm* ‘injustice,’ as (22) and (23) show, expresses adverb content whether the second argument *ʔəɾd* ‘land’ is [- REF] or [+ REF], which proves that it adds specific information to the verb and not to the argument.

- (22) *dda* *wahād l-* *ʔarđ* *đulm* *u-* *ma-qnāf-f*
 take.PRF.3MSG a land injustice and- NEG-have enough.PRF.3MSG-NEG
 [- REF]
 ‘he took a land unjustly, and he wanted more’

- (23) *dda* *l-ʔarđ* *lli* *ka-i-ħrət* *daba* *đulm*
 take.PRF.3MSG DEF-land that IND-3MSG-plough.IMPRF now injustice
 [+ REF]
 ‘he took the land he is ploughing now unjustly’

The nominal form *təłz* ‘snow,’ however, behaves syntactically and hence semantically in a different way as in (24). For it to be a depictive, it has to be [- REF], and the second argument it assigns a property to has to be [+ REF].

- (24) *frəb-t* *l-ħrir-a* *təłz*
 drink.PRF-1SG DEF-soup-FSG snow
 [+ REF] [- REF]
 ‘I drank the soup very cold’

When the second argument is marked [- REF] as the noun *təłz* ‘snow’ itself, which is [- REF], this has an impact on the constituent structure of the clause, as in (25).

- (25) *frəb-t* *ħrir-a* *təłz*
 drink.PRF-1SG INDEF.soup-FSG snow
 [- REF] [- REF]
 ‘I drank a very cold soup’

The noun *təłz* ‘snow’ does not express a depictive content anymore. It is an attributive modifier in the nominal group *ħrir-a təłz* ‘a very cold soup.’ Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004), giving for illustration ‘Carol drinks black coffee,’ also pointed out that ‘black’ in this sentence is a constituent of the NP [black coffee].

The same holds true for cases where the category of the depictive is an adjective and not a zero-marked noun as in (26).

- (26) *frəb-t* *ħrir-a* *bard-a*
 drink.PRF-1SG INDEF.soup-FSG cold-FSG
 [- REF]
 ‘I drank a cold soup’

The adjective *bard-a* ‘cold’ forms a low-level constituent with the noun *ħrir-a* ‘soup’; it functions as its modifier and both of them constitute the direct object. The same type

of syntactic analysis applies when both the noun and the adjective are preceded by the definite article as in (27).

(27) <i>ʃrəb-t</i>	<i>l-ħrir-a</i>	<i>l-bard-a</i>	
drink.PRF-1SG	<u>DEF-soup-FSG</u>	<u>DEF-cold-FSG</u>	
	[+ REF]		
<i>ħitaʃ</i>	<i>ma-ʃəf-t-ʃ</i>	<i>l-ħrir-a</i>	<i>s-sxun-a</i>
because	NEG-see.PRF-1SG-NEG	DEF-soup-FSG	DEF-hot-FSG
		[+ REF]	
‘I drank <u>the cold soup</u> because I did not see the hot soup’			

In the clause, *ʃrəb-t l-ħrir-a l-bard-a* ‘I drank the cold soup’ both *l-ħrir-a* ‘the soup’ and *l-bard-a* ‘the cold’ are preceded by the definite article and form a nominal group.

The above data shows that referentiality can help draw a line between zero-marked nouns when used as adverbs or as depictives. Adverbs are unrestricted with respect to the referentiality of the second argument. Whether it is [– REF] or [+ REF], the zero-marked noun keeps its status as an adverb. With respect to depictives, they are sensitive to the referentiality of the second argument. There is a restriction requiring that the second argument should be [+ REF] and the noun should be [– REF] in order for the latter to express a depictive secondary predication. When the second argument and the noun are both [– REF], they rather constitute a noun phrase which consists of a noun and its modifier.

4 Conclusion

The major issue that has been raised in this paper is how to delimit depictives from adverbials in MA, a typologically different language where sometimes depictives converge formally with adverbials. The analysis has focused on zero-marked nouns such as *təʃ* ‘snow’ and *ɗulm* ‘injustice,’ which occur as depictives and adverbials respectively and hence as adjuncts of the main predication. *təʃ* ‘snow’ is participant-oriented because it describes a state pertaining to the second argument of the main predicate while *ɗulm* ‘injustice’ (unjustly) is event-oriented in that it adds information to the meaning of the verb.

The findings have shown that these entities exhibit formal overlap as they share many morpho-syntactic properties. First, they both allow syntagmatic expansion to the left and to the right when not used as adverbs and depictives. Second, when they occur as adjuncts, they occur in the same position in the clause, and they are zero-marked for definiteness because they have a predicative use and not a referential one.

However, a number of criteria have shown that although these nouns are similar from a formal point of view, they do not have the same semantic orientation. One

criterion that was found to distinguish between the two is concomitance. Nouns that express adverbial modification can be used as manner concomitants preceded by the MA relator *b-* ‘by.’ However, nouns that express depictive secondary predication cannot fulfill this participant role in the domain of concomitance. A second criterion that also delimits *ḍulm* ‘injustice’ as an adverbial from *təlʒ* ‘snow’ as a depictive is the similitive marker *bħal* ‘like.’ The depictive *təlʒ* ‘snow’ can be preceded by the similitive marker *bħal* as in *ʃrəb-t l-ħrir-a bħal t-təlʒ* ‘I drank the soup like snow’ (that is, I drank the soup very cold), but *ḍulm* ‘injustice’ cannot as in **dda l-ʔərd bħal ḍ-ḍulm* ‘he took the land like injustice.’ The last criterion that was also found to delimit zero-marked nouns that are adverbials from those that are depictives is referentiality. Nominal forms such as *ḍulm* ‘injustice’ are unrestricted with respect to referentiality; they express adverb content whether the second argument of the main predicate is [– REF] or [+ REF], which proves that they add specific information to the verb and not to the object argument. A noun such as *təlʒ* ‘snow,’ however, is sensitive to the referentiality of the second argument. For it to be a depictive, it has to be [– REF] and the second argument has to be [+ REF].

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PETER BEHNSTEDT 

Projekt eines Dialektatlas von Nordmarokko

ABSTRACT A project for a dialect atlas of Morocco had to be given up due to unforeseen circumstances at the beginning of this century and only some articles, mainly on north-eastern and north-central Morocco, could be published in EDNA (*Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí*) and elsewhere. Since in 2007 the atlas of the Rif Berber dialects by Mena Lafkioui was published and recently quite some new material on the Arabic dialects of north-western Morocco, a dialect atlas of Northern Morocco, after filling some gaps in the West, is within reach. It will be primarily an atlas of the Arabic dialects of the area, but whenever it is appropriate, Arabic and Berber data will be combined on maps. This mainly refers to phonological and lexical features which is illustrated by 18 maps.

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, Moroccan Arabic, Berber, dialect geography, language contact, substratum

Mein Projekt eines Dialektatlas von Marokko, das für fünf Jahre geplant war, nämlich von 1999 bis 2004, stand unter keinem günstigen Stern und musste nach zwei Jahren abgebrochen werden.¹ Ich wollte dann das primär im Osten und Zentrum von Nord-Marokko gesammelte Material in einer Serie von Artikeln in der Zeitschrift EDNA veröffentlichen. Die wurde aber im Jahr 2009 eingestellt, sodass darin nur vier Artikel erschienen sind. Ein Teil des in Marokko gesammelten Materials konnte auch für einige Artikel, etwa in Festschriften und für den *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte* verwertet werden. Nachdem im Jahr 2007 der Atlas von Mena Lafkioui zu den berberischen Rif-Dialekten erschienen ist und unlängst einige Materialien aus über 20 Orten zu arabischen Dialekten in Nordwest-Marokko, den sogenannten

1 Der Text wurde als Vortrag am 01.07.2019 in Heidelberg gehalten. Dazu wurden 18 Kartentwürfe vorgestellt und kommentiert, die in diesem Band am Ende des Beitrags eingefügt sind.

Jbala-Dialekten, publiziert wurden, keimte in mir der Gedanke auf, dass man vielleicht doch noch einen Dialektatlas von Nord-Marokko erstellen sollte.

Mit circa 140 Untersuchungspunkten zum Rif-Berberischen und circa genauso vielen Punkten zum Arabischen liegt ein relativ dichtes Punktenetz für Nordmarokko vor. Es bestehen aber auch noch einige weiße Flecken im Nordwesten des Landes. Der Nordosten Marokkos ist relativ dünn besiedelt. Ich denke, dialektal ist aus dieser Gegend mit mehr Untersuchungspunkten nicht viel Neues zu erwarten. Seinerzeit hatte Sabine Gralla an einem Projekt über den Dialekt der Bni Guil im Nordosten gearbeitet. Dieser Dialekt wurde von mir in Punkt 46 erfasst. Aber auch sie musste ihr Projekt vorzeitig abbrechen. Was den Nordosten von Marokko betrifft, so ist das Punktenetz für einen *survey*-Atlas demnach eigentlich ausreichend. Es werden dort ausschließlich sogenannte hilalische Dialekte gesprochen, also beduinisch geprägte Dialekte der zweiten Arabisierungsschicht, wohingegen im Westen sehr viel mehr dialektale Variation vorliegt. Hier finden sich prähilalische und hilalische Dialekte, erstere mit vielen Archaismen, substratbedingt viele Innovationen sowie Einflüsse des Andalusisch-Arabischen und viele lexikalische Entlehnungen, etwa aus dem Berberischen und Spanischen, um nur einige Merkmale aufzuführen. Was die prähilalischen Dialekte betrifft, von denen ein Teil als Jbala-Dialekte bezeichnet wird, so sind sie in ihren Grundzügen bekannt. Allerdings sind viele der Orte im Westen nur sehr oberflächlich untersucht bzw. beschrieben worden. So wurden einige Dialekte während der vorletzten AIDA-Konferenz in Bukarest gerade mal mit ein paar Seiten bedacht. Und was bei Feldforschungen in jüngerer Zeit innerhalb des franko-iberomarrokanischen Jbala-Projekts viel zu kurz kam, ist meines Erachtens Lexikalisches und Ethnographisches, etwa zur ländlichen materiellen Kultur, in einer Gegend, die doch noch wesentlich ländlich geprägt ist. Das gilt auch für den berberischen Sprachatlas. Der Atlas enthält 294 phonologische und morphologische Karten sowie 60 lexikalische Karten mit den Bezeichnungen von Körperteilen, Tieren, Farben, einigen Nomina und Verben. Ich will dies anhand einer Karte zu den Bezeichnungen für „Pflug“ illustrieren (Karte 1). Dort bestehen noch erhebliche Lücken. Auch in Chiche (2000: 287) ist zu den Pflugbezeichnungen im Nordwesten Marokkos nichts eingetragen. Die Karte ist also noch zu ergänzen. Ich möchte trotzdem kurz auf einige Formen eingehen. Die arabische Form *šūd* und berberisch *asǧər* ~ *asǧar* haben nach Laoust (1918: 3) beide die gleiche Semantik und bedeuten eigentlich „Holz“: „Littéralement ces expressions signifient ‘bois’ ; elles correspondent à l’arabe *šūd*, connu des populations du Gharb en bordure du Rif“. Allerdings kann man *šūd* auch auf „Stange“ zurückführen, zumal ja *šūd* als „Pflug“ ebenfalls in der Levante vorkommt bzw. in Ägypten auch als „Schöpfbaum“ (*šadūf*). *məḍməḍ* und ähnliche Formen beziehen sich ausschließlich auf einen modernen Eisenpflug mit Streichblechen im Gegensatz zu *šūd*, dem Hakenpflug aus Holz. *məḍməḍ* und ähnliche Wortformen bedeuten in anderen maghrebinischen Dialekten „Joch“. Als *ǧand* „Joch“ kommt die Form noch im Fayyūm in Ägypten vor. In Marokko bezieht sich die Diminutivform *mǧēmda* in

manchen Gegenden im Norden auch auf das sogenannte Ortscheit,² das man mit einem Joch vergleichen kann. *mədməd* dürfte jemenitischen Ursprungs sein, da nur im Jemen und im Südwesten Saudi-Arabiens ähnliche Formen in der Bedeutung „Joch“ vorkommen. *nʕāla* – klassisch-arabisch *naʕl* – bedeutet eigentlich „Sohle“ und von daher „Pflugsohle“ oder „Pflugsohle mit Sterz aus einem Holzstück bestehend“, ist also ein pars pro toto, das sich weiter südlich in einigen Berberdialekten ebenfalls als pars pro toto *tisili* „Pflug“ findet, was ebenfalls „Sohle“, „Pflugsohle“ bedeutet³ und nach Schuchardt (1918: 50–51) von lateinisch *solea* stammen soll.

Auf anderen Gebieten ist die Datenlage besser, wie etwa aus Karten zu den Verba Primae Alif und zu den Personalpronomina zu ersehen ist (Karte 2). Die Karten zeigen, dass der Nordwesten gegenüber dem Nordosten viel mehr Variation aufweist; so zum Beispiel drei verschiedene Typen für die Primae Alif im Nordwesten gegenüber einem einheitlichen Block im Nordosten, und über zehn verschiedene Formen für das Pronomen der zweiten Person Sg. m. + f. im Nordwesten gegenüber gerade mal zwei Formen im Nordosten (Karte 3).⁴

Sollte es mir gelingen, die Feldforschungen in Nordwest-Marokko noch weiterzuführen bzw. ein einigermaßen passables Punktenetz zustande zu bringen, wird das Resultat primär ein arabischer Dialektatlas sein und kein kombinierter arabisch-berberischer. Wo immer es sinnvoll ist, sollten aber beide Sprachen auf einer Karte berücksichtigt werden. Dies bietet sich insbesondere bei der Phonologie und beim Lexikon an.

So sieht man bei der Karte zu Ġim (Karte 4), dass hier ein zusammenhängendes arabisch-berberisches Dialektgebiet vorliegt, in dem das Phonem /ǧ/ vorkommt. Zu der Karte gibt es eine Anekdote. Ich glaube, sie wurde mir von Harry Stroomer erzählt. Bei einem Berberologenkongress hat ein Teilnehmer aus Marokko vorgeschlagen, man solle doch arabische Lehnwörter im Berberischen wie *llilt* „Nacht“ durch echte berberische Wörter wie *ǧirt* ersetzen. Der Gute hat verkannt, dass hinter *ǧirt* auch das arabische *llilt* steckt, da in gewissen Rif-Dialekten ein einfaches **l* zu /*r*/ wird sowie ein geminiertes zu /ǧ/ und **t* zu *ṭ* spirantisiert wird. Auch bei anderen Entlehnungen ist die arabische Ursprungsform nicht mehr zu erkennen, etwa in *rxəǧ* „Essig“ < *l-xall* oder *zāǧ* „beten“ < *ṣalla*.

Was Phonologisches betrifft, so zeigt die nächste Karte (Karte 5) ein hinlänglich bekanntes Merkmal und einen angeblichen Archaismus der sogenannten Jbala-Dialekte. Den Zusammenfall von *Ḍād* und *Ḍāʔ* in ein stimmloses /*ṭ*/, also etwa *ṭarbu* „sie haben

2 Das Ortscheit ist Teil eines Gespannes von Zugtieren. Es ist ein beweglicher Balken aus Holz oder Metall, der als Verbindungsstück zwischen dem Pflug und den Jochsträngen dient, an denen die Zugtiere ziehen.

3 Vgl. Laoust (1918: 14): „Le corps de la charrue, à la fois sep et manche, est une tige coudée, d’une seule pièce, rarement de deux réunies au moyen de fortes chevilles. Certains Berbères l’appellent ... *tisili* ... *tsili*“ etc. Auch er gibt „Sohle“ als Etymologie an.

4 Marçais (1911: 435) nennt für Tanger auch *kəl*. Die Form ist heutzutage veraltet.

geschlagen“, *ṭafri* „mein Fingernagel“,⁵ sieht Al-Jallad (2015: 94) eventuell als Reflex einer stimmlosen Aussprache der beiden Phoneme im Proto-Arabischen in der Levante an, also /t̤/:

This hypothesis, if correct, would mean that a phonologically conservative dialect similar to the Old Arabic of the Levant was implanted in the Maghreb at an early stage. I say *similar* because it is impossible to know if this dialect was indeed a reflex of the Old Arabic of southern Syria or of an unattested Arabian dialect with an identical emphatic repertoire.

Er erwähnt noch, dass im Jemen ebenfalls ein stimmloser Reflex von Ḍād und Ḍāʔ vorliegt, diesem jedoch eine stimmhafte Realisierung von Qāf gegenübersteht im Gegensatz zu den maghrebinischen ṭ-Dialekten mit stimmlosem /q/.⁶ Eine stimmlose Realisierung von *ḍ und *ḍ gibt es auch im Südwesten von Saudi-Arabien,⁷ und sie will auch Wallin (1858: 626–627) „im Munde eines Beduinenknaben des Heiwy-Stammes“ im Wādī Tih auf der Sinai-Halbinsel gehört haben, als einen „dumpf tönenden, dem /t/ oder dem englischen ‘th’ in ‘thing’ entsprechenden intonierten emphatischen Laut“. Dies ist schließlich auch noch in Reliktwörtern aus einem jemenitischen Tihāmah-Dialekt belegt, der für Qāf einen stimmlosen Reflex hat.⁸ Die anderen Autoren, die sich ausführlicher mit dem Thema befasst haben, nämlich Guerrero (2018), Heath (2002) und Kossmann (2013), schließen jedoch berberische Substratwirkung nicht gänzlich aus. Es würde zu weit führen, die ganze Diskussion hier wiederzugeben. Auf der Karte habe ich noch diese Aussprache für jüdische Dialekte vermerkt. Zu Fes heißt es in Lévy (2009: 182) „Un trait distinctif du parler juif est la tendance à l’assourdisment de /ḍ/ > /t̤/.“⁹ Im Dialekt von Rabat kommt /t̤/ noch in Relikten vor wie *mōṭaṣ* „Ort“ (Lévy 2009: 268; Brunot 1952: 85), jedoch *mūḍaṣ* in Moscoso (2006: 188). Lévy und Brunot hatten ältere Rabāṭis interviewt, Moscoso jüngere. In einer jüngeren Internet-Wortschatzsammlung aus diesem Jahrhundert von Amateuren aus Salé, gegenüber von Rabat gelegen, findet sich ebenfalls *mōṭaṣ*, und Heath (2002: 162) erwähnt ein *zṭəm*, das zu Ka *ṣadama* gehört. In Sefrou liegt im muslimischen Dialekt primär

5 Der Lautwandel ist aber nirgendwo regelmäßig. Vgl. Heath (2002: 159): „the ṭ pronunciation is slowly receding“. Für Ceuta Moscoso (2007: 214–215): „en algunas voces. Por ejemplo *bayṭa* ‘un huevo’, aber *ḍarbu* ‘ellos golpearon’. Anders Vicente (2005: 115–116), wonach diese Aussprache nicht rückläufig ist.

6 Dies bezieht sich wohl auf den Dialekt von im-Maṭṭah/Minabbih (Behnstedt 1987: 7–8).

7 Alfaifi und Behnstedt 2010: 56.

8 Behnstedt (1992: 158) *tāwar* „die Kamelin, die ihr Junges verloren hat und deshalb keine Milch mehr gibt, wieder dazu bringen“ zu KA *nāqatun ḍaʔūr* „Kamelin, die ein anderes Junges zum Milchgeben braucht oder den *baww*“. Ferner *maṭṭu* „Anisotes trisulcus“ (ein Baum) in Behnstedt (2006: 1163). Dass Ḍāʔ im Ursemitischen und im Arabischen stimmlos war, findet sich allerdings schon in Brockelmann (1982 I: 128–129 u. a.) mit Hinweis auf Wallin (1858).

9 Zu Bhalil (134b) siehe Brigui und Ghilan (2018: 99).

/d/ vor, allerdings auch /t/ wie in *qabtu* „sie haben gepackt“. Was Ceuta betrifft, so herrscht zwar die stimmlose Aussprache vor (Vicente 2005: 115), ältere Frauen gebrauchen aber stimmhaftes /d/ und in dem Vorort von Ceuta, Benzú, ist gleichermaßen die stimmhafte Aussprache üblich. Ebenso ist es in Anjra die ältere Generation, die noch ein stimmhaftes /d/ verwendet. Was Ouargha betrifft, so heißt es zu /t/ bei Lévi-Provençal (1922: 20) „représente parfois un *d* (*d*, *ḏ*)“ und bei Heath (2002: 159) „Ouargha is largely unaffected“, dies im Gegensatz zu Vicente (2005: 115), die dafür die stimmlose Aussprache postuliert.

Einig sind sich die Spezialisten, was das Vorkommen von Interdentalen in den Jbala-Dialekten betrifft (Karte 6). In Formen wie *tlāta* „drei“, *hāda* „dieser“ handelt es sich nicht um den Erhalt alter Aussprachen, sondern um berberische Substratwirkung, wonach Verschlusslaute insbesondere in inter- und postvokalischer Position spirantisiert werden, wir also auch arabische Formen haben wie *zīt* „Öl“, *zītūna* „Olive“, *mdīna* „Stadt“. Die Spirantisierung von **b*, **k*, **t*, **d* ist jedoch nicht einheitlich. Für **b* (Karte 7) ist sie weit weniger belegt als für **k*, **t*, **d*. Heath (2002: 140–141) geht auf die Spirantisierung von **b* in dem entsprechenden Kapitel erst gar nicht ein. Die Spirantisierung von **b* kommt aber teils auch in Dialekten vor, die keine Interdentale kennen, wie etwa der Dialekt der Bni Yazgha im Südosten von Fes. Was Ceuta betrifft, so ist sie nicht in Moscoso (2007) erwähnt, aber in Vicente (2005: 117) und in Vicente in CORVAM 3: *dāba* „ahora“, *gāba* „bosque“. Im Berberischen ist sie unterschiedlich ausgeprägt. Für Tanger erwähnt Marçais (1911: XIV) frikatives *b* als „bilabiale sonore“. Auch neuere Untersuchungen bestätigen die frikative Aussprache.

Was die Spirantisierung von **k* zu /ç/ betrifft (Karte 8), also etwa in *çūl* „iss!“, so ist die Kombinierung der berberischen mit den arabischen Daten gar nicht so einfach, denn es gibt in dem Atlas von Lafkioui keine Übersichtskarte zum Vorkommen dieser Lautung im Berberischen, sondern nur Einzelkarten und das Resultat kann je nach Wort /ç/ oder /š/ sein, also *krəz* > *çrəz* „pflügen“, aber *akal* > *ašar* „Erde“. Was die Aussprache betrifft, so heißt es zu dem Frikativ in verschiedenen Quellen, dass er einem deutschen „ich-Laut“ entspreche.¹⁰ Das ist nur bedingt richtig. Es gibt im Deutschen nicht nur einen „ach-Laut“ und einen „ich-Laut“, sondern auch einen „Buch-Laut“. Der Frikativ in „Buch“ steht zwischen dem [ç] in „ich“ und dem [x] in „ach“. Diesen „Buch-Laut“ findet man zum Beispiel in *çūl* „iss!“.

Als einer der archaischen Züge der nordwestmarokkanischen Dialekte wird meist die stimmlose Aussprache von Qāf genannt (Karte 9). Was den Lautwandel zum Glottisschlag betrifft, so handelt es sich hier, im Gegensatz zum arabischen Osten, wo letztere Aussprache, da ursprünglich städtisch, prestigeträchtig ist und sich auch auf dem Land verbreitet, um einen steckengebliebenen bzw. rückläufigen Lautwandel. Nur in wenigen Orten ergaben die Untersuchungen, dass vorherrschend der „glottal stop“ gesprochen wird. Vielfach hieß und heißt es, dass diese Aussprache primär bei

¹⁰ Vgl. die Schreibung {ç} in Heath (2002: 140).

älteren Personen, ungebildeten Frauen und Kindern vorkommt oder nur bei einem Teil der Einwohner eines Ortes und dass Kinder und Jugendliche, bedingt durch den Schulbesuch, diese Aussprache durch /q/ ersetzen. In Städten wie Tanger, Fes und Tetouan ist diese Aussprache auch rückläufig, bedingt durch die massive Zuwanderung vom Land. Zu Tetouan heißt es bei Aguadé und Moscoso (2001–2002: 265), dass nur noch eine Minderheit /ʔ/ gebrauche, die Mehrheit hingegen /q/. Aus einer weiteren Untersuchung aus dem Jahr 2012 geht hervor, dass ältere Sprecher in der Altstadt den „glottal stop“ gebrauchen. Für Tanger nennt Aguadé (2016: 23) /q/, Heath (2002: 142) erwähnt /ʔ/ als „archaic feature“. Von einem jüngeren Informanten aus Tanger wurde bei einer Befragung im letzten Jahr die Aussprache als /ʔ/ für alteingesessene Frauen angegeben, die sie beibehielten, um sich dadurch von den Zuzüglern vom Land zu unterscheiden. Singer (1958: 259) nennt für den Dialekt von Qšar l-Kbīr *ʔtəl, ʔtlō* „er tötete, sie töteten“. In den Texten in El Hour und Marín zu Qšar l-Kbīr, publiziert 2018, findet sich nur /q/. Für Mṭīwa gibt Arsenne (2016: 75) /ʔ/ an. In den Magister- und Doktorarbeiten zu Mtiwa von Latifa Aolad Si M’hammed (2007), Zohra Bourik (2011) und Rachid Aoulad Abdellah (2008) wird nur /q/ genannt. Die Arbeiten wurden von Manfred Woidich betreut.

Zu Sefrou erwähnt Heath (2002: 142) nach Lévy (Doktorarbeit) /ʔ/ für „most archaic Sefrou-Muslim speech“. Bei einem Interview letztes Jahr mit drei Männern im Alter von 35, 45 und 70 Jahren habe ich nur Qāf festgestellt. Was die Ausdehnung der stimmhaften Aussprache im Nordwesten betrifft, so richtet sie sich auf der Karte nach dem Stammesgebiet der hilalischen Xlūṭ und der Gharbiyya südlich von Tanger (Amahan und Vignet-Zunz 1977). Die Karte ist im Prinzip viel zu vereinfachend, denn in den Gāf-Dialekten finden sich zahlreiche Formen mit stimmlosem Qāf. In Wazzān wurde für „sagen“ *gāl* nur bei einigen jüngeren Sprechern festgestellt (Benitez Fernandez 2016: 102), die Mehrheit der interviewten Personen gebrauchte *qāl*. Ich habe nur unter Qāf als erstem Buchstaben im Wörterbuch von Aguadé und Benyahya (2005), das im Weiteren auf dem Dialekt von Casablanca basiert, über 200 Formen mit stimmlosem Qāf gezählt gegenüber circa 80 Formen mit stimmhaftem Gāf. In einem Standardfragebogen aus einem nordöstlichen hilalischen Dialekt finden sich 48 Lexeme mit Gāf, aber immerhin auch 26 mit Qāf. Darunter auch einige Minimalpaare wie *dagg* „mörsern“ vs. *daqq* „an die Tür klopfen“¹¹ oder *garfa* „Kürbis“ vs. *qarfa* „Flasche“.

Die meisten und für mich interessantesten Berührungspunkte zwischen den beiden Sprachen ergeben sich auf dem Gebiet des Lexikons.

Das Verb „hinuntergehen“ (Karte 10) in dem Kontext „einen Abhang hinuntergehen“ ist nach Kossmann (2013: 163) problematisch und die Etymologie des arabischen *huwwəd* unklar. Er erwägt ein berberisches *hwa* plus ein deiktisches Element

11 *daqq* muss aus einem städtischen Dialekt stammen, denn nur in Städten klopft man an die Tür. Am Beduinenzelt kann man nicht anklopfen!

dd „hither“, das ins Arabische als dreiradikalisches Verb *ḥawwəd* übernommen wurde, wobei auch das berberische *hwa* wohl eine Entlehnung ist, dessen arabischer Ursprung aber ebenfalls dunkel sei. *hwa* ist in Lane (1863: 3046-m) belegt als *hawā bihi* „he made it to fall down“ und nominal als *huwwatun* „a deep hollow in the ground“, „a descent in the ground“. In Dozy (1968: 779) finden sich mehr Formen zu der Wurzel *hwy* mit dem Inhalt „unten, nach unten“ wie *ʔahwā* „jeter de haut en bas“. Wahrmund (1985: 1138) zitiert noch *hawā fil-biʔr* „in den Brunnen hinabsteigen“. *hawa*, *yihwi* „hinuntergehen“ ist auch im Dösiri in Saudi-Arabien belegt (Behnstedt und Woidich 2014: 57). *hawwada* ist im KA „langsam gehen“ (Wahrmund 1985: 1135; Lane 1863: 2905-r). Ein Bedeutungswandel von „langsam gehen“ zu „hinuntergehen“, den schon Heath (2002: 48) annimmt, ist womöglich unter Einfluss der Wurzel *hwy* zustande gekommen. Überdies geht man, wenn man eine Treppe oder einen Abhang hinuntergeht, normalerweise langsam, so dass eine Bedeutungsverschiebung „langsam gehen“ → „hinuntergehen“ nicht unwahrscheinlich ist. Ein weiterer interessanter Aspekt der Karte ist der, dass das Berberische eine arabische Form entlehnt hat, die in den heutigen marokkanischen Dialekten nicht vorkommt. Dies gilt für *hwa*, (so schon Behnstedt und Woidich 2014: 57), nicht jedoch für *ḥuf*, das im Arabischen immerhin noch sporadisch vorliegt. Heath (2002: 48) stellt es zu arabisch *ḥāfa* „rim, border (hence ‘cliff’)“. Ein verbales *ḥawwaf* findet sich in Dozy (1968: 337) als „*précipiter*, jeter dans un lieu profond“ für das Andalusisch-Arabische. Berberisch *rxī* dürfte wohl auch arabischen Ursprungs sein. Im Marokkanisch-Arabischen hat *rxā* unter anderem die Bedeutung „hinunterlassen“. Ein weiteres Beispiel für das Vorkommen von arabischen Wörtern, die im Berberischen vorliegen, nicht aber im Marokkanisch-Arabischen, sind Bezeichnungen für den Backofen (Karte 11), nämlich Reflexe von *tannūr*, wobei das anlautende *t-* teilweise als Femininpräfix aufgefasst und zusätzlich noch die Femininendung *-t* suffigiert bzw. die Form reinterpretiert wurde. *tannūr* ist für das Marokkanisch-Arabische in De Prémare für den Backofen nicht belegt, jedoch für den zylindrischen Brunnenrand, der von der Form her genauso aussieht wie ein einfacher *tannūr* etwa in Syrien, der nichts anderes ist als eine Tonne aus gebranntem Lehm, die ohne Boden auf der Erde steht.¹² Für Skoura hat jedoch Aguadé *tännūrt* als „Brotart“ („*tipo de pan*“) erfasst (persönliche Mitteilung), den „Backofen“ hingegen als *fərrān*. Die nächst-frequente berberische Form *tafqunt* etc. ist dem spätlateinischen *focone(m)* entlehnt.¹³ Nur in einem Punkt vorkommendes arabisches *fgūna* dürfte eine Entlehnung aus dem Berberischen sein. Im äußersten Nordosten übliches *kūša* weist wie so vieles in dieser Gegend schon nach Algerien.¹⁴

12 De Prémare (1993: 102): *tənnōr* „margelle de puits, cylindrique, en pierre ou en terre cuite; toute la partie du puits au-dessus du sol“.

13 Schuchardt (1858: 54) erwähnt nur spanisch *fogón*, was aber nicht „Backofen“ bedeutet.

14 Siehe die entsprechende Karte in Behnstedt und Woidich (2012: 87).

Dass im Berberischen arabische Wörter vorliegen, die im Marokkanisch-Arabischen nicht vorkommen, gilt auch für die Bezeichnungen für „heute“ im Rif-Berberischen (Karte 12). Die berberischen Formen wurden meist durch Reflexe eines arabischen *nahār* erweitert bzw. direkt durch die arabische Form ersetzt (Lafkioui 2007: 211). Man muss sich fragen, ob die arabischen Formen vom Typ *hād ən-nhār*, *hān-nhār hāda* nicht Rückwanderer aus dem Berberischen sind, da die arabischen Formen dieses Typs sich nahtlos an das berberische Sprachgebiet anschließen und sonst nirgendwo in Marokko belegt sind. Andererseits haben wir natürlich im Ägyptisch-Arabischen *in-naharḏa*, so dass eine innerarabische marokkanische Entwicklung nicht auszuschließen ist.

Ein weiteres Beispiel ist die Bezeichnung für „nächstes Jahr“ (Karte 13). Hier liegt in einem Großteil der berberischen Rif-Dialekte ein apotropäisches arabisches *mənʕaš*, selten *lamənʕaš*, vor (Lafkioui 2007: 217), nämlich ein frommer Wunsch *man ʕāš* „wer es noch erlebt“. Es handelt sich um die Grammatikalisierung eines Wunschsatzes, wie er in Takrouna vorliegt: *ya-mən-ʕāš* „ô qui vivra!, i. e. peut-être plus tard; nous verrons ça; qui vivra verra!“ (Marçais 1959: 2764). Die Form kommt ebenfalls im beduinischen Dialekt des Negev vor: in Shawarbah (2012: 180, 370) *minʕāš* als „(cf. OA **man ʕāš*“) [...] ‘next year’“, auch *alli yʕiš* „in the future {LIT. if he is so fortunate as to still be alive}““. Eine ähnliche Bildung haben wir auch im Dialekt des Ġabal Fayfa in Saudi-Arabien mit *dā ḥayyah*: *ba-him ʔātin dā ḥayyah* „they are coming next year (if we are still alive)“ (Alfaiḥi 2016: 346). Die Karte zeigt daneben Entlehnungen im Berberischen aus dem Arabischen wie *ʕam (i)lla maži* bzw. mögliche Lehnübersetzungen vom Typ „das Jahr, welches kommt“ = *asugg* „as di yusin“.

Was die Zahlen betrifft, so heißt es bei Renisio (1932: 266), der ersten ausführlichen Abhandlung zum Rif-Berberischen: „A partir de deux, les Berbères prononcent les nombres comme les Arabes“; und bei Lafkioui (2007: 266): „A l’exception de ‘un’..., tous les numéraux sont empruntés à l’arabe.“ Wie die Form für „zwei“ heißt, wird leider nicht gesagt.¹⁵ In den zwanzig Orten, in denen ich die Form für „zwei“ erfasst habe, lautet sie vorherrschend *tna:yən* oder *tna:yən*, während alle arabischen Dialekte der Gegend Reflexe von *zawġ* „Paar“ aufweisen, darunter die häufigste Form *žūž* (Karte 14).¹⁶ Als weiteres Beispiel für das Vorkommen arabischen Wortgutes im Berberischen, das im Marokkanisch-Arabischen nicht vorkommt, könnte man die Fledermaus nennen, die in Nord-Marokko meist *ṭər əl-līl* „Vogel der Nacht“ heißt (Behnstedt 2005: 54), wohingegen im Berberischen Reflexe von *al-wuṭwāt* vorliegen, eine Form, die für nordmarokkanische Dialekte kaum belegt ist. Teils sind die Reflexe von *al-wuṭwāt* recht deformiert wie *bulwəlwaḏ*, *bəġərwaḏ* mit zusätzlichem Tiernamenpräfix **bū*, das ebenfalls aus dem Arabischen stammt. Was Entlehnungen aus dem Berberischen betrifft, so ergeben sich einige interessante Karten etwa zu

15 Für die Bni Znassen *tnāyən* in Destaing (1914: 98).

16 *tnāy(ə)n* muss eine alte Form sein, da sie auch im Maltesischen vorkommt.

Körperteilen und Tiernamen. Entsprechende Karten sind schon in EDNA publiziert worden. Wie sehr die beiden Sprachen miteinander verzahnt sind, zeigt beispielhaft eine Karte zum „Ellbogen“ (Karte 15). Dafür haben wir im Arabischen des Nordwesten eine Entlehnung aus dem Berberischen und in den nordöstlichen Berberdialekten eine aus dem Arabischen. Abschließend möchte ich auf eine Entlehnung aus dem Bereich der Morphologie/Semantik eingehen, nämlich auf die Reflexivwörter (Karten 16 und 17). In einigen spanischen und französischen Publikationen zum Marokkanisch-Arabischen werden unter „Reflexivpronomen“ (pronombre reflexivo, pronom réfléchi) lediglich Formen wie *b-waḥdi* „ich allein“, „ich selbst“ behandelt, so etwa in Vicente (2000: 143):

El pronombre reflexivo se expresa mediante la preposición *b- + waḥd* y los pronombres personales sufijados. Esta es la forma más habitual de formar el reflexivo en los dialectos del norte de Marruecos.

So auch Moscoso (2003: 176). Daneben wird in anderen Quellen noch genannt: *b-yiddi* „mit meiner Hand“ = „ich selbst“.

Es handelt sich dabei eigentlich nicht um Reflexivpronomina bzw. Reflexivwörter, sondern um Intensifikatoren. Man kann nicht sagen **šnaq waḥdu* oder *šnaq yiddu* „er hat sich aufgehängt“, und ein *žraḥ yiddu* ist „er hat seine Hand verletzt“. Hingegen ist *žraḥ ṛāsu* nicht „er hat seinen Kopf verletzt“, sondern „er hat sich (selbst) verletzt“ (De Prémare 1993: 165 „se blesser“), also reflexivisch. Die reflexivische Konstruktion wird von Aguadé (1996: 208) *gāl msa ṛāsu* „él se dijo a si mismo“, Aguadé (2018: 36), Guerrero (2015: 148, Fn. 75) und anderen als eine Lehnübersetzung aus dem Berberischen angesehen, in dem das Reflexiv-/Intensivwort mit *ixf* oder *agayyu* „Kopf“ gebildet wird, etwa im Taschelhit *nəkki s-ixf-inu* oder *nəkki s-ugayyu-nu* „ich selbst“, wörtlich „ich, mit meinem Kopf“ (Aspinion 1953: 105). Aguadé wies mich darauf hin, dass der Ausdruck mit der Präposition *b-* „mit“ gebildet wird wie im Berberischen. Nun gilt allerdings laut Diem (1979: 15–16) nach seiner Regel Nr. 2:

Soll die Annahme von Substratwirkung nicht Hypothese sein, so müssen m. E. folgende Kriterien erfüllt sein, wenn Substratwirkung als gesichert gelten soll: [...] Die betreffende arabische Erscheinung darf nicht an einer anderen Stelle des arabischen Sprachgebiets erscheinen, das dieses oder ein entsprechendes anderes Substrat nicht aufweist, sofern die Verbreitung der Erscheinung durch Migration oder Wellenbewegung ausgeschlossen ist.

Bildungen mit *ṛās* finden sich nun im Palästinensischen, im Irakischen, im Sudan und in Nigeria, soweit zu ersehen allerdings lediglich als Intensifikatoren. In Fußnote 9 spricht Diem (1979: 15) im Zusammenhang mit Gemeinsamkeiten verschiedener Sprachen von „Entscheidungshilfe“. In unserem Falle wäre das derart zu

interpretieren, dass in der Superstratsprache mehrere Möglichkeiten vorlagen und dass einer von diesen der Vorzug vor den anderen gegeben wurde.¹⁷ Ein Beispiel dafür wäre *b-ṛāṣi* im Palästinensischen, was mit der gleichen Semantik auch in der Substratsprache vorkommt. Andererseits kann man die berberische Bildung als eine Lehnübersetzung ansehen, da auch vorliegt mit *iman* „Geist, Seele“ gebildetes *ziman-inu*, vergleichbar mit arabisch *nafs*, *ṛūḥ*. Siehe hierzu Destaing (1914: 217) *roḥ simānnah* „vas toi-même ... [de *imān*, esprit, âme]“ und in Figuié *i-man nn-es* „soi-même“ (Kossmann 1997: 200). Wenn man sich eine Übersichtskarte zum arabischen Raum ansieht, so spricht die Konzentration der Bildung mit *ṛās-* im Maghreb doch eher für berberische Substratwirkung.¹⁸ Für das Tamazight (Aït Seghrouchen, Aït Ayache) findet sich in Abdel-Massih (1971: 405) lediglich *nk:n:it* „I myself“ vs. *nk*: „I“. Als Reflexivpronomen nennt Moscoso (2004b: 211) für Rabat neben *āna b-ṛāsi* noch *āna nīt*, für Ceuta (Moscoso 2007: 229) *āna nīt ktābt lə-bra* „yo mismo he escrito la carta“, *āna b-nāfsi*, *āna b-yəddi*. Laut De Prémare (1999: 510) ist *āna nnīt* „moi-même, moi précisément (et non pas qqn. d’autre)“ also rein intensivierend und aus dem Berberischen stammend (Marçais 1911: 483). Die Form ist auch in anderen marokkanischen Dialekten üblich.

Hinlänglich bekannt ist die Tatsache, dass nach berberischem Muster die Bezeichnung für „Wasser“ in Teilen Marokkos pluralisch ist, also „heißes Wasser“ oder „kaltes Wasser“ *mā sxūnīn*, *mā bārdīn* lauten.¹⁹ Was Tanger betrifft, so nennt Aguadé (2016: 25) für die Zeit um 1900 bis 1907 ausschließlich die pluralische Form und für den heutigen Dialekt sowohl pluralisches als singularisches *l-mā sxūn(īn)*. Allerdings finden sich in den Texten von Marçais (1911: 55, 162) auch singularische Formen, nämlich *mā ṣāfi*, *bārəd* „eau pure, froide“ und auch für Ceuta sind beide Möglichkeiten belegt: *əl-ma bārəd ~ bārdīn*, *əl-ma nqəyyīn* „el agua está limpia“, *əl-ma mxərbtīn* „el agua está turbia“ (Moscoso 2007: 239).

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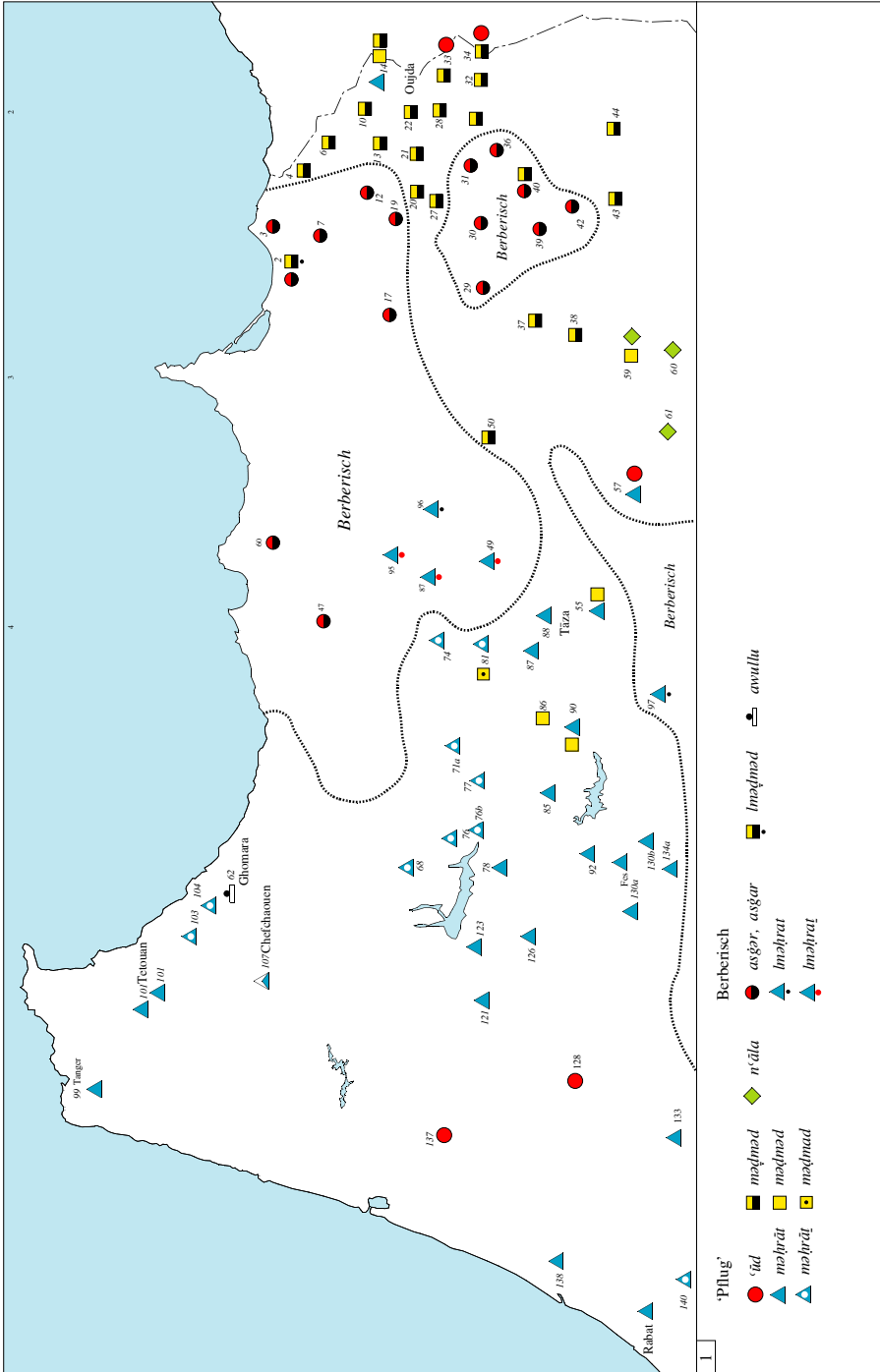
Peter Behnstedt  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0081-5619>

17 So gibt es etwa in Oman/Ristāq laut Reinhardt (1894: 27) sechs verschiedene Formen, im Palästinensischen nach Bauer (1957: 273) und Seeger (2019: 257, 356, 414, 1021) vier: *dāt*, *nafs*, *ḥāl*, *b-ṛās-*.

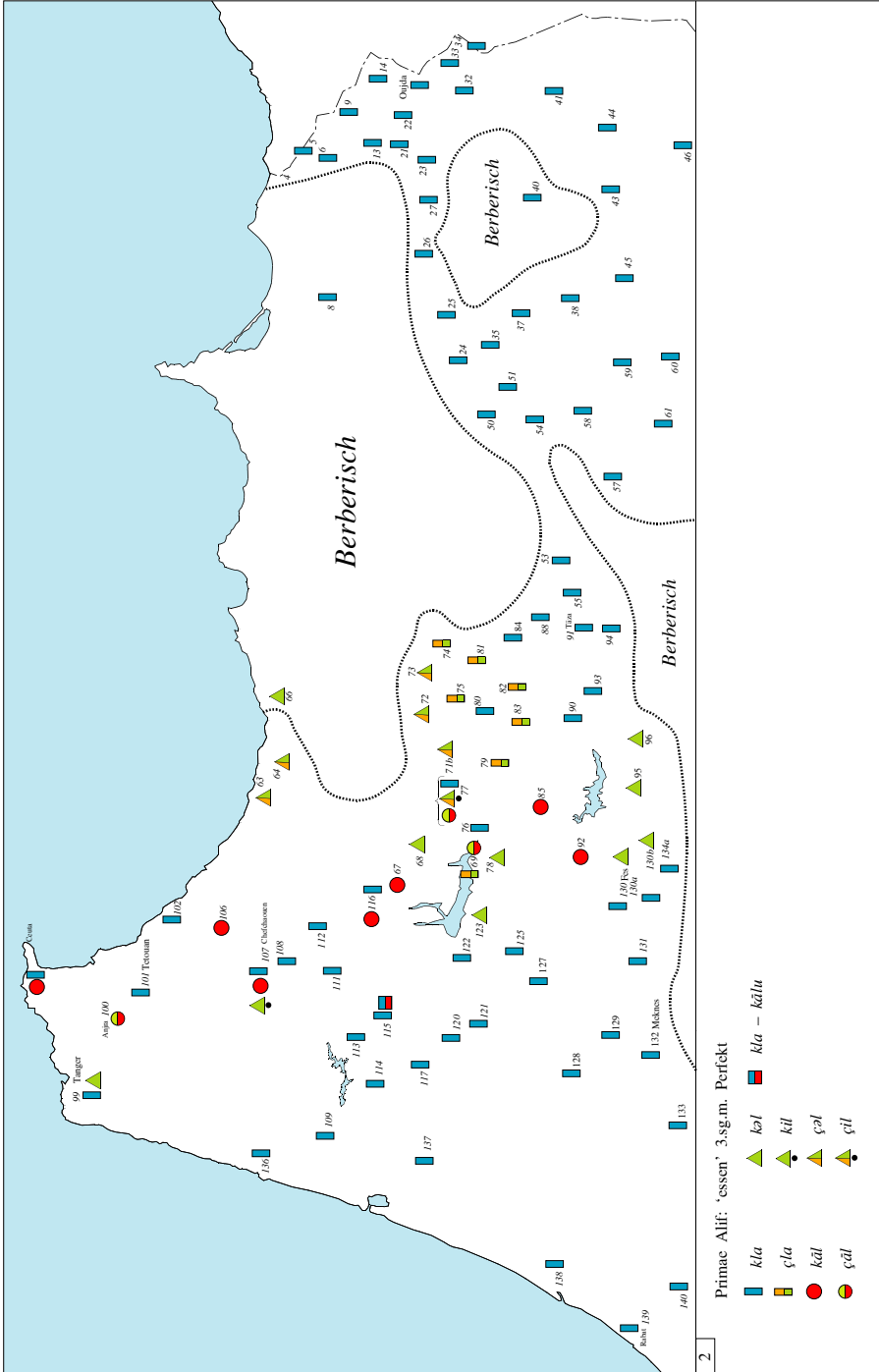
18 Es liegt noch eine zweite Karte zu den Reflexivwörtern vor, die hier aber nicht von Belang ist.

19 Vicente (2000: 121) mit eben diesen Beispielen und weiteren Nachweisen in der Literatur.

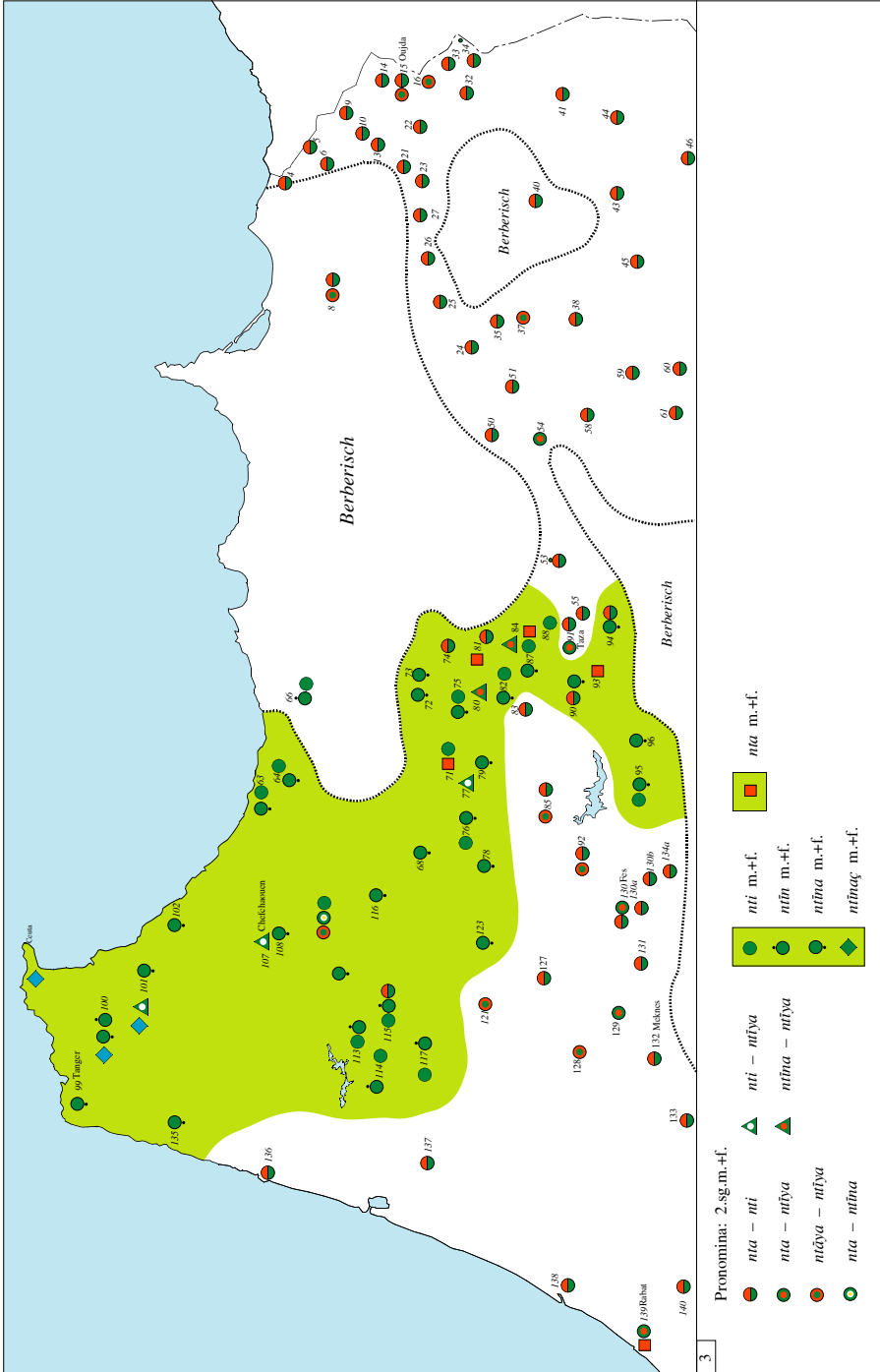
Karten



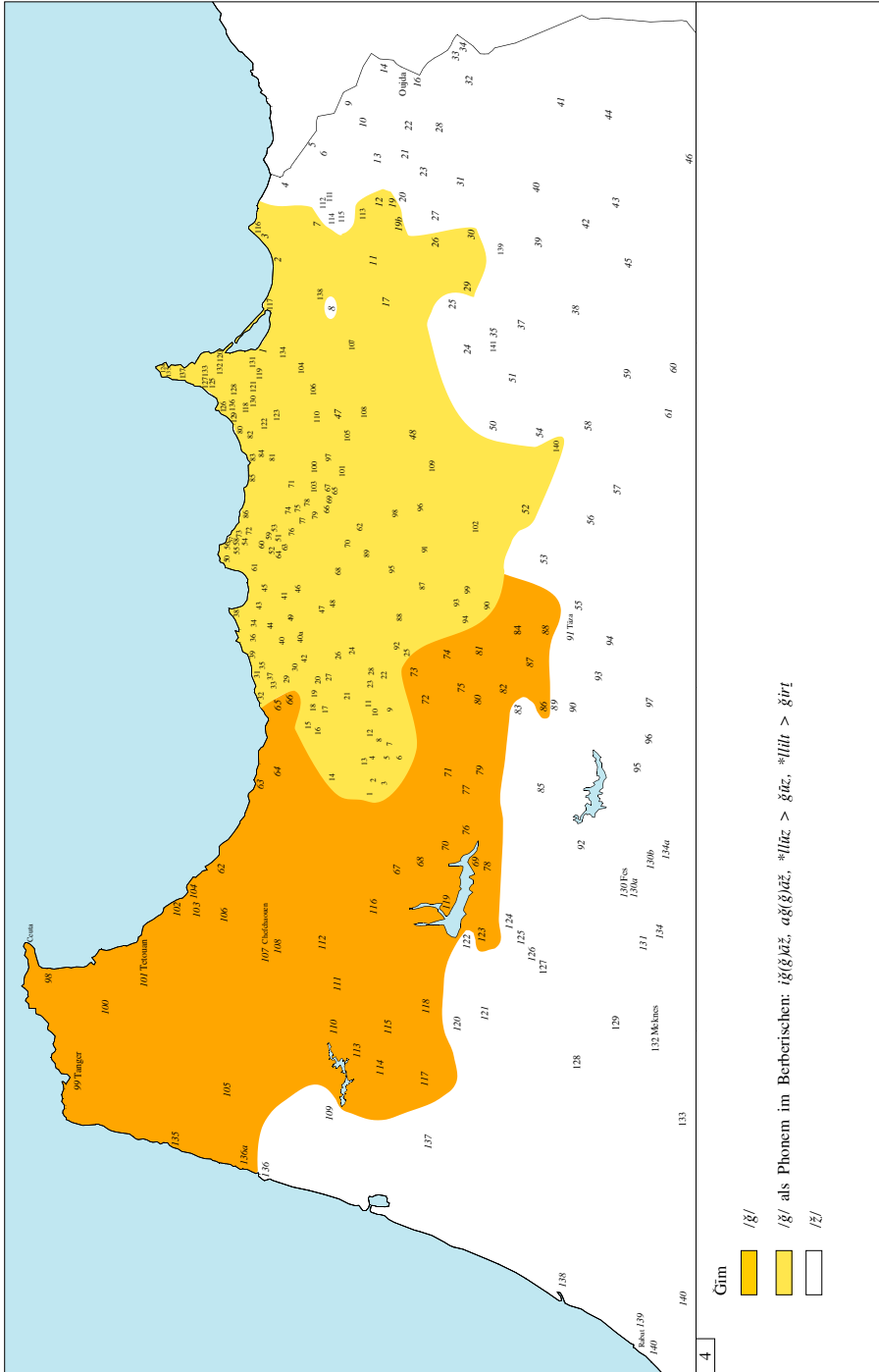
KARTE 1. „Pflug“.



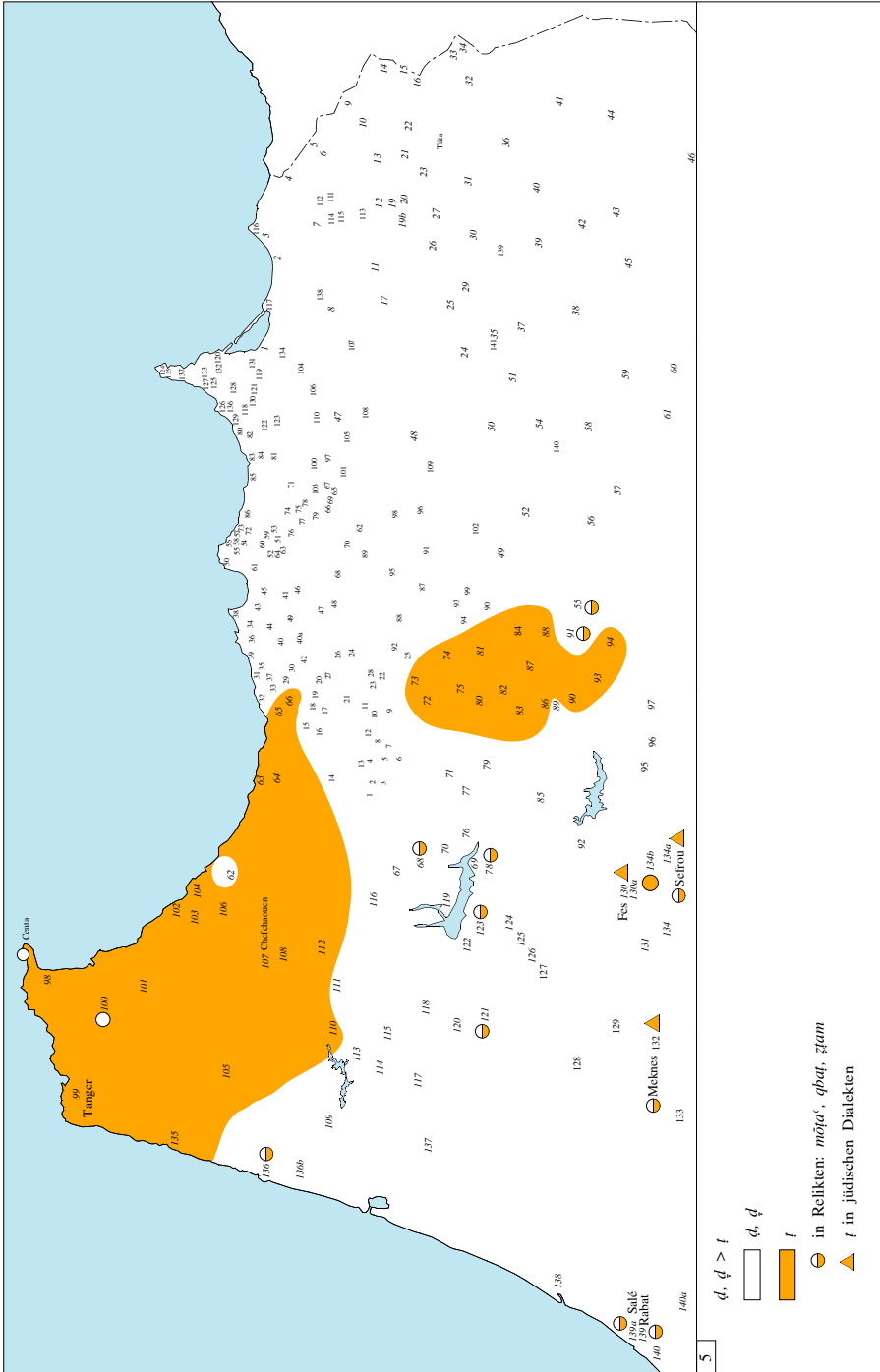
KARTE 2. Primae Alif: 'essen' 3.sg. m. Perfekt.



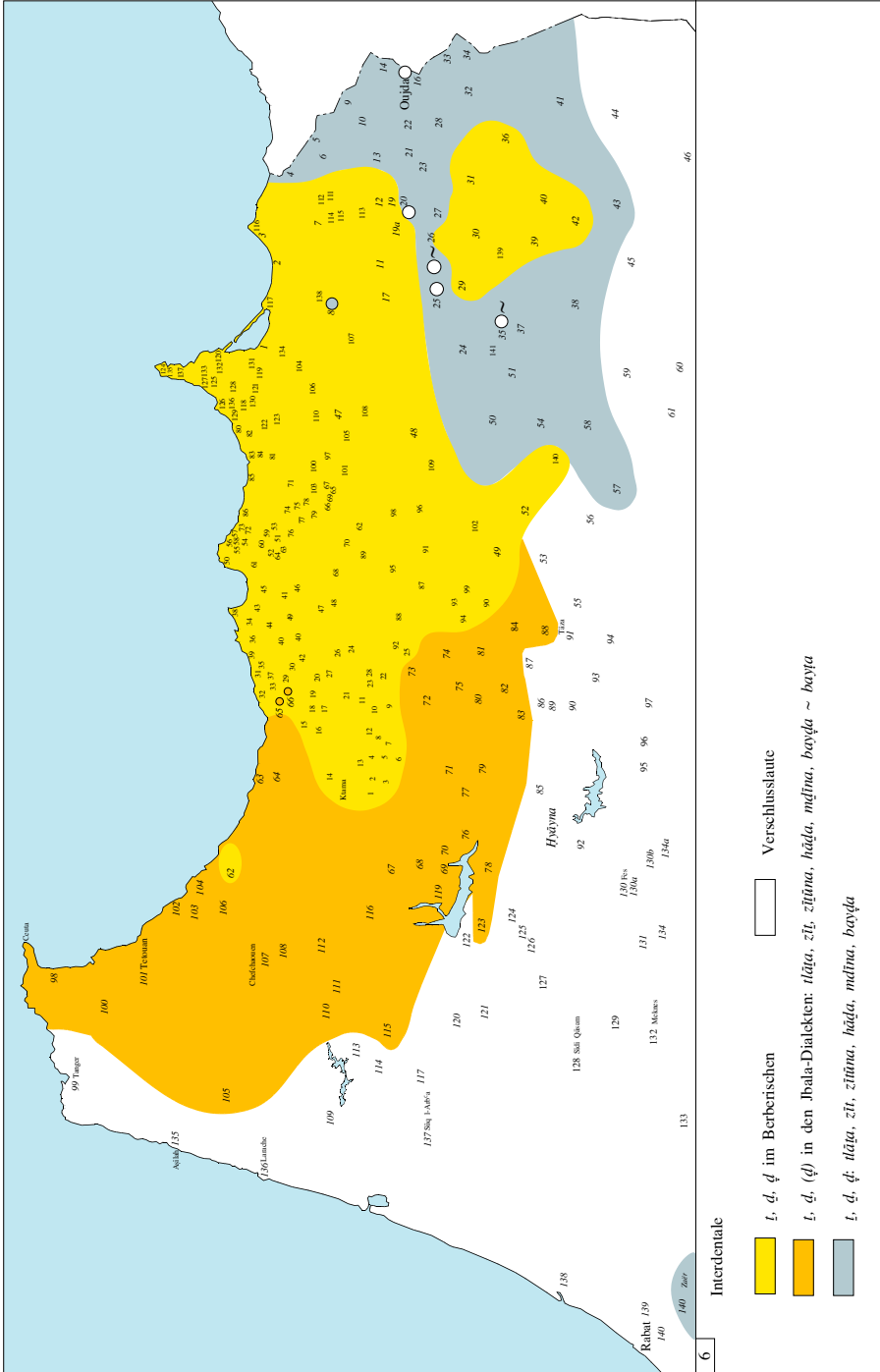
KARTE 3. Pronomina: 2.sg.m.+f.

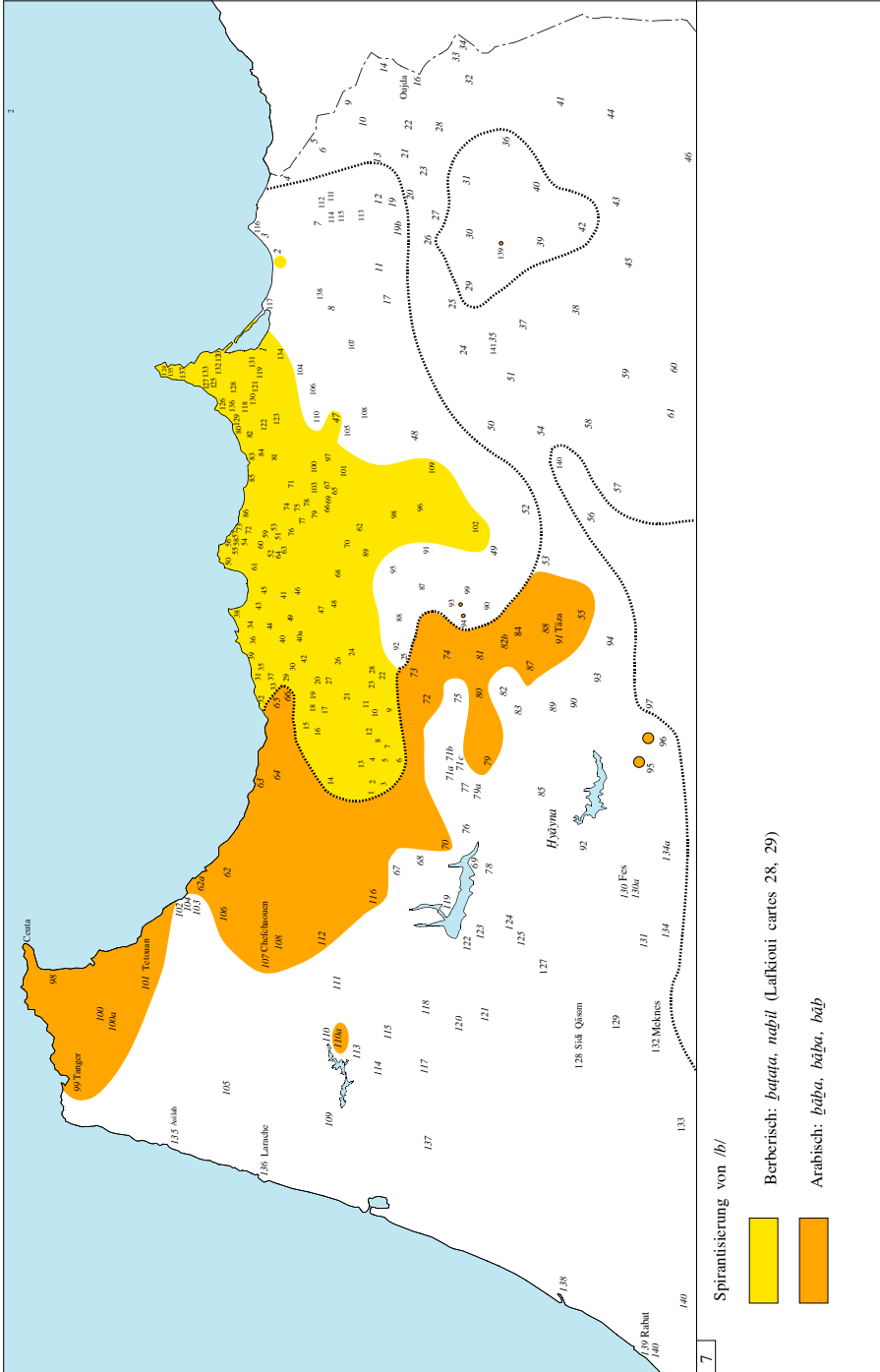


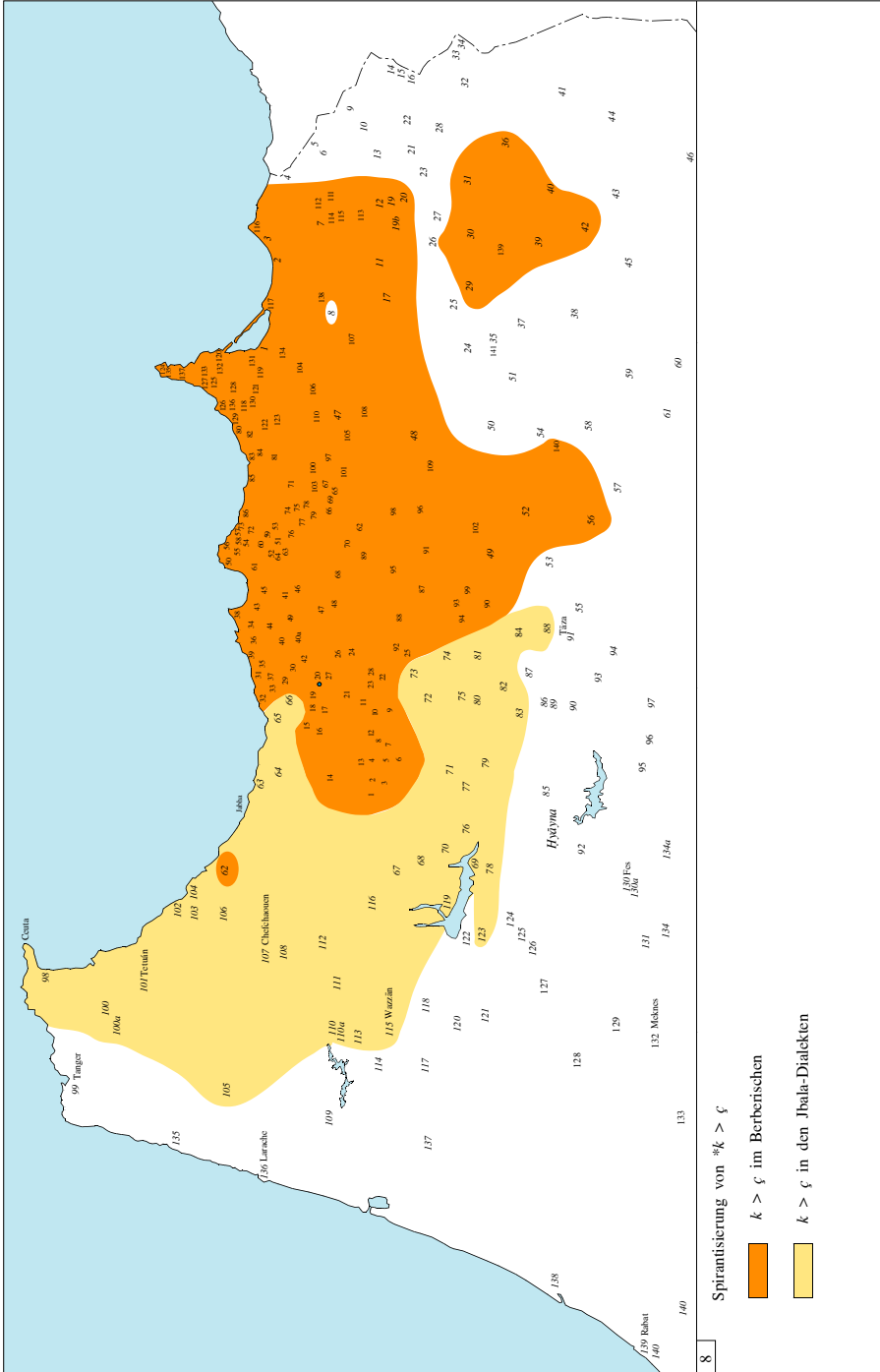
KARTE 4. Gǫm.



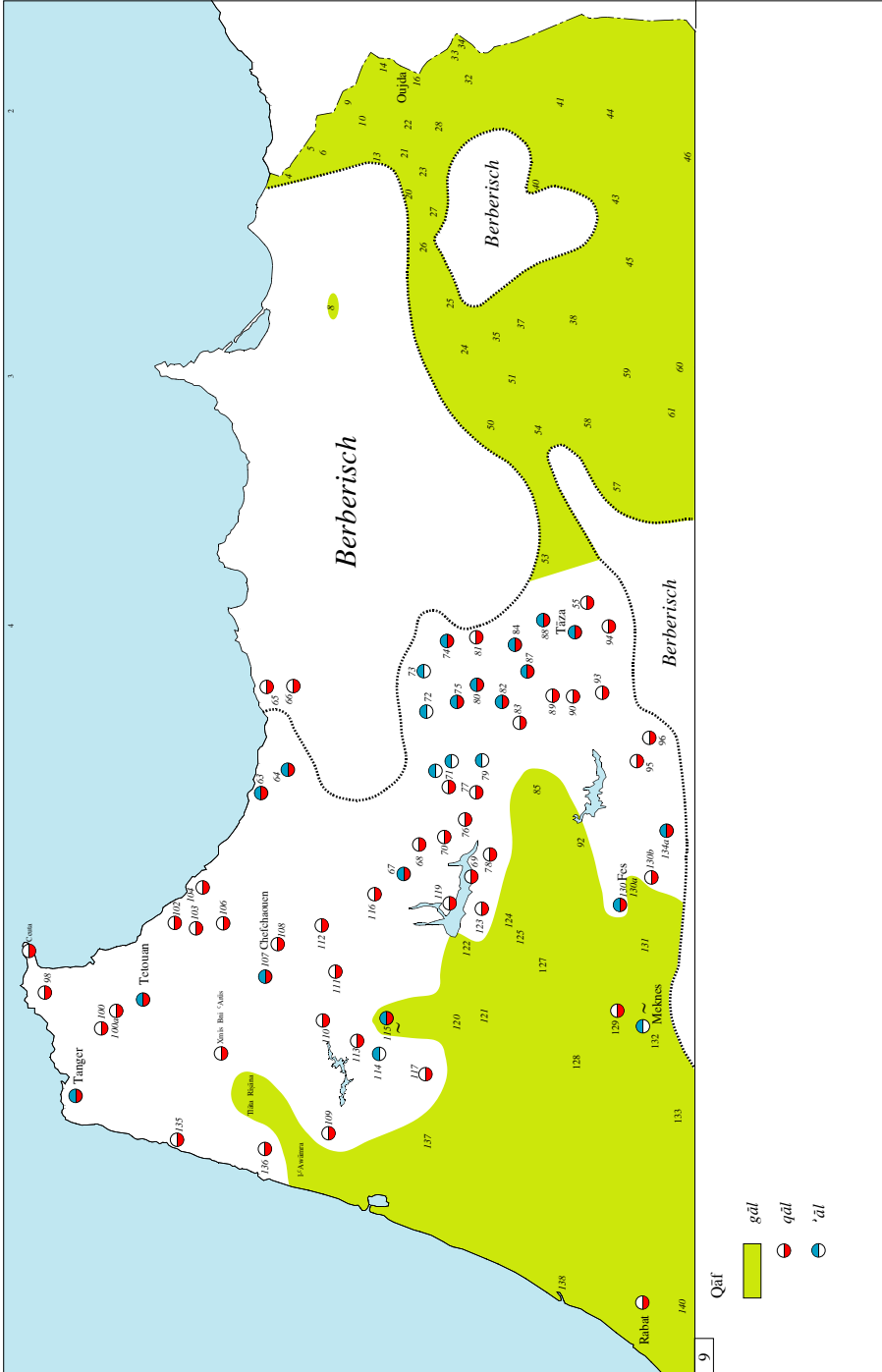
KARTE 5. $t, ṭ > t$.



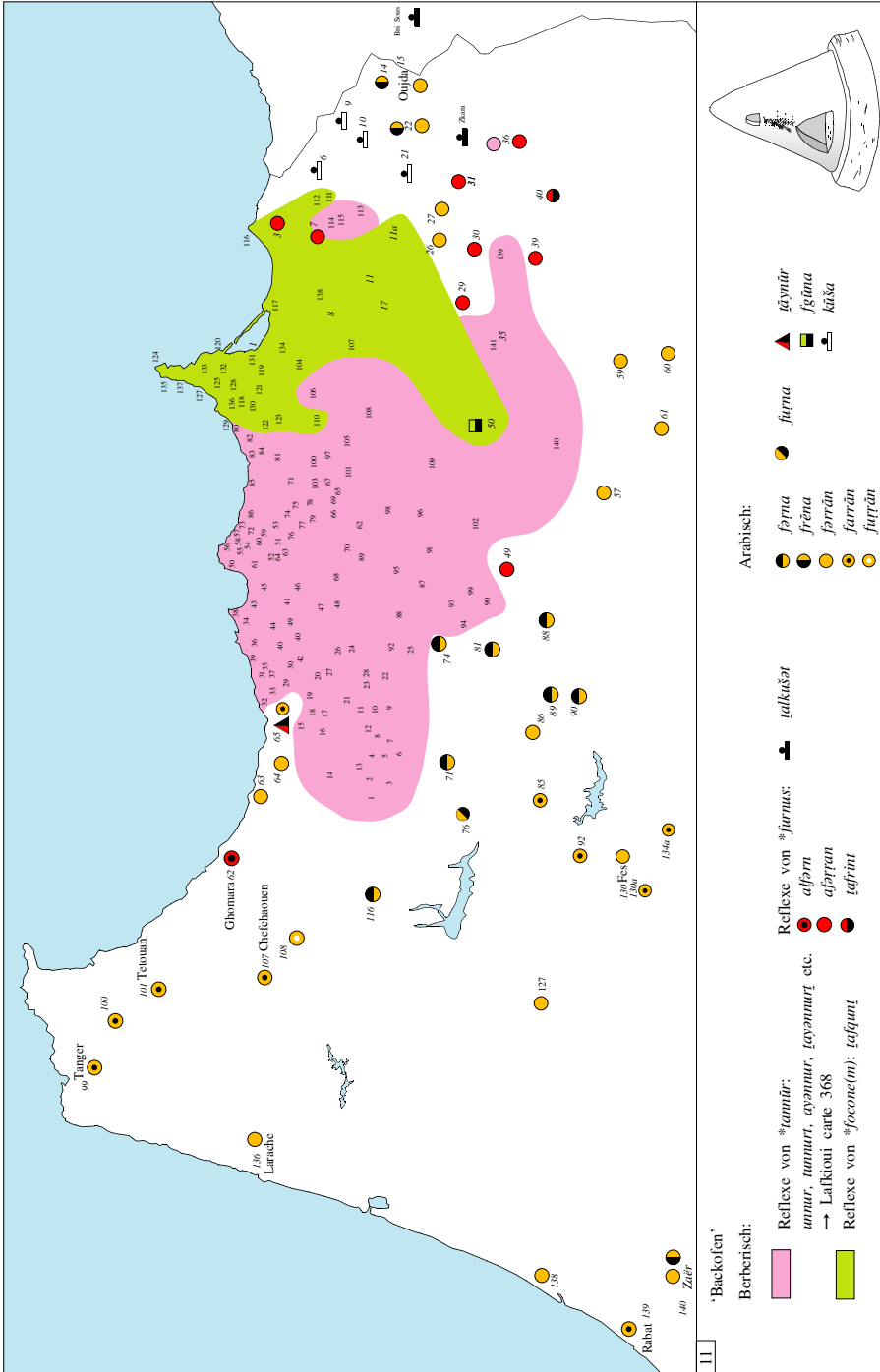




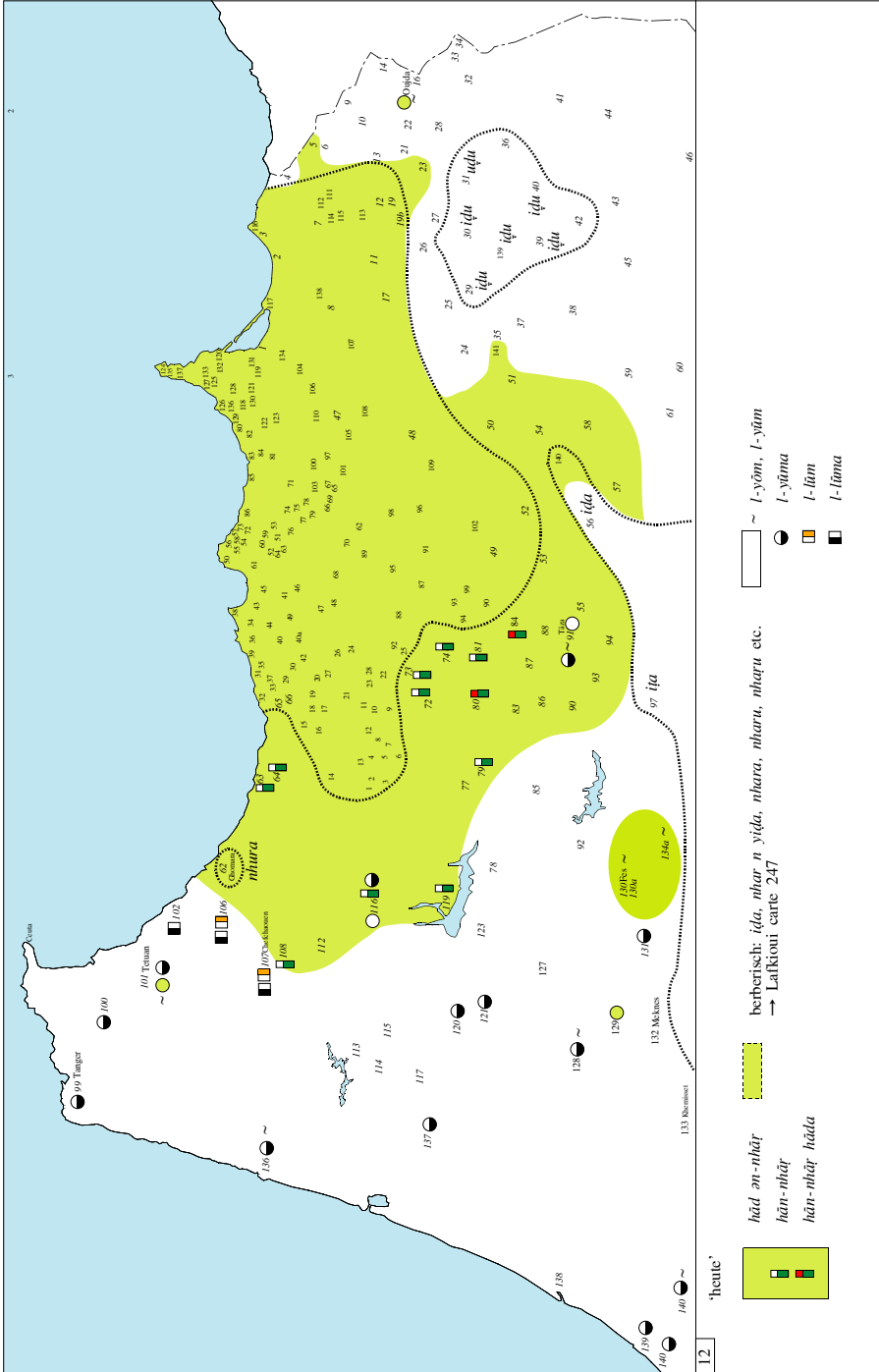
KARTE 8. Spirantisierung von *k > ʕ.



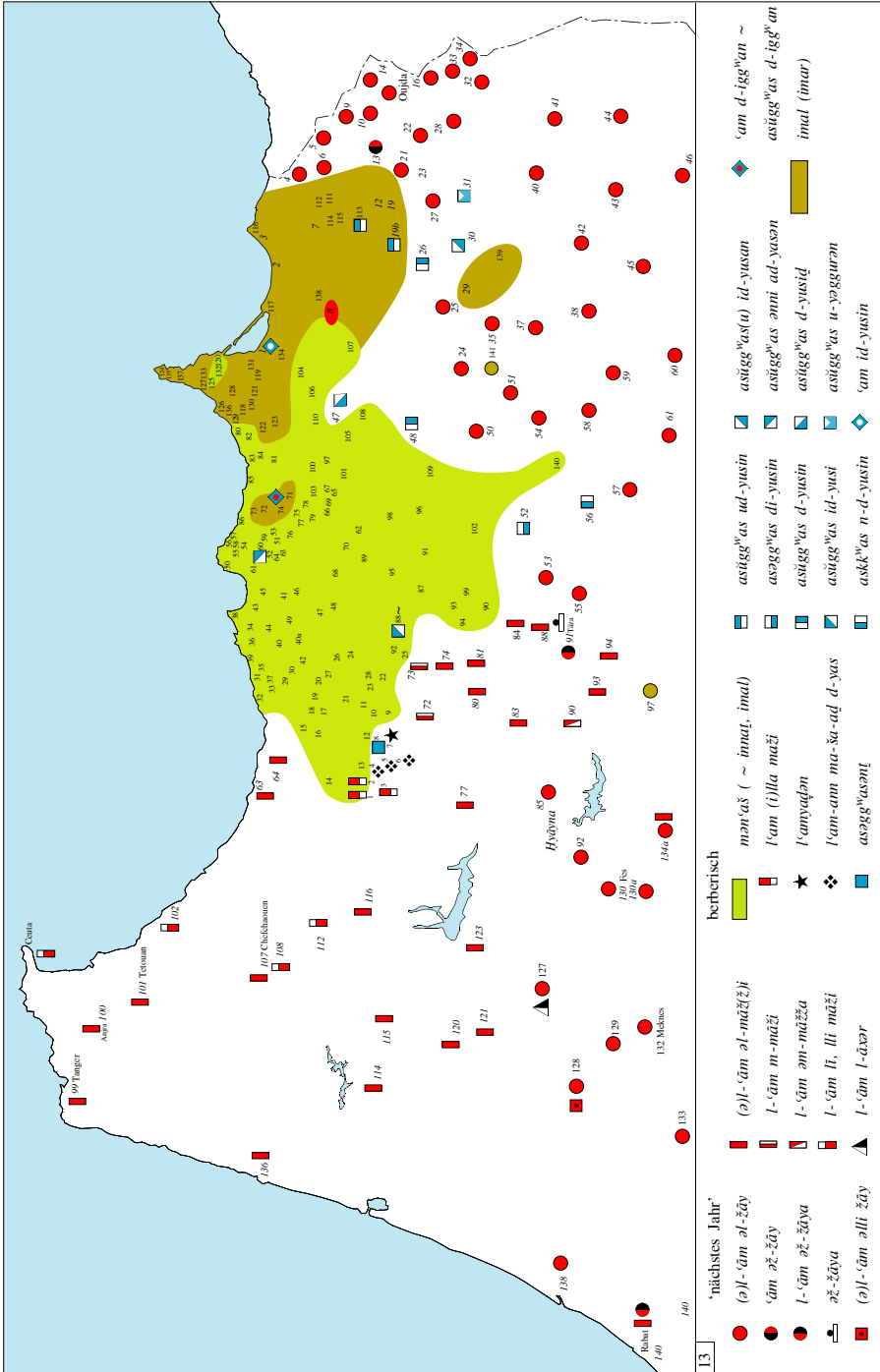
KARTE 9. Qāf.



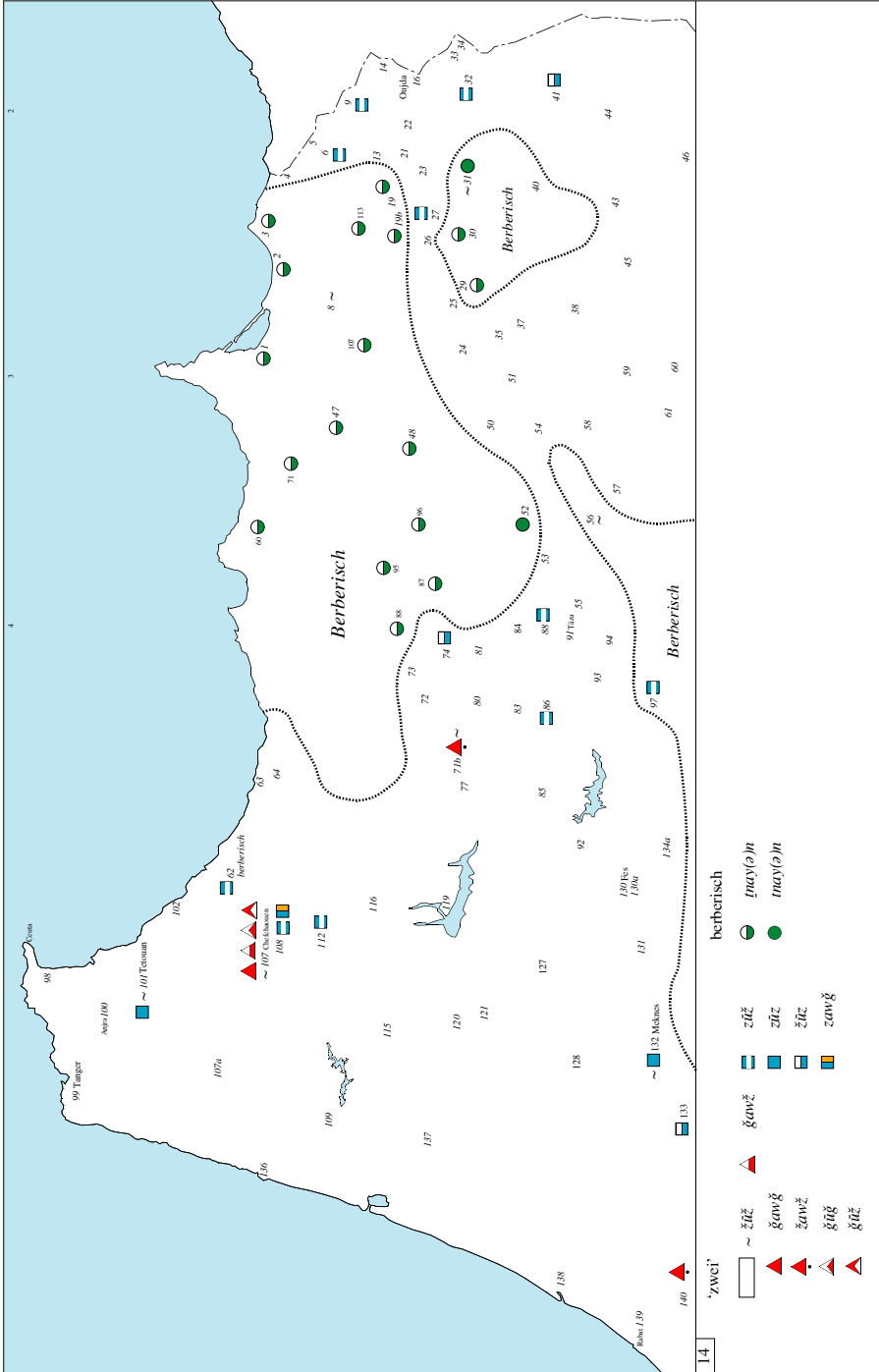
KARTE 11. „Backofen“.



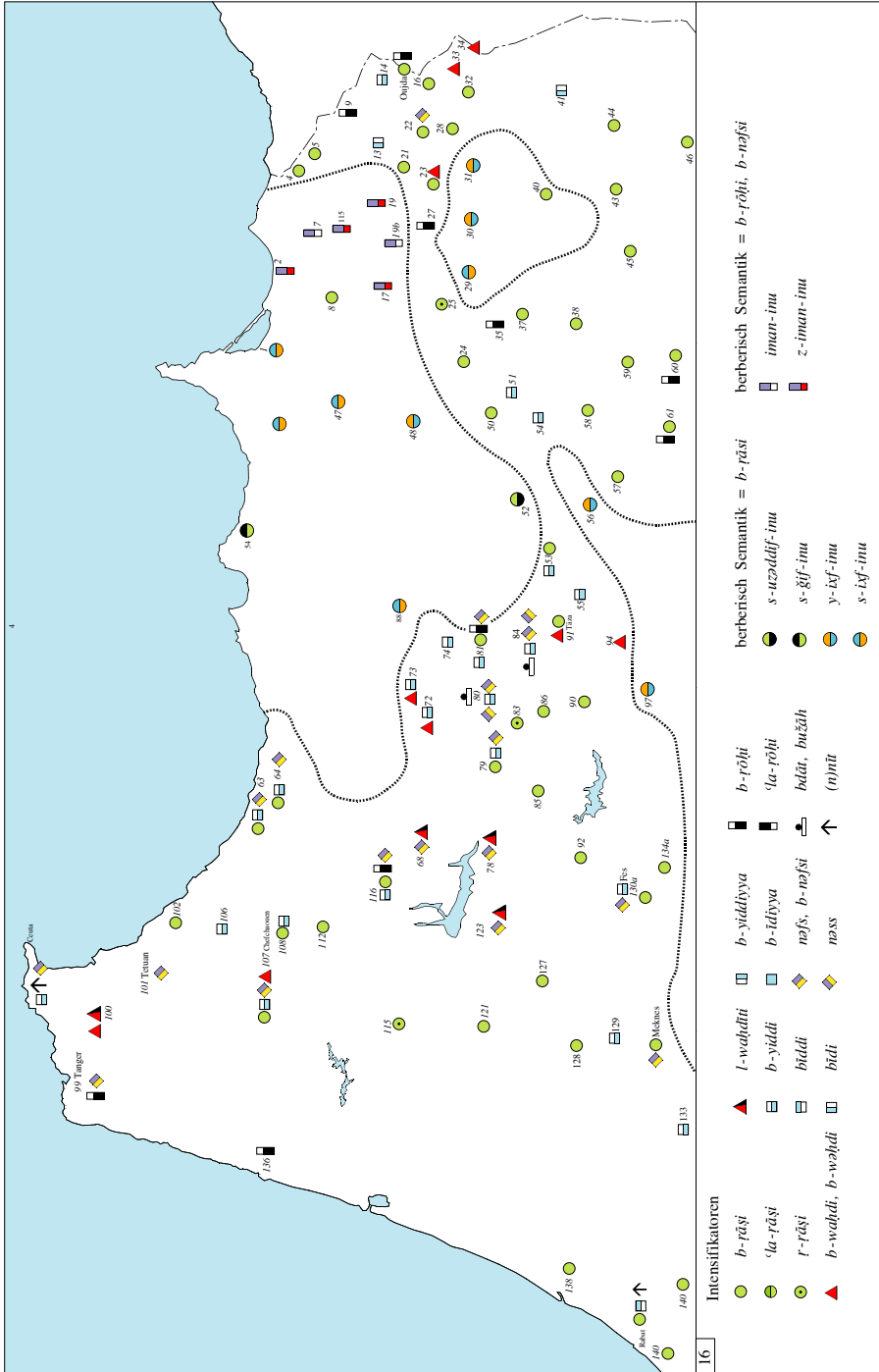
KARTE 12. „heute“.



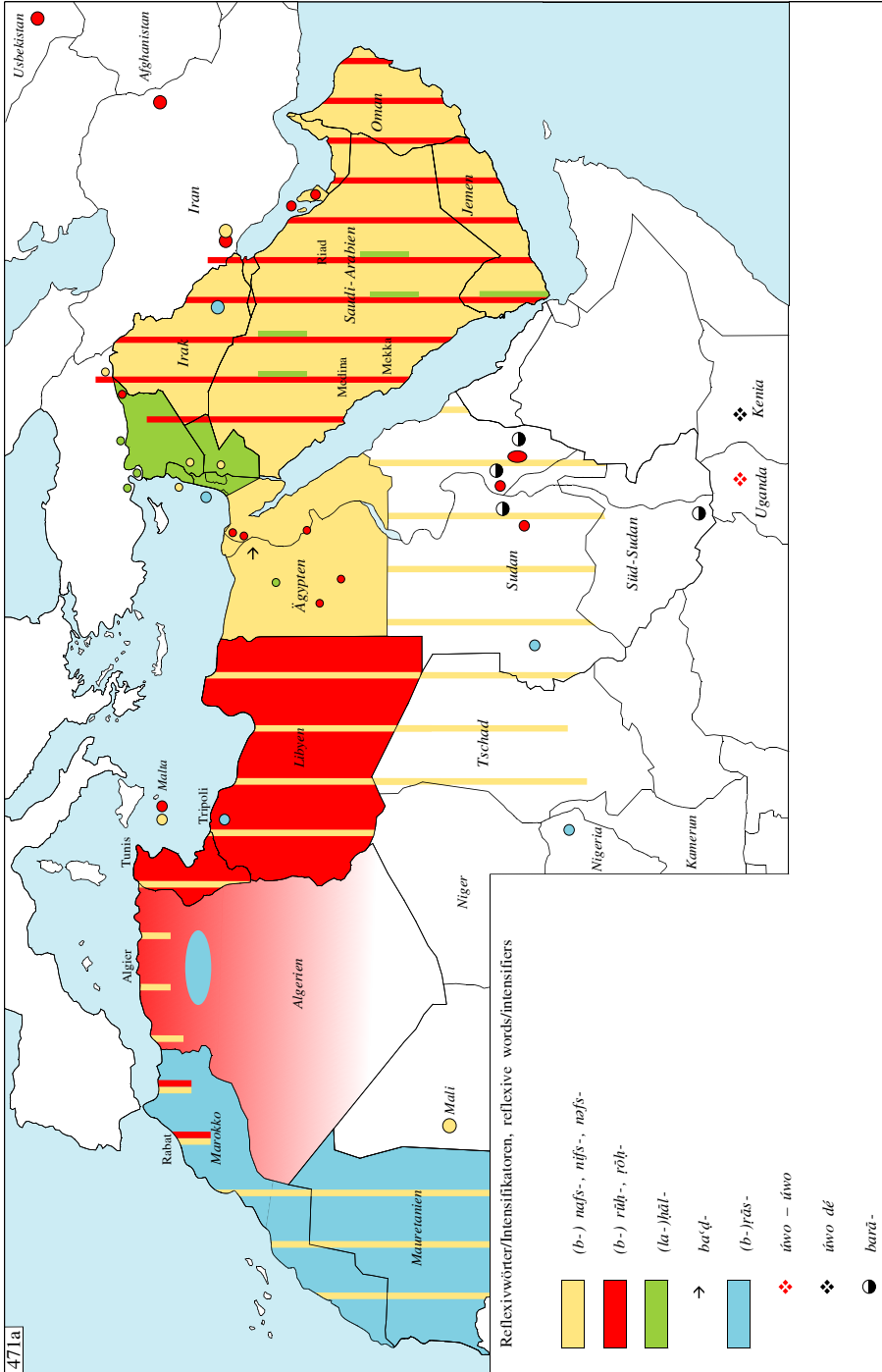
KARTE 13. „nächstes Jahr“.



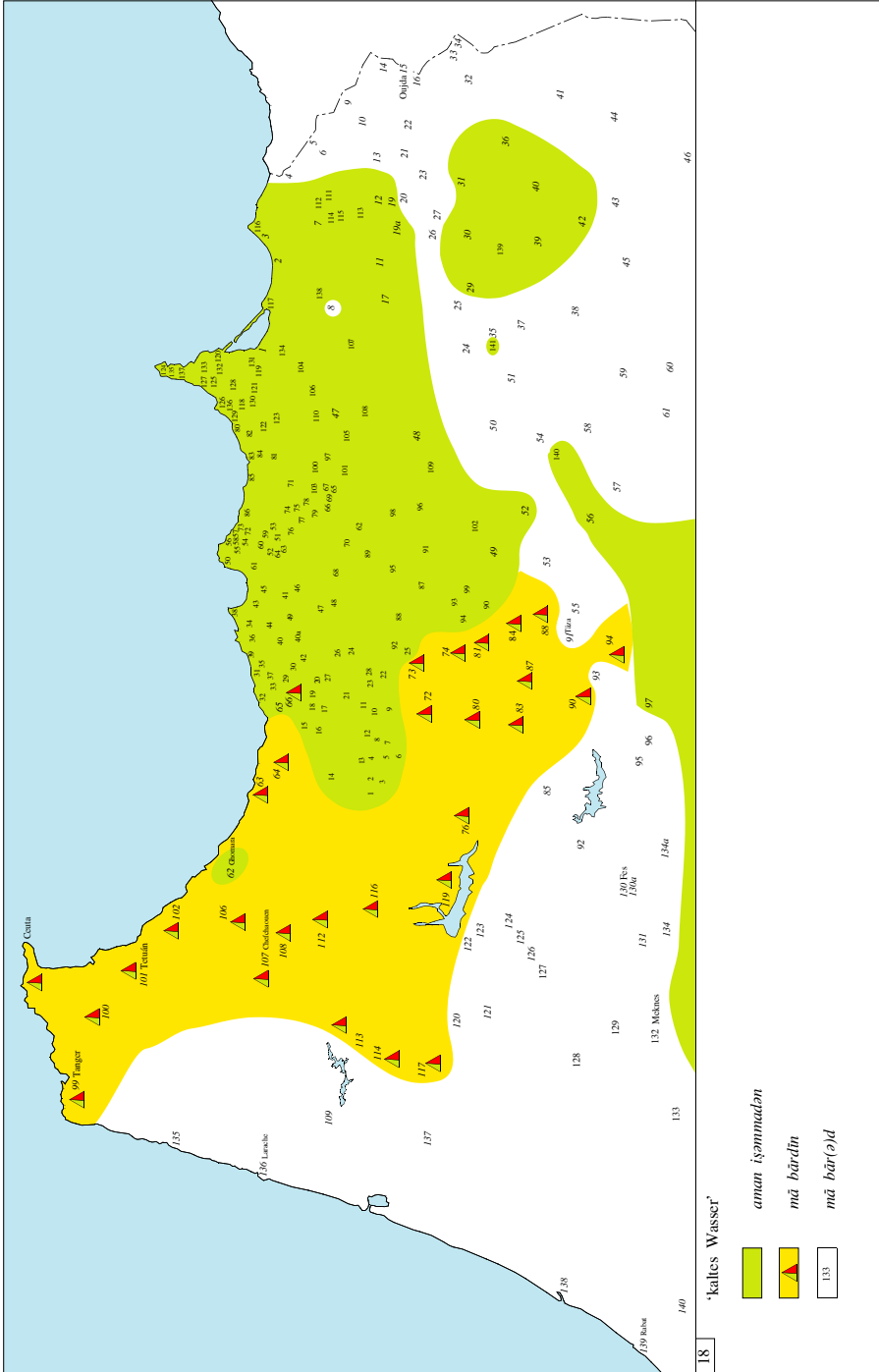
KARTE 14. „zwei“.



KARTE 16. Intensifikatoren.



KARTE 17. Reflexivwörter/Intensifikatoren.



KARTE 18. „kaltes Wasser“.

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The Judeo-Arabic of Essaouira Revisited

ABSTRACT This study proposes a description of the current dialectal Arabic spoken by the Jewry of Essaouira (Mogador)—also called Judeo-Arabic—considering updated data obtained with speakers of different generations. The decreasing number of Jews living in Essaouira during the last century suggests that a dialectal levelling process towards the Muslim dialect may have taken place, due to the contact with the Muslim majority. In this way, this study tracks the preservation or change of the linguistic features which traditionally characterised the Jewish dialect of the city (Lévy 1994, 2009; Heath 2002; Chetrit 2012, 2015) in the speech of two Jewish informants: 84 and 60 years old respectively—the second being known as the last Jew living permanently in the city. This preliminary analysis demonstrates that the levelling process towards the current Muslim dialect has not been concluded, which is attested not only by the maintenance of some old Jewish dialectal traits but also by lexicon and phonetical traits described here for the first time. On the other hand, the comparison of the Jewish dialect with the Muslim dialect of the majority (Francisco 2019) indicates that the levelling process might have begun much earlier before the decline of the Jewish population, in a time when the two communities were very similar in number (Schroeter 1988).

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, communal dialects, Essaouira, field research, Judeo-Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, linguistic levelling

1 Introduction

It is well known that the Judeo-Arabic of Essaouira is characterised mainly, but not only, by pre-hilalian features and shared traits with the Atlantic strip and Marrakesh Jewish dialects¹, as demonstrated by the studies of Lévy (1994, 2009), Heath (2002) and

1 Heath (2002: 26) includes the Jewish dialect of Essaouira in what he called ‘Atlantic strip group’ along with Muslim and Jewish varieties from Casablanca down the Doukkala area, comprehending El Jadida, Azemmour and Safi. On the other hand, Chetrit (2015: 17) classifies the Judeo-Arabic of Essaouira exclusively among the Jewish dialects of North Africa, including it among the urban and semi-urban dialects of the ‘Western Qal group,’ in his terminology.

Chetrit (2012). This variety had been representative of the Arabic dialect of Essaouira for a long time, given that the data concerning the Muslim variety had been restricted to Socin (1893), due to a general lack of linguistic interest in the city, since its Muslim population had been considered ‘mainly Berber-speaking until recently’ (Heath 2002: 28). On the other hand, I could demonstrate (Francisco 2019) that dialectal Arabic has predominated in the city, though we cannot ignore the important number of Tachelhit speakers among its first settlers—mostly from the Haha territory—until today, but also of dialectal Arabic speakers from the Chiadma territory, north of Essaouira, and of groups from urban and rural milieus who ended up speaking a levelled Arabic dialect.² Nevertheless, the Judeo-Arabic of Essaouira still plays an important role in the description of local Arabic and in the analysis of maintenance and change of linguistic features, due to the size and proportion of the Jewish community in the course of the history of the city.

Some sources indicate that the Jewry of Essaouira might have reached half of the total population of the city during the second part of the 19th century and could have even outnumbered the Muslims at some point. However, the size of the community decreased abruptly in the 20th century (see Table 1), finally being represented by only one last person living permanently in the city.

The Jewish population of the city was composed of both *megorashim* (‘expelled’) of Andalusí origin and *toshavim* (‘residents, natives’), Berber Jews. The majority of the Jews belonged to the latter; coming originally from the Sous, they used to live in the Mellah under poor material circumstances (Schroeter 1988: 196). In fact, the Jewish community was divided into two ‘classes’: the Mellah Jews and the *Qaşba* Jews, who were closer to the foreign elite and the Muslim aristocracy. Lévy (2009: 362) explains the difficulty to differentiate the dialect spoken by the two groups in 1973, since the ‘melting pot’ effect had already taken place long before, due to the huge number of people migrating from the south—a process that also happened with the Muslim dialect, in my opinion.

The Jewish community seems to have held close relations with Muslims in the quotidian life. Different from other Moroccan urban centers where the segregation between both communities was severer, such as Marrakesh and Meknes, the medina of Essaouira was quite small and the Mellah was not walled-off, similar to the situation in Oujda and Azemmour, where Jews and Muslims used to live in the same streets

2 Essaouira is situated at the border between the Haha and the Chiadma territories, therefore, both Tachelhit and distinct Arabic dialects have been in contact and continuously spoken since the foundation of the city in 1765. Essaouira has become a melting pot of Arabic- and Berber-speaking tribes from distinct parts of Morocco, such as the Sous region, Marrakesh, Safi and Fez (al-Kānūnī 1932; ar-Ragrāgī 1935; aṣ-Ṣiddīqī 1969; as-Sūsī 1966; Schroeter 1988). The lexicon of the current Arabic of Essaouira attests this long contact between distinct groups, presenting words with a particular connotation such as the Tachelhit loanwords: *tāġart* ‘the beach of Essaouira’ and *āylāl* ‘seagull.’

TABLE 1. The number of Jewish and Muslim communities of Essaouira (adapted from: Schroeter [1988: 219–220], Ottmani [1997: 271], Lévy [2009: 363]).

	Jews	Muslims and foreigners
1867 Beaumier ¹	6,000	6,000
1875 Spanish consular report	7,500	10,500
Beaumier	10,000	7,500
1878 French consular report	11,500	6,000
1879 <i>Alliance Israelite Universelle</i>	6,000	-
1896 George Broome	7,500	7,500
1927 French Protectorate	7,750	9,850
1973 Simon Lévy	150	-

I French consul in Essaouira (Mogador).

(Heath 2002: 10), which should lead—in the case of Essaouira—to a less sharp dialectal cleavage. Usually, the North African cities are well known for Jewish dialects of sedentary type which resist the influence of Bedouin (nomadic, central-type) dialects spoken by Muslims (Khan 2016: 43). However, what is the current situation of the Judeo-Arabic of Essaouira and its differences from the Muslim variety? Has any change taken place due to the neighbour relations between both communities or even because of the large number of Judeo-Arabic speakers in the city?

Considering these questions, the purpose of this paper is to describe the current situation of the Jewish dialect of the city, analysing maintenance and change in the linguistic features appointed by Lévy (1994, 2009) as most characteristic of the Jewish dialect of Essaouira.³ These are: the neutralisation of sibilants /š/ > /s/, /ž/ > /z/; the articulation of *qāf; no reduction of diphthongs; the suffix -īt (3FSG perf.); and the predominance of the preverb *ta-* over *ka-*. Finally, the paper examines some lexical items of the Jewish dialect comparing it to their equivalents in the current Muslim dialect (Francisco 2019).

The study compares these features in a diachronic perspective, considering the data collected by Lévy in 1973 with at least four informants, and comparing them with two younger speakers recorded by me.⁴ Asher (J1) is an 84-year-old man currently living in Israel, who left the city when he was 16 and part of whose family is originally from Ifrane. The second informant is Joseph (J2), around 60 years old, who presents

3 Lévy (2009: 363) identifies these salient features in agreement with the opinions of his informants from Essaouira after a group interview.

4 For a more general view of the speech of each informant, see 'New Texts in the Arabic Dialect of Essaouira (Jewish and Muslim Varieties)' in the texts section of this volume (Francisco 2022).

himself as the last Jew living permanently in the city, despite having been abroad for some years. Part of his family is from the Berber zone of Ayt Bayoud.

In the following part, I track the salient Jewish features in Lévy's data, in the speech of J1 and J2, and contrast them with the Muslim data in order to confirm if any kind of levelling process (Palva 1982) has taken place between the Jewish and Muslim varieties, eliminating the salient Jewish features.

2 Linguistic features appointed by Lévy

2.1 /š/ > /s/ and /ž/ > /z/

Lévy (2009) attested the total neutralisation between the sibilants /s/, /z/ and the fricatives /š/, /ž/, respectively (Table 2). This trait continues to be predominant in J1.

TABLE 2. Neutralisation between sibilants and fricatives in J1.

	š > s	ž > z
J1	<i>dāksi</i> 'that, that thing' <i>āsnu</i> 'what?' <i>xānsa</i> 'bag' <i>šāsra</i> 'ten' <i>Mərrākəs</i> 'Marrakesh' <i>šāyas</i> 'living (place)'	<i>zūz</i> 'two' <i>šzəbni</i> 'I liked' <i>rāzəl</i> 'man' <i>hwāyaz</i> 'things' <i>izīw</i> 'they come' (imperf.) <i>zəddi</i> 'my grandfather'

However, some exceptions are found in specific lexical items. For /š/: *šūkrān* 'thanks,' *š-šəlha* 'the Berbers,' *škūn* 'who,' *māši* 'no, not' (negation particle). For /ž/: *žəddi* 'my grandfather' (more frequent than *zəddi*) and *žəddāti* 'my grandmother,' *mūžūd* 'present, available,' *džāža* 'hen,' *žiht* 'side,' *mžūwwəz* 'married' and *lāplāž* 'the beach of Essaouira.'⁵ Lévy registers a single occurrence of /ž/ in *xāriž* 'outside' (2009: 367) and /š/ in *mšāt* 'she went' as a result of the effort of pronouncing /š/, according to the author.⁶

For J2, the neutralisation is not attested, which makes his speech quite similar to the Muslim variety phonetically. Despite that, there remained some occurrences of the neutralisation in very few lexical items in his speech, such as: *həzzāla* 'widow' (< *həžžāla*) and *fīšta* 'holiday, festivity' (< *fīšža*).

5 < Fr. *la plage* 'the beach.' It consists of a toponym in Essaouira used by old and young generations. The French article *la* got prefixed to the borrowing in the local Arabic, as can be seen in other examples: *lākāl* 'the quay in the port of Essaouira' (< Fr. *la cale*); *lāmārya* ~ *lāmārīyya* 'tide' (< Sp. *la marea*) (Francisco 2019: 161).

6 Chetrit (2015: 6) mentions the same intermediary consonant [š] nearer to [š] in Moroccan Jewish dialects.

The neutralisation between the sibilants and the fricatives, which used to characterise the Jewish dialect, seem to have become occasional not only in the youngest informants, as it could be verified in the speech of the older speakers.

2.2 The articulation of /q/ as [k], [q]

The *qāf /q/ realisation in both Muslim and Jewish dialects tend to be [q] in urban and rural Essaouira, while the variant [g] occurs in specific lexical items—e.g. *bāgrā* ‘cow,’ *gāmra* ‘moon’—found in both dialects, though being more frequent among Muslims (Socin 1893; Francisco 2019). In Jewish dialect, the verb ‘to say’ was registered firstly as *qāl* ‘he said’ (Lévy 2009: 365), but appeared in J1 and J2 as *gāl*, like in the Muslim dialect: *gütt* (< *gült*) ‘I said,’ *ngül lək* ‘I will tell you’ (J1) and *gält* ‘she said’ (J2).

Curiously, the variant *kāl* ‘he said’ was also found in J1, whose speech presents the total neutralisation /q/ > /k/, articulated [k] ~ [ḳ], as in: *kül li* ‘tell me,’⁷ *l-kəšba* ‘The *Qaşba*,’ *ma fəkəlt-s* ‘I don’t remember.’ Lévy had registered this phenomenon—he denominates *l-həḍra š-šgīra* ‘la petite façon de parler’—in a single speaker from the Mellah of Essaouira, who presented a single occurrence of [q] (2009: 367). This phenomenon occurs rarely in J2, e.g. *mšilkāt* ‘spoons.’ The author adds that he confirmed the same feature in Safi and Azemmour.

Although J2 uses exclusively *gāl*, he uses the glottal [ʔ] in the imperative form of the verb ‘to say’ only once: *ʔālli āš* ‘tell me what.’ The glottal realisation of /q/ occurs in other Jewish dialects as well (Chetrit 2015), but in the case of Essaouira it is a strange and rare phenomenon, even though Lévy (2009: 363) explained it as the neutralisation /k/ > /ʔ/ found in a single Souiri speaker whose family was from the Sous. This could explain the occurrence of the glottal in J2; however, the fact is that the imperative form he uses is **not** **ʔül li* (< *qül li*) but the northern imperative form with short vowel *ʔālli*, suggesting that either he preserved an old form once found in Jewish dialect of Essaouira or it might be the result of the influence of another Jewish dialect he is in contact with, since his family has been living in Casablanca.

To conclude, the Jewish dialectal variants [ʔ], [k] and [ḳ] seem to have lost space to the prestigious [q] and later to the Muslim [g] in some cases. The speech of J2 demonstrates this change by the alternation between [q] and [g]: *mqābəl* ~ *mgābəl* ‘keeper,’ *tlāqīti* ~ *tlāgīti* ‘you found.’

7 J1 alternates between [k] ~ [g] for the verb ‘to say.’

2.3 No reduction of diphthongs

Lévy pointed out that the Jewish dialect of Essaouira did not reduce the diphthongs, as he demonstrates in the examples: *ḥāyṭ* ‘wall,’ *lāyl* ‘night’ and *rāwz* ‘rice’ (2009: 363). In the same way, J1 keeps mostly not reducing diphthongs in both plain and pharyngealised consonantal contexts, while we can attest a more consistent change to the reduction in J2’s speech, like we find it in the Muslim variety: /āw/ > /ū/, /āy/ > /ī/, in all consonantal contexts⁸, even though many diphthongs were preserved in specific lexical items (Table 3).

TABLE 3. Diphthongs in the Jewish dialect of Essaouira.

	Diphthongs	Monophthongs
J1	<i>fāyn</i> ‘where’ <i>mnāyn</i> ‘from where’ <i>t-tnāyn</i> ‘two o’clock’ <i>ṭāyr</i> ‘cock’ ¹ <i>dāyf</i> ‘guest’ <i>āwkāt</i> ‘times’	<i>lūz</i> ‘almond’ <i>l-ihūd</i> ‘the Jews’
J2	<i>mnāyn</i> ‘from where’ <i>āymta</i> ‘when’ <i>ṭāyfūr</i> ‘plate’ <i>fāṭṭāyṭu</i> ‘butterfly’ <i>xāyma</i> ‘tent’	<i>fin</i> ‘where’ <i>lūz</i> ‘almond’ <i>lūn</i> ‘color’ <i>šūk</i> ‘thorn’ <i>l-yūm</i> ‘today’ <i>līl</i> ‘night’

I In the southern Jewish dialects, *ṭāyr* means ‘cock’ (Lévy 2009: 343). J1 defines it for us as *ṛāzəl d-džāza* ‘the husband of the hen.’

Despite reducing diphthongs more frequently, the Muslim variety preserves—in a smaller number—diphthongs in plain consonantal contexts as well, including some words common to the Jewish dialect: *āymta* ‘when,’ *mnāymta* (< *mān āymta*) ‘a long time ago,’ *tawb* ‘fabric,’⁹ *āysri* ‘left-handed,’ *skāyri* ‘inebriate’ (Francisco 2019: 77).

This fact might be explained in two complementary ways. Firstly, as an outcome of the contact with the Chiadma population, settled on the outskirts of Essaouira, since their speech contains diphthongs in plain and pharyngealised contexts with

8 As it is expected for hilalian central type dialects (Heath 2002), diphthongs close to pharyngeal and pharyngealised consonants may alternate with monophthongs: *šūf* ~ *šāwf* ‘wool,’ *bīd* ~ *ḥāyḍ* ‘eggs.’

9 Different from the northern variant *ṭāwb* ‘dress, costume’ (Vicente 2000: 35), in Essaouira it means ‘fabric,’ like in Marrakesh (Sánchez 2014: 83).

a higher frequency than we attest in the urban milieu:¹⁰ *nsāyt* ‘I forgot,’ *bnāyna* ‘we built,’ *ḥāyḍa* ‘white (F)’ (2019: 79). Secondly, diphthongs are also found in the Sous region, where a substantial part of the first settlers of Essaouira—Muslims and Jews—came from. The variant *āymta* ‘when’ with a diphthong may be evidence of this influence since—in southern Morocco—*āymta* is found basically in Essaouira and in the Sous¹¹, while all the Atlantic Strip and Marrakesh have the variant *imta* (Heath 2002: 481).

To sum up, J2 presents a higher frequency of reduced diphthongs, like Muslims, than his older peers. However, the examples above demonstrate that the preservation of diphthongs might have occurred even more frequently among Muslims at some point—especially in plain consonantal contexts. Therefore, perhaps in the past diphthongs were even more frequent, not being a distinguishing feature between Muslim and Jewish dialects.

2.4 Suffix *-īt* (3FSG perf.)

As a morphological feature of the Jewish variety, Lévy points out the occurrence of the suffix *-īt* (3FSG perf.) alternating with *-(ə)t*, such as: *qāmīt* ‘she got up,’ *okfīt* ‘happened’ and *tfəkkīt* ‘was saved,’ but *xərzət* ‘she went out’ (2009: 363–368).¹² The same feature was found in J1: *sərbīt* ‘she drank,’ *dəzbādīt* ‘she went out’¹³ and *kānīt* ‘she was.’ On the other hand, it has a **single** occurrence in J2: *əṣ-ṣwīra kānīt ḡzāla* ‘Essaouira was wonderful.’

Like in the Muslim dialect, the suffix *-(ə)t* predominates in J2 for simple hollow verbs, even though variants such as *kānt* was registered by Lévy (2009: 367) and found in J1, indicating that a change towards the suffix *-(ə)t* with simple hollow verbs was already in progress a long time before.

Heath proposed that the suffix *-īt* in the Jewish dialects of Safi and Essaouira originated as ‘a mutation of **-at*, or else as a lengthening of **-ət*, functioning to keep the 3FSG distinct’ from the first person (2002: 224).¹⁴ In my opinion, his first hypothesis is corroborated by the Muslim dialect usage of the suffix *-āt* (3FSG perf.), occurring in all but hollow and defective verbs, in urban and rural Essaouira and also parts of

10 In fact, urban speakers usually associate diphthongs with the speech of the rural surroundings.

11 Destaing (1937 I: 178).

12 The author’s transcription was maintained.

13 See the section 3.1. of this paper.

14 This seems to be a feature brought from southern Morocco, as Heath attests the suffix in several southern Jewish dialects: Taroudant, Tiznit, Aoulouz, Tazenakht, Iqilnuqu and (Had-)Tahala. Also in Tazzerte and Beni Mellal (2002: 547, map 4–20).

southern Morocco.¹⁵ In fact, it predominates in J2: *ḡarḡāt* ‘she hit.’ Curiously, according to two female Muslim informants in Essaouira, elder women in the medina used to add *-āt* to hollow verbs, as in the following examples provided by them: **šāfātni* (< *šāfātni*), **mātāt* (< *mātāt*), just as the Jewish dialect usage of *-īt*. In this way, the usage of the suffix *-īt* (3FSG perf.) with hollow verbs in the Jewish dialect could be the result of morphological analogy with verbs presenting *-āt* in the local Muslim dialect.

To sum up, it seems that the salient suffix *-īt* has almost disappeared in the younger informant (J2), except for a punctual occurrence.

2.5 The suffix *-ti* (2SG perf.)

The usage of the suffix *-ti* (2SG perf.) for masculine and feminine (Lévy 2009: 363; Heath 2002: 546, map 4–15) has been attested in J1 and J2. In Essaouira, the suffix *-ti* (2SG perf.) is shared by both Muslim and Jewish dialects, which could be a sign that dialectal levelling was in progress a long time before. In this case, we do not attest an isogloss separating communal dialects like in Fez, where *-t* (2SG perf.) for both masculine and feminine is exclusive of Jewish speech, distinguishing it from the Muslim speech with *-ḡi* (2009: 225).

2.6 Predominance of the preverb *ta-*

The Jewish dialect presents a predominance of the imperfective preverb *ta-* over *ka-* (Lévy 2009: 363) and it is also encountered in J1 and J2 who **never** use *ka-*. On the other hand, the Muslim variety does contain both preverbs, *ka-* nowadays being found more frequently in the rural speakers of Essaouira (Francisco 2019), but also in the medina, even though in the latter *ta-* still predominates among Muslims. This seems to be another feature which may have been the result of an old levelling, predominating *ta-* over the pre-hilalian *ka-*, more frequent in the north and in old urban dialects (Aguadé 1998: 12). This reality is very similar to the Marrakesh situation, where *ta-* predominates in the Jewish and Muslim dialects (Heath 2002: 544, map 4–1).

15 Settat (Aguadé 2013: 4), Tafilalt (Heath 2002: 223), Marrakesh (Sánchez 2014: 116), Essaouira (Francisco 2019: 94).

3 New-old Jewish features

The features below, most of them lexical items, were found in J₁ and J₂ and can also enhance the visualisation of a dialectal levelling process. They are separated into two groups:

3.1 Indication of maintenance

/l/ > /n/: this consists of a southern feature encountered in Tafilalt (Behnstedt 2004). It occurs frequently in J₂: *ḡūra* < *lūra* ‘behind,’¹⁶ *mənyūn* < *məlyūn* ‘million,’ *mənyār* < *məlyār* ‘billion,’ *āylān* < *āylāl* ‘seagull.’¹⁷ On the other hand, we can also find the inverse /n/ > /l/: *blītāt* < *bnītāt* ‘little girls’ (J₁).

The usage of *fḡāl* over *bḡāl* ‘like, similar to’: J₁ and J₂ keep using *fḡāl* exclusively, the second one being restricted to Muslims. However, in Socin (1893) *fḡāl* appears in the Muslim speech as well.

The use of *ṣāfd* ‘to send’ in J₁ and J₂: *ṣāfd li* ‘send to me’; instead of *ṣifət*, which seems restricted to Muslims.

The alternation between *ddi* ~ *di*¹⁸ and *lli* ~ *li* in both J₁ and J₂, even though the former seems to use *di* much more frequently. It is also reflected in the use of adverbial *məddi* ‘when’ (J₁) replaced by *məlli* (J₂), also used by Muslims together with *fās* ‘when.’

The verb *dəzbād* (< *təzbād*) ‘to go out’ is used by J₁ frequently, but occurs seldomly in J₂, e.g. in the expression: *dəzbād m-flīyya* ‘go away!’; who prefers the variant *xrəž*.

3.2 Indication of change

On the other hand, many other traits have disappeared from J₁ to J₂, attesting a tendency to change towards the Muslim variety.

The usage of *ra* ‘to see’ only by J₁: *rātni* ‘she saw me,’ *ās ta-tṛa?* ‘what do you see?’ But J₁ also gives *ās ta-tšūf?* ‘what do you see?’ probably because the verb *šāf* has always occurred frequently in the city. J₂ uses only the latter, like Muslims. Heath

16 This word specifically is found in the Jewish dialect of Marrakesh and also in the north (Heath 2002: 549, map 4–32).

17 *āylāl* designates specifically the ‘seagull’ in Essaouira, attested among elder speakers, and consists probably of a loanword from Tachelhit. On the other hand, the variant *āylān* (J₂) is also found in Marrakesh (Sánchez 2014: 401) in the name of a gate in the medina: *bāb āylān*.

18 Pre-hilalian feature also found in Andalusi Arabic: *a/iddi* (IISUZ 2013: 80).

registered *ra* as the only variant in the Jewish dialect of Essaouira, but finds both variants in the Jewish dialect of Marrakesh (2002: 512, map 2–42).

The complete replacement of the pronoun *ntīna* ‘you’ (2MSG), predominant in J1, by *nta* (2MSG) in J2, in line with Muslims.

Substitution of the frequent *ʕmāl* ‘to do’: *nəʕmāl* ‘I will do’ (J1) by *dār* (J2).

The replacement of the verb *hdāz* ‘must’ (< *htāz* ‘need’),¹⁹ in J1, by the usual particle *xəʕʕ* ‘must’ in J2. It is the first time the verb *hdāz* is registered in Essaouira, occurring frequently in J1 who agrees it with the main verb: *nəhdāz nəmsi* ‘I must go,’ *təhdāz təmsi* ‘you must go.’

The substitution of *xlāq* ~ *xlāk* (J1) by *dzād* (J2) ‘to be born,’ predominant in the urban and rural Muslim dialects of Essaouira.

4 Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to describe the current situation of the Judeo-Arabic of Essaouira, analysing the salient features of this variety and their maintenance in the speech of speakers of different generations. The findings of the study confirm the hypothesis of a dialectal levelling towards the Muslim dialect of Essaouira as we expected, supposedly based on the long period of close contact between Muslim and Jewish communities, followed by the decrease of the Jewish population in the city in the 20th century. Tracking the maintenance of salient features of Jewish dialect and comparing the Jewish dialect with the current Muslim dialect suggest that the levelling process may have occurred at two different moments.

Firstly, the levelling could have happened when both communities were similar in numbers, as some salient features of the Jewish dialect were shared by the Muslim dialect as well, such as the predominance of the preverb *ta-*, the suffix *-ti* (2SG) and the no reduction of diphthongs. This could explain the reason why these features have been maintained by informants of distinct ages.

Later, the dialectal levelling evolved as attested by the younger informant (J2) who has lost the other distinctive features of the Jewish dialect, but specific lexical items seem to preserve vestiges of these features in his speech—such as *kānīt* ‘she was,’ demonstrating that the levelling process has not been completed. Furthermore, he maintains the usage of the lexicon of the Jewish variety, also found in J1, such as: *fhāl* ‘like, similar to’ and the relative *di* ~ *ddi*. Some of these features, found also in J1, were registered in the local Jewish dialect for the first time, such as the verb *dəzbād* ‘to go out’ and the phenomenon of interchange between /n/ and /l/.

19 Heath (2002: 501), Prémare et al. (1994 3: 263).

This study was a partial assessment of the status of the Jewish dialect of Essaouira, since it did not explore several other features of the variety that could demonstrate other aspects of the long dialectal levelling in progress. Besides, it would be important to obtain linguistic data from other informants of the same age of J2—or even younger—, who had left the city much before, in order to estimate if the levelling verified in J2 occurred throughout his generation or only in his case because he is in permanent contact with Muslim dialect speakers.

Finally, the analysis carried out here demonstrates the importance of continuing linguistic data collection for the Judeo-Arabic of Essaouira. For instance, registering *ḥdāz* ‘must’ and other new words for the first time in Essaouira demonstrates the importance of describing the Jewish dialect in this area, especially if we consider the reduced number of speakers left.

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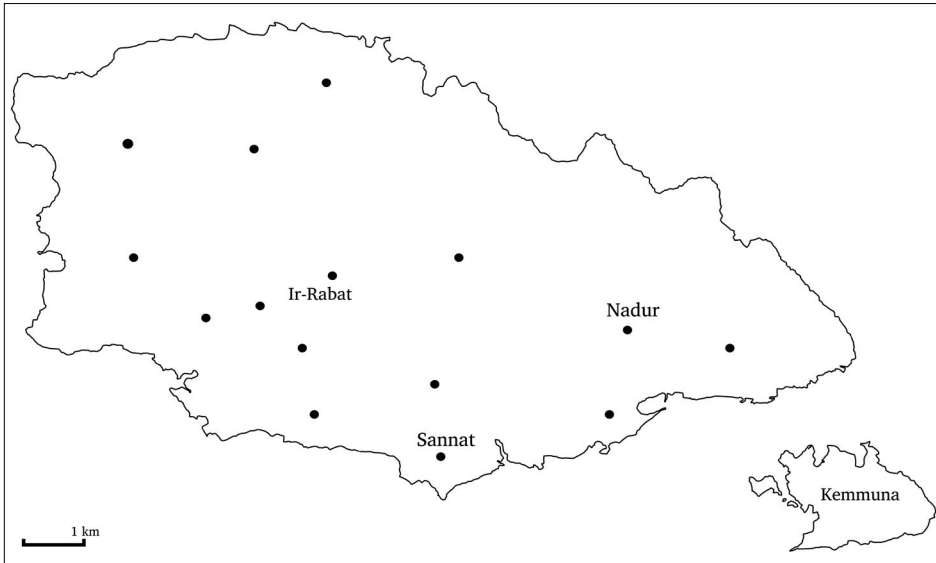
The Acoustic Vowel Space of Gozitan Naduri and Sannati Dialects

ABSTRACT The focus of this study is to apply acoustic measurements and account for the quality of vowels present in the vowel system of two Maltese dialects of Gozo—Sannati and Naduri—in order to establish whether there are any acoustic differences between the vowels that are present in both dialects. The study is restricted to 13 phonemic monophthongs present in both dialects. The test items are five target words for every vowel. Each item was repeated five times in pre-designated sentences by six native speakers for both dialects. This paper presents evidence that the vowel inventory of these two dialects does not vary only phonologically but is also distinguished acoustically in most vowels.

KEYWORDS acoustics, field research, Gozitan, Gozo, Maltese, Maltese dialectology, phonetics, vowel

1 Introduction

Maltese is a language spoken by a few thousand people worldwide, the majority of whom live in its home country, Malta. Despite a relatively extensive body of linguistic research, particularly in the last decade, on all aspects of language including phonetics and phonology, most of the work carried out has focused on standard Maltese (henceforth SM). Research on phonetics and phonology such as the work of Aquilina (1981), Azzopardi(-Alexander) (1981, 2003) and Borg (1976, 1994) describes the sounds and the phonological processes present in Maltese from a diachronic and synchronic perspective. The established vowel inventory of SM is comprised of 11 vowels, of which six are short whilst the remaining five are long: [i:], [i], [ɪ:], [ɛ], [ɛ:], [e], [e:], [ɔ], [ɔ:], [ɔ̃], [u:]. Four vowels are differentiated only by vowel length, which in Maltese has a phonemic status. However, the limited literature on dialectal varieties of



MAP 1. Geographical position of Sannat and Nadur (copyrighted by M. Klimiuk).

Maltese has shown that, despite the small size of the country, varieties make use of different vowel systems and phonological inventories.¹

This paper shows the detailed acoustic description of Sannati (SD) and Naduri (ND), two regional dialects present in Sannat and Nadur respectively (see Map 1). Both villages are present on the island of Gozo, Malta. The acoustic analysis aims at presenting whether there are differences between the acoustic properties of vowels present in both vowel systems. Auditory studies of ND (Said 2007) and SD (Farrugia 2010) have shown that both dialects make use of a bigger range of vowels than standard Maltese (SM) and the only phonemic difference between the two vowel systems is the /æ:/ vowel, which is present in SD but absent in ND, as shown in Figure 1.

Other differences are found in the number of diphthongs. In a similar pattern, SD and ND share the same diphthong inventory (/ɛw, ɛj, ɛj, ɔw, ɔj, ɔj/) except for the fact that SD has an extra diphthong /ɛw/. However, according to Said (2007), ND makes use of an extra two vowels that have diphthongal qualities, [ʔɪ] and [ɪʔ]. A comparative analysis shows that the [ʔɪ] vowel has the same phonological distribution as the diphthong [ɛj] in SD, whilst the [ɪʔ] vowel has a similar distribution of the [æ:] vowel in SD.

However, despite the relative similarity of the vowel and diphthong inventories, the two dialects make use of different phonological and phonemic processes in which these vowels and diphthongs occur. Table 1 above shows examples of the different vowel distributions of minimal pairs present in both dialects.

1 See, among others, the works of such authors as Incorvaja (2007), Said (2007), and Farrugia (2010).

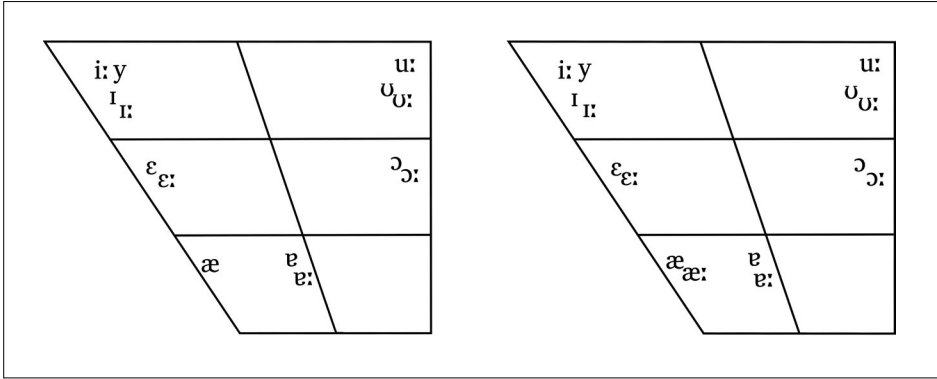


FIGURE 1. The auditory representation of the vowel phonemes of ND and SD dialects respectively.

Other differences in the phonological processes are found in the distribution of vowels or diphthongs present in a single-vowel word construction. In cases when the /e/ in SD is the only vowel present in a word, in ND in such an environment, one would find the vowel /ɔ/:

- /plɛt/ – /plɔt/ ‘plate,’
- /tʃɛt/ – /tʃɔt/ ‘flat,’
- /ɪmrɛt/ – /ɪmrɔt/ ‘I got sick,’
- /hɛt/ – /hɔt/ ‘I took.’

Diphthongs /ej/ and /ɛj/ in SD, shift to /ɔj/ and /ɛj/ respectively in ND, as in the case of:

- /bɛjt/ – /bɔjt/ ‘eggs,’
- /tʃɛjt/ – /tʃɔjt/ ‘jokes,’
- /bɛjn/ – /bɛjn/ ‘between,’
- /bɛn:ɛj/ – /bɛn:ɛj/ ‘builder.’

TABLE 1. Phonemic differences between SD and ND.

SM	ND	SD	Meaning
[bɛle]	[bɛle]	[bɛlæ]	‘stupid’ (adjective, FSG)
	[bɛle]	[bɛle]	‘sip’ (noun, FSG)
[dɛ:rɪ]	[durrɪ]	[dɔ:rɔj]	‘the past’ (noun, MSG)
	[dɛrɛj]	[dɛ:rɔj]	‘my back’ (noun, MSG + pronoun, 1 st person SG -i)
[ʔmi:s]	[ʔm ³ ʌs]	[ʔmɛjs]	‘shirt’ (noun, FSG)
	[ʔmɔjs]	[ʔmɔjs]	‘jumping’ (verbal noun derived from <i>qomos</i> ‘to jump’)

It has also been observed that in some nominal disyllabic words with a CVCVC construction where V is /e/ in SD, in ND it is /ɛ/, as in:

/bɛhɛr/ – /bɛhɛr/ ‘sea,’
 /lɛhɛm/ – /lɛhɛm/ ‘meat,’
 /nɛhɛl/ – /nɛhɛl/ ‘bees.’

Unfortunately, the frequency of occurrence and the influence of consonantal sounds and morpho-phonetic processes on these phonological processes is yet to be studied. On the other hand, they play an important part in the choice of target words chosen for the present study, as discussed below.

Due to the phonemic and phonological differences present in both dialects one would also expect to find a degree of acoustic differences between the two vowel inventories. However, in Gozo there seems to be an ‘inverse’ diglossic situation (Camilleri Grima 2008), where dialect is used both in formal and informal situations and speakers would continue using their dialect, commonly coined as ‘Gozitan’, despite being aware that there are linguistic differences that distinguish them (Casha 2006; Camilleri Grima 2008). In view of this situation, to what degree to SD and ND differ acoustically? Would two dialects with an almost identical vowel system and use vary from each other acoustically as well?

A specific acoustic difference is expected to be observed in the /æ:/ vowel present in SD and its phonemic counterpart in ND. These two phonemes are expected to behave differently as one is a near-front unrounded vowel whilst the other is a vowel with diphthongal behaviour. However, sentence repetition and speech contexts affect vowel quality differently and therefore differences are to be expected.

2 Method

A number of universal as well as language dependent factors were taken into consideration for the collection, extraction and analysis of data in order to answer the research question of this study. The methodology chosen is discussed in the sections below.

2.1 Participants

In order to limit variability and obtain a homogeneous and matching group of SD and ND participants, all participants chosen were native speakers of the dialects in question and were born and have lived most of their lives in the villages in

which these dialects are present. The selected participants were volunteers that completed a background questionnaire before the recordings took place for affinity purposes. If they met the requirements needed, they could participate for the study. The requirements were that they have lived most of their lives in the villages in question, that they had at least one parent who was a speaker of the same dialect, would not switch to standard Maltese with other speakers of a Gozitan dialect, are within the 40–55 age group and form part of the middle-working class.

In this way, six speakers from Sannat and six speakers from Nadur were selected. For each of these dialects, there was an equal number of male and female participants due to the different sociolinguistic variables and physiological properties of the vocal tract that both genders have, so that ‘gender dependence of the vowels could be investigated as easily as the dialect-dependence’ (Escudero et al. 2009: 1380). Despite the number of participants being relatively small, one has to consider the relatively small population of both villages in which these dialects occur.

2.2 Data collection

All 12 recordings were carried out in two different recording studios, one in Sannat and the other one in Nadur respectively, for sound quality reasons as well as to avoid any ambient noise. All sound files were saved in a *.wav* format for acoustic quality purposes. The initial 15 target vowels /i:/, /ɪ:/, /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ɛ:/, /e/, /e:/, /æ/, /æ:/, /ɔ/, /ɔ:/, /ɒ/, /ɒ:/, /u:/ were orthographically represented to their phonologic Maltese Standard correspondents in a specific target word which was embedded in a pre-designated sentence. Five different target words were chosen for each target vowel, which was then repeated five times by each participant. This method ensured 25 occurrences for each vowel per participant.

Each target vowel was produced as a first vowel in a disyllabic sequence and was always in an accented position, except for vowel /æ/, which phonologically occurs only in an unaccented position in both dialects. The CV–CV construction was the preferred structure for the majority of the target words, but due to the different phonological processes and phonotactic rules present in the dialects, as discussed above, this word structure was not always possible. Out of the 15 target vowels, 6 of them (/ɛ/, /ɒ/, /y/, /æ:/, /ɔ:/, /ɔ/) do not phonologically occur in the desired structure. A pilot study showed that different articulatory and structural possibilities affect formant values. However, different structural possibilities did not considerably affect formant values as long as the syllable structure in which the target vowel occurred was the same in every target word. In the target words chosen, articulatory effects, due to the preceding consonantal sound, did not affect average formant values either. The target words chosen are shown below in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Target words used.

i:		ɪ:		ɪ		y	
CV-CV	hi:tæ 'sew it' pi:pæ 'pipe' pi:kæ 'rivalry' ri:ge 'ruler' ti:ʔæ 'window'	CV-CV	br:bæ 'door' br:dy 'they laid eggs' dɪ:tæ 'diet' ɦi:tæ 'he sew it' ʔɪ:dæ 'she is'	CV-CV	ɦɪtæ 'rain' br:kæ 'he cried' mɪtæ 'when' br:dæ 'he started' ɦɪdæ 'he served'	CVC	byt 'pocket' tyt 'blackberries' ɦyɦ 'stupid' ɦyt 'fish' dyt 'worms'
ɛ		ɛ:		e		e:	
CV-CV	dɛ:b:æ 'mare' dɛ:ʔsæ 'equally' pɛ:t:s:æ 'patch' ɦɛbzæ 'jump' ɦɛb:æ 'maiden'	CV-CV	dɛ:ræ 'appearance' dɛ:ɦæ 'chilling sensation' rɛ:ɦæ 'embarrassment' rɛ:dæ 'shaking' ɦɛ:dæ 'honeycomb'	CV-CV	bɛ:ɦe 'he stayed' ɦete 'he cut' ɦebe 'hit' sebe 'seven' sete 'he could'	CV-CV	sɛ:dæ 'until tomorrow' bɛ:tæ 'he sent her' rɛ:dæ 'lightning' ɦe:dæ 'position' ɦe:dɦæ 'thing'
æ		æ:				ɔ	
CV-CV	ɦe:dɦæ 'thing' br:dæ 'he started' br:kæ 'he cried' ku:dæ 'hair bun' pi:pæ 'pipe'	CVC	bæ:b 'door' bæ:t 'far' dæ:p 'he vanished' pæ:t 'foot-measurement'			CVC	pɔpi: 'poppy' tɦi: 'toffee' pɔti: 'potty'
		CVCC	pkæ:t 'she cried'			CVCC	tɔp: 'top' ɦɔt: 'shot'
ɔ:		ʊ		ʊ:		u:	
CV-CV	dɔ:k 'that' dɔ:n 'this' ɦɔ:r 'it spilled' dɔ:r 'house' tɔ:t 'she gave'	CV-CV	bɔɦ:ɛ 'bulb' bɔt:e 'joke' rɔt:e 'route' sɔp:e 'soup' bɔt:s:e 'bulb'	CV-CV	bɔ:te 'he suffered' dɔ:te 'date' kɔ:ke 'cook' pɔ:ge 'wage' pɔ:pe 'poppe'	CV-CV	pu:pe 'doll' tu:tæ 'blackberry' ku:dæ 'hairbun' tu:be 'tube' du:dy 'worm'

For each target word, a speaker had to read aloud, in dialect, a sentence presented in SM orthography. This method is not ideal due to being less true to natural speech, and poses a risk of influencing the speaker to hypercorrect himself or spontaneously switch to SM, as noted by Klimiuk and Lipnicka (2019). On the other hand, controlled speech ensures a more systematic approach and that the same number of occurrences would be collected from each informant. To the researcher’s advantage, however, he himself is part of the Gozitan community and resorted to building a relationship with the speakers by speaking in dialect throughout the whole meeting in order to help speakers feel comfortable and carry out the task by staying true to their dialect pronunciation.

On the other hand, predesignated sentences were preferred to the repetition of the target words alone in order to ensure uniformity and avoid practice effects and other extra-linguistic factors that could affect formant values. Also, each target word was put in the middle of the sentence to avoid the rising or lowering of intonation patterns due to practice effects.

Picture aids were used to facilitate the process and avoid any difficulties in recognising what the target word is before switching to dialect.

3 Data analysis

Since data from all speakers could be analysed, there were a total of about 4500 tokens to be examined. However, some of the tokens were rejected due to the values being classified as outliers by R.² A visual interpretation of the mismatch of such tokens and the average formant value of the vowels in question confirmed the rejection. Formant values of vowel /y/ and /æ:/ were discarded following the fact that they rarely manifested themselves as monophthongs. An analysis on Praat, in fact, showed most of the time that these vowels occur either as monophthongs with diphthongal behaviour or as diphthongs.³ Variations of /y/ were [y^w], [i^w], [yw] or [iw], while /æ:/ in SD occurred mostly as [ɪ³] as expected to happen in the case of ND.

Formant values were extracted manually on a digital spectrogram on Praat. The vowel nucleus (20–80 %) was considered whilst the starting points and end points of each vowel were discarded due to the co-articulation influence of the neighbouring consonantal sounds. These points offered a uniform and linear shape in spectrographic analysis. Segments were analysed for their F1, F2 and F3 values.

3.1 Averages

The average values of the first three formants in Table 3 were made for the about 25 tokens of each of the 13 monophthong vowels for each speaker. The acoustic analysis of vowels is based on quantitative based formant data and is preferred to qualitative assessment. The computing averages below were measured on R and therefore the values below are affected by the different phonetic events as discussed above, especially in the case of /æ/ where formant values were elicited in an unstressed environment.

An overview of the cross gender acoustic average values shows that whilst gender is a main effect on formant values, there is a distinction between the male and female averages in ND and SD. Whilst in ND this difference is clear, in SD such distinction is not as marked as one would expect. F1 of male and female speakers of SD are very similar in all vowels. The biggest F1 difference is recorded in /e/ (70 Hz) whilst no difference is seen in the value of F1 in /ɐ/. Physiological differences are universal traits, however they vary from one language to another and there are also language dependent (Pépiot 2013).

2 R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing. www.r-project.org.

3 Praat: Doing Phonetics by Computer. www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat.

TABLE 3. The mean values of F1, F2 and F3 of male and female speakers of ND and SD.

Dialect	Gender		[i:]	[ɪ]	[ɪ:]	[ɛ]	[ɛ:]	[æ]	[e]	[e:]	[ɔ]	[ɔ:]	[ʊ]	[ʊ:]	[u:]
ND	M	F1	308	399	341	548	551	553	624	667	515	507	420	391	351
	F	F1	323	445	368	694	676	656	748	848	602	623	473	427	371
	M	F2	2223	1767	2131	1622	1752	1464	1274	1311	1046	1017	1119	854	912
	F	F2	2599	2158	2560	1901	2025	1821	1488	1478	1263	1206	1304	919	1018
	M	F3	2949	2612	2735	2616	2682	2610	2500	2589	2304	2336	2403	2386	2308
	F	F3	3085	2948	3066	2936	2953	2928	2931	2945	2945	2981	3009	3009	3016
SD	M	F1	303	380	341	553	492	517	598	661	493	504	420	410	340
	F	F1	339	410	400	580	516	556	671	729	522	543	420	435	364
	M	F2	2352	1829	2223	1580	1841	1565	1366	1365	1005	1042	1011	864	853
	F	F2	2458	2040	2366	1806	2075	1764	1476	1463	1211	1261	1260	993	1067
	M	F3	3192	2598	2690	2626	2599	2542	2634	2617	2392	2404	2299	2425	2391
	F	F3	2985	2896	2939	2897	2908	2922	2896	2892	2922	2937	2972	2992	2925

4 Results

Data analysed was collected in a datasheet and tested on R. One-way ANOVA tests and their effect size (η^2) were tested according to the independent variables of gender and dialect. Acoustic vowel spaces are also plotted on R according to their F1 and F2 mean values to avoid any superimpositions due to the large amount of data collected. Figures 2–5 below show 13 vowels per dialect, and not 15, due to the diphthongal realisations of /y/ and /æ:/ discussed above.

4.1 Analysis of results: Gender variation

Figures 2 and 3 below show the vowel plotting according to the gender of the participants. Gender variation was an expected universal variable due to physiological differences in their vocal tract between males and females despite such a difference not being big enough in certain incidences.

Vowel quality of male participants of ND and SD differed significantly in 6 out of the 13 vowels (front: /i:/, /ɪ/, /ɪ:/, /ɛ:/, /æ/; back: /ɔ:/) whilst in the case of female participants, significant variance was observed in 11 out of the 13 vowels (front: /i:/, /ɪ/, /ɪ:/, /ɛ/, /ɛ:/, /æ/; central: /e/, /e:/; back: /ɔ/, /ɔ:/, /ʊ/), showing that there are both inter-dialectal

and intra-dialectal differences in the dialects in question. The back vowels showed the least acoustical differences whilst significant variance is present in all front vowels. As for the central vowels /ɐ/ and /e:/ no significant variance was recorded in the case of the male values whilst in the case of the female participants, significant variance was present in both vowels.

It has also been observed that female participants of both dialects make more use of the vowel space present in the vowel chart whilst the vowels of male participants are more restricted in terms of vowel space. Another distinction between male and female participants is observed in the front-back position of the vowels. The vowels of female participants present are in a more fronted position than that of the male counterparts.

The repeated measures by single-way ANOVA on vowel duration for both dialect and gender revealed a significant main effect on formant values meaning that it does not only show quantitative differences but also qualitative differences. The significant effect of vowel duration on vowel category for both dialects confirms such a statement. This qualitative difference between short vowel (SV) vs long vowels (LV) is consistent in all vowels where this dichotomy exists, except for the /ɔ/-/ɔ:/ distinction in male participants where only durational difference was observed (ND: F1: [F = 0.01, p < 0.91]; F2: [F = 4.80, p < 0.06.]; F3: [F = 2.13, p < 0.15]; SD: [F1: F = 2.07, p < 0.15]; F2: [F = 0.54, p < 0.46]; F3: [F = 0.33, p < 0.57]). To the contrary of what has been observed in the auditory studies of Said (2007) and Farrugia (2010).

Another important characteristic of vowel length is seen in the position of front and back vowels. For both male and female participants, the long vowels /ɪ:-/ɔ:/ have closer proximity to the long vowels /i:-/u:/ rather than to their short vowel counterparts /ɪ/-/ɔ/.

It has also been noted that vowel height of front and back vowels is symmetrical for both dialects. The F1 value of vowels /ɪ/-/ɔ/; /ɪ:-/ɔ:/; /i:-/u:/ is very similar. Such symmetry has been observed in vowel inventories having only a small number of vowels, whilst in varieties with bigger vowel inventories, especially Romance and Anglo-Saxon varieties, front vowels tend to have a higher F1 than their back vowel counterparts (Escudero et al. 2009). The two pairs which are not symmetrical are the half-open front vowels /ɛ/ and /ɛ:/ and the half-open back vowels /ɔ/ and /ɔ:/.

4.1.1 Male participants

Front vowels of male participants, in fact, showed a more central position than expected (see Figure 2). Vowel /ɪ/ is, in fact, closer to the other front long vowel /i:/ than to its short counterpart /ɪ/, showing that vowel length is not only a quantitative factor in terms of duration but also qualitative. On the other hand, /ɪ/ is observed to have a closer front-back position, which is often associated with half-open front vowels. For half-open vowels /ɛ/ and /ɛ:/, in both SD and ND, /ɛ:/ has a more front a position than /ɛ/, which on the other hand, has a more central position. Vowel /æ/ is also shares

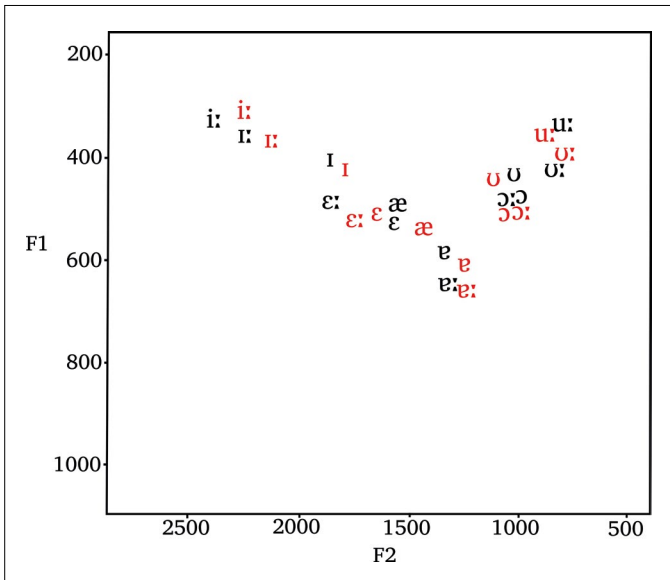


FIGURE 2.
Vowel plotting of
male participants
of SD (black)
and ND (red).

a more central position. Such results show that closed and half-open short front vowels have a lower F2 value than expected, making their vowel positioning more backwards, thus making their position more central in the vowel chart. In SD, ANOVA and effect size results show that /ɛ/ and /æ/ have the same acoustic quality in all three formants: (F1: [F = 7.49, $p < 0.00705^{**}$]; F2: [F = 0.46, $p < 0.4957$, $\eta^2 = 0.05$]; F3: [F = 7.16, $p < 0.008365^{**}$]). However, it is to bear in mind that /æ/ was analysed in an unaccented position to the contrary of /ɛ/. An auditory analysis confirmed the different auditory quality. Qualitative differences due to vowel length have been observed in the central open vowel /ɐ/ and /e:/. Whilst sharing the same front-back positions, /ɐ/ has a higher position due to a lower F1 value in both SD and NS.

For back vowels, the only instance where SD and ND differ is /ɔ/ (F1 [F = 0.2069, $p < 0.65$]; F2: [F = 49.024; $p < 1.13e-10^{***}$]; F3 [F = 7.8387; $p < 0.005876^{**}$]), where SD has a more backward position than that of Naduri. The vowels /ɔ:/ and /ɔ/ are the only examples where a durational distinction has been observed in both ND [F1: F = 0.014, $p < 0.9061$]; F2: [F = 4.80, $p < 0.05731$]; F3: [F = 2.13, $p < 0.1463$]) and SD (F1: [F = 2.07, $p < 0.153$]; F2: [F = 0.54, $p < 0.462$]; F3: [F = 0.326, $p < 0.569$]).

4.1.2 Female participants

A distinctive characteristic of the vowels of female participants is the bigger number of inter- and intra-dialectal features present in both dialects (see Figure 3). The F1 value of the SD vowels is generally lower than that of ND, thus having a higher

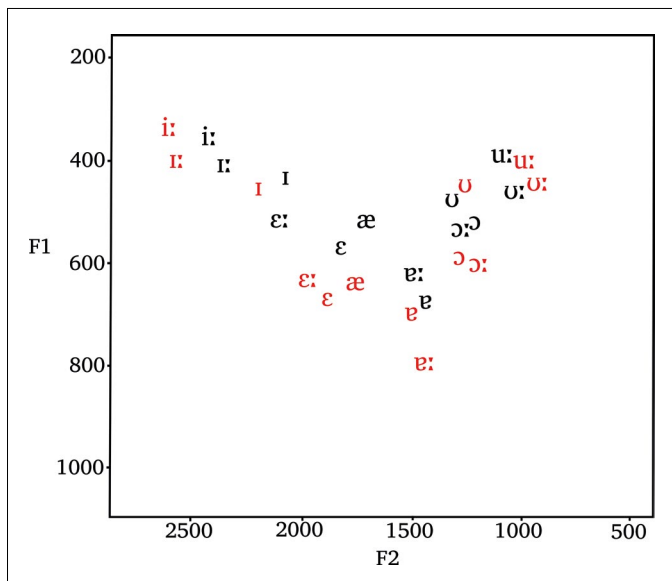


FIGURE 3.
Vowel plotting of
female participants
of ND (red)
and SD (black).

position on the chart, except for the two front vowels /i:/ and /ɪ/. On the other hand, the closed (/i:/, ɪ, ɪ:/) and mid-open (/ɛ, ɛ:/, æ/) front vowels of ND have a higher F2 value, and thus a more front position that those of SD, to the contrary of what happens in the case of the values of male participants, except for /ɛ/ and /ɛ:/ (see Figure 2).

A characteristic, which is similar to male participants, is the vowel position of the closed front and back vowels /ɔ:/ and /ɪ:/, which is closer to /u:/ and /i:/ rather than to their short vowel counterparts /ɔ/ and /ɪ/, which further confirms the assumption that vowel length influences vowel quality. Another similar characteristic is the more central position of mid-open front vowels /ɛ/ and /ɛ:/. However in ND, /ɛ:/ has a higher F1 value and its position is below its short counterpart /ɛ/ whilst in SD, the same vowel has closer proximity to /ɪ/ rather than to /ɛ/. The same vowel position can be observed in the formant plotting of the male speakers of Sannati. Another similar observable pattern of SD is that vowels /ɛ/ and /æ/ share the same vowel space, and the significant difference present in the ANOVA results (F1: [F = 6.53, $p < 0.012^*$]; F2: [F = 5.22, $p < 0.024^*$]; F3: [F = 0.25, $p < 0.616$]) does not have an effect size large enough for vowel quality to be deemed as different (F1: $\eta^2 = 0.04$; F2: $\eta^2 = 0.03$).

The central open vowel /ɐ:/ of SD shares the same vowel space of vowel /ɐ/ of ND. ANOVA results show significant differences in both F1 (F = 5.58, $p < 0.020^*$) and F2 (F = 6.57, $p < 0.024^*$) but the test on effect size shows that the size, if different, is very small in both formants (F1: $\eta^2 = 0.003$; F2: $\eta^2 = 0.03$) to be considered as having different qualities.

Back vowels tend to differ from the values recorded for male participants. Out of the 5 vowels, no significant difference has been recorded for /ɜ:/ and /u:/ in ND and SD. On the other hand, it has been observed that in both ND and SD, there is only a marginal difference in the acoustic quality of /ɔ/ and /ɔ:/ in both dialects SD (F1: [F = 5.15, p < 0.025*]; F2 [F = 9.08, p < 0.002**]; F3: [F = 0.2465, p < 0.62]) and ND (F1: F = 4.46, p < 0.037*]; F2: [F = 10.08, p < 0.001**]; F3: [(F = 1.58, p < 0.210)). Also, whilst /ɔ:/ has a higher F2 value than /ɔ/ in SD, these values are reversed in ND. The same pattern is observed in the front-back position of /ɜ:/ and /ɜ/.

4.2 Dialectal variation

Figure 4 and 5 below show the vowel plotting of the male and female participants of SD and ND respectively. The vowel space for female and male participants is different in both dialects. Whilst both dialects show gender differences, it also shows that between-subject effects are present in both dialects. Vowel position of male and female participants is parallel in both dialects showing that both male and female speakers of the same dialect have vowel systems which are consistent despite the acoustic and statistical differences as discussed above. However, vowel positioning is different. A clear example is the /ɜ/ vowel of SD where the position of /ɜ/ vowels of male participants is close to the /ɜ:/ vowel of female participants, whilst this is not the case for ND.

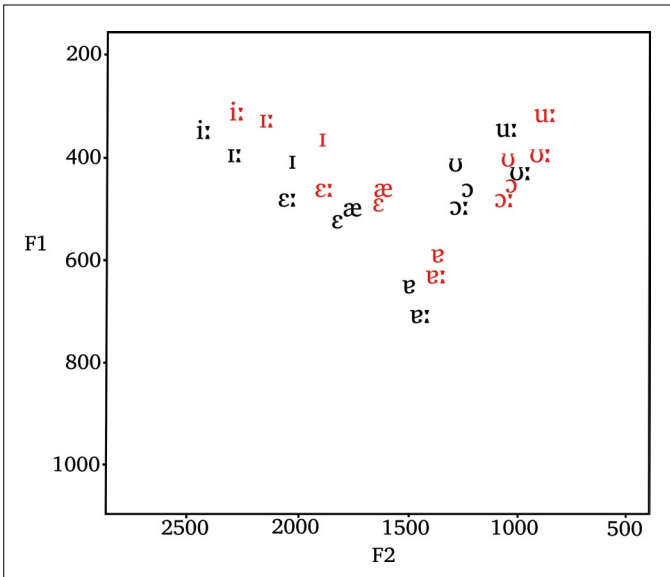


FIGURE 4. Vowel plotting of male and female participants of SD.

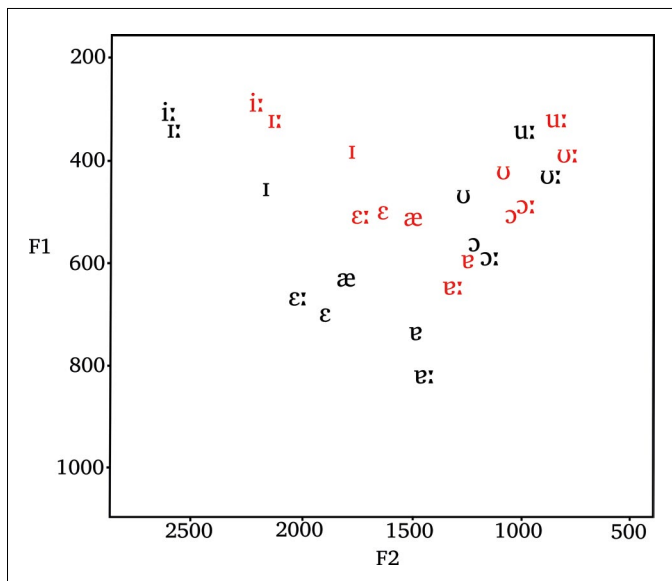


FIGURE 5.
Vowel plotting of
male and female
participants of ND.

SD is more symmetrical than that of ND. The vowel systems of male and female speakers of SD are equidistant to each other, with the females' vowel system being more central. In the case of ND, the vowels systems of male and female participants make better use of the vowel space present in the vowels chart despite not being equidistant to each other, especially in the back vowels. The vowel system of females of ND is more central than that of male participants', as in SD.

4.3 Vowels /y/ and /æ:/

The vowels /y/ and /æ:/, as mentioned above, both occur only in an accented position when present in a CVC construction. If an unaccented vowel is added to the CVC construction, both vowels change quality to /u:/ and /ɪ:/ respectively. The phonological process of /y/ to /ɪ:/ is the same for both dialects. However, in Said (2007) and Farrugia (2010) and the pilot study of the present study, it has been observed that both vowels do not always occur as monophthongs when present in an accented position. During the extraction of vowel formants, however, it has been observed that both vowels seldom occurred as monophthongs and in the instances where they presented themselves as such; there was not enough data for a quantitative study to be carried out. In fact, other allophones of the /y/ were [y^w], [i^w], [y^w] or [i^w] for both dialects. On the other hand, the vowel /æ:/ presented the [ɪ³] variant. An auditory and acoustic observation showed that the Sannati dialect in fact did not present the [ɛ^ɐ] variant as stated in Farrugia (2010) but the [ɪ³] just like in Naduri.

5 Conclusion

The study presents sociolinguistic, cross-dialectal and intra-linguistic concepts apart from an acoustic analysis of the vowels of two dialects. The study has shown that despite the Malta's small size, there are different dialectal varieties that differentiate themselves not only auditorily but also acoustically. This study does not only present the acoustic properties of vowels of SD and ND but also shows how their acoustic properties. Gender differences and phonetic variations, such as vowel length and vowel space between and within the two dialects, show that there are many acoustic components yet to be analysed in Maltese phonetics.

Despite the lack of local acoustic literature, the study has applied acoustic principles and measurements to what was previously known about the two dialects in question. This study did not only give new insights into how Maltese dialects differ on an acoustic level but has also given a better understanding of how future acoustic studies could be carried out. Future studies on vowel length and the realisations of vowels /æ:/ and /y/, for example, would give a better picture of the mechanisms that the different Maltese varieties use.

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Vowel Length in Maltese Dialects of Gozo

ABSTRACT The first part of this article is focused on previous works on the subject, which discuss the vowel system of standard Maltese (SM). The review will show the multiplicity of approaches and lack of unanimity among researchers in describing the vowel inventory of a language assumed to have been standardised. The second part discusses publications that deal with vowel systems in Maltese dialects and focuses on the vowel system of Gozitan dialects, based on the author's fieldwork.

KEYWORDS field research, Gozitan dialects, Gozo, Malta, Maltese dialectology, vowel, vowel length

1 Introduction

Maltese is not only described by Semitic language scholars, including Arabic dialectologists, but also—and this should be emphasised—general linguists, which makes it quite well represented in general linguistic publications. This is probably due to the fact that Maltese is standardised (although still not entirely), has a wealth of literature and is written in an alphabet based on Roman script. As in works on general linguistics, examples from Standard Arabic are most often used, rather than from its dialects. The same applies to standard Maltese (SM). Such an approach completely blurs the linguistic reality of the Maltese Republic. General linguists show us a situation that has little to do with the linguistic reality of Maltese. There are many reasons for this. One of them is that Arabic dialectologists have not carried out any major fieldwork since Stumme's studies at the beginning of the 20th century, even to at least confirm his over 100-year-old findings. Obviously, some research has been carried out, but it is quite limited. Another factor is that Maltese studies to date have almost completely omitted dialectological research and even if there have been any trials, they are usually based on the methodology used to study Indo-European languages

(especially English dialectology) and focus on lexicography. However, dialectology is not lexicography. While all Maltese words may be found in the language's dictionaries (e.g. Agius 2010; Aquilina 1987; 1990; Barbera 1939–1940; Ellul 2020; Moser 2005; Serracino-Inglott 1975–2003; 2016 etc.), users of the language themselves often do not know them. Thousands of people on the island of Gozo do not know words like *ħaġeb* ('eyebrow'), even though it appears in probably every Maltese lexicon.¹

The current language situation in Malta and Gozo—the two main islands of the Maltese archipelago—is somewhat more complicated than can be inferred from most publications. While the standard language is the subject of general linguistics and Arabic dialectology, inhabitants of Malta and Gozo use mainly dialects in everyday communication. It is therefore surprising that it is not Maltese dialects that are of interest to Arabic dialectologists but only SM. This may be due to the fact that Maltese written texts are easy to understand for people with knowledge of Arabic because the Maltese alphabet reflects the origin of the language, not its today's pronunciation.

The main focus of this paper is the vowel length in Gozitan dialects, taking into account the findings to date on Maltese vowel system(s) and its dialects. First discussed is a selection of earlier publications where the issue of vowel systems in the standard language is addressed.² I use the term 'standard' here to distinguish between Maltese, which functions primarily in written form, and the dialects used on a daily basis. A comparison of previous descriptions of Maltese vowel system(s) should show the diversity of approaches and lack of consensus among researchers in describing the vowel inventory of the language, which is assumed to be standardised. The few existing publications that deal with vowel systems in Maltese dialects are then described. The paper concludes with a polemic about the vowel system and the vowel length in Gozitan dialects. All considerations and analyses are based on field research which has been carried out on the island of Gozo since 2015 (Klimiuk and Lipnicka 2019), including research currently undertaken as part of the project 'GozoDia: Gemeinschaftsorientierte dialektologische Studien zur Sprachdynamik der Insel Gozo (Malta)' ['GozoDia: Community-oriented dialectological studies on the linguistic dynamics of the island of Gozo (Malta)'] (2018–2021).

1 During field research carried out since 2015, we have met no one who knows this word, as well as many others that seem to belong to the basic Maltese vocabulary. Some of the words that appeared in the questionnaires used by Aquilina and Isserlin (1981) were also not known to Gozitans. There are many questions here relating to Aquilina and Isserlin's research. So did the Gozitan informants repeat the words of the interviewees?

2 In the examples from quoted publications, I keep the original transcription.

2 SM vowel system(s): Different approaches

Linguists working on Maltese agree that SM includes short and long vowels. For example, Borg³ (1997: 264–265) indicates that there are five short vowels in SM: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, and gives examples of minimal pairs. Unfortunately, three out of ten possible pairs (*i*:*e*, *i*:*a*, *i*:*o*, *i*:*u*, *e*:*a*, *e*:*o*, *e*:*u*, *a*:*o*, *a*:*u*, *o*:*u*) are examples of differentiation between only syllables and not whole words:

- i* : *a* *wisa* ‘breadth’ : *wasal* ‘he arrived,’
i : *u* *siwi* ‘value’ : *suwed* ‘black (pl.),’
a : *u* *dawwar* ‘he turned’ : *duwwa* ‘medicine.’ (Borg 1997: 264–265)

On the basis of the minimal pairs found, Borg raises an important issue in his article about the phonemic status of a short vowel *u*. He writes the following:

[...] vocalic contrasts involving /u/ are systemically weak in SM. Though /u/ is formally part of the M[altese] short vowel system—note its fairly widespread occurrence in unstressed syllables [...]. The low functional yield of the *u* : *o* contrast in SM misled Cohen (1970 [1970a]: 140) into assigning the vowel [u] purely allophonic status in the SM sound system. However, there can be little doubt that the occurrence of stressed [u] in several well-integrated Italian terms of a learned nature and in certain recent loans from English justifies the assigning of full functional status to short stressed /u/ [...]. (Borg 1997: 265)

As far as long vowels are concerned, Borg lists six of them: *i*ː, *i*ː, *e*ː, *a*ː, *o*ː, *u*ː (Borg 1997: 268), and emphasises that Maltese has maintained the opposition between long and short vowels in open stressed syllables (Borg 1997: 266).⁴ He also gives three minimal pairs to confirm the vowel length in SM:

- i* : *i*ː *nizel* ‘he descended’ : *ni:zel* ‘descending (m.),’
a : *a*ː *ġara* ‘it happened’ : *ġa:ra* ‘her neighbour,’
o : *o*ː *omma* ‘her mother’ : *o:mma* ‘sadness.’ (Borg 1997: 266)

Following Borg’s concept of the occurrence of a long vowel *i*ː which is the result of the monophthongisation of a diphthong *ie* (ʰ*e*), i.e. an *imāla* in Maltese, the word *nizel* should be transcribed as *ni:zel*.⁵ A pair of words *nizel* : *ni:zel*, would no longer be a minimal pair

3 Using only the surname ‘Borg,’ I quote Alexander Borg’s publications. In the case of Albert Borg, however, I systematically refer to ‘Alb. Borg’ in order not to confound my readers.

4 The same vowel system was presented by Borg (1978: 56–73) in his dissertation, in which he wrote long vowels as *iy* (in Borg [1997] as *i*ː), *ii* (in Borg [1997] as *i*ː), *ee*, *aa*, *oo*, *uu*.

5 See Borg (1976) on the *imāla* in Maltese.

if we assume, like Borg, that there is a phoneme *ɪ* and phoneme *iː*. Another solution would be to replace the vowel *i* in the system of short vowels with the vowel *ɪ*.

However, slightly earlier Aquilina (1959: 18), in his grammar *The Structure of Maltese*, distinguishes five short (unpharyngealised) vowels *a, e, i, o, u* and five long (unpharyngealised) vowels *aː, eː, iː, oː, uː*. He also listed the so-called pharyngealised vowels. Among the long vowels, therefore, no distinction is made between *iː* and *ɪː* as in Borg (1978; 1997).

Aquilina, who continued to focus in his grammar on the description of quantity criteria and vowel positions, did not call the examples he provided explicitly minimal pairs, confirming the presence of the vowel length. However, they can readily be found among the words he referred to, e.g.

- a : aː* *ħali* ‘waste’ : *ħaːli* ‘prodigal (m.),’
 ħalya ‘a waste’ : *ħaːlya* ‘prodigal (f.),’ (Aquilina 1959: 20)
 dara ‘he got used to’ : *daːra* ‘her house,’
 jara ‘it happened’ : *jaːra* ‘neighbour,’
 ħara ‘he evacuated his bowels’ : *ħaːra* ‘a district,’ (Aquilina 1959: 21)
- e : eː* *fena* ‘to accuse’ : *feːna* ‘scene,’
 mela ‘to fill’ : *Meːla* ‘short for Kar‘meːla, a Christian name,’
 (Aquilina 1959: 26)
- i : iː* *mili* ‘filling’ : *miːli* ‘miles,’
 fini ‘languishing’ : *fiːni* ‘aim,’ ‘there is in me,’ ‘astute.’ (Aquilina 1959: 31)

In their ‘question-answer’ grammar of Maltese, Alb. Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander state that there are five short and six long vowels, although they also omit one of them in their figures—*uː* (Alb. Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 303). They present the Maltese monophthongs by showing orthographic and phonetic realisation, as shown in Table 1:

TABLE 1. SM vowels based on Alb. Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 299).

	Orthographic	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ie</i>
short	Phonetic	<i>e</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɪ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ʊ</i>	
long		<i>eː</i>	<i>ɛː</i>	<i>ɪː</i>	<i>ɔː</i>	<i>uː</i>	<i>ɪː</i>

It is not entirely clear why the authors write about phonetic realisation when they mean phonemes, which in any case have allophones. It should be made clear here that the allophones are a phonetic realisation of a phoneme, a basic unit of the phonological structure. Alb. Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 303–304) even list various allophones in SM, but they do not give any minimal pair. The vowel inventory they have presented is equivalent to that described by Borg (1978; 1997).

In the context of these considerations, it is also worth quoting Ambros’s findings from his textbook on SM. He distinguishes five short vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*), noting

that there is no opposition between *u* and *o* in words derived from Arabic (Ambros 1998: 23–24). However, he goes on to point out that among six long vowels, four come from Arabic *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ie* (< **ā*) and two, *ē*, *ō*, are imported ('mitimportiert') from Italian or appear as a result of loss ('Schwund') of Arabic consonants: *ʕ*, *ġ* and *h* (Ambros 1998: 39). To confirm his deliberations, he gives some examples of minimal pairs:

- ie* : *i* *liebsa* 'gekleidet (f.)' : *libsa* 'Kleid,'
 nieżla 'herabsteigend (f.)' : *nizla* 'Abstieg,'
 ġierja 'laufend (f.)' : *ġirja* 'Lauf,'
ā : *a* *ħâra* 'Straße, Wohngegend' : *ħara* '(Vulg.) Exkrement.' (Ambros 1998: 39)

Ambros is also the only one to give two pairs of words in which, in addition to the vowel length, there is primarily the opposition of stress:

- (*a* : *ā*) *faħħar* 'rühmen' : *faħħâr* 'Prahler; Schmeichler,'
 ħammar 'rotfärben' : *ħammâr* 'Rotfärber.' (Ambros 1998: 39)

These two examples of pairs are significant for further consideration of the vowel length in Gozitan dialects. It is probably easy to identify further pairs with a pattern like CaCCaC : CaCCâC, where in the first word a vowel will be stressed in the first closed syllable and in the second word in the last closed syllable. As these two examples from Ambros (1998: 39) illustrate, much more attention should be paid to stress or intonation. Perhaps these suprasegmental features may play a much greater role than the vowel length in some Maltese/Gozitan dialects.

It seems, therefore, that in SM it is quite difficult to find such pairs of words with different meanings in which there would be a clear opposition between short and long vowels. At this point, I reject any opposition only between syllables and not whole words that would confirm the presence of a particular distinctive feature, which is the vowel length in this case. If this strategy were adopted in Maltese (dialects), we would probably be dealing with an extremely extensive vowel system, in which certain allophones would have to be considered as phonemes.

3 Maltese and Gozitan dialects and their vowel systems: Even more different approaches?

In this section three publications (Schabert 1976; Camilleri and Vanhove 1994; Puech 1994) are discussed, in which authors describe vowel inventories in some Maltese dialects. Unfortunately, there are simply no other publications that would provide reliable, strictly dialectological information on Maltese dialects.

In his description of Maltese phonology and morphology, Schabert uses language data obtained from two variants—the dialect of San Ġiljan and the dialect of Marsaxlokk (Schabert 1976: 9–11). As he explains, his choice is based on the supposition that ‘[...] sie etwa die beiden äusseren Enden der Bandbreite bilden, auf der sich die Mundarten Maltas bewegen’ (Schabert 1976: 9). It is not entirely clear what the author means when he writes that Maltese dialects ‘move’ (‘sich bewegen’) between ‘two outer ends of the range’ (‘die beiden äusseren Enden der Bandbreite’). Schabert’s research assumptions sound exceptionally momentous and may imply that his grammatical description includes dialects stretching between San Ġiljan in the Central Region of Malta and Marsaxlokk in the South Eastern Region.

However, Schabert wrote primarily a comparative study in which he used language data from two different dialects, which should also be classified in two other dialect groups—San Ġiljan is an urban dialect belonging to Maltese port dialects, while Marsaxlokk is a rural dialect and shares a number of features common to Gozitan dialects, which are also rural. Schabert (1976: 10) among the characteristics of the Marsaxlokk dialect distinguishes an *išmām* (also known as *tafxīm*) $\bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{u}$), a ‘strong’ diphthongisation and a ‘stronger’ pharyngealisation than in San Ġiljan. His grammar therefore presents data from two different dialects, but most importantly for our considerations, Schabert describes their vowel systems. San Ġiljan has four short vowels, three pharyngealised vowels and four (+ two?) long vowels, as shown in Table 2:

TABLE 2. San Ġiljan vowel system based on Schabert (1976: 16).

short		<i>a</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>		
	pharyngealised	<i>ɑ</i>	<i>æ̠</i>		<i>ɔ</i>		
long		<i>ā</i>	(<i>ǣ</i>)	<i>ī</i>	(<i>ō</i>)	<i>ū</i>	<i>î</i>

The long vowels $\bar{æ}$ and \bar{o} appear only in borrowings and may be pronounced as long or shortened to æ and ɔ , and in addition, the vowel $\bar{æ}$ is sometimes replaced by \hat{i} (Schabert 1976: 17). The author also quotes an anecdote concerning the long vowel \bar{o} , when the teacher of his informant’s daughter corrected the pronunciation of his speaker, who did not pronounce this vowel as long:

Meine Informanten hatten zum größten Teil ein ziemlich konservatives Phonemsystem, das z. B. kein / \bar{o} / enthält. So wurde mir von einem Informanten erzählt, die Lehrerin seiner kleinen Tochter sei eine /*soru*/ ‘Klosterschwester’, was seine Frau dazu veranlasste, ihn zu verbessern: /*sōru*/ müsse er sagen. Außerdem sagten sie beispielsweise regelmäßig /*bil-mod*/ ‘langsam’ statt SM /*bil-mōd*/. (Schabert 1976: 10)

One of the users of the dialect of San Ġiljan had a different type of vowel system, as shown in Table 3:

TABLE 3. Distinct San Ġiljan vowel system based on Schabert (1976: 17).

short		<i>a</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>		
	pharyngealised	<i>ā</i>	<i>ǣ</i>		<i>ō</i>		
long		<i>ā</i>		<i>ī</i>		<i>ū</i>	<i>î</i>

Vowels *ā*, *ǣ* and *ō* replace three pharyngealised vowels *a*, *æ*, *ɔ*, respectively, while the vowel *ā* is also maintained among the long unpharyngealised vowels. Schabert argues his decision not to classify *ā* (< *a*), *ǣ* and *ō* among long ones as follows:

Diese /*ǣ*/, /*ō*/ und /*ā*/ < /*a*/ verhalten sich aber insofern nicht wie die übrigen langen Vokale (bzw. nicht wie /*ā*/ < **ā*), als sie der Kürzung bei Akzentverlust nicht unterliegen, so dass es auch bei diesen Sprechern gerechtfertigt erscheint, sie nicht der Klasse der Langvokale /*ī*, *ū*, *î*, *ō*, *ǣ*, *ā*/ zuzurechnen. (Schabert 1976: 17)

Unfortunately, Schabert does not give any minimal pair in his description to confirm the opposition between long and short vowels in the urban dialect of San Ġiljan.

As far as the Marsaxlokk dialect is concerned, its vowel system is characterised by four short vowels, three pharyngealised and two (+ one?) long vowels, as shown in Table 4:

TABLE 4. Marsaxlokk vowel system based on Schabert (1976: 17).

short		<i>a</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>		
	pharyngealised	<i>ɑ</i>	<i>ǽ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>		
long			(<i>ǣ</i>)		<i>ō</i>		<i>î</i>

It seems that any Arabic dialectologist who does not even have the knowledge of Maltese rural dialects is immediately conspicuous by the absence of the long vowel *ā*, which indicates the presence of the *išmām* in these varieties. Since the long vowel **ā* in the dialect of Marsaxlokk has been replaced by the vowel *ō*, in order to prove the occurrence of long vowel phonemes, it is necessary to find minimal pairs for the pair *o* : *ō*. However, the author does not give any examples of minimal pairs. My search for such pairs in his grammar and registered text has come to nothing. As for the long vowels *ī* and *ū*, they do not appear in the system, as Schabert (1976: 17) writes, due to diphthongisation. Apparently, the author did not recognise pausal forms in this case

(Borg 1977; Klimiuk 2017; Lipnicka 2017a; 2017b; 2022), as illustrated by the examples quoted by him and a sample registered text (Schabert 1976: 226–233). It is curious and remarkable that not once during his fieldwork had he encountered contextual forms where no diphthongs would appear, as is the case with Gozitan dialects.⁶ Perhaps his questionnaire was not prepared to register contextual forms either, or he did not collect the relevant recordings.⁷ His description of the Marsaxlokk vowel system indicates that the length is only phonetic.

Another important piece of information on the vowel system of Maltese dialects is an article by Camilleri and Vanhove (1994) on the dialect of Mġarr on the island of Malta. The authors distinguish in this dialect, as shown Table 5, four short vowels and as many long vowels:

TABLE 5. Mġarr vowel system based on Camilleri and Vanhove (1994: 95).

short		<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>		
long				<i>ī</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ig</i>

As in the case of the Marsaxlokk dialect, the lack of a long vowel *ā* is noteworthy due to the presence of an *išmām* in this dialect too which, just like the dialect of Marsaxlokk, is rural. However, Camilleri and Vanhove note that the long vowel *ā* appears in the recordings they have collected in three words. That is what they write about it:

We saw that /ō/ in Mġarri corresponds to /ɔ̄/ or /ā/ in standard Maltese, and that whenever an [ā] is found it is due to the presence of the virtual phoneme /^o/ ⁸ and has to be interpreted as a phonological short vowel. There are three exceptions to this rule in the corpus.

Two are borrowings from Italian: [brávu] ‘very clever,’ [kanadá] ‘Canada.’

The third one comes from an Arabic word with a short /a/ (also short in standard Maltese): [mára] ‘woman.’ (Camilleri and Vanhove 1994: 99)

It seems that it is difficult to draw any far-reaching conclusions without the context of speech, the place in the phrase of these words, the type of sentences or the emphasis with which they were pronounced. The pronunciation of the word *mára* ‘woman’

6 See for example a text from Sannat (Gozo) in this volume by Klimiuk and Farrugia (2022).

7 Klimiuk and Lipnicka (2019) draw attention to questionnaires in which data must be collected both in pausa and in context.

8 Camilleri and Vanhove (1994) use the term ‘virtual phoneme’ under the influence of Cohen’s works, who used it to describe the phonology of the dialect of Tunis (Cohen 1970b: 166), and then also in his studies of Maltese phonology (Cohen 1970a: 131, 139). In his earlier work, he did not describe it as virtual (Cohen 1967: 166). Vanhove (1993) then uses this term also in her work.

with a long vowel may just indicate that once again the length is only a phonetic feature and not a phonological one.

The authors also point out that the difference in the smaller number of long vowels in the dialect of Mġarr compared to SM ‘may account for a lesser influence of Siculo-Italian on Imġarri than on standard Maltese’ (Camilleri and Vanhove 1994: 95). I think it is not so much the ‘influence of Siculo-Italian’ but rather of the people who influenced the development, formation and creation of the standard language, the dialects on which SM was based, their knowledge of Italian, their degree of education etc.

The article by Camilleri and Vanhove is, above all, crucial to the consideration here because of the ‘minimal pairs’ found by researchers to confirm the presence of length opposition in the dialect of Mġarr. The authors contrast four pairs of vowels (and a diphthong *ie*):

$\bar{o} : o$	/dómna/ ‘medal’ : /tómna/ ‘land measure,’
$\bar{u} : o$	/fū/ ‘on’ : /fóra/ ‘poor,’ /ġūh/ ‘hunger’ : /hóġor/ ‘lap,’
$\bar{i} : i$	/bídu/ ‘with his hand’ : /bídu/ ‘beginning,’
$\bar{ie} : i$	/mi \bar{e} t/ ‘he died’ : /mitt/ ([mit]) ‘hundred.’ (Camilleri and Vanhove 1994: 96)

In order to prove the presence of vowel length in the dialect of Mġarr, it would be necessary to find minimal pairs for two oppositions $i : \bar{i}$ and $o : \bar{o}$. Unfortunately, all the pairs found by Camilleri and Vanhove are not up to the expected standard as far as the opposition between the two words is concerned. The pair *dómna* ‘medal’ : *tómna* ‘land measure’ is also the opposition between the voiced consonant *d* and the unvoiced consonant *t*. In fact, this pair may be used as confirmation of the presence of two consonant phonemes *d* and *t*. The juxtaposition *fū* ‘on’ : *fóra* ‘poor’ could be considered appropriate if the minimal pair is a syllable pair. However, it would be good if both words had the same number of syllables, in this case two. Another example of two words *ġūh* ‘hunger’ : *hóġor* ‘lap’ is completely wrong and no argument is made for using it as any minimal pair. The opposition *bídu* ‘with his hand’ : *bídu* ‘beginning’ seems to be accurate at first glance, but *bídu* ‘with his hand’ is a combination of words: the preposition *b-* ‘with,’ the noun *íd* ‘hand,’ and the pronominal suffix *-u* ‘his.’ There is also another question of whether the vowel *i* in the word *bídu* ‘beginning’ is by any chance not the vowel *ɪ* (also written here as $\bar{\partial}$), as in Gozitan dialects. The last pair are the opposition of rising diphthong $\bar{y}e$ (which starts with a semivowel \bar{y} and ends with a vowel *e*) and a vowel *i* (\bar{i} ?, $\bar{\partial}$?).

The minimal pairs mentioned by Camilleri and Vanhove may be barely the same proof that length is not a distinctive feature when it comes to vowel phonemes in the dialect of Mġarr. Also, three words with a long vowel \bar{a} (*brávu* ‘very clever,’ *kanadá* ‘Canada’ and *mára* ‘woman’) may prove that length is not a relevant feature in this case.

Puech (1994: 18–23) in the introduction to his book with Maltese ethnographic texts briefly discusses four types of vowel inventories of Maltese dialects. In the case of rural dialects—both Maltese and Gozitan—he distinguishes long diphthongised and undiphthongised vowels. As in the case of the dialect of Marsaxlokk, this is a phenomenon of diphthongisation in pausa.

As far as the vowel system of Gozitan dialects is concerned, Puech identifies four short vowels and five long vowels, two of which are diphthongised, as shown in Table 6:

TABLE 6. Gozitan vowel system based on Puech (1994: 18–20).

short		<i>a</i> / [ɒ]	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɪ</i>		<i>σ</i>
long	diphthongised			<i>i:</i>		<i>u:</i>
	undiphthongised	<i>ɑ:</i>	<i>ɛ:</i> / [æ:]	<i>ɔ:</i> / [ɒ:]		<i>σ:</i>

Another vowel system discussed concerns the so-called quadrilateral (‘quadrilatère’) of Żurrieq, Safi, Kirkop, Mqabba and Qrendi, located in the Southern Region of Malta (see Table 7). Puech stresses that the system of short vowels is the same as in Gozitan dialects, there are also two diphthongised vowels, but the realisation of a vowel *i:* as a diphthong *oi* fades away. In addition, it is possible to list probably four (or three excluding *σ:*) long undiphthongised vowels and their allophones. The word ‘probably’ here stems from the fact that it is sometimes extremely difficult to say what Puech means because his analysis is at times ambiguous. The author simply does not make it clear which long vowels are phonemes:

TABLE 7. Żurrieq vowel system based on Puech (1994: 20–21).

short		<i>a</i> / [ɒ]	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɪ</i>		<i>σ</i>
long	diphthongised			<i>i:</i>		<i>u:</i>
	undiphthongised	<i>ɑ:</i>	<i>ɛ:</i> / [æ:]		<i>ɔ:</i> / [ɒ:]	<i>σ:</i>

The third vowel system applies to Malta’s other rural dialects. Puech writes about four short vowels, two long diphthongised vowels and three undiphthongised ones, as shown in Table 8:

TABLE 8. Maltese rural vowel system based on Puech (1994: 21).

short		<i>a</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>ɪ</i> / [ɛ]		<i>σ</i> / [ɔ]
long	diphthongised			<i>i:</i>		<i>u:</i>
	undiphthongised	<i>ɑ:</i>	<i>ɛ:</i>		<i>ɔ:</i>	

The last vowel system proposed by Puech (Table 9) concerns urban dialects and SM, with five short vowels, specifying that vowel *ʊ* has acquired a marginal phonemic status, and five long vowels:

TABLE 9. Maltese urban and SM vowel system based on Puech (1994: 21–22).

short		<i>a</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɪ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	(<i>ʊ</i>)
long	diphthongised					
	undiphthongised	<i>a:</i>	<i>ɛ:</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>ɔ:</i>	<i>u:</i>

In the same way as Schabert, Puech in his collection of ethnographic texts does not give any minimal pairs to confirm the opposition between short and long vowels. Another problem that may arise from his analysis is that the long vowels are not always sufficiently and clearly described, making it sometimes difficult to determine which long vowels, according to Puech, may be phonemes.

All the authors mentioned here agree, however, that there are four short vowels in Gozitan and Maltese rural dialects. As far as long vowels are concerned, the discrepancies are already significant, mainly due to the adopted description model, including the way in which the vowel **ā* > SM *ie* is described, which can be implemented as a long vowel *ī* or a rising diphthong *ʲe*. This raises a number of problems of interpretation.

4 Gozitan vowel system and vowel length

Puech (1994: 18–20), who in the vowel system for Gozitan dialects (see Table 6) distinguishes four short vowels (*a*, *ɛ*, *ɪ*, *ʊ*) and five long ones (four undiphthongised *a:*, *ɛ:*, *ɔ:* / *ɔ:*, and two diphthongised *i:*, *u:*), does not give any minimal pairs to confirm his findings. Puech's texts show that his approach to describing the Gozitan vowel system was strictly phonetic and not phonological. This is quite surprising because when studying spoken Semitic languages/dialects, phonology should be the starting point. A slightly different approach was proposed by Schabert in his research into the dialect of Marsaxlokk, and by Camilleri and Vanhove in their description of the dialect of Mġarr.

None of the authors of studies on Maltese dialects has so far attempted to question the existence of vowel length in Gozitan dialects or, as previous analyses have also shown, probably all rural dialects in which the *išmām* phenomenon occurs. The reason for this approach could be seen in the influence of standard language on research into Maltese dialects. Studies to date take for granted the occurrence of opposition between long and short vowels. The presence of vowel length leads, as Lucas and

Čéplö (2020: 273) write, to the fact that ‘Maltese has a much richer vowel phoneme inventory than typical Maghrebi Arabic dialects, with, among the monophthongs [...], as well as seven distinct diphthongs.’ It is true that SM has more diphthongs than any Maghrebi Arabic dialects, but as research in Gozo also shows, the number of diphthongs may be lower.

Probably, the Maltese alphabet itself also has a great influence on the study of dialects. The way vowels are written may imply, for example, reading a short vowel *i* only as a phoneme *i* and not, for example, as *ə* or *ɪ*, which may also apply to the example of *bīdu* ‘beginning’ (Camilleri and Vanhove 1994: 96) already quoted. Another factor in this approach may be the methodology chosen by researchers, based, for example, on Roman or Germanic languages.

Field research carried out in the last few years in Gozo shows (Klimiuk and Lipnicka 2019) that it is not possible to find any minimal pair that would prove the opposition between long and short vowels in all sixteen Gozitan dialects studied.⁹ Attempts to find such pairs each time have failed. This is due to three basic characteristics of Gozitan dialects: the way of realisation of an *imāla*, an *išmām* and pausal forms.

The *imāla* in these dialects is still realised as a rising diphthong *ʏe* (*ʏə* etc.) or as a vowel *e*. In none of the dialects examined was the *imāla* pronounced as a long vowel *ī* [i:], as in SM. So it is impossible to find such minimal pairs as: *liebsa* (*libsa*) ‘dressed (f.)’ : *libsa* (*libsa*) ‘dress,’ *niežla* (*nīzla*) ‘descending (f.)’ : *nizla* (*nizla*) ‘way down.’ In Kerċem, for example, the pairs of these two words would be as follows:

ʏepsa ‘dressed (f.)’ – *ləpsa* ‘dress,’
nʏezla ‘descending (f.)’ – *nəzla* ‘way down.’

Another phenomenon—the *išmām* reduces the occurrence of the long vowel *ā*, which is demonstrated by the two earlier studies of dialects of Marsaxlokk and Mġarr discussed here (see Table 4 and Table 5). The long vowel *ā* does not appear in these dialects. Assuming that examples of opposition between *a* and *ā* would be found, it would then be worth checking whether the same syllable is stressed in both words, as was the case with Ambros’s examples (1998: 39). The stress can therefore be a distinctive feature.

Another key phenomenon for the vowel inventory of Gozitan dialects are pausal forms, which are characterised by the diphthongisation of vowels *u* and *i* in the last closed or open syllable (Lipnicka 2022). Their diachronic consonant environment—emphatic or non-emphatic, or a language of borrowings, in this case Italian—must be taken into account. Depending on whether a word is in a context or in pausa, it is

9 These are the following dialects: Għarb, Għasri, Żebbuġ, San Lawrenz, Santa Luċija, Kerċem, Victoria, Fontana, Victoria WSF (Wara San Fraŋġisk), Munxar, Xewkija, Sannat, Xaġhra, Għajnsielem, Nadur, and Qala.

realised in a different way. Nor is it the case that vowels *u* and *i* in the context, i.e. already as monophthongs, will be realised as long vowels. They can be articulated as short as other vowels. In this case, it is not only the word stress that plays an important role but above all the stress of the whole phrase or word clusters. Measurements of vowel lengths carried out so far have shown that even in the case of word stress, it is quite difficult to speak of any regularity. It is therefore worthwhile to look primarily at the entire phrase and clusters and their articulation, not just at a single word.

Based on field research, it should be considered that vowel length in Gozitan dialect is phonetic, not phonological. There are therefore no such minimal pairs that confirm the opposition between long and short vowels.

The vowel system of Gozitan dialects has fewer phonemes than the standard language inventory. There are six vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* and *ə*. Between these vowels, it is easy to find minimal pairs. As far as raising diphthong *ye* is concerned, if it is articulated as a diphthong, it is part of the diphthong inventory and not of the vowel system.

5 Conclusion

The analysis presented above shows that vowel length in Gozitan dialects is phonetic, not phonological. Moreover, studies of other rural dialects in Malta so far also indicate this, although their authors have always differentiated between short and long vowels. This was probably due to the influence of standard language on the way research is conducted. Arabic dialectology is also familiar with cases where researchers have reached for the literary language more than needed. Standard language should not be the main reference for dialectological studies.

Unfortunately, research into Gozitan dialects is a neglected part of Maltese linguistics, despite attempts such as the Aquilina and Isserlin study (1981). In fact, our knowledge of e.g. Maltese urban dialects is infinitesimal and limited. The statement that SM is based on the urban dialects of the port area is repeated like a mantra, but there is no specific, extensive study of these dialects except for the comparative grammar of Schabert (1976) and his data from the dialect of San Ġiljan. It seems that now is the last chance to carry out any such larger-scale research on the island of Malta as well. This will not only enrich the knowledge of Semitic dialectology but, above all, contribute to research into the history of the Maltese language and preservation of the cultural heritage showing the diversity of the Maltese and Gozitan dialects.

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MARIA LIPNICKA 

Pausal Diphthongisation in Gozitan Dialects Compared to Zaḥlé, Lebanon

ABSTRACT Pausal forms, despite not treated as such so far, are a paradigmatic part of the grammar in the dialects of the island Gozo, Malta. Pausal diphthongisation in both closed and open final syllables represent the most striking pausal phenomenon occurring in Gozitan dialects and is described in this paper with consideration of the impact of the etymological vowel length and consonantal emphasis on the pausal realisation of the diphthongs in final syllables. Further, the Gozitan pausal diphthongisation is compared with a similar occurrence in the Arabic dialect of Zaḥlé, Lebanon, as captured by Henri Fleisch.

KEYWORDS field research, Gozitan dialects, Gozo, Lebanese Arabic, Malta, Maltese, Maltese dialectology, prosodic phonology, prosody, pausal form

1 Introduction

Pausal forms are a well-known prosodic phenomenon in Semitic linguistics that had been noted early on in Biblical Hebrew (i.a. Gesenius 1909) and in Classical Arabic (Sibawayhi 8th century AD; Beyer 2009; Birkeland 1940) but was mainly attributed to recitation of written language and poetry. As an object of modern dialectological study, pausal forms were detected in Arabic dialects relatively recently and imposed new methodological challenges on dialectological research itself. The term ‘pausal form’ circumscribes phonological changes that occur in the final syllable of an utterance and is therefore intersecting both phonological and syntactic levels of grammar. This is not only unusual but also even theoretically unexpected due to phonology and syntax being separate levels in the grammatical hierarchy. Pausal forms had therefore often been overheard by many dialectologists in the past, as can be observed in research outcomes of several expeditions undertaken in the 20th century in Gozo, Malta (see i.a. Stumme 1904; Aquilina and Isserlin 1981; Agius 1992).

Moreover, pausal forms do entangle the pause or absence of sound as a meaningful party in the construction of phonological rules, whereas usually such parties are constituted by sounds or phonemes stated by phonetic features and an opposition within minimal pairs of lexemes. In the case of a pause, all phonological features are absent due to the obvious nature of silence itself, and minimal pairs differ significantly due to context or the final position of a syllable or word in a phrase.

In the current paper, I will present the findings on pausal diphthongisation in Gozitan dialects that were gathered during joint dialectological field research with Maciej Klimiuk on the island of Gozo (Malta) in the years 2013–2017. Further, I will discuss a possible synchronic explanation of the occurrence of pausal forms in these dialects and compare the data to parallel forms found by Henry Fleisch in the Arabic dialect of Zahlé, Lebanon (Fleisch 1974b).

2 Pausal diphthongisation

The most significant type of pausal forms found in Gozitan dialects is the diphthongisation of etymologically and diachronically long vowels both in closed and open syllables. Synchronically, Gozitan dialects do not show an opposition of vowel length (Klimiuk 2022), but the distinction of etymological length is preserved in pausal positions. The occurrence of diphthongisation is not a random or facultative phenomenon but systematic and paradigmatic in its character. Its marginal treatment by previous researchers conducting dialectological research in Gozo is an outcome of methodological inconsistencies in the fieldwork, which was conducted through the mediation of standard Maltese (SM) and therefore induced the mixing of Gozitan and Maltese dialects in the data (Klimiuk and Lipnicka 2019).

2.1 Closed syllables with *ī and *ū

The pausal diphthongisation of etymologically long vowels *ī and *ū is split into two subtypes according to the etymological consonantal environment of the lexeme: *ī > oy or ey and *ū > ow or əw. Gozitan dialects, like in SM and Maltese dialects, exhibit a loss of emphatic consonants *ṭ, *ḏ, *ẓ (*ḏ), *ṣ and *ṛ that have merged with their nonemphatic counterparts. The emphatic feature is still reflected in the vowel system through the split of the realisation of the etymologically long vowel *ā as e or i (*imāla*) in etymologically nonemphatic and as o or u (*išmām*, also known as *tafxīm*) in etymologically emphatic consonantal environments. This rule is not as consistent as in other Arabic dialects (Arnold and Behnstedt 1993: 24–26), especially in that the Gozitan vowel system does not reflect the etymologically secondary emphasis of *mustaflyā* consonants *q, *ġ, *x (Hassan 2013: 2). A separate morphophonological class with

regards to the application of *išmām* represent conjugated verbal forms, where the emphasis is either suspended or redistributed like in *əteyr#* ‘he flies’ (*tyr* < OA *tyr*), *əseyp* (*syb* < OA *šwb*), but *ədowr* (< OA *dwr*). In the few other exceptional cases, the original emphatic status of the root consonants (especially *ʔ) is from today’s perspective not certain, like **bʔr* (?) in *barranoyn#* ‘strangers’ or **ʔmʔ* (?) in *ummoy#* ‘my mother.’ Yet, the exceptions do not undermine the overall tendency to preserve the primary emphasis.

TABLE 1. Pausal diphthongisation of etymologically long *ū in closed syllables.

*CūC > CuC : CowC# [CawC#] (in etymologically emphatic environments, loanwords)	*CūC > CuC : CəwC# (in etymologically nonemphatic environments)
<i>maubowt#</i> ‘tied’ : <i>maubut bəl-ħbule^a#</i> ‘tied with the ropes’	<i>ʔləwp#</i> ‘hearts’ : <i>fil-ʔlup tan-n^oes</i> ‘in the hearts of people’
<i>asfowr#</i> ‘bird’ : <i>asfur w^oəħəd kelle^a#</i> ‘she had one bird’	<i>ħanəwt#</i> ‘shop’ : <i>əl-ħanat ʔəgoy^u#</i> ‘the shop is small’
<i>stağown#</i> ‘season’ : <i>andam stağun ʔasoyr#</i> ‘they have a short season’ (Ital. <i>stagione</i>)	<i>ma nəkləwš#</i> ‘we are not eating’ : <i>ma nəklus ħələwš#</i> ‘we are not eating sweets’

The examples given in Table 1 show the opposition of pausal and contextual forms of closed syllables of type CuC < *CūC. The emphatic environments in the first column are either conditioned by the etymological and diachronic emphasis of the morphological roots as **rbt* in *maubowt#* ‘tied’ (< OA *marbūt*), **sfr* in *asfowr#* ‘bird’ (< OA *šasfūr*) or emphasised loanwords like *əs-stağown#* ‘season.’ The pausal diphthong *ow* has an allophonic realisation [aw] as for example *ʔattaws#* ‘cat’ (< North African Arabic **qts* or Lat. *cattus*). In etymologically nonemphatic consonantal surroundings, the pausal realisation of CuC < *CūC is consistently diphthongised as CəwC# as for the roots **qlb* in *ʔləwp#* ‘hearts’ (< OA *qulūb*), **ħnt* in *ħanəwt#* ‘shop’ (< OA *ħānūt*). The verbal conjugal suffix *-u* for the plural preserves its etymological length and is diphthongised when closed by the suffigated negation particle *-š*, as shown by the example *ma nəkləwš#* ‘we are not eating.’ In the case of verbal conjugation, as already mentioned, the emphasis of the morphological root is preserved only in few cases and redistributed. The consistent and paradigmatic pausal diphthongisation of the conjugal suffixes in verbs still highlights the central role pausal forms are playing for the grammar of Gozitan dialects, as every conjugal paradigm for each verb is split into two patterns—pausal and contextual—respectively.

The examples given in Table 2 show the opposition of pausal and contextual forms of closed syllables of type CiC < *CiC. The emphatic environments in the first column are either conditioned by the etymological and diachronic emphasis of the morphological roots as **šlb* in *saloyp#* ‘cross’ (< OA *šalīb*), **qsr* in *ʔasoyr#* ‘short’ (< OA *qašīr*) or emphasised loanwords like *əl-bamboyn#* ‘the baby.’ The diphthongisation of **i* to *oy*

TABLE 2. Pausal diphthongisation of etymologically long *ī in closed syllables.

*CīC > CiC : CoyC# (in etymologically emphatic environments, loanwords)	*CīC > CiC : CeyC# (in etymologically nonemphatic environments)
<i>saloyp#</i> 'cross' : əs-salip əz-zǧoyr# 'the small cross'	<i>l-awčeyn#</i> 'the Gozitans' : l-awčīn kalle°# 'all the Gozitans'
<i>ʔasoyr#</i> 'short' : əl-ħabal əl-ʔasir ħafna 'the very short rope'	<i>əmbeyt#</i> 'wine' : lə-mbat tayyup# 'good wine'
<i>əl-bamboyn#</i> 'baby Jesus' : əl-bambīn ħələw# 'the baby is sweet' (Ital. <i>bambino</i>)	<i>sneyñ#</i> 'years' : duk ə-snen kalle°# 'all these years'

in etymologically emphatic environments was coined 'occasional' by Borg (Borg 1977: 217), but the data gathered in Gozo in the current project proves otherwise. For example, in the case of adjectives, the split in pausal realisation goes along the emphatic roots *ʔwl in *twoyl#* 'long' (< OA *ṭawīl*), *šǧr in *zǧoy.ɹ#* 'small' (< OA *šaǧīr*), *ndf in *nadoyf#* 'clean' (< OA *naḏīf*) as opposed to nonemphatic roots *xff in *ħafeyf#* 'light' (< OA *xafīf*), *ħzn in *ħazeyñ#* 'bad' (< OA *ħazīn*), *tql in *tʔeyl#* 'heavy' (< OA *ṭaqīl*). As these examples show, the emphatic realisation of the diphthongs as *oy* is conditioned by emphatic consonants only, not by 'backed environment' (Borg 1977: 213) and also is morphophonologically word class specific.

In etymologically nonemphatic consonantal surroundings, the pausal realisation of CiC < *CīC is consistently diphthongised as CeyC# as for the roots *ǧwd in *l-awčeyñ#* 'Gozitans', *nbd in *əmbeyt#* 'wine' (< OA *nabīd*) and *snw in *sneyñ#* 'years' (< OA *sinīn*). Noteworthy are also the examples *əl-ħanət zǧoy.ɹ#* 'the shop is small' and *lə-mbat tayyup#* 'good wine' where the contextual realisation of both *ī and *ū is centralised to ə. This type of vowel shortening in nonprominent accentual position in a phrase will be discussed further in 2.3.

2.2 Open syllables with -i and -u

In the case of pausal forms in open syllables with vowels *u* and *i*, the opposition of etymological length is suspended, which is common for Arabic dialects, and all open syllables of this type underlie analogical diphthongisation parallel to the closed syllables described in 2.1 (Tables 1–2).

The examples given in Table 3 show the opposition of pausal and contextual forms of open syllables of type -Cu. The emphatic realisation can be either attributed to the emphatic status of *r (?), *n (?), or can be interpreted as a reflection of *alif at-tafxīm* (Hassan 2013), as this type of emphatic diphthongisation occurs in several monosyllabic lexemes containing an etymological *ʔ as in *rʔs in *rusow#* 'his head' (< OA *raʔsuhu*), *ʔnñ in *ommow#* 'his mother' (< OA *ʔummuhu*) and *ʔx in *uħtoy#* 'my

TABLE 3. Pausal diphthongisation of open syllables of type -Cu.

-Cu : -Cow# [Caw#] (in etymologically emphatic environments, loanwords)	-Cu : -Cəw# (in etymologically nonemphatic environments)
<i>rusow#</i> 'his head' : <i>rosu gbira</i> 'his head is big' <i>ommow#</i> 'his mother' : <i>ommu gbira</i> 'his mother is grown up' <i>bonḡow#</i> 'hello' : <i>bonḡu ḡoy#</i> 'hello brother' (Ital. <i>bongiorno</i>)	<i>idəw#</i> 'his hand' : <i>idu zayra</i> 'his hand is small' <i>ṡandəw#</i> 'he has' : <i>ṡandə l-fləws#</i> 'he has money' <i>laḡməw#</i> 'his flesh' : <i>laḡmu tayyop#</i> 'his flesh is good'

TABLE 4. Pausal diphthongisation of open syllables of type -Ci.

-Ci : -Coy# (in etymologically emphatic environments, loanwords)	-Ci : -Cey# (in etymologically nonemphatic environments)
<i>mutoy#</i> 'given' : <i>don muti məl-lə-sptor</i> 'this is given by the hospital' <i>dahroy#</i> 'my back' : <i>dahri yuḡaney#</i> 'my back hurts' <i>əl-funcyonoy#</i> 'functions' : <i>əl-funcyonə tas-səpt</i> 'functions of Easter Saturday' (Ital. <i>funzione</i>)	<i>ruḡey#</i> 'my soul' : <i>ruḡi soḡya</i> 'my soul is pure' <i>ḡəsmey#</i> 'my body' : <i>ḡəsmi nadoyf#</i> 'my body is clean' <i>awt twulidey#</i> 'homeland' : <i>awt twulidi ḡawdəṡ</i> 'my homeland is Gozo'

sister' (< OA *ḡuxtī*) and *ḡowk#* 'your brother' (< OA *ḡaxūka*). Analogically to closed syllables, Romanic loanwords exhibit pausal diphthongisation to *ow* in open syllables as in *bonḡow#* 'hello.' In etymologically nonemphatic consonantal surroundings, the pausal realisation of -Cu is consistently diphthongised to *əw* as for the roots **yd* in *idəw#* 'his hand' (< OA *yaduhu*), **nd* in *ṡandəw#* 'he has' (< OA *ṡindahu*) and **lḡm* in *laḡməw#* 'his meat' (< OA *laḡmuhu*).

The examples given in Table 4 show the opposition of pausal and contextual forms of open syllables of type -Ci. The emphatic environments in the first column are either conditioned by the etymological and diachronic emphasis of the morphological roots as **ṡtʷ* in *mutoy#* 'given' (< OA *muṡtī*), **ḡhr* in *dahroy#* 'my back' (< OA *ḡahrī*) or emphasised Romanic loanwords like *əl-funcyonoy#* 'functions.' In etymologically nonemphatic consonantal surroundings, the pausal realisation of -Ci is diphthongised to *ey* as shown for the roots **rwḡ* in *ruḡey#* 'my soul' (< OA *rūḡī*), **ḡsm* in *ḡəsmey#* 'my body' (< OA *ḡismī*) and **wld* in *twulidey#* 'birth' (< OA **tawlid*).

2.3 Closed syllables with **ā* and open syllables with *-a*

Closed syllables with an etymologically and diachronically long **ā* also exhibit pausal changes that can be understood as a form of diphthongisation.

TABLE 5. Pausal diphthongisation of etymologically long *ā in closed syllables.

CoC : -Co ^o C# (in etymologically emphatic environments, loanwords)	CeC ~ C ^{ye} C : C ^{ye} C# ~ [C ^{ye} C#] (in etymologically nonemphatic environments)
<i>ar-rando^on#</i> 'the Lent' : <i>ar-randon əl-gbeyr#</i> 'the Great Lent'	<i>n^{ye}as#</i> 'people' : <i>ən-n^{ye}es ġew ~ ən-nes ġew</i> 'people came'
<i>erbaſ tətfo^ol#</i> 'four children' : <i>ə-tfoł ə-twayba</i> 'the good children'	<i>ə-zm^{ye}an#</i> 'the time' : <i>fə-zmen-iləw#</i> 'in the old times'
but	<i>meta m^{ye}at#</i> 'when he died' : <i>met w^{ye}ħəd</i> 'one has died'
<i>əsmu ġuzze^op^h#</i> 'his name is Joseph' : <i>ġuzzep kbeyr#</i> 'Joseph is grown up'	

The examples given in Table 5 show the opposition of pausal and contextual forms of closed syllables of type CoC/CeC < *CāC. The emphatic environments in the first column are either conditioned by the etymological and diachronic emphasis of the morphological roots as **rmđ* in *ar-rando^on#* 'the Lent' (< OA *ramadān*), **tfl* in *ə-tfo^ol#* 'children' (< OA *?atfāl*) or emphasised loanwords like *ġuzze^op^h#* 'Joseph.' In etymologically nonemphatic consonantal surroundings, CaC < *CāC is occasionally realised as a triphthong [C^{ye}C#] in prosodically prominent final positions. The type of pausal 'triphthongisation' is to be understood as an allophone to the rising diphthong *ye* (that occurs both in pausal and prominent contextual positions) and is attributed to prosodic ratios that need to be further investigated. The etymological roots for examples in the second column of Table 5 are **nys* in *n^{ye}as#* 'people' (< OA *an-nās*), **zmn* in *ə-zm^{ye}an#* 'the time' (< OA *az-zamān*) and **mwt* in *m^{ye}at#* 'he died' (< OA *māta*) respectively. The extraordinary case of the triphthong *ye^a* corresponds with the pharyngeal/laryngeal realisation of the final *imāla* in open syllables of type -Ce^a#.

In open syllables of type *-Ca, the etymological length and the emphatic conditioning appear to be suspended, final *imāla* occurs occasionally even in Romanic loanwords. The laryngalised or pharyngalised final gliding of the final vowel *e* to _^a

TABLE 6. Final *imāla* of open syllables of type -Ca.

-Ca : -Ce ^a # (in etymologically emphatic environments, loanwords)	-Ce : -Ce ^a # (in etymologically nonemphatic environments)
<i>molta(#)</i> 'Malta' ; <i>twayba#</i> 'good (f.)'	<i>ġilde^a#</i> 'leather'
<i>čukkuluta(#)</i> 'chocolate' (Ital. <i>cioccolato</i>)	<i>gzije^a#</i> 'island'
but	<i>zawġe^a#</i> 'her husband'
<i>basle^a#</i> 'one onion'	<i>alme^a#</i> 'water'
<i>təfle^a#</i> 'girl' : <i>ət-təflə ?eda l-awstralya</i> 'the girl lives in Australia'	<i>kalle^a#</i> 'she had,' 'all of her/them'

(corresponding with ʃ , see further 2.4) in syllables of type *-Ca still can be attributed to a form of diphthongisation. As Table 6 shows, this pausal form is not conditioned as it occurs in lexemes with etymologically emphatic consonants as roots **bʃl* in *basle*^a# ‘the onion’ (< OA *baʃla*), **tʃl* in *tafle*^a# ‘daughter’ (< OA *ʃifla*), but still does not in *molta*# ‘Malta’ (< **mlt*). Final *imāla* seems therefore to have transgressed the conditioning still reflected in the syllables of type -Cu and -Ci, and can be seen as an indication that the emphatic quality in the vowel system might be at gradual loss.

2.4 Avoidance of homonymy and tendency to gliding vowels

The split in the realisation of the etymologically long phoneme **ā*, mentioned in 2.1, overlaps with the phonemic boundaries of etymologically long vowels **ī* and **ū*. Pausal diphthongisation in Gozitan dialects can be therefore attributed to the avoidance of homonymy. The hypothesis of contextual homonymy and corresponding pausal opposition can be shown by following minimal pairs:

i > ey : *ʏe* [*ʏe*^a]

pausal form: *sney*n# ‘years’ (< **ī* in OA *sinīn*) : *snʏen* [*snʏe*^an#] ‘teeth’ (< **ā* in OA *ʔasnān*)

context form (no opposition; variation due to prominence in a phrase):

snən ~ *snen* ~ *snin*

u > ow : *o*^a

pausal form: *əddow*r# ‘she goes around’ (**dwr*; < **ū* in OA *tadūru*) : *əddo*^ar# ‘the house’ (**dyr*; < **ā* in OA *ad-dār*)

context form (no opposition; variation due to prominence in a phrase):

əddər ~ *əddor* ~ *əddur*

Pausal diphthongisation of the etymological phoneme **ā* is realised as gliding vowels *ʏe* (*imāla*) or *o*^a (*išmām*) understood as rising diphthongs and are therefore opposed to the closing and falling diphthongisation of **ī* and **ū*.

The occurrence of pausal diphthongisation in Gozitan dialects can be also attributed to the tendency to glide etymologically long vowels towards semivowels *w* or *y* that both represent the articulatory edge of the vowel—namely labial edge of **ū* (*w* in *ow/aw/əw*) and palatal edge of **ī* (*y* in *oy/ay/ey*). The second element *o*^a in the diphthongs *e*^a and *o*^a could represent the pharyngeal edge of articulation of both realisations of **ā* and could correspond phonetically with what other authors call ‘creaky voice’ (Camilleri and Vanhove 1994: 91) which is described as a form of laryngealisation. The data gathered in Gozo in the current project suggest, however, that in this case it is a form of pharyngealisation that corresponds with the phoneme ʃ rather than a ‘creaky voice,’ especially in that the phoneme ʃ is preserved in many

phonologically predictable positions in all Gozitan dialects (and even *ġ* as in Ġharb, Żebbuġ, San Lawrenz, Ġhasri; cf. Klimiuk and Farrugia 2022). The phoneme *ʃ* is not traditionally perceived as a potential glide, but could be further discussed as such, especially by linguists accustomed with the specifics of Arabic phonology.

Prosodic phonology and recognising the prosodic impact on the realisation of vowels play an important role in further investigations on the role and meaning of pausal forms in dialects. As the examples *ət-təflə ʔeda l-awstralya, ʃandə l-fləws#, lə-mbət tayyup#* show, all three vowels *a, u, i* regardless of etymological length can be realised as a centralised short *ə* when occurring in least prominent syllables of a phrase. This would be plausible within the prosodic hierarchy, as proposed by prosodic phonology (Nespor and Vogel 1986), in which phenomena occurring on the suprasegmental level (pausal diphthongisation) is assumed to be linked to analogical processes on segmental levels (micro-pausal centralisation to *ə*). Another example for these cross-segmental dynamics in Gozitan would be the pausal devoicing of consonants (*saloyp#*) as linked to the assimilations occurring within phrases across lexemes or on syllabic level within single words.

3 Gozitan pausal forms compared to Zaĥlé, Lebanon

Pausal forms have been found and described in several Arabic dialects over the course of the last 150 years—i.a. in Lebanon (Kfar Sghab, Chim, Zgharta, Khirbet Salem [Fleisch 1974a]; Bishmizzin [Jiha 1964]); in Palestine (Druze dialects of North-western Galilee—Blanc 1953; Bedouin dialects in Negev [Blanc 1970]); in Syria (Latakia [Klimiuk 2012]); in Turkey (Alawi and Christian Arabic dialects of Hatay [Arnold 1998, 2010]); in Egypt (AbuFarag 1960; Blanc 1973–1974; Gairdner 1926; Khalafallah 1969; Lane 1842; Winkler 1936; Woidich 1974) and the Arabic Peninsula (Behnstedt 1987; Jastrow 1984). It is significant, though, that Gozitan dialects are the only one exhibiting pausal phenomena amongst the Western North-African dialect group, as documented so far.

With regards to pausal forms, striking typological similarities link Gozitan dialects with Lebanese dialects, which leads to a discussion about a potential historical connection of Gozo to the Middle East. As no clear historical evidence is available that would clearly state a relation between the two regions other than the Phoenician/Punic link, the synchronic explanation based on the hypothesis of avoidance of homonymy mentioned in 2.4 is more plausible until further evidence or data appear. The pausal forms of the village Zaĥlé (Lebanon) and its surroundings, as described by Fleisch (Fleisch 1974b), are typologically closest to the pausal phenomena found in Gozitan dialects, as only in these dialects does diphthongisation occur both in closed and open syllables.

3.1 Closed syllables

Henry Fleisch, as one of the first, has recognised and described pausal forms as a paradigmatic part of the grammar of the Zaḥlé dialect group (ZD). Both Gozitan dialect group (GD) and ZD exhibit important similarities in the phonological systems as *imāla/išmām* and the occurrence of prosodic element in pausal forms already noticed by Fleisch in the seventies as following:

Ce point fut plus difficile à déterminer. A la première enquête il n'avait pas été reconnu; il s'en est suivi de nombreuses confusions. La diphtongaison atteint la dernière syllabe du mot, mais elle ne se produit que s'il y a un *arrêt de la voix*, grande pause à la fin d'une phrase, ou bien petite pause à l'intérieur d'une phrase. (Fleisch 1974b: 64)

The transcription used by Fleisch to capture pausal phenomena is, from the perspective of time, not very coherent, but I chose to still cite the original transcription in the examples below.

-CūC (emphatic environment)

GD CowC# ~ CawC# vs. ZD -CāũC# as in *kṛāũm#* (*kṛūm*) 'vineyards' (Fleisch 1974b: 63);

ṭṛāũḥ# (*ṭṛūḥ*) 'she goes' (Fleisch 1974b: 87)

-CūC (nonemphatic environment)

GD -CəwC# vs. ZD -CaũC# as in *ma kàtābaũš#* (*ma katabūš*) 'he did not write it'

(Fleisch 1974b: 79)

For closed syllables of the type -CūC in emphatic consonantal environments, Fleisch describes a diphthongisation to *āũ*, in which the more prominent vowel *ā* is realised as 'a postérieur assez reculé' (Fleisch 1974b: 95) and *ũ* as the equivalent of *w*, or the less prominent vowel (semivowel), which corresponds well with the GD forms CowC# ~ CawC#. Strikingly, Fleisch also tends to transcribe the emphatic features not only for (rather synchronically than etymologically) emphatic consonants as *r* in *kṛāũm#* (**kṛm*; < OA *kurūm*) but also for the surrounding consonants as in *ṭṛāũḥ#* for the root **rwh* (< OA *tarūḥ*). Fleisch herewith makes a relevant point in the discussion on the phonological status of emphasis as attributed to certain morphemes and roots rather than to singular consonants. In nonemphatic surroundings like for the root **ktb* in *ma kàtābaũš#*, Fleisch transcribes the pausal diphthong as *āũ*, where the vowel *a* opposes the backed realisation *ā*. In Gozitan dialects, this type of diphthongisation is even more centralised to *ə*.

-CīC (emphatic environment)

GD -CoyC# vs. ZD -CāiC# as in *mkāššārāin#* (*mkāššārīn*) 'broken (PL)' (Fleisch 1974b: 85);

ā-ṭṭārāi# (*ā-ṭṭārī*) 'on the street' (Fleisch 1974b: 87)

-CīC (nonemphatic environment)

GD -CeyC# vs. ZD -CeīC# as in *ktēīr#* (*ktīr*) 'a lot' (Fleisch 1974b: 63)

For closed syllables of the type -CiC in emphatic consonantal environments, Fleisch notes a diphthongisation to *âi*, in which again *â* is backed and rounded—the closest realisation of a pausal diphthong to the GD form -CoyC#. Noteworthy is again the *r* that affects the etymologically nonemphatic root **ksr* insofar, that Fleisch transcribes it as *mkâṣṣârâin#* (< OA *mukassarîn*). Similarly, the emphasis of the root **trq* in the second example affects the vowel quality of the whole phrase *â-ttârâi#* (< OA *ṣala t-tarīq*), including the vowel in the preceding prefiggated preposition *â*-. Several examples in ZD texts exhibit the emphatic type of diphthongisation transcribed as *âi*, despite Fleisch not mentioning it in his description of pausal diphthongisation (Fleisch 1974b: 63).

In nonemphatic surroundings like in *kteîr#* (**ktr*; < OA *katîr*), the diphthongisation in ZD and GD are parallel in the forms -CiC ~ -CeyC#, as the symbol *ē* used by Fleisch stands for ‘e ouvert, comme dans *frais*’ (Fleisch 1974b: 95).

3.2 Open syllables

In the case of open syllables, Fleisch describes a suspension of length and a paradigmatic pausal diphthongisation but does not mention the emphatic vs. nonemphatic split in the realisation of the vowels. Nonetheless, his transcription of the texts recorded in Zaḥlé mirrors a split analogical to closed syllables.

-Cu (emphatic environment)

GD -Cow# vs. ZD -Cq̄q̄# as in *tlō'tq̄q̄# ~ tlōtu* ‘you (PL) went out’ (Fleisch 1974b: 71)

-Cu (nonemphatic environment)

GD -Cəw# vs. ZD -Caû# as in *šau#* ‘what?’ (Fleisch 1974b: 64)

For open syllables of the type -Cu, regardless of the consonantal environment, Fleisch mostly uses the transcription *q̄q̄*, in which *q̄* represents for him an ‘o ouvert, comme dans *rosse*,’ *q̄* an ‘o fermé, comme dans *rose*’ and both together as *q̄q̄* an ‘indiquent une diphtongue’ (Fleisch 1974b: 95). His reasoning in favour of this transcription is difficult to encode from the perspective of time, but the examples of emphatic *tlō'tq̄q̄#* (**tl̥s*; < OA *ṭalaftū*) versus the nonemphatic *šau#* (< OA *ʔayyu šayʔin*) still indicate a rather split realisation of the diphthong.

-Ci (emphatic environment)

GD -Coy# vs. ZD -Câi# as in *šab^wâi#* ‘my child’ (Fleisch 1974b: 85)

-Ci (nonemphatic environment)

GD -Cey# vs. ZD -Ceî# as in *'alleî#* ‘he told me’ (Fleisch 1974b: 63)

The split in Fleisch's transcription is even more striking with regards to open syllables of the type -Ci, in which the more prominent vowels are represented by *â* in *âi* as in *šab^wâi#* (*šbw; < OA *šabiyy*) in opposition to *ē* in *ēi* as in *'allei#* (< OA *qāla li*).

4 Conclusion

The recognition of pausal phenomena in general and pausal diphthongisation in Gozitan dialects as presented in this paper specifically poses new challenges on research methodology of dialectology and requires further investigation both in Gozitan and other Arabic dialects. As the research in Gozo has shown so far, methodological inconsistencies in fieldwork as well as the bypassing of prosodic impact on the structures of natural language can lead to rather ambiguous or confusing conclusions. Further field research in Lebanon, especially in the region of Zaḥlé, also seems to be necessary as the encoding of transcription alone, without available recordings, is not up to date in nowadays' dialectology. As could be shown in the example of Fleisch's pioneering elaboration on pausal diphthongisation, the tradition of transcribing data can vary heavily due to the country of origin of the researcher or the current scientific fashion. Therefore, having the possibility to compare the published transcription with sound files available for example online as on the SemArch website (Heidelberg)¹ can make further scientific discourse more dynamic and interactive. The absence of findings on pausal phenomena in North-African Arabic dialects is striking and it would be important to investigate in future as well, especially in that it could be a consequence of outdated fieldwork methodology or a lack of awareness of the existence of pausal forms themselves.

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1 SemArch. Semitisches Tonarchiv. <http://semarch.ub.uni-heidelberg.de>.

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Part II: Texts

GIULIANO CASTAGNA 

A Text in the Jibbali/Shehret Dialect of al-Ḥallānīya (Kuria Muria) with a Grammatical Commentary

ABSTRACT The present text and the additional comments that follow it provide examples of the characteristics which set the dialect of Kuria Muria apart from mainland dialects. The introduction consists of a brief literature review on Kuria Muria studies. Then follows a morpheme-to-morpheme glossed text recorded in 2017 from a prominent tribal leader of the Al Shaḥrī tribe branch native to al-Ḥallānīya. Each relevant item is then commented upon. It is argued that not only does Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret possess the much-debated shift of lateral sibilants to interdental fricatives but it also exhibits a few other features which cannot be found in mainland varieties.

KEYWORDS Modern South Arabian, Kuria Muria, Hallaniyat islands, Jibbali, Shehret, field research

The study of the Jibbali/Shehret dialect of al-Ḥallānīya, the only inhabited island in the Kuria Muria (KM) archipelago, officially called Ġuzur al-Ḥallānīyāt, is a recent endeavour within Modern South Arabian (MSAL) studies which, in turn, are relatively young in comparison with those concerned with other sub-branches of the Semitic language family.

Only a limited number of reports exist, widely scattered along the short line of MSAL studies. These studies shall be briefly reviewed here: the first report of the language of al-Ḥallānīya dates back to 1840, when the British naval officer J. G. Hulton published a description of the island and a word list containing 103 terms he had elicited personally from the islanders (Hulton 1840). He concluded that the language was essentially a form of ‘Shahree.’ Over a century later, Leslau analysed Hulton’s data in order to ascertain the reliability of Hulton’s assertion with regards to the

identification of the language, and concluded that the language is indeed a form of Jibbali/Shehret (Leslau 1947). T. M. Johnstone's *Jibbali Lexicon* (1981) introduces the epithet 'baby Jibbali,' by which Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret is still known by scholars and mainland speakers alike, as 'they pronounce the letters *ś* and *ž* as *t* and *d*, etc' (1981: xii). Johnstone's statements with regards to the above-mentioned sound shift became well known in MSAL study, but the first attempt at verifying it took place only a few decades later, in 2014. In 2002, an extremely valuable description of the flora, fauna and history of the island was published (Gallagher 2002). Regrettably, however, this description barely touches upon linguistic matters. Further analysis of Hulton's data was carried out by Rubin (2014a). In this paper concerned with Hulton's word list, Rubin draws a series of credible etymologies and parallels with other Modern South Arabian languages, and succeeds in making sense of some terms which are rendered obscure by Hulton's amateur transcription and a number of dialectal forms not found in mainland Jibbali/Shehret. The scholar also attempts at ascertaining whether the shift of lateral fricatives to interdental fricatives actually took place in the language spoken on al-Ḥallāniya in the mid-19th century, by searching for clues of it in Hulton's transcription. He concludes that 't was a free variant of ś at this time. It is just as likely, however, that th was another attempt to write the sound ś. So, if Johnstone's statement is true for the dialect as spoken in the 1970s, it was not true—at least not completely—in 1836' (2014a: 483).

One of the main points of the present author's doctoral thesis (Castagna 2018) is that this shift, along with a few other phonetic peculiarities, indeed takes place in Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret, as the following text, elicited from a native speaker of the dialect¹ shows. Given the inconsistent nature of Hulton's transcription, it is not surprising that its analysis may yield unreliable results, especially when one is looking for clues of a phonetic characteristic. Thanks to the analysis of recordings made in the 1980s² and new recordings made in 2017, it was possible to describe, to a certain extent, the peculiarities of this dwindling dialect of Jibbali/Shehret (Castagna 2018: 105–235). The present sketch aims at summarising some of the contents of the above-mentioned doctoral thesis. The text presented below is glossed morpheme-to-morpheme and translated into English. Each item of interest is then commented upon.

1 The speaker, who is estimated to be about 70 years old, was born and raised in al-Ḥallāniya and is a retired fisherman. He has been living in Sadaḥ (eastern Dhofar) for about 15 years now.

2 I am sincerely grateful to Professor Janet C. E. Watson and Dr Miranda Morris for giving me the chance to analyse their unique audio materials without which this study would not have been possible.

Text

- (1) *her* *ḍaḥṣ̣t*³ *ʕad* *b-gēdaḥ-ṣ̣t*
if come.PRF.3.F.SG sardines.COL and-come.ashore.PRF-3.F.SG
'if the sardines come and are washed ashore'
- (2) *m-nə-ḥṣ̣l*⁴ *b-ən-ḵṣ̣taʕ*⁵
and-1.PL-take.IND and-1.PL-dry.IND
'and we take them, and we dry them'
- (3) *m-ən-ṣ̣om*⁶ *bə* *dirhém*
and-1.PL-sell.IND for money.M
'and we sell them for money'
- (4) *her* *ḍaḥṣ̣t* *ʕad*
if come.PRF.3.F.SG sardines.COL
'if the sardines come'
- (5) *wolla* *her* *ḍaḥám*⁷ *ʕoddə* *mékən*
or if come.PRF.3.M.SG fish.M much
'or if a lot of fish comes'
- (6) *ḍaḥám*⁸ *ʕoddə* *mékən*
come.PRF.3.M.SG fish.M much
'a lot of fish comes'
- (7) *nə-ḥṣ̣l-ṣ̌ḥə* *m-ən-ḵṣ̣taʕ-ṣ̌*⁹
1.PL-take.IND-3.M.SG and-1.PL-dry.IND-3.M.SG
'we take it and we dry it'

3 *ḍaḥṣ̣t* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret *zaḥṣ̣t* < **zaḥamot* 'come.PRF.3.F.SG,' Proto-MSAL *vmv > Jibbali/Shehret *ṣ̣* (a nasalised long vowel), (Rubin 2014b: 30–33). In this case, an inherited voiced alveolar sibilant [z] shifts to its interdental counterpart [ḍ]. A few sparse occurrences of this phenomenon can be found in the analysed KM texts (Castagna 2018: 123–126).

4 *m-nə-ḥṣ̣l* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret *b-nə-ḥṣ̣l* 'and we take.' The coordinating conjunction *b-* is very often, but not invariably, realised as [m] in the adjacency of [n] (Castagna 2018: 171).

5 *ḵṣ̣taʕ* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret *ḵṣʕ* 'dry' (Johnstone 1981: 153). This is an example of lateral > interdental shift (Castagna 2018: 120–123).

6 *m-ən-ṣ̣om* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret *b-ən-ṣ̣om* 'and-1.PL-sell.IND' (see above).

7 *ḍaḥám* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret *zaḥám* 'come.PRF.3.M.SG' (see above).

8 Idem.

9 See (2).

- (8) *m-ən-ḳɔtɑf-š*
and-1.PL-dry.IND-3.M.SG
'and we dry it'
- (9) *i-kín* *xar*
3.M.SG-be.IND good.M
'it is good'
- (10) *nə-ħɔl-š* *m-ən-ḳɔtɑf-š*
1.PL-take.IND-3.M.SG and-1.PL-dry.IND-3.M.SG
'we take it and we dry it'
- (11) *wolla her her ġad-ən gedħ-an* *ti*¹⁰ *ʃan^əmbér*
or if if go.PRF-1.PL come.ashore.PRF.3.M.SG-1.PL some amber.M
'or if we go and some amber comes ashore to us'
- (12) *gedħ-an* *ʃan^əmbér*
come.ashore.PRF.3.M.SG-1.PL amber.M
'amber comes ashore to us'
- (13) *i-sím* *i-sím* *i-sím-š^a* *bə* *dirhém*
3.M-sell.IND.PASS 3.M-sell.IND.PASS 3.M-sell.IND.PASS-3.M.SG for money.M
'it is sold, it is sold, it is sold for money'
- (14) *ʃan^əmbér*
amber.M
'amber'
- (15) *ʔt-ʃarəf* *ʃambər* *ənta?*^{A11}
2.SG-know.IMPV amber PRN.2.M.SG
'do you know amber?'
- (16) *nə-tóm-š^{a12}* *bə* *dirhém*
1.PL-sell.IND-3.M.SG for money.M
'we sell it for money'

10 *ti* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret *sí* 'something,' 'some,' 'there is,' 'thing' (Johnstone 1981: 259; Rubin 2014b: 61–62).

11 Here the speaker addresses the interviewer in Arabic.

12 *nə-tóm-š^a* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret *nə-šóm-šə* 'we sell it.' Cf. *s?m* 'to sell' (Johnstone 1981: 244).

- (17) *b-xer⁹ xer iné? xer her betér-ək*
 and-good.M good.M what good if catch.fish.PRF-2.M.SG
 ‘and it is good, it is good what? it is good if you catch fish’
- (18) *her betēr-ək a-nkaš bə šodd⁹ mékən*
 if catch.fish.PRF-2.M.SG FUT-come.SUB with fish.M much
 ‘if you catch fish, you will bring a lot of fish’
- (19) *nə-btór-ēn*
 1.PL-catch.fish.IND.PL-DLSTEM
 ‘we catch fish’
- (20) *^Abašdīn^A ən-šóm¹³ bə dirhém*
 afterwards 1.PL-sell.IND for money.COL
 ‘afterwards we sell it for money’
- (21) *ya-ħšl-š bafl šóħor*
 3.M-take.IND-3.M.SG people.COL Sohar
 ‘people from Sohar take it’
- (22) *i-nukaš a-š⁹ró*
 3.M-come.IND DEF-people.from.Sur.COL
 ‘people from Sur come’
- (23) *i-nukaš bafl siḵ¹⁴*
 3.M-come.IND people.COL Mirbat
 ‘people from Mirbat come’
- (24) *i-nukaš bafl šalólt*
 3.M-come.IND people.COL Salalah
 ‘people from Salalah come’
- (25) *kel i-ttóm¹⁵ mən kin-án¹⁶*
 all 3.M-buy.IND.T1STEM from from-1.PL
 ‘everyone buys from us’

13 *ən-šóm* with a lateral instead of the interdental, see (16). The shift of sibilants to interdental is not universal (see below).

14 *Siḵ* is the Jibbali/Shehret name of the town known as *Mirbat* in Arabic.

15 *i-ttóm* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret *i-štóm* ‘3.M-buy.IND.T1STEM.’ The fact the shift of *š* > *t* occurs in the adjacency of a homorganic sound [t] is noteworthy from an articulatory viewpoint.

16 *mən kin-án*. This double preposition, whose two components both mean ‘from’ (Johnstone 1981: 132, 172), is previously unattested to the best of my knowledge.

- (26) *ya-ħǝl* *kərkəm* *bə* *dirhém*
 3.M-take.IND turmeric.COL for money.COL
 ‘they bring turmeric for money’
- (27) *h-ek* *het* *hen-i* *he* *b-hen* *idón*¹⁷ *^Akul-kum^A*
 for-2.M.SG PRN.2.M.SG for-1.SG PRN.1.SG and-for DEM.DIST.PL all-2.M.PL
 ‘for you, for me, and for those. For you all’
- (28) *her* *ķereré* *her* *ğad-ən* *a-śná* *mʃorə*¹⁸
 if tomorrow if go.PRF-1.PL FUT-see.SUB then
 ‘if tomorrow we go, you will see then’
- (29) *her* *ğad-én* *t-kəs* *şodd^ə* *mékən*
 if go.PRF-1.PL 2.M.SG-find.IND fish.M much
 ‘if we go, you will find a lot of fish’
- (30) *i-ttəm*¹⁹ *bə* *dirhém*
 3.M-sell.IND.PL for money.COL
 ‘they sell for money’

It is important to remark that the present text does not exemplify all the findings which arose from the analysis of 1980s and 2017 texts. For the sake of thoroughness, a few additional morpheme-glossed strings of text from the KM corpus follow which exhibit the peculiarities of KM Jibbali/Shehret and which were not encountered above, namely: the shift of /b/ > [f], prosodically motivated gemination, and the shift of /x/ > [h] ~ [ħ].

KM recordings provide evidence for a non-systematic shift of /b/ (both etymological and < *w) to [f] in certain phonological environments (Castagna 2018: 116–118). At present, little can be stated about the patterns according to which this phenomenon occurs. At any rate, it can be surmised that it affects /b/ in C₃ in trilateral roots, and /b/ < *w in the broken plural pattern with /b/ infixation (al-Aghbari 2012: 230). Here are a few examples:

- her* *rətəf-ən* *t-ǝš*
 when arrange.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG
 ‘when we place it’

17 *idón* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret plural distal demonstrative *izšhun* (Rubin 2014b: 57–59).

18 *mʃorə* for mainland Jibbali/Shehret *mğore* ‘afterwards,’ ‘later’ (Johnstone 1981: 92). KM Jibbali/Shehret exhibits a non-universal shift of the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] to a voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] (Castagna 2018: 128–129).

19 *i-ttəm*, see (25).

The root in the above example is *rtf* < *rtb* (Johnstone 1981: 216–217):

<i>ərbaʃ-ɔt</i>	<i>kereʃsi</i>	<i>skɔʃ</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>kereʃsi</i>
four.F	chair.M.PL	sit.PRF.3	on	chair.M.PL

‘four chairs, they sit on chairs’

The conditions under which gemination, which is neither productive nor morphologically significant in Jibbali/Shehret, may occur in KM are basically the same as in mainland varieties, namely in geminate roots, because of the attachment of the definite article to certain consonants, in the conjugation of guttural-prefixed verbs, and because of the so-called ‘transfer of gemination’ (Dufour 2016: 26, 108, *passim*; Johnstone 1980; Rubin 2014b: 39–40). However, in KM it can occur also in other circumstances (Castagna 2018: 118–120):

<i>ərbaʃ-ɔt</i>	<i>ʃodí</i>	<i>kəlləb</i>	<i>i-tíw</i>
four-F	fish.M.PL	dog.M.PL	3.M-eat.IND.PL

‘four fish, the dogs eat’

<i>gaḥāt</i>	<i>aḥ-ḥoggólt</i>
come.ashore.PRF.3.F.SG	DEF-ring.F.SG

‘it came to the ring’

<i>nə-ḥáttal-ohom</i>	<i>ʃanún</i>	<i>ʃak</i>	<i>ked</i>
1.PL-wrap.IND-3.M.PL	so	in	rope.M.SG

‘we wrap them up with rope’

The terms *kəlləb*, *ḥoggólt* and *ḥáttal* in the above examples are attested in mainland varieties respectively as *kəlb*, *ḥogúlət* and *hétəl* (Johnstone 1981: 130, 106, 119). The second root consonant in these tokens is perceptually longer than its non-geminate counterpart (Castagna 2018: 120).

The backing of the voiceless velar fricative [x] to a voiceless laryngeal or pharyngeal fricative [h] or [ħ], occurs sporadically throughout the corpora. It appears to be triggered by the adjacency of a low or mid vowel (Castagna 2018: 126–127):


<i>šahar</i>	<i>halí</i>
elderly.person.M.SG	empty.M.SG

‘the old man is empty (has nothing)’

*ad-dəh*⁹ *bə* *ħamzet* *d-i-šənḥ-an*²⁰ *ħamzet*
 DEF-duck.COL and turtle.F.S CIRC-3.M-let.IND-ŠSTEM turtle.F.S
 ‘the (two) ducks and the turtle, they (two) let the turtle’

In conclusion, documentary evidence shows that not only does KM Jibbali/Shehret exhibit the long-discussed shift of laterals to interdentals but it also features a general tendency to articulate all sibilants as interdentals, although the occurrence of these phenomena is far from universal. The present results can then be reconciled with Rubin’s statement that laterals and interdentals could have occurred in free variation at the time of Hulton’s visit to Kuria Muria (2014a: 483). Additionally, it is intriguing to note that these shifts in the articulation of the sibilants have a striking parallel in the central dialects of Soqotri (Morris 2017: 17). Similarly, the backing of /x/ > [h] ~ [ħ] and /g/ > [ʕ] is a well-known feature of the eastern varieties of Soqotri (Simeone-Senelle 2003: 7). The presence of a prosodically motivated gemination raises questions with regards to the role of prosody in Jibbali/Shehret: specifically, there remains to be ascertained whether some of the lexical items that are subject to be found in a prosodically strong position within an utterance might have acquired gemination as a stable feature, thus giving rise to gemination-based minimal pairs.

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20 Cf. the roots *šxr* ‘elderly,’ *xlw* ‘empty’ and *šnx* ‘to let’ (Johnstone 1981: 263, 264, 301).

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Arabische Texte aus Südkhorasan (Iran): Arabkhane und Khalaf

ABSTRACT The Arabic dialect of Arabkhane is spoken in the eastern part of Iran in South Khorasan province. It is the vernacular of about 35 villages of Nehbandan County in an area approximately 100 km south of the city of Birjand. Until my recent first fieldwork in Iran from August to November 2019, no extensive linguistic research had been conducted on this peripheral variety of Arabic, which belongs to the Central Asian Arabic branch. Beside the dialect of Arabkhane, Khorasan Arabic includes the dialect spoken in Khalaf and its neighbouring villages. In this paper, I give information about my PhD research in Khorasan alongside some preliminary linguistic findings on the strength of the evaluation of some 120 audio interviews, which I recorded.

KEYWORDS Arabkhane, Khalaf, Khorasan Arabic, Central Asian Arabic, peripheral Arabic dialects, Iran, field research

1 Einleitendes

Von August bis November 2019 reiste ich über Teheran zum ersten Mal nach Khorasan, um Sprachdaten für meine Arbeit über den Dialekt von Arabkhane zu sammeln. An anderer Stelle werde ich ausführlicher auf die Umstände dieses Aufenthalts eingehen. Doch sei schon hier angemerkt, dass ohne die Unterstützung durch eine Institution im Land ein Forschungsvorhaben in Iran eher nicht zu realisieren ist. Zumindest erhält man als Privatperson vom Forschungs- oder Außenministerium auf diesbezügliche Anfragen keine oder keinerlei dienliche Antwort. Daher war ich froh, dass durch meinen akademischen Lehrer, Professor Werner Arnold, der Kontakt zur angesehenen Teheraner Allameh Tabataba'i Universität zustande gekommen war, die mein Anliegen vollumfänglich unterstützte.

Den Anstoß zur Beschäftigung mit dieser peripheren Varietät des Arabischen gab mir Ulrich Seeger. Vor mittlerweile 23 Jahren, im September 1996, hielt er sich für wenige Tage bei den Arabern des Verwaltungsbezirks Darmiyān der heutigen Provinz Südkhorasan auf. Er hatte einige Sprachaufnahmen in Sarāb und Khalaf anfertigen können, die er teils schon vor Ort, größtenteils jedoch mit einem Gewährsmann aus Sarāb in Deutschland bearbeitete. Seine Ergebnisse veröffentlichte er nach und nach in den Jahren 2002, 2009 und 2013 (Seeger 2002, 2009, 2013). Zwei weitere Texte legt Seeger in diesem Band vor (Seeger 2022). Die wenigen bisherigen Kenntnisse zum zentralasiatischen Arabisch dieser Region verdanken wir allesamt seinen Bemühungen.

Das Khorasanarabische verteilt sich auf drei Gebiete. Sein sprachliches Zentrum mit der größten Sprecherzahl ist die Gemeinde (pers. *dehestān*) Arabkhane. Etwa 100 km südlich der Provinzhauptstadt Birjand im Kreis (pers. *baxš*) Šūsf des Verwaltungsbezirks (pers. *šahrestān*) Nehbandān gelegen, umfasst sie nach meinen ersten Erkenntnissen neben persischen etwa 35 arabischsprachige Ortschaften (pers. *ābādī*). Die Bewohner Arabkhanes sind schiitische Muslime. Ursprünglich aus Arabkhane stammen auch die arabischen Bewohner der Stadt Sarakhs, die 180 km östlich von Mashhad in der Provinz Khorasan-e Razavi an der Grenze zu Turkmenistan liegt.

Sowohl dialektal als auch religiös getrennt sind diese beiden Sprechergruppen von den sunnitischen Bewohnern Khalafs und seiner arabischsprachigen Nachbardörfer, die etwa 90 km nordöstlich von Birjand liegen. Administrativ gehört Khalaf zum Bezirk Darmiyān (*baxš*: Markazī, *dehestān*: Miyāndašt).

Während Seeger die Region Arabkhane nie besuchen konnte, hatte Sven-Olof Dahlgren von der Universität Uppsala im Frühjahr 2000 und im darauffolgenden Jahr die Gelegenheit, einige Tage in der Stadt Sarbishe und wohl auch ein paar Dörfern Arabkhanes zu verbringen. Dabei lernte er Sprecher des Dialekts kennen. Das Ergebnis seiner Aufenthalte sind zwei Artikel, von denen einer eine Sprachskizze samt fünf sehr knappen Textproben enthält (Dahlgren 2005: 168–171).

2 Bemerkungen zu Dahlgrens Veröffentlichungen

Während Dahlgrens Überlegungen zur Herkunft der iranischen Araber sehr interessant zu lesen sind, halten Teile seiner Sprachbeschreibung einer Überprüfung nicht immer stand. Ohne auf alle fraglichen Formen einzugehen, seien einige Punkte hervorgehoben.

Die „on request“ gegebenen Numeralia (Dahlgren 2005: 165) haben – wie er selbst schon vermutet – in Arabkhane keine natürliche Verwendung. Dies betrifft insbesondere die äußerst zweifelhaften „Cardinals“ von 11 bis 23. In über 80 längeren Aufnahmen, die ich bisher anfertigen und schon zu einem Teil transkribieren konnte,

kommen sie nicht vor. Selbst eine 76-jährige Greisin, die nie außerhalb Arabkhanes gelebt hat, verwendet rein persische Zahlen.

Die Formen der Kopula werfen Fragen auf. Für die 3. Sg. werden in Arabkhane nur *-hu* und *-hi* verwendet, im Pl. *-hum* und *-hín(na)*. Ein *hastā* gibt es, anders als in Khalaf (vgl. unten Text 4), auch in der 1. f. Sg. nicht. Vielmehr sagen Sprecherinnen aus Arabkhane *ana* [...] *hast* „ich bin N.N.“ und *ana šurubiyye hast* „ich bin Araberin“. Das vermeintliche Suffix *-aw* im Beispiel *dē hošmez-aw* „this is delicious“ (Dahlgren 2005: 167) muss wohl richtig als *dā xušmizze-hu* aufzulösen sein. Zumindest verzeichne ich es so mehrfach in den Aufnahmen. Der Ausdruck *əntu* [...] *tašbānīn hastīn* mit „agreement on the adjective“ (Dahlgren 2005: 167) wird von den Sprechern mehrheitlich als ungrammatisch abgelehnt. Stattdessen sollte der Satz *intu tašbān hastīn* oder ohne Kopula *intu tašbānīn* lauten.

Einzelne bei Dahlgren zu lesende Bildungen wie *refīya* „her friend“ (für *rifīgha*), *rōnak* „there“ (für *hūnak*), *asalās* „the prayer“ (für *as-salā*), *nusānīn* „pockets“ bzw. dessen Sg. *nusnuta* (für *nusnufa/musnufa*, Pl. *nusānīf/musānīf*) und *zāhāv* „gold“ (für *zahab*, das allerdings nur als „Geld“ verwendet wird) sind falsch. Die kurzen Textproben zeigen außerdem viel Variation. Sie scheinen insgesamt mehr phonetisch niedergeschrieben worden zu sein. Offensichtlich hatte Dahlgren keine muttersprachlichen Helfer bei der Verschriftung seiner Aufnahmen. Sie sind nicht öffentlich zugänglich, so dass der genaue Wortlaut nicht nachvollzogen werden kann.

Anders lässt sich nur schwer erklären, wieso in der Übersetzung von Text I ein Gebiet namens „Ogramhāy“ erscheint, in dem Arabisch gesprochen werden soll. Vielmehr ist *fārd mentaḡat uḡra umhey fi tarāf gezīk* (Dahlgren 2005: 168) wohl als *fam-mantaḡat uxra-hom-hi fi taraf Gazīk* zu verstehen: „und **noch eine** Region **gibt es** in Richtung Gazīk“.

In Text II steht persisches *hastīm* für „wir sind“, in Text III und V wird hierfür jedoch richtigerweise die khorasanarabische Form *hastīn(a)* verwendet. Ebenso wechseln *ḡudna* mit (falschem) *ḡudnan* „ourselves“, *kulna* mit *kulluna* „all of us“ und die Formen für „wir sprechen“: *nʰhanžem*, *nhanžem*, *enhanžemen*. In Tabelle 5 erscheint dieses Verb zuvor noch als *ənhanžem*. Es sollte in der 1. Pl. immer *inhanžīm* geschrieben werden.

Andere Informationen, wie die beschriebenen Metathesen bei den Verbalwurzeln *l-š-b* „spielen“ (*nišbaš*) und *b-k-y* „weinen“ (*lā tičbi*) und die positionsbedingte Entsonorisierung von /s/ zu [h], sind grundsätzlich richtig, wenn auch die Formen nicht korrekt wiedergegeben sind (z. B. *bāhta* „you (masc.) sold it (fem.)“ für *bīhttha*) (Dahlgren 2005: 163). Sie sind in Arabkhane und auch Khalaf verbreitet (vgl. unten Text 3 *tičbi* „sie weint“ und Text 1 *usābiḡ* „Finger“).

Dahlgrens *ana āčtāb āčʰtba* (2005: 165) ist als *ana āč-čtāb āčītbeh* „ich schreibe das Buch“ zu analysieren, was auch die fehlerhafte Tabelle 6 (2005: 166) erklären mag, wo *āčla* als maskulines und *āčel* als feminines Partizip aufgeführt werden. Falsch sind

freilich auch *āčla* als Partizip der 1. Pl., *āčlīn* als f. Pluralform, *ʔāčāl* als Perfekt der 3. m. Sg. und *ʔdētān* als 3. f. Pl. zu „laufen“.

Der unbestimmte Artikel lautet in Khorasan nie *fārd* (Dahlgren 2005: 164). Sowohl in Khalaf (Seeger 2002: 634) als auch den Dörfern Arabkhanes ist er davon abgeleitet und hat die Form *fal-*. Sein Auslaut wird stets an den folgenden Konsonanten assimiliert (*faʃ-ʃurubi* „ein Araber“). Ähnlich verhält sich das Relativpronomen *al*.

Außerdem ist zu beachten, dass die Formen des f. Plurals in Arabkhane (und Khalaf) endbetont sind: *čitalān* „sie töteten“, *čitaltān* „ihr tötetet“, *yičitbān* „sie schreiben“, *intān* „ihr“, *ummčīn* ~ *ummčīnna* „eure Mutter“, *ummhīn* ~ *ummhīnna* „ihre Mutter“ usw. Dasselbe gilt in der Regel für Adverbialbildungen auf *-an* (*aslān*, *hudūdān*, *ḥatmān*). Bei diesen handelt es sich jedoch um Entlehnungen aus dem Persischen.

3 Dialektale Merkmale Arabkhanes

Ich plane zur Beschreibung des Dialekts der Region Arabkhane noch mehrere Feldforschungsaufenthalte in Iran. Manche der sprachlichen Unterschiede unter den Dörfern Arabkhanes einerseits und zwischen Arabkhane und Khalaf andererseits werden hier daher nur gestreift. Die systematische Darstellung der Phonologie und Morphologie bleibt meiner Dissertation vorbehalten. Seegers stets zuverlässige Ausführungen zum Arabischen Khalafs und Sarābs sind als Ausgangspunkt zum Vergleich mit der Varietät Arabkhanes in jedem Fall sehr geeignet.

Phonologie

Das Arabische von Arabkhane hat im Gegensatz zu Khalaf und seinen Nachbardörfern eine sehr starke Imala. Während das „Lispeln“ bezeichnend für den Dialekt der Khalafis ist, ist die Imala charakteristisch für Arabkhane. Sie wird mit *ā* wiedergegeben.

Der gerundete offene Hinterzungenvokal [ɒ] wird *â* geschrieben. Er kommt in Lehnwörtern aus dem Persischen ebenso vor wie in echt arabischem Vokabular (*yâkul* „er isst“).

Eine generalisierte Auslautimale des Typs, wie sie Seeger (2002: 632, 2013: 317) für Khalaf beschreibt, kennt Arabkhane nicht (*iḥna* vs. *iḥne* „wir“, *ilna* vs. *ilne* „zu uns“, Possessivsuffix 3. f. Sg. *-ha* vs. *-he*).

Zwar ist der Halbvokal /w/ zu labiodentalem /v/ entrundet worden, doch erscheinen beide Laute in manchen Lexemen als Varianten (*rawwan* ~ *ravvan* „er sandte“).

Die Sibilanten wurden in Arabkhane, anders als in Khalaf, nicht zu den interdentalen Entsprechungen verschoben. Belege für den Erhalt der ursprünglichen Interdentale finden sich vor allem in den Dörfern Râmungân, Nawzâd und Čišme Gâv, die

im nördlichen Arabkhane liegen. Vereinzelt kommt stimmhaftes [d] auch in anderen Ortschaften vor, während der stimmlose Interdental [t] in Arabkhane in der Tat selten zu belegen ist (Dahlgren 2005: 163). Größtenteils haben sich die aar. Interdentale zu [z] und [s] entwickelt.

Durch die Formen des Demonstrativpronomens (proximal m. Sg. *dā*, *zā* und *dā*) lassen sich Isoglossen gut bestimmen. Ein wichtiges Merkmal für die dialektale Gliederung Arabkhanes ist außerdem die Verteilung der Affrizierung von *k/g* (< aar. *q*) zu *č/ǧ*: *čān* ~ *kān* „er war“, *yūsiǧ* ~ *yūsīg* „er bewahrt“, *ǧaṣad* ~ *gaṣad* (zur Bildung der Verlaufsform beim Verb). In Khalaf und seinen arabischen Nachbarorten ist ein solcher Variantenreichtum nicht gegeben.

Morphologie

Auch morphologisch gibt es Unterschiede. Während die Form des Partizips Pl. m. im II. Verbalstamm im südlichen Arabkhane, so etwa bei meinem Gewährsmann aus Tīgdar, als *imčabbrīn* „großziehen“ erscheint, wird im zentral gelegenen Ḥasanābād (arab. *Ḥusnāve*) *minkabbrīn* ~ *minčabbrīn* gebildet. Ein weiteres Beispiel ist die häufige Wurzel *s-w-y* „tun, machen“ (Perf. 3. m. Sg. *savva* ~ *sayya*): *imsayy*, *imsayye*, *imsīn*, *imsayyāt* vs. *minsayy*, *minsayye*, *minsīn*, *minsayyāt*. In Khalaf lauten diese Formen *mičabbrīn* und *miṭayy*, *miṭayye*, *miṭīn*, *miṭayyāt*.

In Dūzingān und Būrgān konnte ich als Suffix der 2. m. Sg. *-ok* [ɔk] registrieren, während es in Arabkhane sonst *-ak* lautet: *xāltok* „deine Tante“, *inšūfok* „wir sehen dich“. Das Suffix für die 3. m. Sg. lautet in Arabkhane größtenteils *-eh*, in Būrgān jedoch ist es ein deutlich zu unterscheidendes *-ah* und entspricht der Form des Khalaf-Arabischen. Ein von Dahlgren (2005: 165) postuliertes *-u* findet sich in Arabkhane nicht.

Interessant sind die kurzvokalischen Endungen der Formen des Imperfekts und Partizips, die neben den üblichen Endungen auf *-īn* (2. f. Sg.), *-ūn* (2./3. m. Pl.), *-īn* (Part. m. Pl.) vorkommen: *yihanǧmūna* „sie sprechen“, *yikūnūna* „sie sind“, *ǧādīna* „wir/sie gingen, ihr gingt“, *mistīna* „sie wurden“, *čāynīna* „sie waren“. Diese konnte ich nur in meinen Texten aus Arabkhane feststellen. Es scheint sich dabei um ein Phänomen der Sprechpause zu handeln. Besonders häufig treten sie bei einem Sprecher aus Ḥasanābād auf. In einer Aufzeichnung aus Sarvar wird auch die Kopula um *-a* erweitert: *mutavaǧǧīh hastīna?* „verstehen Sie?“. Informanten aus Khalaf lehnen diese „paragogischen“ Formen ganz ab.

In einem großen Teil der Aufnahmen aus Arabkhane erscheinen Pausalformen mit Auslautdiphthongierung. Dies betrifft insbesondere die Kopula: *-hu* wird zu *-how*, *-hi* zu *-hey*. Dahlgrens Tabelle der Personalpronomina (2005: 164) mit den Formen *ehey* „sie“ und *entaw* „ihr (m.)“ lässt sich so gut erklären. Fragt man isolierte Formen ab, wird die Pausalform genannt: *ihēy#* für *ihī* „sie (f. Sg.)“ und *intow#* für *intū* „ihr (m. Pl.)“. Derlei Formen sind in Khalaf unbekannt.

4 Weitere Unterschiede zwischen Khalaf und Arabkhane

Sehr auffällig unterscheidet sich das Arabische Khalafs von dem Dialekt Arabkhane durch die, bis auf wenige Ausnahmen, ausbleibende Imala (*ummā māmin* vs. *immā māmin* „es gibt kein Wasser“, aber *lā* „nein“). Es wird hier folglich zwischen *ā* und *â* unterschieden (Seeger 2002: 632).

Ein langes /u/ wird bei den Arabern Khalafs deutlich als [ʊ] realisiert (*mūt* [mʊ:t] „Tod“, *mašhūr* „bekannt“, *yigūlūn* „sie sagen“). In Arabkhane ist dieser Laut nicht oder weniger deutlich zu hören (*sūd* [sʊ:d] „schwarz“ Pl.). In jedem Fall entspricht er nicht „German ü“, das Dahlgren (2005: 163) bei *žūft* (für *gift*) „a couple; zwei“ transkribiert.

Ein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen dem Arabischen Khalafs und Arabkhane liegt in der Silbenstruktur. Während in Khalaf die Formen *yuftunūn* „sie verstehen“, *úftuni* (Imperativ f. Sg.) „versteh!“ gebildet werden, lauten sie in Arabkhane mit Vokalumsprung *yufutnūn*, *úftni*. Kurzvokale in offenen unbetonten Silben werden in Khalaf geduldet: aar. *kubār* „groß (Pl.)“ > Khalaf *kubâr*, Arabkhane *ikbâr*; aar. *xarūf* „Lamm“ > Khalaf *xurūf*, Arabkhane *ixrūf*; Pl. zu *gubbe* „Haus“ > Khalaf *gubab*, Arabkhane *igbab*; 2. m./3. f. Sg. *s-w-y* > Khalaf *tīṭayy*, Arabkhane *itsayy* „du machst, sie macht“. Dies gilt auch bei Entlehnungen aus dem Persischen: pers. *šelang* „Wasserschlauch“ > Khalaf *šiling*, Arabkhane *išling*; pers. *ğelow* „vorn, vor“ > Khalaf *ğilāv-*, Arabkhane *iğlāv-*; pers. *ğavân* „jung, jugendlich“ > Khalaf *ğavân*, Arabkhane *iğvân*.

Besonders auffällig erscheinen mir in der Sprache Khalafs auch Geminationen, wie sie in Arabkhane nicht vorkommen, so im hier vorgestellten Text 3 (*do mmâh* „zwei Monate“) und Text 4 (*do ppiyâle* „zwei Glas“, *kaleppad* „halbgar“, *liḏḏatti* „schmackhaft“).

Eine fakultative Kopula wird bei den Khalafis auch für die Vergangenheitsform verwendet (Text 3: *ğâyul-hu* „er sagte“, *čâyne-hi* „sie war“), was in Arabkhane wohl nie der Fall ist.

Lexikalisch fallen das Verb *čamčam*, *yičamčum* „errichten, machen, herstellen, (zu)bereiten“ und das Adjektiv *ḏēn* (< *zēn*) „gut, schön“ auf, während Arabkhane hier ausschließlich *suḥab*, *yušhub* und überwiegend *ṣayn* verwendet. Die Präposition „bei“ mit Suffix hat in Khalaf immer die Basis *ṣind-*, in Arabkhane hingegen mit Assimilation üblicherweise die Basis *ṣinn-*. Eine Art Fokuspartikel besitzen beide Dialekte. In Khalaf lautet sie *-ham*, in Arabkhane *-hom*.

5 Texte

Die hier veröffentlichten Texte stellen meine ersten Transkriptionen aus Khorasan dar. Sie sind gleichzeitig die ersten längeren Dialektproben aus Arabkhane überhaupt. Da ich noch nicht in allen Punkten zu endgültigen Schlüssen gelangt bin, ist die Notierung der Texte eher „konservativ“. Die Artikulation von /ʃ/ ist bei manchen

Sprechern sehr schwach, ebenso ist das Merkmal der Emphase in Khorasan ganz aufgegeben. Die Transkription des Persischen im sprachlichen Kommentar zu den Übersetzungen orientiert sich am Wörterbuch Junker und Alavi. Sie bildet möglichst genau die iranische Orthographie ab und ist ansonsten selbsterklärend.

Spätestens nach Abschluss meiner Arbeit sollen die den Texten zugrunde liegenden Tondokumente auf den Seiten des Heidelberger Semitischen Tonarchivs¹ veröffentlicht werden.

5.1 Arabkhane (Fireydūn)

Der folgende Auszug aus einer knapp 20-minütigen Aufnahme mit Ḥisan Nāderi (50 Jahre alt) ist am Rande einer Beerdigung in Arabkhane entstanden. Der Sprecher stammt aus dem Ort Fireydūn und ist von Beruf Goldhändler. In Mūd, auf halber Strecke von Birjand zu den Dörfern Arabkhanes gelegen, hatte ich bei einer abendlichen, geselligen Zusammenkunft, die sie hier *fitimiyye* nennen, erste Kontakte zu den Arabern der Region geknüpft. Einige Brüder aus der Familie Ğamāli begleiteten mich zeitweise bei meiner Materialsammlung in Arabkhane, so wie bei diesem Gespräch.

Text 1: Mobiltelefone für Arabkhane

1. *ana... farz yisti² xidimtak³ in – farz mā sēt⁴ xidimtak in... fi sanat šast-o pang⁵ tā šast-o haft tā šast-o nuh sarbâz⁵ kunt. 2. tā sanat šast-o nuh. sanat šast-o nuh al xidimti⁶ tammat, min tirīg vâḥid min rufgâni āšnā istēt⁷, ġidēt id Dubey. 3. min Dubey be-istilâḥ⁸ zamân af fayyēt hanūz bass am-mübâyl cān ġāy il Īrân. 4. rifiġi ġâl in âġâ⁹ inta ġâm taġa faġ-ġift ġüşiyât¹⁰ mübâyl-hom yâ rûḥak išir ham ač-črāyat¹¹ be-istilâḥ*

1 SemArch. Semitisches Tonarchiv. <http://semarch.ub.uni-heidelberg.de>.

2 Pers. *farz šodan* „vorgetragen, referiert, dargelegt werden“.

3 Entspricht pers. *xedmat-e šomā* zur höflichen Anrede.

4 Pers. *farz kardan* „vortragen, referieren, darlegen“.

5 Pers. *sarbâz* „Soldat“.

6 Pers. *xedmat* hier: „Militärdienst“.

7 Pers. *āšnā šodan* „kennenzulernen“.

8 Pers. *be eštelâḥ* „wie man sagt, sozusagen“. Floskel, die im Folgenden nicht immer übersetzt wird.

9 Pers. *āqā* „Herr“.

10 Pers. *ġušī* „Handy, Mobiltelefon“.

11 Pers. *kerāye* „Transportkosten“.

havâpeymât[ak]¹² ... iĉrâyat darbak tutlaŝ¹³. 5. širēt ġift ġušiyyât mûbâyl-o fayyēt¹⁴ il Īrân, šift in âġâ ŝaġab¹⁵! xubzin ŝayn fihîn. 6. ġēt-o gašt al-âxar al ġidēt panġ tâ¹⁶ širēt, gašt as-suyyimi¹⁷ al ġidēt il Dubey fayyēt fay-yek mâh¹⁸ ŝubar ġidēt dah tâ širēt. 7. ġarż-o ġüle¹⁹-vo filân mâ kun ŝinni zahab-hom, kull ġušiyye dâk az-zamân ĉânt sad hazâr tuman, sad tuman kunt ašriha, sad-o sî tuman-hom kunt abîŝha, sad-o sî-yo panġ tuman kunt abîŝha. 8. ġidēt dah tâ fiĉir asayy²⁰ širēt, gašt as-suyyimi al ġidēt xulâsa²¹ vâz yâ vâhid irtifaġt²²-o. 9. dâk ġâl in âġâ – faf-furûdgâh²³ ĉân kâr yisayy – ġâl: âġâ, agar itrîd, itġib – ĉûn²⁴ ĉân yâŝarif ab-bîrġandiyye af-ŝarab – ġâl inta min vên hast, gult ana ŝarab bîrġandi, min vâġih²⁵ pâsporti. 10. ġâl inta ŝarab bîrġandi hast, gult ey, ġâl: âġâ, ŝarab ab-bîrġandiyye xalġin xayli ŝayn-hum. dâ xudeh²⁶ kârmand²⁷ af-furûdgâh ĉân. [Ĥamid: Dubey yâ Īrân?] lâ, fi Īrân, fi furûdgâh am-Miŝhad. 11. ĉân yâŝarif be-istilâh ŝarab ab-bîrġandiyye, ġâl in âġâ, af-ŝarab xalġin ŝayn-hum, agar itrîd itġib ġušiyy[ât], kârak eš-hu? emata tâġadi? 12. ġâl inta do hafte piš²⁸ ġâdi, ŝuġleh fam-mizlin²⁹ ĥassâs ĉân tal³⁰ af-furûdgâh, ġâl inta ilê taġa... gult ana ĥaġġatân aĥa³¹ aġa aġib ġušiyyât, dâk as-siri³² panġ tâ ġâyib has-siri dah tâ ġâyib. 13. ġâl had-dah tâ ĉe ġad ilak istifâde³³ fihîn? gult in ĥudûd ŝisad tuman. navad tuman xarġi³⁴ ĉân yisti, kunt aġa va afiyy ĥudûd divist tuman istifâde ĉân yisti. 14. ġâl âġâ, inta min vên hast? gult ana ŝarab Bîrġand, ġâl in filâni tâŝarfeh? gult ey, falâni? gult ey, ġâl âġâ, min âssaŝ il baŝd³⁵

12 Pers. *havâpeymâ* „Flugzeug“.

13 Arabkhane *tulaŝ*, *yutlaŝ* „hinausgehen, herauskommen“.

14 Arabkhane *fayya*, *yifyy* „zurückkehren, zurückkommen“ < aar. *fy-ʔʔ*?

15 Pers. *ŝaġab* „wunderbar, erstaunlich“.

16 Pers. *tâ* „Einheit, Stück“.

17 Pers. (dial.) *seyyom* „dritter, -e, -es“.

18 Pers. *mâh* „Monat“.

19 Pers. *qarż-o qûle* „Darlehen, Anleihe“.

20 Pers. *fekr kardan* „denken“.

21 Pers. *xolâŝe* „Zusammenfassung; mit einem Wort, kurz gesagt“.

22 Aar. *r-f-q* im VIII. Verbalstamm.

23 < *fi af-furûdgâh*; pers. *forûdgâh* „Flughafen“.

24 Pers. *ĉûn* „weil, da“.

25 Pers. *az rûy-e* „wegen“ (*az* „aus“, *rûy* „Gesicht; Grund, Ursache“).

26 Pers. *xod-* „selbst; eigen“.

27 Pers. *kârmand* „Angestellter“.

28 Pers. *do hafte piš* „vor zwei Wochen“.

29 < *minzlin* „ein Ort“.

30 Präp. „in“.

31 Interjektion, etwa „sieh her, schau“.

32 Pers. *serî* „Serie, Reihe“.

33 Pers. *estefâde* „Nutzen; Gewinn, Profit“.

34 Pers. *xarġ* „Ausgabe, Kosten, Aufwendungen“.

35 Pers. *az in be baŝd* „von nun an“.

agar itrîd itġîb, ana hâzir hast in afâwnak, ġîb. 15. bilâxara³⁶ agar šift in ſayn-hu ili-hom faš-šitnîn kun int³⁷. 16. fay-yeki do sâlin³⁸ be har hâl³⁹ hal... šuġl idâme intêteh⁴⁰, alhamdulillâh, ſayn-hom čân, bade⁴¹ mâ čân. 17. fi Dubey tiſallamt af-ſurubiyye, ixirtar ſurubîti taġribân kâmil istat⁴². 18. va ilsâni al-be-istilâh ſurubîti ak kâmil istat, bâſis ista⁴³ in tal al-be-istilâh ġâmiſat⁴⁴ af-ſarab ixirtar agdir rufġân âhavi⁴⁵, va ixirtar agdir be-ġowle maſrûf⁴⁶ ſarzam be-ħuzûrak⁴⁷ in faġ-ġûrâtin⁴⁸ masalân murâvide⁴⁹ asayy yâhum-o agûl-o asmaſ-o min hah-hinâġîm. 19. ássaſ-hom ana rufġânin xayli ſayn ſinni fi ſIrâġ, uhum yiġûn il am-Miſhad ſinni, ſâyad biſt rûz yek mâh yiġfûn⁵⁰, faš-ſahr⁵¹ masalân yiġfûn, biſt rûz yiġfûn ſinni, ana-hom áġadi aħa hamâč. 20. masalan ana xudi avval am-Mħarram ġâdi ſIrâġ va ħudûd dah rûz ſin ham ar-riftġi čâyin. 21. bastigiyye [ſinneħ⁵² in] inta bardâštak⁵³ min ax-xalg če yikûn. 22. xayli vâħdîn min af-ſirâġiyye yiġûn in vâġeſân⁵⁴ be-xâtir⁵⁵ fam-masâſil⁵⁶ uxra yiġûn il Īrân, be-dilil in ihna al-ân⁵⁷ ixtisâdna⁵⁸ fam-miġdâr ziſif misti va uhum be-ġowle maſrûf fam-miġdârin ixirtar minna zahabhum ravâġ⁵⁹ ſinneħ, ė... yiġûn be-xâtir sū?iſtifâde⁶⁰ il Īrân 23. yaſni assân⁶¹ be-xâtir ſarz yisti xidimtak in assân fam-masâſil ġânibiyye yiġûn, lâ be-xâtir

- 36 Pers. *be-l-âxare* „endlich, schließlich“. Wird wiederholt verwendet und bleibt oft unübersetzt.
- 37 Konditionalsatz. Das arab. *kun int* „gib“ der Apodosis ist offensichtlich dem persischen *mî-dâde bâš* (Durativform) nachgebildet. Meine Informanten glossieren pers. *agar didi xûb ast be man ham čizi mî-dâde bâš*.
- 38 Pers. *yeki do sâli* „ein, zwei Jahre“.
- 39 Pers. *be har hâl* „in jedem Fall, jedenfalls“. Ist wie *be-istilâh* „sozusagen“ meist reine Füllphrase.
- 40 Pers. *edâme dâdan* „fortführen, fortsetzen, fortfahren“.
- 41 Pers. *badî* „Übel“.
- 42 Pers. *kâmel šodan* „sich vervollkommen, Vollkommenheit erlangen“.
- 43 Pers. *bâfeš šodan* „verursachen, zur Folge haben“.
- 44 Pers. *ġâmeſe* „Gesellschaft“.
- 45 Arabkhane *ħiva, yâħavi* „finden“.
- 46 Pers. *be qowl-e maſrûf* „wie man zu sagen pflegt“.
- 47 Pers. *ſarzam be ħozûr-e šomâ* etwa „lassen Sie mich Ihnen mitteilen“.
- 48 Pers. *yek ġûrhâ-yî* „gewissermaßen, auf eine Art, irgendwie“.
- 49 Pers. *morâvade* „freundschaftliche Beziehungen“.
- 50 Aar. *w-q-f: [yičfûn]* „sie bleiben“.
- 51 Hierfür in Arabkhane üblicherweise die Lexeme *burgġ* oder *mâh*, wie in Satz 6.
- 52 Pers. *bastegî dârad* „es hängt (davon) ab“.
- 53 Pers. *bardâšt* „Ansicht, Einstellung, Auffassung, Eindruck“.
- 54 Pers. *vâġeſan* „wirklich, in der Tat, wahrhaftig, echt“.
- 55 Pers. *be xâter* „wegen.“
- 56 Pers. *masʔale*, Pl. *masâʔel* „Frage, Thema, Gegenstand“.
- 57 Pers. *al-ân* „nun, jetzt, sofort“.
- 58 Pers. *eġtešâd* „Wirtschaft, Ökonomie“.
- 59 Pers. *ravâġ* „Umlauf, Verbreitung, Absatz“.
- 60 Pers. *sūʔestefâde* „Missbrauch, Ausnutzen“.
- 61 < pers. *ašlân* „überhaupt, eigentlich“.

az-zyāra⁶². 24. va be har ḥâl kull minzil ādmin ſayn hast, ādmin xāyis hast, dâlû al ana aſariſhum, ruſgâni al ana aſariſhum xalgin ſayn-hum alḥamdulillâh, muſkilin-hom yâhum mâ ſinni. 25. rûyehamraſte⁶³ bardâſti dar mowrid⁶⁴ al be-istilâh ſirâġiyye dâ-hu in taġribân haſtâd dar sadhum xalgin ſayn-hum. 26. hast talhum bilâxara, fi kull minzil ... hap-panġ tât⁶⁵ al- usâbiſ-hom yalham barâbar⁶⁶ mâhin, kullhin yalham ſayn⁶⁷ mâhin. 27. dâ isġîr-hu, dâ akbar-hu, dâ vâz akbartar-hu⁶⁸ dâ vâz aſġar-hu, kullâhid faſ-ſuġl yisayy. 28. age⁶⁹ inta dâ l-usbuſ lâ yikûn ſinnak il as-sarbâziyye mâ yivaddûnak⁷⁰, yigûlûn âġâ inta min as-sarbâziyye muſâſyisûnak⁷¹, durust-hu? 29. inta age ſarzam be-ḥuzûrak in hal-usbuſ lâ yikûn ſinnak gutt kâr mâ tigdir itsayy, hal-usbuſ lâ yikûn ſinnak masalan eſ? kull usbuḥ fak-... hal-panġ tât usâbiḥ kullâhid fak-kâr yisân, kullâhid ... kullhîn-hom be-istilâh yalham barâbar mâhinna. 30. kull minzil himâĉ-hu, kull iġtimâſ, fi ham aġ-ġaryat xudna-hom inta itbaḥḥir kullhum ſaynin ſayn mahum, kullhum xarâbin xarâb mâhum, ham ſayn hast, ham xāyis hast. 31. bilâxara aſ-ſarab-hom himâĉ-hum. fi xidîmtak hast, fârmin⁷². [Frage V. B.: Verstehen Iraker das Arabische von Arabkhane?] 32. ſarab ſIrâġ ilsânna mâ yufutnûneh [...] ammâ al-ân ſurubiyatna yâ l-ḥuzuriyye muta?assifâne⁷³ fam-miġdârin be-istilâh mixtalta va xayli ſayn mutavvaġih mâ yistûn⁷⁴.

Hisan Nâderi, 19.09.2019

1. Ich ... es sei dir erzählt ... ich habe dir nicht erzählt, dass ich von fünfundsechzig bis siebenundsechzig, bis neunundsechzig Soldat war.⁷⁵ 2. Bis zum Jahr neunundsechzig. Als mein Militärdienst im Jahr neunundsechzig endete, hörte ich durch einen meiner Freunde über Dubai und ging dorthin. 3. Als ich zurückkehrte, war das Mobiltelefon

62 Pers. *ziyarat* „Pilgerfahrt, Wallfahrt“.

63 Pers. *rûyehamraſte* „insgesamt, alles in allem“.

64 Pers. *dar mowred-e* „im Fall“.

65 Pers. *panġ tâ* „fünf Stück“ mit arab. Endung. Zu *âġâ* „Herr“ wird *âġâti* „mein Ehemann“ gebildet.

66 Pers. *barâbar* „gleichwertig, gleich“.

67 Pers. *ſeyn* „gleich“.

68 Arab. Elativ mit pers. *-târ* kontaminiert, vgl. oben Satz 17 u. 22 *ixîrtar* „besser“.

69 < pers. *agar* „wenn, falls“.

70 Arabkhane *vadda, yivaddi* (II tert.inf.) „führen, wegtragen, hinbringen, hinschaffen“.

71 Pers. *moſâf kardân* „freistellen, befreien“.

72 Arab. *farman, yifarmin* zu pers. *farmûdan (farmâ-)* „befehlen, gebieten, sagen“, *be-farmâ(yid)* „bitte sehr!“.

73 Pers. *mota?assifâne* „leider, bedauerlicherweise“.

74 Pers. *motavaġġeh ſodan* „verstehen, begreifen“.

75 Die Jahre 1365–1369 des iranischen Kalenders entsprechen etwa den Jahren 1986–1990 abendländischer Zählung.

gerade erst nach Iran gekommen. 4. Mein Freund sagte: Hör, wenn du jetzt gehst, kaufe (doch) ein, zwei Handys für dich, dass auch die Kosten (Sg.) für das Flugzeug, für deine Reise dabei herausspringen. 5. Ich kaufte zwei Handys und kehrte nach Iran zurück, da sah ich, na sowas!, damit ist gutes Geld zu machen („in ihnen ist gutes Brot“). 6. Ich kam und ging noch einmal und kaufte fünf Stück, als ich das dritte Mal nach Dubai ging, kehrte ich zurück, es verging ein Monat, und ich ging und kaufte zehn Stück. 7. [Durch] Darlehen und ähnliches, ich hatte kein Geld, jedes Handy kostete damals 100.000 Toman, für 100 (tausend) Toman kaufte ich sie und verkaufte sie für 130 (tausend) Toman, für 135 (tausend) Toman verkaufte ich sie. 8. Ich ging und kaufte, denke ich, zehn Stück. Als ich das dritte Mal ging, befreundete ich mich dann schließlich mit einem. 9. Der sagte – er arbeitete am Flughafen – er sagte: Hör, wenn du willst, bring ... denn er kannte die Birjander Araber, er sagte: Woher bist Du? Ich sagte: Ich bin von den Arabern Birjands, wegen meines Passes. 10. Er sagte: Bist du Birjander Araber?, da sagte ich: Ja. Er sprach: Die Araber von Birjand sind sehr gute Leute. Er selbst war Angestellter am Flughafen. [In Dubai oder Iran?] Nein, in Iran, am Flughafen von Mashhad. 11. Er kannte die Birjander Araber und sprach: Die Araber sind gute Leute, wenn du Handys mitbringen willst ... was ist deine Arbeit?, wann gehst du? 12. Er sagte: Du bist vor zwei Wochen gegangen ... – seine Arbeit war im Sicherheitsbereich („an einem sensiblen Ort“) am Flughafen, er sagte: Wozu gehst du? Ich sagte: Schau, ich gehe und bringe wirklich Handys mit, jenes Mal brachte ich fünf Stück mit, diesmal zehn Stück. 13. Er fragte: Wieviel Gewinn machst du mit diesen zehn? Ich antwortete: Etwa 300 (tausend) Toman. 90 (tausend) waren meine Ausgaben, ich ging und kam zurück und machte etwa 200 (tausend) Toman Gewinn. 14. Er fragte: Woher bist du?, ich sagte: Ich bin Araber aus Birjand. Er fragte: Kennst du den und den?, ich sagte: Ja. – Jenen auch?, ich sagte: Ja. Er sagte: Von jetzt an bin ich bereit, dir zu helfen, wenn du (Handys) bringen willst, bring (ruhig)! 15. Wenn du schließlich siehst, dass es ein gutes Geschäft ist, gib mir auch etwas (davon ab). 16. Ich führte die Sache jedenfalls ein, zwei Jahre lang weiter. Gott sei Dank, es war gut, nichts Schlechtes war (dabei). 17. In Dubai lernte ich Arabisch, mein Arabisch wurde besser, es wurde regelrecht vollständig. 18. Die Tatsache, dass meine Sprache, mein Arabisch, sozusagen nun vollkommen geworden war, führte dazu, dass ich in der Gesellschaft der Araber besser Freunde finden konnte und dass ich auf eine Art – wie man zu sagen pflegt – freundschaftliche Beziehungen zu ihnen aufbauen konnte. Ich sprach und hörte und dergleichen. 19. Auch jetzt habe ich sehr gute Freunde im Irak. Sie kommen nach Mashhad zu mir, bleiben bei mir vielleicht zwanzig Tage oder einen Monat lang, sie bleiben einen Monat lang oder zwanzig Tage bei mir, und auch ich gehe genauso (zu ihnen). 20. So ging ich selbst Anfang des Muḥarram in den Irak und war etwa zehn Tage mit meinem Freund. 21. – Es hängt davon ab, wie deine Auffassung von den Leuten ist. 22. Es gibt viele Iraker, die in der Tat zu manch anderen Zwecken nach Iran kommen. Dadurch, dass unsere Wirtschaft nun ein wenig schwach geworden ist, und ihr Geld ein wenig besseren Absatz findet als unseres ... kommen sie nach Iran,

um ihre Stellung auszunutzen. 23. Also sie kommen eigentlich, so möchte ich es sagen, für abseitige Angelegenheiten, nicht der Pilgerfahrt wegen.⁷⁶ 24. Jedenfalls gibt es überall gute Menschen und schlechte Menschen (Sg.). Die, die ich kenne, meine Freunde, die ich kenne, sind Gott sei Dank gute Leute. Und ich habe kein Problem mit ihnen. 25. Insgesamt ist mein Eindruck von den Irakern der, dass etwa siebzig Prozent von ihnen gute Leute sind. 26. Es gibt überall auch ... diese fünf Finger sind auch nicht alle gleich, sie sind nicht einer wie der andere. 27. Dieser ist klein, jener ist größer, jener (andere) ist wieder größer und jener wiederum ist kleiner. Ein jeder (Finger) hat seine Aufgabe. 28. Wenn du diesen Finger zum Beispiel nicht hast, ziehen sie dich zum Militärdienst nicht ein. Sie sagen ... sie stellen dich vom Militärdienst frei, ist es nicht so? 29. Wenn du etwa diesen Finger nicht hast, kannst du überhaupt keine Arbeit verrichten, wenn dir dieser Finger fehlt, (dann) was? Jeder dieser fünf Finger hat seine Aufgabe, kurzum sie gleichen alle nicht einander. 30. Überall ist es so, in jeder Gesellschaft. Auch wenn du in unserem eigenen Dorf schaust ... sie sind nicht alle durch und durch gut und auch nicht durch und durch schlecht. Es gibt gute und schlechte Leute. 31. So sind auch die Araber. (Wenn du noch etwas wissen möchtest,) stehe ich dir zur Verfügung, bitte sehr. 32. Die Araber des Irak verstehen unsere Sprache nicht. [...] Aber unser Arabisch ist nun mit dem Persischen leider ein wenig vermischt und sehr gut verstehen sie es nicht.

5.2 Arabkhane (Râmungân)

Der folgende Text ist wieder ein Auszug aus einer längeren Aufnahme, die noch nicht vollständig transkribiert ist. Sie entstand während meiner zweiten Reise nach Arabkhane. Das Dorf Râmungân hat, wie viele andere Orte Arabkhanes, kaum noch dauerhaft hier lebende Einwohner. Die in ganz Iran verbreitete Landflucht sorgte, verschärft durch anhaltende Trockenjahre, dafür, dass seine Bevölkerung in die größeren Städte Irans abwanderte.

Doch kehren viele Araber im Sommer oder zu besonderen Anlässen nach Arabkhane zurück. So verhält es sich auch bei diesem älteren Ehepaar, dem Tischler iMhimmad Xazâfipûr (74 Jahre alt) und seiner Frau Gulafrûz bint Karblâ Ibrâhîm (70 Jahre alt). Die Sommermonate verbringen sie in Râmungân, während sie das übrige Jahr mittlerweile in Birjand wohnen.

76 Gemeint ist die Prostitution in Mashhad, für die die Stadt ebenso bekannt ist wie für den Schrein des Emam Reza, der eine wichtige Pilgerstätte auch für viele Iraker ist.

Text 2: Broterwerb in Arabkhane

1. [Ehefrau:] *agar čāyin ansiġ, ansiġ gabbe kull aš-šav*⁷⁷... *ləl, ləl va nahār čāyin alaggut, alaggut himāč gabbe gabbe vāz*... 2. [Ehemann:] *al-ləl kān tášalig*⁷⁸ *ičrâġ*⁷⁹, *zamānin kān ičrâġ dasti*⁸⁰, *zamānin kān ičrâġ ġirsüz*⁸¹, *zamānin kān ičrâġ tür*⁸², *zamān al pišrafte ičrâġ tür*. 3. *ħalabāt*⁸³ *naft kān yiġi masalán đik az-zamān kull ħalab naft, polomšode*⁸⁴ *kānán, maxsūs il čurġ at-tür*. 4. *kull ħalab kān čār tuman-o paŋġ ġerân, kull ħalab čār tuman-o paŋġ ġerân, maxsūs il čurġāt at-tür*. 5. *kān yinsġán čand tá masalán dušâyif ġâšdât himān-o al-ləl nahār yinsġán, yinsġán yilaggtán gabbe*. 6. *bašd đik ag-gabbāt vāz kun naġa iħna kāsibiyye insayy, kun naġa Yazd, kun naġa Isfahân, kun náġadi masalán Tihrân*. 7. *vāz hinđik aġ-ġālīčāt*⁸⁵ *kun inbīšhín. hom kāsibiyye kun insayy, vo-hom kun inbīš masalan đik af-farš maršāt*⁸⁶ *ađ dušâyifna kâr yisán*. 8. *kun náġadi masalán do mâh se mâh, kun insayy kāsibiyye vāz kun infiyy niġi*. 9. *đik az-zamān arzāniyye*⁸⁷ *kān, kun naġa it Tihrân, min Tihrân min ab-bāzār kun nurkab, yā mâšnāt ad de tabaġa, mâšnāt de tabaġa kānán*. 10. *kān yâxdán de ġerân, de ġerân bilithín*⁸⁸ *kān, kun nurkab fas-sāsa fam-māšín kun innām, mā kun innahhey*# 11. *kun innahhi iš Šimrân, kun insayy basāt*⁸⁹ *hânīkât, kun insayy basāt-o kun inbīš sâšāt-o kun inbīš masalán iħdam-o kun inbīš masalán zabt*⁹⁰-o *hāk šitnāt kun inbīš-o* 12. *vāz min bašd de mâh se mâh, kun niġi, zindigiyatna*⁹¹ *idâme nintīha, xarġ-o maxāreġna*⁹². 13. *hān-hom kun nizraf, aš-štā, kun naġa masalán age*⁹³ *taraktul kān yā taraktul, zamān al ġabl at-taraktul yā huvâyiš, yā huvâyiš, yā ħmīr, yā bugar*. 14. *kun nizraf masalan piŋġâh šast man, če faġ-ġibile če fab-byâvân*⁹⁴. 15. *vāz kun naġa l-ħisâd, kun naġa l-ħisâd, am-mriyy va š-fyāl kullna*. 16. *al kān findeh mōtor mōtor, ab bīmōtor*

77 Pers. *šab* „Nacht, Abend“.

78 Aar. *š-l-q* für „(Feuer) anzünden“.

79 Pers. *čerâġ* „Lampe, Leuchte, Laterne“.

80 Pers. *čerâġ dasti* „Handlaterne“.

81 Pers. *ġerd* „rund, ringsum“, *sūxtan (sūz-)* „brennen, verbrennen“.

82 Pers. *tür* „Netz“, eine Art Strumpflampe.

83 Pers. *ħalab* „Blehbüchse, Blechkanne“.

84 *polomb šode* „verplombt“ ist ganz persisch ins Arabische entlehnt.

85 Pers. *qālīče* „kleiner Teppich, Läufer“.

86 Pers. *farš* „Teppich“, *marš* ist Reimwort.

87 Pers. *arzānī* Substantivbildung zu *arzān* „günstig, billig“.

88 Pers. *belit* „Fahrschein“.

89 Pers. *basat* „Verkaufsstand, Warenauslage“.

90 Pers. (*rādio*) *zabt* „Radiorekorder, Kassettenspieler“.

91 Pers. *zendegi* „Leben“.

92 Pers. *xarġ-o-maxāreġ* aus *xarġ* „Ausgabe, Kosten, Aufwendungen“ und *maxāreġ* „Ausgaben, Kosten“.

93 < pers. *agar* „wenn, falls“.

94 Pers. *biyābān* „Wüste, Steppe“.

yâ l-iḥmâra. 17. yâ ḥ-ḥmâra masalân kân yâgadi – dâ surubiyye yuftun, surubi-hu, kullhîn gafad yuftunhîn! – [Ehefrau: *ḥatmán*⁹⁵ yuftunhîn mâsâllâh dâ] kun naġa náhasud, kun náhasud-o kun insîha xarman⁹⁶-o kun inḍarriha-vo kun invaddîha il ar-raḥḥa.

iMḥimmad Xazâṣipûr und Gulafrûz bint Karblâ Ibrâḥîm, 30.09.2019

1. Wenn ich Teppiche wob, wob ich den ganzen Abend, Nacht und Tag knüpfte ich, so einen Teppich nach dem anderen. 2. Nachts zündete sie eine Lampe an, es gab eine Zeit, da waren es Handlampen, eine Zeit, da waren es *gerdsûz*-Lampen, eine Zeit waren es *tûr*-Lampen, später waren es *tûr*-Lampen. 3. Zu jener Zeit kamen Öldosen, jede Öldose ... sie waren verplombt, speziell für die *tûr*-Lampen. 4. Jede Dose kostete vier Toman und fünf Kran, speziell für *tûr*-Lampen. 5. Ein paar Frauen pflegten (gemeinsam) zu weben, sie saßen hier und woben, knüpften Tag und Nacht Teppiche. 6. Mit jenen Teppichen verdienten wir dann unseren Lebensunterhalt, wir gingen nach Yazd, nach Esfahan oder zum Beispiel nach Teheran. 7. Dann verkauften wir jene Läufer. Wir verdienten somit unseren Lebensunterhalt und verkauften auch jene Teppiche, die unsere Frauen gefertigt hatten. 8. Wir gingen beispielsweise für zwei, drei Monate, verdienten unseren Lebensunterhalt, dann kehrten wir zurück, kamen wieder. 9. Zu jener Zeit war alles günstig, wir fuhren nach Teheran, von Teheran, vom Bazar stiegen wir in doppelstöckige Fahrzeuge⁹⁷ ein, es waren doppelstöckige Fahrzeuge. 10. (Dafür) nahmen sie zwei Kran, ein Fahrschein kostete zwei Kran, wir stiegen ein, wir schliefen eine Stunde im Wagen und kamen noch nicht an. 11. Wir kamen in Šemîrân⁹⁸ an, machten dort einen Verkaufsstand, wir machten einen Verkaufsstand und verkauften Uhren. Wir verkauften zum Beispiel Kleidung, Kassettenspieler und solche Dinge verkauften wir. 12. Dann nach zwei, drei Monaten, kamen wir zurück, führten unser Leben weiter, (mit) unseren Ausgaben und dergleichen. 13. Hier säten wir, im Winter⁹⁹, wir fuhren mit dem Traktor, wenn es einen Traktor gab, vor der Zeit des Traktors gingen wir mit Lasttieren, mit Lasttieren, (also) mit Eseln, mit Rindern. 14. Wir säten fünfzig sechzig Man¹⁰⁰, sei es im Gebirge, sei es in der Wüstenebene. 15. Dann gingen wir zur Ernte, zur Ernte gingen wir, Frauen und Kinder, wir alle. 16. Wer ein Motorrad hatte (fuhr mit dem) Motorrad, der ohne Motorrad (ging) mit dem Esel. 17. Mit dem Esel pflegte man

95 Pers. *ḥatmán* „ganz gewiss, unbedingt, bestimmt“.

96 Pers. *xarman* „Kornhaufen, ungedroschenes Getreide“.

97 Es handelt sich hierbei wohl um Doppeldeckerbusse, die in den 1980er Jahren in der Hauptstadt Irans noch in Betrieb waren. Der Transport sperriger Ware auf dem Dach eines Busses ist nicht unüblich, wie ich selbst an Teherans südlichem Busterminal beobachten konnte.

98 Wohlhabender nördlicher Bezirk Teherans.

99 Gemeint ist die Zeit vor Nouruz, die zum Trockenfeldbau (d. h. ohne künstliche Bewässerung) genutzt wird.

100 Altes Gewichtsmaß.

zu gehen, – der hier versteht ja Arabisch, er ist Araber, er versteht alle [Worte] – (unbedingt, er versteht sie alle, mašallah) wir gingen ernten, ernteten und machten einen Kornhaufen. Wir worfelten das Getreide und brachten es zur Mühle.

5.3 Khalaf

Diese Aufnahme aus dem rein arabischen Dorf Khalaf ist in Asadiye im Haus meines Freundes Hâmed Ğâni entstanden. Asadiye (ehemals Asadâbâd) ist ein etwas größerer Ort 40 km südlich von Khalaf. Die Grenze zu Afghanistan ist hier nicht mehr weit. Tracht und Aussehen der Bevölkerung spiegeln das auch deutlich wider.

Hâmed arbeitet als Lehrer in Hendevâlân und begleitete mich auf meinen Reisen in die arabischsprachigen Dörfer Darmiyâns. Er ist junger Familienvater und der sehr engagierte Ortsvorsteher (pers. *dehyâr*) Khalafs, so dass er noch viele Wochenenden in seinem Heimatdorf verbringt. An seinem eigenen arabischen Dialekt zeigt er großes Interesse. Dank ihm konnte ich auch die ersten Aufnahmen mit weiblichen Sprechern anfertigen, was bei den konservativeren Arabern Khalafs schwieriger war als bei den Bewohnern Arabkhanes, wo dies problemlos möglich ist.

Sprecher des Texts ist der 70-jährige Hiṭēn Xadâfi. Er stand mir nach der gerade eingefahrenen Berberitzenernte für Aufnahmen zur Verfügung und sprach neben dieser auch eine längere Geschichte über seine Zeit beim Militär auf Band.

Text 3: Der Tod meiner Mutter

1. *ane xîdmiti*¹⁰¹ *fi Ahvâd cānat, ġēt il muraxxaṭiyye*¹⁰², *min mūt ummi xubar mā kun ſindi*. 2. *gutt vâhid ili ſitin mā cān ġâyul-hu, telefonin-ham mā cān in dang yudurbûn*¹⁰³, *nâme*¹⁰⁴-*ham dîr*¹⁰⁵ *cān yînahi, du mmâh tûl cān yiġirr*¹⁰⁶ *in al-kâġaq*¹⁰⁷ *yiġi*. 3. *il muraxxaṭiyye ġēt, ġēt il Nûġâv, ġēt il Nûġâv, humû âxund*¹⁰⁸ *aſ ſindah muṭṭaf kunt agrâ, il ſindah aġ ġēt ġâl*: 4. *ilak fam-mōtortiklet âxuḍ tâ yivaddik il Xalaf. ġaſâde mā cān in mâšîyye*¹⁰⁹ *yôġodi*. 5. *fam-mōtortiklet ixadṭ, vare rāṭah rukabt, min Hendevâlân*

101 Pers. *xedmat* hier: „Militärdienst“.

102 Pers. *moraxxaṣi* hier: „Heimaturlaub“.

103 Pers. *zang zadan* „läuten, klingeln, anrufen (Telefon)“.

104 Pers. *nâme* „Brief, Schreiben“.

105 Pers. *dîr* „spät“.

106 Pers. *ṭûl kešîdan* „dauern, sich hinziehen“.

107 Pers. *kâġaz* „Papier; Brief, Dokument“.

108 Pers. *âxond* „(islam.) Geistlicher“.

109 Pers. *mâšîn* „Fahrzeug, Auto“. In Arabkhane wird die Form *mâšîn* verwendet.

aŝ ŝubarne, am-mōtori gâl in inte min mirîdît ummak xubar cãn ŝindak?, ane gâ ičalt¹¹⁰, gult magar¹¹¹ ummi mirîd čāyne-hi? 6. gâl lâ, ištibâh¹¹² gâbuđ, uxre čāyne-hi, mâ gâl ili. 7. gēne gidēne il Xalaf, gidēne il ag-gubbe ŝift ummi mahi, t̄āyalt in ummi vên-hi? gâlôw gâdye il gubbat uxtak. 8. fad-dikeke¹¹³ kunt, gâlôw nôgodi ŝar raddhe, fag-gašt ŝift uxti gât. 9. uxti ađ gât ŝift tičbi-o tiđi, hũ m-muħall futant in ummi mayyte-hi. báŝad min ŝiŝ mâh ač cãn mayyte ane futant. 10. hũ đ-damân lâ kâgađ cãn lâ telefōn cãn, xubar mâ cãn yôgodi yiđi. 11. vuld ŝammi-ham yâ mōtortiklet tađâduf¹¹⁴ cãn miđayy-hu, uhu-ham cãn mayyit, xayli đad nârâhe¹¹⁵ kunt. 12. muraxxađiti tammat fayyēt. 13. himũ t̄-tane min bađ ke nârâhe kunt, min ad-diplum ġubũl mâ ttēt¹¹⁶. 14. himũ t̄-tane diplum kunt ard águbđah, mardũd ittēt¹¹⁷. 15. uxũy ač cãn gāy il Ahvâđ-ham cãn yičbi, kunt agũl eŝ miđti yâk? cãn yiđũl iđi tũđaf, mâ gâl in ummne mayyte-hi. 16. tâ xudi ađ gēt il Xalaf futant in ummi mayyte-hi. [Hâmed: Allâ yirħamhe.]

Hĩtēn Xadâŝi, 24.10.2019

1. Mein Militärdienst war in Ahwaz, ich kam auf Heimaturlaub und wusste vom Tod meiner Mutter nichts. 2. Niemand hatte mir etwas gesagt, ein Telefon hatte ich auch nicht, dass sie hätten anrufen können, auch ein Brief kam erst spät an, zwei Monate dauerte es, dass ein Schreiben ankam. 3. Ich kam auf Heimaturlaub, ich kam nach Nũgâb¹¹⁸, nach Nũgâb kam ich. Jener Geistliche, bei dem ich Koranlesen lernte, sagte, als ich zu ihm gekommen war: 4. Ich werde dir ein Motorrad besorgen, das dich nach Khalaf bringen soll. Eine Straße gab es nicht, dass man mit dem Auto hätte fahren können. 5. Ich besorgte ein Motorrad, stieg hinter ihm [dem Fahrer] auf, wir hatten Hendevâlân¹¹⁹ passiert, da fragte mich der Fahrer: Wusstest du von der Krankheit deiner Mutter? Ich erschrak, fragte: War denn meine Mutter krank? 6. Er antwortete: Nein, da muss ich mich vertan haben, es war jemand anderes. Er wollte es mir nicht sagen. 7. Wir gingen und kamen nach Khalaf, gingen ins Haus, ich sah, dass meine Mutter nicht da war. Ich fragte, wo meine Mutter sei. Sie antworteten: Sie ist ins Haus deiner Schwester gegangen. 8. Ich verharrte einen kurzen Augenblick (im Haus), da

110 Pers. *gâ xordan* „überrascht sein, zusammenzucken, zusammenfahren“.

111 Pers. *magar* „etwa, denn“.

112 Pers. *eštēbâh* „Fehler, Irrtum, Versehen“.

113 Diminutiv zu *dakke* „Augenblick, Moment“.

114 Pers. *tašâđof* „Zusammenstoß, (Verkehrs-)Unfall“.

115 Pers. *nârâhat* „unruhig, bewegt, besorgt“.

116 Pers. *qabũl ŝodan* „angenommen werden; (eine Prüfung) bestehen“.

117 Pers. *mardũd ŝodan* „abgelehnt, verstoßen werden; (eine Prüfung) nicht bestehen, durchfallen“.

118 Ort 20 km südl. von Khalaf.

119 Ort 16 km südl. von Khalaf.

sagten sie, lasst uns zu ihr gehen. Da sah ich auf einmal, dass meine Schwester gekommen war. 9. Als meine Schwester da war, sah ich, sie weint und kommt (auf mich zu). Zu dem Zeitpunkt verstand ich, dass meine Mutter gestorben war. Ganze sechs Monate, nachdem sie gestorben war, begriff ich es erst. 10. Es gab damals kein Papier und kein Telefon, Nachrichten gingen und kamen nicht. 11. Auch mein Vetter hatte einen Unfall mit dem Motorrad gehabt, auch er war gestorben. Ich war sehr aufgewühlt. 12. Mein Heimaturlaub war zu Ende, ich kehrte zurück. 13. In jenem Jahr wurde ich zum Schulabschluss nicht zugelassen, da ich (so) aufgelöst war. 14. In jenem Jahr wollte ich den Schulabschluss machen, (doch) ich wurde abgelehnt. 15. Auch mein Bruder, der nach Ahwaz gekommen war, weinte. Da fragte ich: Was ist mit dir passiert? Er sagte: Meine Hand schmerzt, er wollte mir nicht sagen, dass unsere Mutter gestorben war. 16. Erst als ich selbst nach Khalaf kam, verstand ich, dass meine Mutter gestorben ist. [Ĥâmed: Gott sei ihr gnädig.]

Dieser Text stellt die erste publizierte Aufnahme mit einer Frau aus Khalaf dar. Da es einer meiner anfänglichen Besuche in dem Ort war, musste mein Begleiter Ĥâmed Ĝâni, der älteste Sohn der 60-jährigen Sprecherin Mâhganĝ Niřmati Ĝâni, nach einer kurzen Unterweisung das Aufnehmen in einem Nebenraum übernehmen. Erst bei meinen späteren Besuchen zeigte sich seine Mutter Ganĝi aufgeschlossener und gesellte sich auch zum Teetrinken zu uns. Sie erzählt von der Herstellung einer regionalen Speise.

Text 4: Aus der Küche Khorasans: *ĝulūrřir*

1. *ane Ganĝi hatte*¹²⁰-vo *be-řenâtnâme*¹²¹ *Mâhganĝ-e*¹²² *Niřmati bint ĥâĝi Diyâddin, vali be-mařfūr*¹²³ *umm Aĥmad ili tût yiřün*¹²⁴. *umm Aĥmad yigülün-o* 2. *tavdih faĝ-ĝude?in muĥalli*¹²⁵ *antikum*. 3. *yidiřün ĥunte fi had-dařt*¹²⁶, *ad-dařt al yaĥařdün*¹²⁷ *aĥ-ĥunte-vo yiĝbünhe fař-řavanderüd*¹²⁸-xo *fi nam*¹²⁹ *yiřün aĥ-ĥunte*. 4. *bařd yiřünhe fi*

120 Kopula fem. **ĥasta*.

121 Pers. *řenâsnâme* „Personalausweis, Geburtsurkunde“.

122 Mit Ezafe zwischen Vor- und Nachnamen wie im Persischen üblich.

123 Falsch für *mařhūr*.

124 Aar. *řawt*, nach pers. *ředâ kardan* „rufen“.

125 Pers. *maĥalli* „örtlich, lokal, einheimisch“.

126 Pers. *dařt* „Ebene, Flachland, Steppe, Wüste“.

127 Aar. *ĥ-ř-d: ĥuřad, yâĥařud* „ernten“.

128 Pers. *řabânerüz* „vierundzwanzig Stunden, Tag und Nacht“.

129 Pers. *nam* „Feuchtigkeit, Nässe“.

*fağ-ğidir*¹³⁰-o *yiraččbūnhe*¹³¹ *vağğ ad-doww*¹³². 5. *in xayli varpade*¹³³, *in dād kaleppad*¹³⁴ *yiṭti* 6. *hā m-muḥall vād fat-tātat*¹³⁵ *ḥilībin muḥalli yiriššūn fi vatṭ*¹³⁶ *hima ḥ-ḥunte-vo šūr yintūnah*. 7. *milḥ-ham be-indādt*¹³⁷ *al lādīm-hu yiṭūnah*. *yiṭūnah*, *dāk am-muḥallāt ay yiyabṭūnah vād yiğūn yituḥnūnah*, *ātyāb yiṭūnah*¹³⁸. 8. *yituḥnūnah-o vād min fam-mūxul yunxulūnah*. 9. *an-narm*¹³⁹ *ilah čān yigūlūn ḡulūršīr*, *ad-durušt*¹⁴⁰ *tāvāri*. 10. *dāk am-muḥallāt be-ḡūr ab-biriṅ ak-katte*¹⁴¹, *aṭ-tāvāri himāč piyāleyi*¹⁴² *do ppiyāle ummā čān yiṭūn*. 11. *al-ummā be-ḡūš čān yiḡi*¹⁴³, *aṭ-tāvāri čān yiriššūnah*, *vād čān yixallūnah vağğ ač-čirāḡ in hima l-ummā čān yiḡūš*. 12. *dāk am-muḥall dihin čān yiṭūnah-o fi damm*¹⁴⁴ *čān yiṭūnah tā vaxt aḡ dād dammah čān yiḡhar*¹⁴⁵ *in vād il maṭrafīyye yīnahi*¹⁴⁶. 13. *aḡ-ḡulūršīr-ham dād tire čān yiraččbūnah yā ummā*, *dāk am-muḥallāt šuvā-ham fiḥ čān yiṭūn*, *dāroduve*¹⁴⁷-*ham milḥ-o tundīyye*¹⁴⁸-*vo ḡardiyye*¹⁴⁹ *čān yiṭūnah-o be-ḡūr fāš*¹⁵⁰. 14. *dāk be-ḡūr fāš taṭavvur tavvu*¹⁵¹ *aḡ-ḡulūršīr čān yāklūnah*, *xayli-ham xušmidde*¹⁵²-*vo liḡdatti*¹⁵³ *čān*. [Ḥāmed: *tamām?*] ī:

Mâhganğ Niṣmati Ğâni, 27.09.2019

130 Aar. *qidr* „Kessel“.

131 Aar. *r-k-b* im II. Verbalstamm.

132 Aar. *ḡaw?* ist im Arabischen Khorasans „Feuer“.

133 Pers. *var-poxtan (paz-)*, 3. Sg. *var-pazad* „dass es kocht, siedet“. Arab. ist hier *yixtibid* oder *yiḡūš* zu erwarten.

134 Pers. *kaleh* „kurz“, *poxtan (paz-)* „kochen, siedend“.

135 Vgl. pers. *tās* „Schale“.

136 Aar. *wasṭ*.

137 Pers. *andāze* „Menge, Maß, Größe“.

138 Pers. *āsyāb kardan* „mahlen“.

139 Pers. *narm* „weich, zart, fein“.

140 Pers. *dorošt* „grob, groß, massiv“.

141 Pers. *berenğ-e kate*, im Ggs. zum dampfgegarten *boxārpaz*.

142 Pers. *piyāle* „Becher, Tasse“, in Khalaf laut Informant „Trinkglas“.

143 Pers. *be ḡūš āmadan* „sieden, kochen“.

144 Pers. *dam* „Dampf“, *dam kardan* „aufbrühen, aufkochen“.

145 Khalaf *ḡuhar*, *yiḡhar* „aufsteigen“.

146 Pers. *be mašraf rasīdan* wörtl. „zum Verbrauch gelangen“, *khorsanarab. n-h-y* „erreichen, gelangen zu, ankommen“.

147 Pers. *dārū* „Arznei, Spezereiwaren“ und *davā* „Arznei, Heilmittel“ (Pl. *adviye* „Gewürz“).

148 Pers. *tonḡi* „Schärfe“.

149 Pers. *zardī* „gelbe Farbe“, gemeint ist *zar(d)čūbe* „Gelbwurz“.

150 Pers. *ṭāš* „Suppe“.


151 Pers. *tašavvor kardan* „sich vorstellen, sich denken“.

152 Pers. *xošmaz(z)e* „wohlschmeckend, pikant“.

153 Pers. *lezzatī* „Genuss, Geschmack“.

1. Ich bin Ganġi, nach der Geburtsurkunde Mâhganġ Niġmati, Tochter des Hadschi Ziyâddîn, jedoch bekannt bin ich als Umm Aĥmad. So rufen sie mich. Umm Aĥmad sagen sie.¹⁵⁴ 2. Ich werde euch die Beschreibung eines einheimischen Gerichts geben. 3. Man sät den Weizen in der Ebene, von der Ebene erntet man den Weizen und bringt ihn. Sie legen ihn für die Dauer von vierundzwanzig Stunden zum Einweichen („in die Nässe“). 4. Dann tun sie ihn in einen Kessel und setzen ihn auf das Feuer. 5. Dass [das Wasser] stark siedet, dass [der Weizen] halbgar wird. 6. Da gießen sie dann eine Schale regionaler Milch zu diesem Weizen hinein und rühren es zusammen. 7. Salz wird auch in der Menge, die nötig ist, hinzugegeben. Sie tun es also hinzu. Sobald sie es dann getrocknet haben, kommen sie und mahlen es, verarbeiten es zu Mehl. 8. Sie zermahlen es und sieben es durch ein Sieb. 9. Den fein gemahlene Weizen nannte man *ġulūršîr*, den grob gemahlene *sâvari*. 10. Daraufhin ist es wie beim im Wasser gekochten Reis. Auf ein Glas *sâvari* gaben sie ebenso zwei Glas Wasser hinzu. 11. Sobald das Wasser kochte, gaben sie den *sâvari*-Weizen hinein und ließen ihn dann auf dem Gasbrenner¹⁵⁵, damit das Wasser weiterkochte. 12. Da gab man tierisches Fett hinzu, brühte es auf, bis sein Dampf aufstieg (d. h. bis es eingekocht war), dass es zum Verzehr bereit war. 13. Auch *ġulūršîr*, schau, setzten sie mit Wasser auf, dann gaben sie [Ziegen]fleisch hinein, Gewürze, Salz, Schärfe und Gelbwurz, nach Art einer dicken Suppe. 14. Stellt euch jenes *ġulūršîr* als Art Suppe vor, das sie aßen. Es war sehr köstlich und schmackhaft. [Ĥâmed: War's das?] Ja.

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154 Aĥmad ist der Name ihres erstgeborenen Sohnes, der bei einem Motorradunfall tödlich verunglückte.

155 Gemeint sind pers. *ĉerâġ vâlûr* „Lampen“. Erst seit jüngster Zeit ist Khalaf an das Gasnetz angeschlossen. Für viele Orte Arabkhanes waren diese Arbeiten zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts noch im Gange.

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BETTINA LEITNER 

Conversations Among Women: A Text in the Arabic Dialect of Khuzestan (Southwest Iran)

ABSTRACT This paper presents the transcription and translation of a recording made 2016 during fieldwork in the city of Ḥamīdiyya, in Khuzestan, located about 25 km to the north-west of the region's capital city Aḥwāz. The text is introduced by a brief discussion of some of the characteristic phonological, morphological and lexical features of Khuzestani Arabic in general, and some peculiarities of the Ḥamīdiyya dialect in particular. Language contact with the country's official language, Persian, of course is also significant, but will not be the focus of this discussion.

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, *gəlat* dialect, Bedouin-type, Khuzestani Arabic, minority variety, field research

1 Introduction

Khuzestani Arabic (KhA) is an Arabic variety spoken in the southwestern Iranian province of Khuzestan. It belongs to the southern group of the Bedouin-type Mesopotamian *gəlat*-dialects.

The text is preceded by some notes on characteristic features of KhA discussed in relation to their occurrence in the following text. Most linguistic features described below are found throughout Khuzestan. Some features characteristic of the north-western area of Ḥamīdiyya or Ḥuwayza will be highlighted. Ḥamīdiyya is a town of approximately 20,000 inhabitants and the centre of the district that bears the same name.

As can be seen in the following discussion, the dialect of Ḥamīdiyya shows several typical rural or *ʕarab* features (cf. Ingham 1973; 2006), such as the application of the

gahawa-syndrome in imperfective verbs (see below).¹ The majority of the features described below appear in the following text and wherever possible, there is a reference to an example in the text via the respective sentence number within brackets.

2 Grammatical and lexical notes

Phonology

- Besides the two short vowel phonemes *ə* and *a*, there are five long vowels: *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*.
- Long *ē* is in most cases pronounced as a central glide *īə*; in the area of Ḥamīdiyya, we often hear *ī* instead of *ē*, e.g. *ʃalī-ha* ‘on her’ (in contrast to Aḥwāzi *ʃalē-ha*).²
- Word-final *a* tends to be raised (whether originating as a feminine gender marker, pronominal suffix or other) to a mid-front vowel varying between [ɛ] and [æ] in non-emphatic, non-guttural contexts.
- The interdental *t̪*, *ḏ* and *ḏ̪* are generally retained, although sometimes *ḏ* is pronounced *d* (cf., for example, *hāda* ‘this’ < *hāḏa* in sentence 26).
- The Old Arabic (OA) affricate *ǧ* has shifted to *y*, e.g. *əḥyār* < *ʔaḥǧār* ‘stones’ (sentence 99).
- *k* and *g* have been affricated in front vowel environments, e.g. *ʔačəl* < *ʔakl* ‘food’ (sentence 50); *yḏīǧ* < **yḏīg* < *yaḏīqu* ‘to distress (sb.)’ (sentence 77).
- The dialect exhibits the so-called *gahawa*-syndrome: Stage 1: in a non-final syllable of the structure C₁aC₂, a short vowel (*a*) is inserted after C₂ when C₂ is a guttural, e.g. OA *ʔaxḏar* > *ʔaxaḏar* ‘green’ (sentence 9). The rural/*ʃarab* dialects also show the *gahawa*-syndrome in the imperfective verbs of Form I, e.g. *yʃarəf* < OA *yaʃrifu* ‘he knows’ (sentence 113).

Morphology

- Gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd persons of verbs and pronouns is a feature of all KhA dialects.
- The independent pronouns of the 3rd persons possess two variants, vowel-initial (i.e. of the structure ʔvCCv) versus consonant-initial: MSG *huwa* (sentence 52) vs. *ʔəhwa*; MPL *huma* ~ *humma* vs. *ʔəhma* (sentence 115); FSG *hiyye* (sentence 100) vs.

1 Note that the terms *ʃarab* and *ḥaḏar* only roughly correspond to the terms rural and urban, cf. Leitner (Forthcoming: 18–29) for a detailed discussion of these terms.

2 Cf. Ingham (1976: 68), who describes this feature as typical of the ʕAmāra and marshland region as well as of the northern and eastern areas of Khuzestan.

ʔəhye; and FPL *hənnā* (sentence 91) vs. *ʔəhna*. Ingham describes the vowel-initial forms as typical of the Šaṭṭ al-ʿArab and southern KhA dialects as well as the dialects of the Bani Lām north and east of ʿAmāra (Ingham 1976: 70, fn. 29; in Ingham 2007: 574 only the forms with initial vowel are provided). Except for the FSG forms, in the text from Ḥamīdiyya the consonant-initial forms of the 3rd person pronouns prevail.

- A typical urban feature within this geographical region (Ingham 1973: 544) found in the area of Ḥamīdiyya is the extended use of *-ē-* in the inflectional suffixes of the PFV.³ Thus, in this dialect, the form is not restricted to geminated and defective verbs. For example, *kabbarēt* ‘I raised (sb.)’ (sentence 17), *ənmuṭlēt* ‘I lay down’ (sentence 32), or *lḥagīāna* ‘we lived to see’ (sentence 124; in Aḥwāz the respective form is *lahagna*).
- Optional suffixation of *-an* after 1st person singular imperfective verbs of the hollow (i.e. medial weak) and geminated type: e.g., *ʔaḍullan* ‘I stay,’ and *ʔamūtan* ‘I die’ (sentence 86). This South-Mesopotamian feature is a contraction of the verb and the postponed 1st person singular pronoun *ʔāna* (Ingham 2000: 127).
- The genitive marker is *māl* (sentence 33), which is subject to gender and number agreement (FSG *mālat*, MPL *mālīn*, FPL *mālāt*).
- In KhA, there are two forms of the verb ‘give’: *nəṭa, yənṭi* and *ʔəṭa, yəṭi* (sentence 47) (cf. Behnstedt and Woidich 2014: 409). In the following text, only the second form is found.
- KhA has four forms to express non-existence: *māku* (most common form), *māmən* (sentence 85), *māməš* and, in some cases, *mā bī*. Existence is expressed with the particles *ʔaku, hassət* or, in some cases, *bī*.
- The prefix *ta-* of the Form V verbs: e.g., *tačabbašət* ‘I have learnt’ (sentence 72) is another rural feature found in the dialect of Ḥamīdiyya (cf. Ingham 1973, 197: 541–542). The corresponding urban form shows no vowel in the prefix (*tčabbašət*).

Lexis

The lexical items that KhA shares with most other Mesopotamian dialects (cf. e.g. Erwin 1963 on Baghdadi Arabic; cf. also Ingham 1973: 546), are e.g. *hassa* ‘now’ (sentence 19), *kalləš* ‘very, totally’ (sentence 125), *ʔaku* ‘there is’ and *xəš* used as an attributive adjective preceding nouns as in *xəš walad* ‘a good boy’ or as an adverb as in *hiyye xəš təsʔal* ‘she asks good questions’ (sentence 39).

3 This feature is also common in southern Iraq, including Bašra (Ingham 1974: 16, fn. 1; Jastrow 2007: 421), in several Gulf Arabic dialects (Holes 2016: 33–34) and even in some dialects in Sudan and North Africa (Holes 2016: 33–34).

Lexical features that are only shared with southern Mesopotamian dialects, or even found only in KhA (cf. Ingham 1973: 547 for more southern Mesopotamian and distinct KhA items), are e.g. the conjunction *čīā* ‘because’ (sentence 59), the discourse particles *ča* (sentence 28) and *xō* (sentence 67), *farax* ‘child’ (sentence 44) and the interrogative *yāhu* (MSG) ‘who?’ (sentence 125; its FSG form *yāhi* occurs in sentence 30) (cf. Ingham 2000: 127).

Borrowed items from Persian are e.g. *dehdār* ‘village mayor’ (sentence 117) and *zendān* ‘jail’ (sentence 82).

3 Text

The following text is a dialogue which I recorded during my fieldwork in Khuzestan in September 2016. The two women were interviewed while sitting on the sidewalk in front of their houses in a quiet street in Ḥamīdiyya, Khuzestan. Both are aged around 50 and come from poor families. The topics of their conversation are: family, former times, tattoos and childbirth.

The transcription of the text is not consistently phonemic because it indicates, for example, the allophones *i* and *u* of the phoneme *ə*. Also noted is the raising of final *-a#* to *-e#* and assimilations such as *ln > nn* and *št > šš*.

There are various forms of address, most often bi-polar kinship terms (cf. Yasin 1977), used by the elderly woman to address their listeners, e.g. *yumma* ‘(lit.) oh mother’ (sentence 2), *yadde* ‘grandmother’ or *šamma* ‘(lit.) uncle’ (both in sentence 8). As there exist no real equivalents for such forms of address in English, they will not be translated.

The speakers in the following texts are:

- A: Aḥmad, a young journalist from Aḥwāz
- B: First elderly woman from Ḥamīdiyya
- BL: The author
- C: Second elderly woman from Ḥamīdiyya
- D: A young man, friend of Aḥmad

- A: 1. *awlād-əč, šad-hum əfrūx?*
- B: 2. *ēh, šad-i yumma, frēxāt⁴ šad-i...*
- A: 3. *ham əssōlfīn-hum səwālāf, maṭal ətgəli-lhum: ‘əgəšdu xall asōlf-əlkum!’?*
- B: 4. *ēh, ča waḥ(ad)!*
- A: 5. *š-əssōlfī-lhum?*
- B: 6. *asōlf-əlhum, zamān gabul, yadde, hēc šəfət, hēc šəfət...*
- A: 7. *šənhu? ēh l-hēc šəfət w l-hēc šəfət w-əḥna rrīd-hən.*

4 *farax* ‘child,’ PL *əfrūx*, has the commonly used diminutive form *frēx*, PL *frēxāt*.

- B: 8. *hā, agəl-hum, yadde, zamān əl-yōm abuyumma yaddayət-kum əl-yōm mātrakaḏət l-ən-Nīəsān, aw ḥaṣadna, aw lagaṭna, aw lamlamnēna w kəll ši sawwēna, ʕamma.*
 9. *ʕamme, yibna əl-axaḏar w-əl-yābəs, ḥaṭṭēna, asawwi mətāf ʔəlhūm awwal lə-frēxāt awwal hād, ʕamme, awwal āne awwal āne rabbēt l-yitāma ... kaḏḏēt-li wakət, mā ḥadd.* 10. *w-ən-nōb, awlād əkubraw, yəwwəziət-hum, ən-nōb ʕarat ʕad-hum əfrēxāt.* 11. *w-asōləf, asōləf əl-mā ġara ʕala-y dāk əl-wakət, kəlla əl-hād əl-wakət.*
- A: 12. *ʔənti dāk əl-wakət ʕənhi ʕānat məhənt-əč? ʕūgult-əč?*
- B: 13. *məhənt-i? ʕūgult-i? ʕad rayl-i w mʕāyəs-ni w mʕāyəs-t-a w hahaw hahaw w yāybīn əd-darəb hād kəlla, ha? kull ši mā ʕalīə.* 14. *w lamman mā, lamman mā mātr – yā mən xēr əl ləfā-k əmḥammad – ən-nōb ʕār əl-ḥabəl əhnā ʕār əl-ḥabəl bə-čtūf-i⁵ – də-xall⁶ asōləf xayye – ʕār əl-ḥabəl bə-čtūf-i.* 15. *gəmt⁷ aʕāyən l-əbnayyət-i, axəf ʕalī-ha xaṭar.* 16. *aʕāyən l-əwliəd-i, axəf ʕalīə xaṭar – təsməf-ni yā ʕamme?* 17. *hā, lamman mā kabbarət-hum kabbarət-hum aḷḷāh ġasam-əlhūm ənsiəwīnāt⁸, əl-ḥamdillāh wa ʕəkər.* 18. *ən-nōba⁹, ʕaraw ʕad-hum əfrēxāt.* 19. *hassa, ʕərət ʕayūz baʕad mā bī-ya ḥəl.* 20. *gāmu mətəl mā āne bārət-hum¹⁰ huma ham bārō-ni.* 21. *ʕūf ʕamma hād ət-tuwālēt, ʕaziz galb-i, kəll ši ʕamma waḷḷa.* 22. *ḥəṣadna, lammēna təbən, lammēna – ġanēna ḥaywān, kull ši sawwēna ya ʕaziz galb-i.* 23. *wə-dabbərna ʕəʕat-na, hād əl-wakət əl marr ʕalīə-na, ha ha.* 24. *hassa lamman mā ʕərt ʕayayiz¹¹ hassa ḥatta mā bīə waḷḷa amšī...*
- A: 25. *hāda d-dəgga w dəgge ʕalīə-k...?*
- B: 26. *hāda ʕamma, hāda ʕamma madgūg hāda ʕūd mə¹²-ʕʕīr əl-mara tāxəḏ rayyəl, əḥuṭṭ əhnā niyāšīn, ʕūd əʕʕīr ḥəlwa.*
- A: 27. *hāy mən xadēti aw ġabəl lā tāxḏīn daggēti...?*
- B: 28. *la, waḷḷa la, baʕad ʕərt əbnayye ḥdiəṭa w gəmət: yumma, ʕa dīč əd-digge w hāy dəgg, hāy dəgge hāy dā – hā ān(e) ham sawwan-li! – agəl əl-, lə-n-nəswān əlydiggan, gāman ysawwan-li.* 29. *ydiggan, ēh! ʕa əš-ḥālā-hən hādanni ya?¹³!*
- A: 30. *yāhi ʕānat əddigg?*
- B: 31. *ʕayāyiz ham ʕayāyiz ʕad-na, ʕamma – w taʕāli yumma taʕay fədwa-ləč.* 32. *ənmuṭlēt w daggat ḥawāyb-i, ənmuṭlēt, daggat hādann, hā ʕūf əš-ḥālā-hən! tʕūf-hən?*

5 The more common plural of *čətəf* ‘shoulder’ is *čtəfāt* not *čtūf*.

6 On the prefix *də-* used for emphasis in Iraqi Arabic, see Blanc (1964: 117).

7 Cf. Behnstedt and Woidich (2014: 233) on cognate forms with the same meaning in Chad, Nigeria and Kuwait.

8 Diminutive plural of *nəswān* ‘women.’

9 *ən-nōb* ~ *ən-nōba* is a conjunction meaning ‘then.’

10 Cf. Holes (2001: 39) on Bahraini Arabic: ‘*bāra* “take care of, take pains over.”’

11 Diminutive of *ʕayūz* ‘elderly woman.’

12 < *mən* ‘when.’

13 Particle used for expressing astonishment or obviousness, like ‘well, what do you think?! Of course, they were stunning!’

- A: 33. *ēh, wāyəd ḥəlwa, bass had-əš-šəkəl māl-hən fūd¹⁴ šənhi, mətəl hassa hād əl-əhlāl?*
- B: 34. *fūd hāy fūd hāy ḥamāma-yā mən xēr əl ləfā-k, w hāda ḥəlāl... [laughs].*
- D: 35. *şəgəd?*
- B: 36. *waḷla, fazīza tḥāyən ḥala-yā yā fazīzt-i.*
- A: 37. *hāy ətfəhm-əč. səʔli-ha suʔāl!*
- BL: 38. *aku ši akla xāşsa l-əl-mara əl yāybe?*
- D: 39. *hiyye xōš təsʔal!*
- B: 40. *lō asōləf-əlkum hāy, yadde – tafal, tafal, əgʔəd, əskət əskət! 41. šūf, āne, mən baʔad rayl-i ʔadal, mən zamān dāk əl-wakət, baʔad əzləmt-i ʔadal. 42. ynədhən-ni ən-nəswān əl-muḍayyğāt maʔal aḥ aḥ ʔad-hən ḥaməl. 43. ygūlan ‘taʔay’ yʔarafan-ni āne aḍanni¹⁵, əl-marāt¹⁶, baʔad ʔazīz galb-i šlōn māmāt māl̄t əl-hawāz?! hā. 44. ynədhən-ni w-amšī, arūḥ lə-t-tuwāb l-ət-tuwāb – oşal əl-hāy əl-ḥərma w tyīb, ətyīb aʔarəf amahhd-a əl-farax, aʔarəf agəşş əs-sərr, aʔarəf agamməʔ, wa aʔarəf šənhi šəkəl əl-mara hāy əl tərīd ətyīb, aʔtəhəm bī-ha, əş-yōyəf-əč, gəlli-li!*
- A: 45. *saʔəlat-əč, ətgəl-lič, l-əl-yāyba ḥam ʔad-əč ačla xāşsa? əl-mara tərīd ətyīb, ş-taʔīn-ha?*
- B: 46. *ət tərīd ətyīb? hā, tərīd ətyīb, yumma, assaww-əlha – əl-ḥaywāna nəḥlib-ha, w-ənsawwi baḥat w dəhən māl ḥaywān w-ənḥuʔt-a hāda ḥəlu əb-baʔn əl-mara əl-yāyba. 47. nəḥləb hāyşa, w nsawwi, ʔazīzt-i, w nəʔi. 48. nəʔi l-hāy əl-mara əl-yāyba şway yşīr ḥəlu, lōf-ha ḥəlu, gədrat-ha, kəll ši yşīr ʔad-ha ... 49. ət-ʔəfəl mā yəndarr, ət-ʔəfəl. 50. əla ḥaʔtatt-a hēč ḥala şīdər-ha w māčla hād əl-ačəl, mā yḍarr-ha, mā yḍarr ʔəfəl-ha.*
- A: 51. *w mən ətyīb əş-taʔīn-ha?*
- B: 52. *ēh, huwa hāda, ʔazīz galb-i.*
- A: 53. *nəfəs hāda?*
- B: 54. *ēh, huwa hāda əl-ḥurūrāt maʔal.*
- C: 55. *əs-səmač, w əd-diyāy.*
- B: 56. *fəlfəl, mā-şinhi¹⁷. 57. b-hāy fūd, hāy əl-mara tīyīb. 58. bass āne, yadde, kāməlan yadde. 59. w rādaw, w ʔō-ni kərət¹⁸ bass āne čī mā ʔadi s-səğən¹⁹ xāla awwal mā*

14 Discourse particle expressing uncertainty.

15 Cf. Ḥassūnizadeh (2015: 470) on CA *q-n-ʔ*, I. stem: ‘to increase the number of one’s offspring’ [here and in the following, the translations of the Arabic originals given in Ḥassūnizadeh’s dictionary are my own]; (Holes 2001: 313) ‘*ḍana* “foetus, confinement, newly born child, small child.”’

16 Generally, the plural of KhA *mara* ‘woman’ is *nəswān*. The usually uncommon external plural form *marāt* used in this sentence might be influenced by the form *māmāt* ‘midwives,’ which is also an external plural and appears in the same sentence.

17 Elliptical for *mā ʔadri šənhi* ‘I don’t know what (F).’

18 < P *kārt*.

19 Probably < *səğəl* ‘register, record,’ cf. Woodhead and Beene (1967: 213).

fāl, ərafadət həy əs-sālfa. 60. *walla āna iyā-ni, hād əl-biəhdās²⁰ māl salfi²¹, tağarrar fāla-y w gālō-li: 'yūzi²² mən həy əs-sālfa!* 61. *gət-əlhūm: 'šlōn ayūz-a?'* 62. *mā ayūz, xatṭāyē əl-mara əl-muḍayyǧā, waḥda – ?əntum awlād-i – waḥda, ətərkuḍ, tərkuḍ gālat xayba taḥali-li, wən abū bēhdaš hād, yrīd ymənḥ-əç mən fadi, lā, mü zīən hēc mən fad-e.* 63. *əl-mara tərkaḍ-əlha: yēt-əç, yēt-əç ḥatta lō, ḥatta lō yḥəbsūn-ni!* 64. *əyēt-əç, həf fālō-ç²³.* 65. *akəḍḍ əl-ḥərma, w-alafləf-ha, yumma, w-asərr-ha w həy, w aṭayyāḥ²⁴ əṭfayyālat²⁵-ha w agamməṭ w aḥdəl w həy, b-əl-āxəra ən-nōb kaḍḍū-ni, gālaw: marat ḥaššūni²⁶ yayyəbat-na.* 66. *gət-əlhūm ča, w-axāf?! xāll – xadā-ni əl-biəhdās w sawwa fāla-y əmtəḥān, mən hād salfi-i.* 67. *huwwə əhnā xō b-salf-əl-biəhdās māl əs-salaf.* 68. *w-ən-nōb xadō-ni l-ḥamīdiyya, l-ḥamīdiyya kaḍḍat-ni māma.* 69. *əš-ḥəlu ḥaçti-ha!* 70. *gālat-li fəyn-i šlōn ənti əṭḍannīn ən-nəswān?* 71. *gət-əlha walla āne aḍanni n-nəswān, mən yāḥ²⁷ fāṭimat əz-zahra, umm əl-ḥasan, fāṭima.* 72. *āne yaddat-i umm ubū-y tyaddad, w taçabbašət²⁸ mən ḥadər id-ha.* 73. *tāflīm hād tadrīb.* 74. *əh, əftahāmət əšlōn, əl-ḥərma həy əṭḍanni yaddat-i umm ubū-y, fəyūz, hā.* 75. *šlōn mā sawwat āne sawwət.* 76. *baḥad hēcī hāda l-farax əl-muḍayyāg aftəḥəm əš-šənhu mā šənhu, hēcī baḥad ...* 77. *əl-farax əl-muḍayyāgə aftəḥəm bī šənhu əb-baṭn-a, šənhu, šənhu əš-yōyəf-a, yḍiğ nafs-a.* 78. *arkəḍ-la, yā fəziz galb-i, afawwr əl-māy, aṭubx-a, aṭubx-a, aṭubx-a w-aḥuṭṭann-a b-əl-māfūn.* 79. *baḥla xall nšər(r)b-a māy fāyər yiğsil şadr-a – min gidrat aḷla.* 80. *hāda šway əl asawwi yšir zīən, hēcī.* 81. *həy hēc is-sālfa w farəd raḥma...wa lā šāf, šəfət-li mašğiza, famma famma abū aḥmad wa lā šəfət-li mašğiza.* 82. *gālō-li baḥad ənti tyōzīn la yḥassnūn rās-əç w yḍəbbū-ləç b-əz-zendān²⁹ [laughs].* 83. *xall nagūm, əḍrūs-i³⁰ tāyḥāt.* 84. *walla, gālō-li baḥad yūzi! hād ḥadd-əç ənti mən əš-şuğla!* 85. *gət-əl(hum) ča xər, kəll xər əs səda³¹, tara kəll ši māmən, āne hēcī mā-ni – amši lə-l-əxre ...* 86. *əmn ašir arīd amūtan agūl, adawwur, ḥafərt-i əşşir wəsiḥa.* 87. *hēcī mā yaṭann ən-nəswān, agḥəd mən faşyāt l-əş-şubuh.* 88. *hēc əş-yōyəf-əç gəlli-li, ş-ənsawwī-ləç baḥad rūḥ-i, hēc, həy baḥad āne hād ḥadd-i fəziz galb-i.*

20 < P *behdāšt* 'hygiene, healthcare' (Junker and Alawi 2002: 108).

21 Ḥassūnizadeh (2015: 386): '*salaf* "district, *fašira*."'

22 < *ğāz, yğūz*, cf. Holes (2001: 96) '*ğāz fan/min* "cease to do s.th."'; Woodhead and Beene (1967: 80) '*ğāz min* "to stop, quit, give up"'; Ḥassūnizadeh (2015: 890) '*yāz min* "cease to do, give up s.th."'

23 This phrase appears to have a different meaning in Baghdadi Arabic, cf. Woodhead and Beene (1967: 126): '*ḥəf fālē!* "What a pity! Too bad!"'

24 Also *ayayyāb-ha*.

25 Diminutive of *ṭəfla* 'daughter.'

26 Diminutive of the proper name Ḥassan.

27 < *ğāh* 'power, position.'

28 Cf. Ḥassūnizadeh (2015: 198–199): '*çabbaš* "to train; domesticate."'

29 < P *zendān* 'jail' (Junker and Alawi 2002: 387), cf. Ḥassūnizadeh (2015: 320).

30 *ḍərəs* PL *əḍrūs* is the normal word for 'tooth' in KhA, cf. Holes (2001: 311) on Bahraini Arabic: '*ḍirs* PL *ḍrūs* "tooth"'; contrast Baghdadi Arabic, Woodhead and Beene (1967: 279), which has kept the CA meaning 'molar (tooth).'

31 Cf. Ḥassūnizadeh (2015: 374): '*sidā*: "happen."'

- BL: 89. *w-ən-nəs-wān ham čānan yaštəglan b-əz-zərəfa?*
- B: 90. *ēh nətləf ham b-əz-zərəfa lō nəḥsəd, lō nləmm ḥənṭa, taṣay fazizti taṣ(ay) taṣ(ay) – waḷla ʔāne əyēt b-ġēr ṣabāye!* 91. *ēh, fazizt-i, halla bī-hən, halla halla bī-hən banāt-na hənna haḍan yəḥčan ṣarab.* 92. *lō ʔalaṣ zəlme yəḥṣəd nrūḥ ənləmm əl-baṭ (?) w-ənləmm-a ənduwwəs-a w-əndərrī w-ənləmm-a nəḥərz-a b-əl-biət, əngūl xāf³² əs- marār – murūr əl-wakət, xāf əndull əb-ġēr zād mā ṣad-na ʔḥīn, w-əndamm-a.* 93. *nāxd-a l-makīna l-ḥənṭa naṭḥan-ha w nākəl-ha.* 94. *hēc, hēc ṣad-na šəġāṣ mən rabb əl-ṣālamīn.* 95. *ənləmm – əḥna ṣāḥbāt əbyūt əḥna ḥārcāt, hassa baṣad mən ʔəḥna baṣad aḷḷā w-əl-ṣādrīn.* 96. *ēh, kəll šī sawwəna waḷla yā fazizt-i.* 97. *šūfi, aləmman aləmman – hā yadda? fədwā. māṭ rayyl-i xō māṭ, xō māṭ rayyli – aḷḷa yərḥam wāldīə-kum əl-kill w-əl-ġamīṣ – māṭ, ṣadi bəti, yumma taṣay taṣay – hā? – yumma xall nāxd əṭ-ṭəsət w nāxəd hēcī ṣala š-šəwərəf ṣala salaf-na hēc.* 98. *la dīč kaffan dīč, xall nāxd əṭ-ṭəsət yumma w nəftarr hēc ṣala s-salaf.* 99. *šə-nsawwi? əllaggəṭ əl-əḥyār əl-ḥərri³³, əl-ḥəlu, əllaggṭ-a w ənnəġġṣ-a³⁴, b-muwāṣīn, b-əṭ-ṭšūta, mā ḥəṭṭ-a hēc b-əl-ġāṣ w yšīr ġabar.* 100. *ənnəġġṣ-a w-ən-nōba difnā w ṣadənn-ā³⁵ w sawwəna tannūr – əš-ḥəlu! – w nəxbəz bī hēc ṣeš, xōš? hāy ḥiyye hēcī.* 101. *ən-nōb ələč fazizti.*
- C: 102. *ham takallafna yā-bni b-əl-əbyūt, ham āne xaləft-i bass banāt, šəyəb-na marīd, ham rəḥna ən-naxal, rəḥna l-əš-šilib ...* 103. *... ṣala ġult əl yġul ḥasəd-na b-īdīə³⁶-na, nəgganna³⁷ ibnān³⁸ kill šī šəfnā dēm, wāyəd.* 104. *əl-ḥamdu-li-ḷḷāh w šəkər hassa mən aḷḷa yṣaddī-ha hēc wāyəd ḥəlu.*
- A: 105. *əl-ibnān, əš-čəntu ssawūn bī?*
- C: 106. *əl-ibnān, xō nəḥsəd ḥəṣād b-īdīə-na, zərəf, w-ən-nōb ənhəṭṭ-a b-əl-banna – yəġall əl yəsmāṣ³⁹ – ənhəml-a ṣa-l-ḥaywāna, yčalləb b-əl-banna.* 107. *āne xō mənṇā ġašīra w mənna – yəġall əl yəsmāṣ, yəġall əl yəsmāṣ – əl-məṭi ṣāli, ačalləb bī nyīb-a; ndabb-a b-əl-ġāṣ, əl-banna.* 108. *hāy kəwwəm-na hənna, sawwəna bəyādūr, ġabul māku tarātra, ti – yəġall əl yəsmāṣ, yəġall əl yəsmāṣ – ṣala məṭāya ndūs⁴⁰.* 109. *nəngəṭ ər-rōṭa, əndəbb-ha mən lə mən əl-wahda mən əl-bīədar.* 110. *yḍarrūn-a*

32 Invariable expression with the meaning 'perhaps, possibly, maybe,' cf. Woodhead and Beene (1967: 149) for the same meaning in Baghdadi Arabic.

33 She probably means *trāb ḥərri* or *ṭīn ḥərri*, which denotes earth that is found in the deeper layers of the ground, is not mixed with stones and is used for building houses, cf. Ḥassūnizadeh (2015: 229).

34 Cf. MSA *naqafa* 'saturate (s.th.);' in Baghdadi Arabic *naggaṣ* (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 470).

35 < *ṣadəlna* 'we repaired.'

36 *ḥīd* 'hand' PL *ḥīdēn*, which becomes *ḥīdē-* [ḥīdīə] in construct state when suffixes are attached.

37 < *nəggalna* 'we carried.'

38 Cf. Cohen (1970: 4) on the root *ʔ-b-n* with the meaning 'stone' in various Semitic languages.

39 < *ʔaġall* 'to revere, venerate, esteem highly, exalt' (cf. Woodhead and Beene 1967: 75). This is an expression of apology for mentioning a taboo word or a distasteful topic (for example, certain animals).

40 Above *ndəwwəs*.

- b-īdīā-hum marāwīh, rəhna ən-naxal, rəhna l-əš-silib, wāyəd tafabna.* 111. *bass əšwāy hənā bə-dāk əz-zamān həlu, rəğğā⁴¹, nađđāfa w amān.* 112. *əla wāhəd ysawwī-la māy huwa yğəsm-a wiyya yār-a, wiyya axú.* 113. *hassa la, hād əl-wakət la, axū bařad yřarəř axú?*
- D: 114. *inřalla əl-əyāwīd⁴²...*
- C: 115. *la, əhma əl-əyāwīd kəlman əb-məkān-a.* 116. *ēh, bass əhna gabul riğğat-na həlu, həlu.* 117. *hassa ham nařma mən allā, yřaddi hāda l-xər w hāda l-dehdār⁴³ māl-na w-əs-salaf māl-na, nařma, rəğğat-na həlwa.*
- BL: 118. *w malābəs-kum? čān mətl əl-yōm?*
- C: 119. *malābəs-na hāy malābəs, əy mən gabul əhna: tōb, satər-ha, řabāye, əl-əhdīātāt la, yləbsan...*
- A: 120. *gabul tōb māl řanam w-yhūkūn-a ysawwi əhdūm, yřir xařən bass māku əhdūm ysawwūn-a.*
- C: 121. *ēh bəřət bəřət. xō, dōlāk əlařagaw w-əhna mā lařagna əl-awwaliyyīn.*
- B: 122. *la, la řamma, hassa əhna nəmři nəlbəs ət-tiyāb, ha-t-tōb.*
- C: 123. *nařma, hassa nařma.*
- B: 124. *gabul mā řəřna, má lřagīəna řalīə, gabul la.* 125. *hā ydūdat⁴⁴-na gabul əssōləřyğūl nsawwi, əl-bəřət w-nsawwi mətəl diřdāřa w nələbs-a, řiyyāb-na gabul l-awwaliyyīn, uuuhh, kəlləř hēc řaylīn, yāhu nəř?al mən řad-hum, hēc řazīzt-i.*
- BL: 126. *w malābəs əř-řəta?*
- B: 127. *hənnā hādanni hna yā řazīzt-i əy wařla, hādann lə-hədūm lā abaddəl-ha, řazīzti, hāy malābs əř-řəta.*
- A: 1. Your children, do they have children?
- B: 2. Yes, I have of course, I have children.
- A: 3. Do you also tell them stories, like, you tell them: ‘Sit down and let me tell you a story!’?
- B: 4. Yes, but of course!
- A: 5. What do you tell them?
- B: 6. I tell them, in former times, I have seen this and that...
- A: 7. What (exactly)? Yes, this ‘this and that’ is what we want (to hear).

41 Ĥassūnizadeh (2015: 325): ‘riğğā: “(good) relation, kindness, tenderness”; cf. MSA *riqqā* ‘gentleness, tenderness, kindness, thinness.’

42 Cf. *yūd* < *ğūd* ‘favour, generosity’ (cf. Ĥassūnizadeh 2015: 925); *řəyāwīd* means ‘good, generous people.’

43 < P *dehdār* ‘village mayor’ (Junker and Alawi 2002: 335).

44 Plural of *yadd* ‘grandfather,’ i.e. the plural pattern C₁C₂ūC₂, which is very common in KhA and sometimes is combined with an external plural suffix -a, e.g. *ydūd* ~ *ydūda*, or *břūt* ~ *břūta* ‘ducks’ (SG *bařta*).

- B: 8. Aha. I tell them, dear, the time, the day(s) of (the) father, dear, grandfather, your grandfather; the day he died, I ran to *ən-Nīāsān*, or we harvested, or we gathered (the harvest) or we collected (crops), everything we did. 9. We brought the green and the dry (i.e. we did everything). We put the, I made food for them, first for the children, first this, first I, first I raised orphans... it took me time, nobody (is like me?). 10. And then, the children grew up, I married them off, then they had children themselves. 11. And I tell, I tell what happened to me during that time, everything about that time.
12. What was your profession during that time? Your job?
- B: 13. My profession? My job? I know, this day my husband fed me and I fed him⁴⁵ and so and so and that was the way of life, right? He did not have any (troubles). 14. And when, when he died—may the good surround you Muḥammad—then the rope was here, I was the one responsible (lit. the rope was on my shoulders)—well let me tell sister—I was responsible. 15. I started to take care of my daughter, I was afraid something could happen to her [especially a sexual relation]. 16. I watched my son, I was afraid something could happen to him—do you listen to me? 17. So, after I had raised them and raised them (until they were grown-ups), God gave them (good, modest) women; thanks and praise be to God. 18. Then they had children. 19. Now, I have become an old woman; I no longer have power. 20. They started—As I had taken care of them, they (now) take care of me. 21. See, this toilet [they, my children, help her, to go to the toilet, now that she no longer has the strength to do so on her own]; Everything dear, by God. 22. We harvested, gathered straw, we gathered—we bred cattle, we made everything. 23. And we handled our life. That time that has passed quickly. 24. Now, that I have become an old woman, I can't even walk anymore, by God.
- A: 25. And this tattoo, has she tattooed you...?
- B: 26. This, this is tattooed, this shall—When a woman is about to take a man (to marry), she puts symbols here hoping to become (even more) beautiful.
- A: 27. This (tattoo): After you took someone or before you married, did you get the tattoo?
- B: 28. No, but no, when I became a young woman (of about 16) I started (to say), 'Look at this tattoo and that tattoo and that—please make me one as well!'—I told the, the women who were making the tattoos, and they (rose and) made me one. 29. They tattooed, yes! But how beautiful (they made them)!
- A: 30. Who made the tattoo?
- B: 31. Elderly women, some elderly women among us—[towards the second elderly woman] Come here, my beloved (lit. I would sacrifice myself for you). 32. I lay down, and she tattooed my eyebrows; I lay down and she made these tattoos; Look how beautiful they are! Do you see them?

45 This phrase probably also has a sexual connotation.

- A: 33. Yes, very beautiful. But their shape, what is it supposed to be? Like now this:
A crescent?
- B: 34. I think, I think this should be a pigeon—may the good embrace you—and that
a crescent.
- D: 35. For real?
- B: 36. By God, she is looking at me.
- A: 37. She understands you. Ask her a question! [talking to me].
- BL: 38. Is there any special food you give to the women who have just given birth?
- D: 39. She asks good questions!
- B: 40. If I tell you this—come, come, sit and keep silent! 41. See, I, when my husband
was still alive, at that time, when my man was still alive, 42. the women who
felt uneasy (here: with their pregnancy or delivery) woke me up like when they
were pregnant. 43. They said ‘Come!’ They knew that I aided (women) during
childbirth, the women, just like the midwives in Ahwāz! Yes. 44. They woke me
up and I went (to help). I go in the name of God, to guarantee divine recompense.
I arrive at that woman’s and she gives birth, she gives birth. I know how to put
the child into the cradle, I know how to cut the umbilical cord, I know how to
swaddle the child, and I know how a woman who is about to give birth looks like,
I understand her: ‘What hurts you? Tell me!’
- A: 45. She has asked you, she says, ‘The woman that has just given birth, is there
also a special diet for her? The women who is about to give birth, what do you
give her?’
- B: 46. The women who is about to give birth? Well, (if) she is about to give birth,
I make her—I milk the cattle, I make rice pudding and clarified animal butter
and we give (her) this: (it does) good in the pregnant woman’s belly. 47. We milk
the cow, and we make (this), and we give (it to her). 48. We give (this) to the
woman who has given birth and it all goes well. Her pain is gone (lit. good), her
strength, everything about her becomes (fine). 49. The child is not injured, the
child. 50. If she puts it like that on her breast and she has eaten this food, he is
fine, he comes to no harm.
- A: 51. And when she gives birth, what do you give her?
- B: 52. Well, this is it.
- A: 53. This same thing?
- B: 54. Yes, this is it, like warm things.
- C: 55. Fish, and chicken.
- B: 56. Pepper. I don’t know (what else). 57. With that this woman hopefully gives
birth. 58. But me, I have finished (my apprenticeship as a midwife). 59. And they
wanted to give me a licence [official certification for being a midwife]. But since
I did not have a citizenship at that time, I hindered this story. 60. And I—He came
to me, (from) this healthcare centre of my district, it was decided (?) against me
and they told me: ‘stop this work (lit. story)!’ 61. I asked them: ‘How can I stop?’

62. I won't stop: the woman is poor who has problems (and is)—you are my children⁴⁶—like, she is running and running. She said, 'Dear come to me.' Where is this carer who wants to prevent me from seeing you? No, that is not nice of him.

63. The woman [i.e. herself] runs to (see) her [i.e. a pregnant woman]: 'I have come to (help) you, I have come to (help) you, even if, even if they imprisoned me! 64. I have come, don't worry.' 65. I take the woman and enwrap her, and cut her umbilical cord, and so. And I help her to give birth to her daughter and I swaddle (it) and I do this and that. And in the end they took me (and) they said: 'The wife of Ḥassūni, helped us to give birth.' 66. I told them [the people from the health care centre]: 'Well do you really think I am afraid?' Let—The guy from the health care centre took me and let me take an exam, [he was] from my area. 67. He, here, well in the area of the health centre, of the [my] district. 68. Then they took me to Ḥamīdiyya, in Ḥamīdiyya a midwife took charge of me. 69. How beautiful was her way of speaking! 70. She said to me, 'My dear! How do you attend women's childbirth?' 71. I told her 'By God, I attend the women's childbirth, by the power of Fāṭima Zahra [wife of Ali, daughter of Muhammad], mother of Ḥasan, Fāṭima. 72. I, my grandmother, the mother of my father, she was a midwife, I have learnt (it) from her (lit. under her hand). 73. Studying is training. 74. Yes, I learnt (it). This woman attended women's childbirth, my grandmother, my father's mother, an old lady, right. 75. The way she did it, I did it. 76. And then, well like this, this child that has a problem, I understood what is what, like that. 77. The child that has a problem, I understand him, what is (wrong) with his belly, what, what hurts him, causes him to feel uneasy. 78. I run to him, I boil water, I cook it, cook it, cook it, and pour it into a vessel. 79. Let us make him drink hot (lit. boiling) water, that makes him feel good (lit. cleans his breast)—by the power of God. 80. This, what I make, makes (him feel) good, like that. 81. Well that is the story and it is a blessing. He, I did not see a miracle, father of Aḥmad, I haven't seen a miracle [I have rather learnt this profession by training]. 82. They said then, 'You stop now so they won't shave your head and put you in jail.' [laughs] 83. Let's get up, I don't have teeth anymore (lit. they have fallen down) [She is tired from all the talking and laughing]. 84. By God, they told me, 'Stop it now!' Enough now of your work (lit. this is your limit).' 85. I told (them), 'Well alright.' All good things that have happened, see, there is nothing, I am not—I go to the afterlife... 86. When I will die, I say, I look for—my grave shall be big. [She does her work for free and expects in exchange—from God—only a large tomb]. 87. The women don't give (me) anything, I work (lit. sit) from evening till morning. 88. Like that, 'What hurts you? [to a pregnant woman] Tell me, what can we do for you?' Like this, that is all I can say (lit. this is my limit).

46 Expression commonly used with the meaning that one can be sincere and go on telling his/her personal story since the listeners are like family to him/her.

BL: 89. Have the women also worked in the fields?

B: 90. Yes, we also went to the crops. We harvested or gathered grain. Come my dear, come here, come—My God, I came without my Abaya! 91. Yes, my dear, welcome. They are very welcome: they are our daughters, they speak Arabic. [Speaking about us] 92. When the man went out to harvest, we went to gather (crop?). We harvested it and thrashed it and winnowed it and gathered it and stored it at home. We say maybe, one time, maybe we are left without food, without flour, and so we store it. 93. We take the mill (lit. flour machine), we mill it and eat it. 94. Like this, like this we had courage from God. 95. We harvest—we are houses' owners, we are working hard (lit. moving), now that we have become weak, God accepts that (lit. the apologising). 96. Yes, we have done everything, by God, my dear. 97. See, I harvested, I harvested—what, my dear [to the other woman]? My husband died, well he died, well my husband died—May God have mercy upon your parents and everyone!—he died. I have a daughter. [As if to her daughter]: 'Come here—What?—Let us take the washbowl and we take this on the streets in our district, like this. 98. No, these are enough, these, let us take the washbowl and we go around like that in the area.' 99. What did we do? We pick up the good stones, the good ones, we pick it up and soak it in water, in a vessel, in the washbowl. We do not put it like this on the floor where it goes bad. 100. We soak it in water and then we mix it and we build it and we make an oven—How beautiful!—and we bake bread with it, right? That is all. 101. [To the second elderly woman] Now it is your turn, my dear.

C: 102. We also had much trouble my son, at home. My offspring are all girls. Our old man is sick, we also went to the palm groves, we went to the rice fields... 103. ... like you say, we harvested with our (bare) hands, we carried stones, we faced a lot of inequities, many. 104. Thank God now if God keeps things going like that it would be very good.

A: 105. The stones, what did you do with it?

C: 106. The stones. Well, we harvested with our hands, the harvest, and then we put it on the packsaddle⁴⁷—pardon the expression (lit. the one who listens shall be venerated)—we carry it on the animal, it is strapped to the packsaddle. 107. So here me being short and there—pardon the expression, pardon the expression—the donkey being tall, I hang onto it. I bring it [the harvest]; I cast it onto the ground, the load. 108. We staple this, here. We make the threshing ground. In former times, there were no tractors—pardon the expression, pardon the expression—we trod it on donkeys. 109. We dropped the dung, we threw it from the, from the thing, from the threshing ground. 110. They winnowed it with their hands (like) ventilators. We went to the palm groves, we went to the rice fields, we worked very hard.

47 Ḥassūnizadeh (2015: 131): '*banna* "timber fixed with a rope like a net thrown onto an animal's back and packed with the harvest(ed spikes) to bring it to the threshing place."

111. But it was (also) a good time: kindness, cleanliness and security. 112. (Even) if someone made *māy huwa*⁴⁸ he shared it with his neighbour, with his brother.
113. Now not, nowadays no. Does a brother know (even) his brother any more?
- D: 114. Hopefully (there are still) good people...
- C: 115. No, they, the good people, each one has his place (let's stick to the past).
116. Yes, but in the past we had good relationships, good, good. 117. God is also kind to us now. He keeps (giving us) this good (life) and this village headman of ours and our district: it is a blessing, we have good relationships.
- BL: 118. And your clothes? Were they like today?
- C: 119. Our clothes, these clothes. Yes, in the past we (wore) a *tōb*, (that) protected her, an Abaya. The young girls not: they wore...
- A: 120. In the past (they made) dresses from sheep (wool). They wove it to make clothes: they were rough, but there were no (other) clothes, they made them.
- C: 121. Yes, *bəšət*, *bəšət* [traditional cloak]. Well, those (still) lived to see (that). But we did not live to see (the days of) the past.
- B: 122. No, no, dear: now we go and wear dresses, this dress.
- C: 123. A blessing; nowadays it is a blessing.
- B: 124. In the past we did not see, we did not live to see it, in the past not. 125. Our grandfathers told (us): they say, 'We made, the *bəšət*, we made like a *dišdāša* and we wear it.' Our old men, in the past, the ancestors, uuuh (How long ago these days are!), just like this they said, those that we asked [about the past], like that.
- BL: 126. And the winter clothes?
- B: 127. These are these here. By God, these clothes. I don't change them. These are the winter clothes.

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48 Lit. 'air water,' a very simple dish, red *marag* 'sauce' without meat.

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Zwei Texte aus Sarâb (Südchorasan)

ABSTRACT Sarâb is a small village in South-Khorasan (Iran), where about half of the inhabitants are Arabs and the other half are Persians. This article presents two new texts in the dialect of Sarâb, translated into German. These are the last unpublished recorded texts from this village by the author.

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, Central Asian Arabic dialects, field research, Khorasani Arabic, Sarâb

In den Jahren 2002 und 2013 habe ich bereits drei Texte aus Sarâb zusammen mit einigen Informationen über den Ort und seine Einwohner veröffentlicht. Hier nun meine letzten beiden Aufnahmen von dort. Der zweite Ort, den ich in Südchorasan besuchte, Xalaf, war weitaus ergiebiger, doch konnte ich bisher nur eine Aufnahme aus Xalaf vollständig transkribieren, die 2009 veröffentlicht wurde.

Sarâb war der erste Ort in Chorasan, an dem ich Araber ausfindig machte; ein sehr kleines Dorf, nur zur Hälfte arabisch, der Rest der Einwohner waren Perser. Mein Aufenthalt war kurz, vielleicht nur ein bis zwei Stunden lang, dafür umso aufregender. Ich stolperte mitten in eine Festversammlung hinein, die männliche arabische Bevölkerung saß auf dem Boden nebeneinander an den vier Wänden eines großen Saales entlang. Man machte mir Platz und ließ sich von mir in gebrochenem Persisch erklären, dass ich mich für ihre Sprache interessiere und gerne Tonaufnahmen machen möchte. Es fanden sich tatsächlich fünf Sprecher, die mir etwas auf Tonband sprachen, was nun hiermit vollständig dokumentiert ist. Die Audioaufnahmen sollen in SemArch, dem Semitischen Spracharchiv der Universität Heidelberg, veröffentlicht werden.¹

Da das ganze Unternehmen ziemlich turbulent verlief, war ich nachlässig was die Aufnahme der Daten der Sprecher betrifft. Leider habe ich auch keine Fotos gemacht

1 SemArch. Semitisches Tonarchiv. <http://semarch.ub.uni-heidelberg.de>.

und kann mich nicht mehr an die beiden Sprecher erinnern; insbesondere weiß ich nicht zu sagen, wie alt sie ungefähr waren. Vom zweiten Sprecher fand ich noch nicht einmal mehr seinen Namen in meinen Aufzeichnungen.

Ein kleines hochgestelltes ^P bezeichnet persische Entlehnungen. Für die Unterscheidung von *ā* und *â* verweise ich auf meine erste Publikation (Seeger 2002: 632).

Text 1

1. *ašūzu billāh min aš-šeytāni r-raġīm bismi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. 2. ane šabdillāh Iḥrāri, vuld-e tultān fi^Pzamān al-..., ^Ptād o^Ppaṅġâh ^Ptāl, ^Pdo^Phezâr o^Ppūntad ^Ptāl ^Pġabl, min ^PArabettān min hūl al-kufr o^Petlām,² ^Pfarār, fi^PĪrān tākin hānāt, ittēne. 3. ^Pmošaġatātīn čān, xubuḍ mā čān, bašde ^Pčogondar o^Pčalgam³ čān yixabḍūn,⁴ va il ar-riḍfān čān yintūn. aḥne xamsa uxve, uxt lā, ubūnne čān ^Pzahme yiġirrūn,⁵ ^Pčogondar yixabḍūn va ^Pčalgam, xubuḍ lā, bašde ^Pkam ^Pkamak okbūbarne⁶ o ar-^PPrad ^Pmaddūri⁷ o^Pfarār il aš-^Pšahrāt. 4. min hāne riḍfān toġâr kunne ġidēne il^PTehrān. ^PTehrān, matġid-e⁸ ^Pbe^Pnām-e Matġid-e Ašdām ^Pkâr kun niṭey, bašd ^Ptar ^Pkârgar hānāt xallūnne⁹ ^Ptâ ham-matġid iččamčam¹⁰ hūnkât. 5. va bašd iy yōm ^Pdavâzdah ^Ptūman ^Pmoḍ¹¹ čān yintūn. hānāt ^Pdo^Ptūman ^Pmoḍ čān. bašd ^Pkam kam ^Pxoštâl ġe, xalgin kullhum ^Pfarār il aš-^Pšahrāt.¹² at-tāš, al-ḥamdu lillāh rabbu l-šālāmīn, xubuḍ ^Pziyād, ad-dīnye vaṭṭīš ^Ppor ^Pnâḍ¹³ o nišma, bašar yiradin¹⁴ šukrat ^Pbe ^Pġây yiġīb.¹⁵ 6. ad-dīnye ^Pfarāvân, ^Ppiyâde ^Pravīye ^Ptād ^PFartax¹⁶ darb ^Ppiyâde ^Ptay kun niṭey noġodi, il aš-^Pšahr min aš-^Pšahr il aš-^Pšah. at-tāš al-ḥamdu lillāh rabbu l-šālāmīn, min hānāt sayyārātīn¹⁷ ^Phattīn min hāne, il Kašabat aš-šarīf bi tū ^Ptâtat ^Ptay*

2 Der Sprecher ist offensichtlich verwirrt oder aufgeregt und bringt unterschiedliche Gedankengänge durcheinander.

3 Pers. *šalgam* (شلغم) „Steckrübe, weiße Rübe“.

4 *xubaḍ/yixabuḍ* wörtl. „backen“.

5 *ġarra/yiġirr* „ziehen“, Lehnübertragung zu pers. *zahmat kašidan* (کشیدن زحمت) wörtl. „Mühe ziehen“ = „sich abmühen“. Die Pluralform des Verbs ist vermutlich die persische Höflichkeitsform der 3. m. Sg.

6 *okbūbar/yukbūbar* „groß/größer werden“.

7 Pers. *mozduri* (مزدوری) „Tagelohn, Lohnarbeit“.

8 Aussprache bei diesem Wort stets undeutlich, evtl. *mēġid, māġid, mēčid, māčid*.

9 Pluralis majestatis.

10 Passiv von *čamčam/yičamčum* „bauen“.

11 Pers. *mozd* (مزد) „Lohn“.

12 Das Verb hat der Sprecher hier, da er von einem Zuhörer unterbrochen wurde, vergessen.

13 Pers. *nāz* (ناز) „Wohlleben, Grazie, Anmut“.

14 = *yirad* in „müssen“. *rād/yirād, yird, yirad* „wollen, möchten“. *yirād yoġodi* „er möchte gehen“, *yird yoġodi* „er wird gehen“, *yirad yoġodi* „er muss gehen“.

15 Lehnübertragung zu pers. *be ġây āwardan* (جای به آوردن) „ausführen“, *āwardan* (آوردن) „herbeibringen“.

16 Variante zu *farsang* (فرسنگ) (Wegmaß, ca. sechs km).

17 Versprecher statt *tayyārātīn* „Flugzeuge“.

yītan yoğodan va yiğān. 7. va hānāt, ſurubīt hāne ^pgāl o ^pgūli ſurubīt al-^paṭl gāl o gūli. ^pdar ^paṭ il ab-bāğīr baqāru, aḥne nugūl bāğīr, ſarabītnā ^pgātī, ^pgāl o ^pgūl, ^pArabestān gāl o gūl.

ſAbdillāh Ihrāri,¹⁸ 16.09.1996

1. Ich nehme meine Zuflucht zu Gott vor dem verfluchten Satan, im Namen des erbar-menden und barmherzigen Gottes. 2. Ich bin ſAbdillāh Ihrāri, Sohn des Sultans, zur Zeit als ..., 150 Jahre, 2 500 Jahre zuvor, aus Arabien, aus Furcht vor dem Unglauben und dem Islam, Flucht, wir wurden hier im Iran angesiedelt. 3. Es gab Probleme, es gab kein Brot, einige haben Zuckerrüben und Steckrüben [als Ersatz für Brot] zubereitet, und gaben [es] den Kindern. Wir sind fünf Brüder, keine Schwester, unser Vater mühte sich ab, er bereitete Zuckerrüben zu und Steckrüben, kein Brot, dann sind wir nach und nach groß geworden und dann Tagelohnarbeit und Flucht in die Städte. 4. Von hier gingen wir als Kinder, wir waren klein, nach Teheran. In Teheran, in einer Moschee na-mens Aſdām-Moschee arbeiteten wir, danach machten sie mich dort zum Vorarbeiter, bis diese Moschee dort [fertig] gebaut war. 5. Dazu haben sie täglich zwölf Toman Lohn gegeben. Hier gab es zwei Toman Lohn. Einige Zeit danach kam ein Trockenjahr, alle Leute Flucht in die Städte. Jetzt, Gott, dem Herrn der Welten sei Dank, ist Brot reichlich vorhanden, die Welt ist übervoll von Wohlleben und Annehmlichkeit, es ziemt sich für den Menschen, dass er Dank erweist. 6. Die Welt ist weiträumig, wir laufen zu Fuß, hundert Farsang Wegs haben wir zu Fuß durchmessen, in die Stadt, von der Stadt, in die Stadt. Jetzt, Gott, dem Herrn der Welten sei Dank, von hier aus, gibt es von hier Flugzeuge, sie durchqueren die Strecke zur ehrwürdigen Kaaba in drei Stunden, hin und zurück. 7. Und hier, das Arabisch von hier: *gāl o gūli* (miteinander sprechen) ist im ursprünglichen Arabisch *gāl o gūli*. Ursprünglich [sagt man] zu *bāğīr* (Kuh) *baqāru*, wir sagen *bāğīr*, unser Arabisch ist alt, *gāl o gūl* ist in Arabien *gāl o gūl*.

Text 2

1. *fī ^pzamān-e gīdīm xubud ^pyuxt,¹⁹ mā čān. xubud ſaſīr ^ptā ^ptī ^ptālegīye, xubud ḥunta ane māčīl. baſd ḥunta min hāne čān yivaddūn raḥat²⁰ ^pābiye, fī ^pdah ^pFartax²¹ ^prāh raḥat am-mā yā ḥiğar. ſaſrēn²² ayyām kun noğodi hūnkāt, nigif²³ ^ptā ^pvaxt an-nūbe*

18 Dieser Sprecher spricht ſ nur sehr schwach aus, außerdem gehen *ā* und *ā* regellos durcheinander und seine Interdentale hören sich mangels Zähnen oft wie Sibilanten an oder gehen ganz unter.

19 Vgl. türk. *yok* „nein“.

20 HA *raḥan* (رحى) „Mühle“.

21 Vgl. Fußnote 16.

22 Vermutlich bringt der Sprecher in seinem Bemühen arabische Wörter zu verwenden hier und unten in Absatz 5 die Zahlen durcheinander und meint *ſaſrēn* heißt „zwei“.

23 *vigaf/yigif* „stehen“.

yinahi in raḥā ... nūbt ar-raḥā ilne tinahi, va ḥunte diḡiḡ, va bašd²⁴ niḡi, xubuḏ.
 2. aṭ-tāf našmatātin²⁵ ḥatt, bi²⁶ do ṭāḡat ṭaraktūr aḡ-ḥunte titḥan,²⁵ va raḥat ṭāteši²⁶ ḥam
 ḥatt, va ḥowran, ḥnūnōvāḡiye ḥam²⁶ xō,²⁶ dar ḥrow²⁷ xubuḏ titti. 3. ḥzamān-e ḡabl yā
 ḥbaḡar ḥkišt²⁸ kun niṭey, yā ḥamīr ḥhā,²⁹ ḡāṭākin³⁰ ḥčūbi, ḡatt-e tah³¹ kun nugbudhe,
 va ḥbaḡalmid,³² ḥkūhā, aḡ-ḡībāl kun naḥaruṭhinne. ḡdo ḥmāh, iṭnēn šuhūre, ḥčišt³³ kun
 niṭey. 4. aṭ-tāf ṭaraktūr ḥatt, bi²⁶ do ṭāḡat ṭamām al-... ḡdašt tidurbah. aṭ-tāf ḥbe ḡfure³⁴
 našmat, bašar yiradin³⁵ šukrat-e rabb ḥbe ḡḡāy yiḡīb,³⁶ šukrat-e Allāh. ḡpiyāde ḡravīye
 gutt³⁷š³⁷ māmin, ḡmotōr, ḡtekel, ḡmāšin, tayyārāt yoḡodan il kull mandil. 5. ḥunte čān
 ḡmannah³⁸ ḡdah ḡḡerān,³⁹ ḡdah ḡriyal, far-ḡriyal ḡArabestān. aṭ-tāfēnuk⁴⁰ miṭti šašrēn
 ṭalāt, ḡardāniye, bēd čān ḡyeki ... vāḥid ḡḡerāne, aṭ-tāf dād.

N. N.,⁴¹ 16.09.1996

1. In alter Zeit gab es kein Brot. Brot aus Gerste, Weizenbrot habe ich bis zum Alter von dreißig Jahren nicht gegessen. Dann haben sie Weizen von hier in eine Wassermühle gebracht, in zehn Farsang Entfernung (ca. sechzig km) war die Wassermühle mit [Mühl-]Stein. Zwei Tage sind wir nach dort gelaufen, wir warten bis die Zeit der Reihe für die Mühle an uns kommt, die Reihe für die Mühle an uns kommt und Weizen Mehl [wird], und dann kommen wir wieder, Brot. 2. Jetzt gibt es Annehmlichkeiten, in zwei Stunden drischt ein Mähdrescher den Weizen, und es gibt auch

24 Pers. *bāz* (باز) „wieder“.

25 *tuḥan/yiṭhan* (< *ṭhn*) „mahlen, dreschen“.

26 Pers. dialektal für „ebenso, genauso, doch“, auch adversativ „aber“ (Blanc 1963: 150). Partikel zum Ausdruck von Hoffnung oder Überzeugung, versucht Zustimmung zu erheischen (engl. „... didn't you?“).

27 Pers. *dar-raftan* (در رفتن) „herausgehen, -fliegen“.

28 Pers. *kešt* (کشت) dialektal jetzt *keš* gesprochen „Saat, Aussaat, Anpflanzung“.

29 Variante zu *ḥam* „auch“.

30 Vermutlich persisch, vgl. HA *sikka* (سكّة) „Pflug“; wie dieser persische Plural zustande kommt ist mysteriös.

31 Man beachte wie das arab. Suffix der 3. m. Sg. an ein als feminin interpretiertes persisches Wort mit *Ezāfe* angebunden wird!

32 Vgl. pers. *baḡal* (بغل) „Achselhöhle, Umfassung“, *miz* (میز) „Tisch“. Die Zusammensetzung im Sinn von „Abhang“ scheint jedoch im heutigen Persisch nicht mehr bekannt zu sein.

33 In vielen persischen Dialekten wechselt *k* mit *č*, wobei sich letzteres durchzusetzen scheint.

34 Die gleiche Bedeutung wie *farāwān* (فراوان) „reichlich, üppig“.

35 Vgl. Fußnote 14.

36 Vgl. Fußnote 15.

37 < HA *qaṭṭu* (قَطُّ) „jemals; niemals“, *gutt* oder *guttāš* wird benutzt wie pers. *hič* (هیچ) „keinerlei, nichts“.

38 Pers. *man* (من) (Gewichtsmaß, ca. 3 kg).


39 Pers. *ḡerān* (قران) „Kran“ (alte Münzeinheit, durch den Rial abgelöst).

40 Verkleinerungsform.

41 Die wegen *s* > *t* und *z* > *d* zu erwartenden Interdentale sind bei diesem Sprecher mangels Zähnen oft Sibilanten geblieben.

Motormühlen, und sofort, ja es gibt auch Bäckereien, wird er [der Weizen] im Nu Brot. 3. In früherer Zeit haben wir mit Kühen ausgesät, auch mit Eseln, mit Holzpflügen, wir haben seinen Griff gepackt, und die Abhänge, die Berge (pers.), die Berge (arab.), wir pflügten sie. zwei Monate (pers.), zwei Monate (arab.) haben wir ausgesät. 4. Jetzt gibt es Mähdrescher, in zwei Stunden mäht er die ganze ... Steppe. Jetzt gibt es reichlich Annehmlichkeiten, der Mensch muss dem Herrn, Gott, danken. Zu Fuß Laufen gibt es gar nicht mehr, Motorräder, Autos, Autos kommen zu jedem Haus. 5. Das Man (ca. drei kg) Weizen war zehn Kran, zehn Rial [wert], ein arabischer Rial. Jetzt ist es zwei, drei geworden, billig, Eier kosteten einst ein ... ein Kran, jetzt mehr.

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LETIZIA CERQUEGLINI 

The Golden Season of Olive Harvesting and Weddings Without Limousines: A Text in the Central Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic of Ṭaybe

ABSTRACT The text represents an excerpt from an intergenerational conversation in the Muṭallaṭ Arabic of Ṭaybe between a 73-year-old grandmother and her grandson, a student at Tel Aviv University. In the introduction, I describe the loss of the emphasis on */q/ and the affrication of */k/, highlighting the differences between the generational varieties of both participants. The variety spoken by the elders shows interesting pausal forms at the ends of both speech units and speech turns. The conversation focuses on two traditional themes of rural life in Palestine, the olive harvest and a wedding celebration.

KEYWORDS affrication, Arabic dialectology, loss of emphasis, Muṭallaṭ Arabic, Muṭallaṭ dialectology, Palestinian anthropology, Rural Palestinian Arabic, Ṭaybe Arabic, field research

This is a passage taken from a long interview conducted by a student from Tel Aviv University with his grandmother. Over the last two years, Amir Aḡmal has extensively recorded family members, all native to the area of Ṭaybe. In his interviews, the old lifestyle is the focus. Marriage, food and traditional medicine are the most common topics. In this interaction between Amir and his grandmother, one can notice that Amir pronounces */q/ as /q/, and only rarely deemphasises it (only twice in this text, in *kulli*, ‘tell me’ and in *ndukk*, ‘we beat’). He also makes an extensive use of /ʔ/, especially at words’ onset. The use of initial /ʔ/ is quite rare in Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic (TMA), with some exceptions (see below: *ʔilna* ‘to us’). Furthermore, Amir never uses [č].

In general, Amir's pronunciation is thus quite different from that of his grandmother. In her speech, a phenomenon quite widely spread among the speakers of central TMA of her generation is evident, i.e. the use of /k/ for both */q/ and for most of the occurrences of */k/. Central TMA is characterised, especially among women, by a very high level of overlap of [k] and [č]. That is, */k/ is pronounced both [k] and [č], according to the preference of each speaker, or even in both ways in the same words by the same speaker, apparently fully interchangeably. Furthermore, as shown in this text, women pronounce */q/ as the fully deemphasised [k]. As a result of the entire system of shifts, in the speech of many women of the central Muṭallaṭ, [k] can express both */q/ and */k/, which is the case of Amir's grandmother, reported here. In this text, the elderly woman pronounces */k/ as [č] only once, in *hičī*, the modal adverb 'so, this way', where the phoneme /k/ is found in a fronted environment.

Thus, as this excerpt shows, the phonological profile of central TMA is difficult to define. The situation of Ṭaybe and the central Muṭallaṭ has also been complicated by the wave of immigration from the coastal villages and, more markedly, cities (especially Jaffa) after 1948. Amir's family claims to be native to Ṭaybe and not to have hosted foreign elements. Nonetheless, the contact with Western varieties could have caused internal changes even among the local native population. The absence of the affricate pronunciation of */k/ could also be the outcome of school training that this woman received before marrying, even though it was restricted to elementary classes. Despite her age, she may have been influenced by the literary language and even by contact with Hebrew, which is quite a rare finding among the elderly women of the Muṭallaṭ. Indeed, Amir uses the Hebrew word *hitpatxuti* 'evolutionary, developed', meaning 'modern, up-to-date'.

A further interesting phenomenon observable here is the lowering of */i/ in a pause in TMA, not observed in the speech of Amir and his generation. So, in a pause, while his grandmother says: *tisfa w-sittēn... sabʿēn* 'sixty-nine, seventy-nine', Amir says: *tisfa w-sittīn* 'sixty-nine'. The effect of the pause position is evident in this text in the word *iši*, 'thing', which is short within speech unit, long at speech unit borders (*iši*), and lower at the end of a speech turn (*išē*). Also the word *kbiri*, 'big' (FSG), is pronounced *kbīre*, with a /the lowering of the final -i at speech unit border.

The form *lalli*, 'to those who...' is the development of *la-illi*.

The TMA represented here has the *imāla* of the feminine singular ending as [-a] in emphatic context, as [-e] and [-i] in other cases, not according to systematic rules.

In the transcription, the vowel length and high represent the actual way in which the speakers pronounce the sounds. This kind of transcription enables the reader to notice the difference between the pronunciation of TMA in the younger generations; in TMA, long vowels within the same word are pronounced long, while young people pronounce length only in the last long and accented vowel (Amir pronounces *zamamīr*, instead of *zamāmīr*, 'klaxons').

Text

Interviewer (A): Amir Ağmal, age 21, Muslim, born and currently living in Țaybe, BA student at Tel Aviv University in Arabic and Islamic Studies


Speaker (B): Woman, Muslim, age 73, born and currently living in Țaybe

- A: 1. *bima innu ihna bmawsim 'zzatūn ibtiqdari tišraḥīli šan qatf 'zzatūn bišūra bašīta?*
 B: 2. *ā, bakēna lamma nrūḥ šazzatūn zmān nifriš tiḥt 'zzatūn šarāšif aw nāylūn mišān wiḥna nuxruḥ 'zzatūn, nuxurḥu mišān mā yitbašṭariš. 3. nimsik furraš furraš, wilwāḥad yuḡrud wyinzil šala ššarāšif illi fardinha. 4. wṭabšan lamma nxalliš xilāl innhār bitšabba bišwalāt wkānu yiḡamfu šind ahli li-annu šindhum saḥāt ikbire. 5. whunāka 'nburrū yašni nṭallif ilaxḍar laršēf lašal willi la-zzīt lašal šabīn mā yixalšu mawsim 'zzatūn.*
 A: 6. *whaḍāka kīf niršaḥu? fi mašāšir šadīti lyūm.*
 B: 7. *laʔbakat ʔarikit 'rrašif ḡiddan ḡiddan ḥilwi wbadēša yašni bidaʔiyyi. 8. nistašmil idīna iktīr ḥabbi ḥabbi, fi nistašmil ya ḡḡār ḥiči šabšar zayy 'ššuwwān 'ššḡir induk fīha aw mdakka mdakka xašab barḍu šabīn mā tiftāḥ ilḥabbe. 9. wnibka ḥaṭṭīn iṭwāš fihin mayyi willā ṭšūti winḥut iliši niršaḥu fihin mišān mā yiswadiš. 10. wbašdēn lamma biddna nuxḍu nšanšu nistašmil illamūn, nistašmil ilmīlḥ kul ḥāy lšumūr. 11. whaḍāk lazzit yuxḍū šalšaššāra, lšaššāra... bakat fi šaššāra fi lbalad kadīmi yuxḍūha illi yiḍimnū yinsilu šanno nās illi yiḍimnū šanušš šaḥušša yašni ida šimil 'zzatūn šašar tanakāt xamse lalli ḍāmīn wxamsi ʔilna.*
 A: 12. *ʔayyib uxra suʔāl. barḍu ihna bmwasim ašrās. šraḥīli yumha baṭṭallaš lemuzīn wmaršidīs biṭlašu wbirkabu. 13. wbašūf yašni manāḍīr ḡarībi wšaḡībi wzamamīr wḥaflāt wdēḡi wḡanāni biššiyāra wyašni iši muṭaṭwir yašni iši toxnoloḡi azyad HḥitbathūtiH xallīna nkūl fi maḡāl inti baqitiš fih. inti nxalakti winta?*
 B: 14. *sant ilxamse warbšēn.*
 A: 15. *yašni kulli... ta ṭḡawwazti...*
 B: 16. *tisša wsittēn... sabšēn.*
 A: 17. *tisša, tisša wsittīn. btiḡdari tišraḥīli kīf kunti tiṭlaši? šalimuzīn?... bakaš limuzīn?*
 B: 18. *la. la. wala limuzīn wala išē.*
 A: 19. *šraḥīli kīf xaṭabti... ṭḡawwazti.*
 B: 20. *ḥitta ilšarīs li šindo sayyāra wala zīni wala išī, ihna ayyāmha kant... stīšīn šind sīdak istišīn wfīha volsvaḡin istišīn, yašni maf šaʔiliyyi wšafārna fīha. 21. ī kanu marrāt mā niṭlašīš fi lbadli lbīḍa, nḡayyir infaššil fušṭān aw ṭakīm rasmi ida ddīnya šatawiyyi aw šēf miš muhimm w-tiṭlaš fi ḥāḍa l-fušṭān mišant da trūḥ šala l-utīl. 22. wiḍḍahāb illi bilabbisha iyyā yūmit ilxuṭbe tibka lilit issahra labisto bass lamma tiḡi trūḥ šahr ilšasal illi binsammī tišlaḥu nišan ma yišriš sirḡāt itxalli bas 'ddible yašni fi idha mišān ilišāra, wiḍa ilšarīs bisūk ṭabšan hu illi bišūk 'ššayyāra wbwīšal iluīl, ayyām ma ihna kunna ḡaḡzīn fi ṭabariyya kant iddīnya šatawiyye.*

- A: 1. Since we are in the olive picking season, can you explain to me about picking the olives in a simple way?
- B: 2. Yes, when we went to pick olives in the past, we would put mattresses or plastic sheets under the olive trees because when we harvested the olives, we harvested them so that they would not scatter. 3. We caught branch after branch, and each one was picked and fell on the mattresses that we had put (under the trees). 4. And of course, while we were completing the harvesting towards the end of the daylight hours, the harvest was collected into sacks that people collected at my family's house because there they had large yards. 5. And there we would separate, chose, the olives into two types: the first type is the green olives and the second type is the black olives, and we put it aside until they would finish the season of the olive harvesting and that was the way we harvested the olives.
- A: 6. And how would you harvest the olives? Because today there are modern squeezers...
- B: 7. No, the method of harvesting was very, very beautiful, and also simple. 8. We used our hands a lot, pit by pit, for this we did use stones, this like, pointed, like small narrow, narrow stones and also wood, leaves, until the pit split into two parts. 9. We took buckets with plenty of water or whatever else and we put the harvest in there so that it did not turn into black. 10. And then, when we wanted to, we put it into jars using lemon, we used the salt, and everything. 11. And so we took the olives to the press, the press. There was a press in the old country, a old one. Some trusted people took the olives there for fifty percent, for example if the olives would give ten tanks [of oil], five were for them and five for us.
- A: 12. Okay! Another question. Today we are also in the wedding season. Today I see people traveling and riding limousines and Mercedeses. 13. I see wonderful and strange visions, klaxons and parties and DJs and songs in the cars, i.e. something more modern, technological and developed, let's say, in a way that you haven't experienced. In what year were you born?
- B: 14. In forty-five.
- A: 15. So, tell me... until you married...
- B: 16. Sixty-nine, seventy-nine.
- A: 17. Nine, sixty-nine. Can you tell me how you went out to the wedding party? In a limousine? There was no limousine...
- B: 18. No, no. No limousine at all.
- A: 19. Tell me how you got engaged and married.
- B: 20. And even the groom who had a car would not decorate it and not do all kinds of things. Back then, there was a car in your grandfather's family, a Volkswagen station wagon, and we used to travel in it. 21. And we (the brides) did not always appear in a white suit, we used to go to the seamstress to have a dress or a suit made, no matter if it was summer or winter, and we would go to the hotel in that dress and not a white suit. 22. And the gold he had given her the day of

the engagement, she would keep wearing the evening of the party, but when she would go on the honeymoon, as we call it, she would take it off, so that it wouldn't get stolen. She would leave only the ring on her hand, as a sign, and if the groom drives, then he is the one who drives the car to the hotel. Back then, we were guests in Tiberias and the season was cold.

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Living in Bab Tuma: Two Texts in Damascene Arabic

ABSTRACT Damascene Arabic belongs to the group of Syro-Palestinian dialects. The following presents two texts in this dialect that were recorded in 2008 in Damascus, and found a few years later among other recordings from Syria from that period. The author of the stories is Maysāʾ Šanāʿa, a Maronite Christian living in the district Bab Tuma in the Syrian capital. The texts presented here are unrelated to each other. The first of them tells of Palm Sunday, as well as Easter holidays in Damascus, while the second is a fairly loose story about spending time with her sick friend.

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, Christians, Damascene Arabic, Damascus, field research, Syria, Syrian Arabic

1 Introduction

Damascene Arabic is one of the best-described dialects of the Arabic language at selected stages of its development over the last hundred years.¹ In recent years, successive publications have appeared, among which the most noteworthy are Berlinches (Ramos)'s articles with texts and her grammatical description in Spanish (Berlinches 2011; 2013; 2014; 2016; 2017). In addition, Viennese dialectologists, under the guidance of Stephan Procházka, have published an excellent two-volume textbook for the Damascene dialect, the first volume of which has even had its second revised edition (Aldoukhi, Procházka, and Telič 2014a; 2014b; 2016). We can only regret that this textbook is still not available to English-speakers and they have to use English textbooks of a debatable level.

1 See, for example, the description of the state of research on Damascene Arabic in Klimiuk (2013: 19–25, 127–137).

Unfortunately, in recent years, apart from the texts by Berlinches (2011; 2013; 2014; 2016; 2017) and Klimiuk (2013), no other transcriptions have been published which record natural speech and are not prepared, as is the case with dialectal textbooks or publications based on television series. This is a negativum in recent years, in which strictly dialectological conclusions are drawn on the basis of, for example, soap operas and literature in dialects. In 1964, Bloch and Grotzfeld published earlier texts from Damascus. The latter also included an extensive text in his German language grammar of Damascene Arabic a year later (Grotzfeld 1965). Alas, there are not many publicly available and previously scientifically developed recordings in the dialect of the Syrian capital either.²

The following two texts were found among my various recordings from Syria from the years 2008–2011. Both texts were recorded in 2008, and their author is Maysāʿ Šanāfa, a Maronite Christian living in the district Bab Tuma in Damascus, whose other texts were published by me in 2013. In her stories, the author focuses on everyday life. The first text may be valuable from the point of view of typically Christian lexis because it concerns Palm Sunday and to a small extent Easter holidays. In the second story, she talks about her friend and her health problems, as well as spending time together in the absence of her friend's family.

The texts are transcribed in a transcription used in the Arabic dialectology and translated into English. In addition, a short commentary on assimilation, pronunciation, diphthongs and lexical borrowings is included. Major prosodic breaks are noted each time by a vertical bar (|).

2 Texts

Text 1: *ʕīd əš-šafnīne* 'Palm Sunday'

1. *bukra ʕīd əš-šafnīne | lāzem ʔrrūh³ ʕa-lə-knīse | həlu bikūn əl-ʔəddās b-əl... knīse |*
 2. *əl-yōm lāzem ʔnkūn ʔmʔahhzīn kəll šī mən ʔak^{əl} mən tanḏīf bēt mən kəll šī yafni*
lāzem ykūn əl-bēt kāmēl | 3. *lāzem ykūn ʔāybīn ʔgrāḏ əl-ʔak^{əl} kəlla | la-ʔənnno bukra*
ʕīd | w-kəll əl-ʕālam bət-kūn b-əl-kanāyes w-... | 4. *w-bətrūh bədzūr⁴ baʕḏa baʕdēn ʔaw*
mumken ʔənnno | ʔnrūh ʕala maʕsam nətḡadda |

2 Only my recordings from Damascus are available in the SemArch of Heidelberg University (<http://semarch.ub.uni-heidelberg.de>). It is not clear whether anyone still has recordings from Damascus that were transcribed by Bloch and Grotzfeld (1964). Some of the cassette tapes with recordings belonging to Grotzfeld (among them probably also Michael Jiha's recordings) were submitted to the Department of Semitic Studies of Heidelberg University in 2020. However, they need to be processed and elaborated. A cursory glance at them indicates that there are no recordings from Damascus among them.

3 *nrūh* > *rrūh* 'we go.'

4 *bətzūr* > *bədzūr* 'she visits.'

5. *əl-ʕīd* | *b-sabaʕaʕʕ nīsān* | *ʕīd əš-šaʕnīne* | *bikūn əʕ-ʕaʕʕ⁵ kamān ʕktīr ʕəlu* | *yōm əl-ʕaḥad bikūn* | *w-əʕ-ʕaʕʕʕ* | *ktīr ʕktīr ʕəlu* | 6. *ḥaddarna⁶ kəll šī ḥaddarna lə-tyāb ḥaddarna l...* | *əl-ʕak⁷l naqḍafna l-bēt w-ḏaḥḥazna⁷ kəll šī lāzem la-ḥāda l-ʕīd* | 7. *la-ʕanno baʕdo fī kamān kəllo ha-l-ʕəsbūʕ taʕrīban baʕd ʕīd əš-šaʕnīne kəllo ʕaʕyād* | 8. *hiyye ḥayy ʕaʕyād masīḥiyye yaʕni la-l-masīḥiyye ʕaktar šī byəḥtəflu fīyya l-masīḥiyye* | 9. *ʔē šār yōm əl-ʕaḥad sabaʕaʕʕ nīsān* | *fəʕna ʕ-ʕəb⁸ḥ* | *faʕarna* | *ḡassalna* | *lbəsna tyābna lə-ḏdād* | 10. *w-hallaʕ lāzem ʕnrūḥ ʕa-lə-knīse b-əl-ʕawwal* | *la-ʕanno ktīr ʕəlwə lə-knīse* | *bikūnu lə-wlād ʕktīr* | *bikūn fī ktīr ʕaʕfāl* | 11. *w-kəllon ḥāmlīn šamʕa w-məḥtəflīn bi-ha-l-munāsabe ḥayy* | *huwwe ʕaḥad əš-šaʕnīne biʕūlū-lo* |

12. *əs-sāʕa ʕaʕara taʕrīban ʕləʕna mn əl-bēt* | *rəḥna ʕa-lə-knīse* | *kān əl-ʕəddās ʕmballeš* | *kān fī ʕālam ʕktīr bi-lə-knīse* | 13. *kānu* | *fī wlād ʕktīr ʕzḡār [b-əl-kana...]* | *bi-lə-knīse kamān* | *əl-ʕālam barra ktīr malāne b-bāḥet lə-knīse* | 14. *w-kəll əl-ʕālam ḥāmlə ha-t-taliʕonāt ha-l-mōbāylāt* | *fīyyon kēmīra w-ʕam bəʕʕawwer ʕwlāda* | 15. *kəll walad ʕzḡīr masalan ʕəmro səne səntēn* | *yaʕni māksīmo la-tlāt təsnīn ʕanno l-walad byəḥmel šamʕa biḥəbb ʕanno yəḥməla l-əš-šamʕa* | 16. *ʕaḍḍəna sāʕātēn* | *bi-lə-knīse sāʕātēn w-šwayy l-əs-sāʕa ʕnaʕʕ taʕrīban la-xalaš əl-ʕəddās* | *huwwe tawwan ʕəddās kān ʕmballeš əs-sāʕa təʕʕa* | 17. *ʕəlu* | *ʕləʕna baʕd-ma xalaš əl-ʕəddās* | *la-barra ʕa-bāḥet lə-knīse* | *kānu ʕāmlīn məʕl ḥaʕle zḡīre* | 18. *kān fī kaššāf* | *w-daʕʕu l-kaššāf ʕšwayy* | *w-dār əl...* | *xawārne* | *b-əl...* | *maʕ əl-ʕaʕfāl b-əš-šamʕa* | 19. *ḥatta kān fī ʕaʕfāl ʕaytām* | *bi-lə-knīse* | *ḥanne⁸ ʕanno bəxədəmon lə-knīse* | *bətrāʕī* | *ʕomūron⁹ bəddarrəson¹⁰ biʕaʕmuwwon yaʕni bilabbəsuwwon* | 20. *kān fī ktīr nəʕbe kbīre mən ḥadōl əl-ʕaʕfāl bi-lə-knīse* | *kamān ḥāmlīn šamʕa ḥadōl əl-ʕaʕfāl* | 21. *w-maʕon kəll wāḥed murabbiyye ʕaw* | *yaʕni məʕl-ma yʕūlu ʕanno xaddāme la-ʕəlon ʕaw šī* |

5 < *ʕaʕʕʕ ‘weather.’

6 The verb *ḥaḍḍar/yḥaḍḍer* ‘to prepare, to ready’ is realised as *ḥaddar/yḥadder*. The long emphatic consonant *ḍ* is not pronounced in this case. There is a loss of emphasis here. Cf. *ḥaḍḍar/yḥaḍḍer* ‘vorbereiten, zubereiten’ (Aldoukhi, Procházka, and Telić 2014a: 158–159, 163, 210; Aldoukhi, Procházka, and Telić 2014b: 22, 44, 46, 83, 85, 87, 166). In the recent Spanish grammar of Damascene Arabic by Berlinches (2016: 448), this verb does not appear.

7 Here pronounced with *ḡ* instead of *ḏ*.

8 Berlinches Ramos (2020: 86) writes ‘[i]n our [Berlinches Ramos’s] research 34 informants used *ḥannen* 161 times, whereas only two informants used *ḥanne* (3 instances), and then just in combination with *ḥannen*. No informant used *ḥanne* exclusively.’ In a footnote, however, she refers to my earlier transcriptions in which the variant *ḥanne* appears (Klimiuk 2013: 100), and writes ‘[s]urprisingly, Klimiuk’s informant does [i. e., uses *ḥanne* exclusively].’ In both texts included in this article, only the variant *ḥanne* appears twice. It seems to me very appropriate to carry out detailed field research on this subject in the future, if only there is an opportunity to return to Damascus. Cf. Behnstedt (1997: map 257).

9 The plural is borrowed from Standard Arabic *ʕumūr* ‘affairs’; Damascene Arabic *ʕmūr*. Cf. *ʕumūr* ‘asunto, tema’ (Berlinches 2016: 439).

10 *bəddarrəson* > *bəddarrəson* ‘[the church] teaches them.’

22. *s-sāfa tnaʕʕāš baʕʕd-ma ḥaḍarna l-ʔəddās w-šəfna¹¹ l-kaššāf | xalset taʔriban | kəll wāhed rāʕ ʕala¹² bəto | 23. baʕʕd-ma rāhet əl-ʕālam ʕa-bəta | nās rāhet ʕa-bəta | nās rāhet ʕa-l... maʕʕam tətɡadda | nās rāhet la-ʕand ʔarāybīna yzūru baʕʕd yətɡaddu ʕand baʕʕd mumken | 24. kān yōm ʔktīr ḥəlu ʔaḍḍəna | b-ən-nəsbe ʔəli ʔana rʔəʕt ʕa-l-bət la-ʔənni ʕāmlə ʔakʕl b-əl-bət | 25. w-mā bhəbb ʔətɡadda barrāt əl-bət | ʔrʔəʕt ʕa-l-bət ʔtɡaddət b-əl-bət | w-mbaʕaʕna ktīr | w-kān yōm ʔktīr ḥəlu | tɡaddəna | 26. nawʕan-ma | ʔrtəḥna šwayy b-əl-bət | la-ʔənnə kənnə taʕbānīn | b-lə-knīse ʔabʕan mā ʔdərna naʕʕod¹³ mən kətr əl-ʕālam | 27. əl-masa mumken ʔləʕna məšwār hək ʔzɡīr zərna | əl-ʔaqaʕreb w-əl... ʔaʔḍiqāʔ | bi-hayy əl-munāsabe | 28. w-hək xalaʕ ḥāda lə-nhār yaʕni | huwwe ʔabʕan ḥāda l-ʔəsbūʕ kəllə ʔaʕyād |*

29. *baʕʕd ʕīd əš-šəfniḥne fi ʕənnə xamīs əl-ʔəsrār baʕʕd tlət ʔarbaʕ tiyyām xamīs əl-ʔəsrār | 30. əʒ-ʒəmfə l-ʕaʕīme | sabt ən-nūr | ʔaḥad əl-ʕəʕəḥ | tanən əl-bāʕūs w-hadöl kəllon ʔəyyām | ʔaʕyād | 31. w-ən-nās kəllə btəḥtəfel fiyyon | b-hadöl əl-ʔəyyām yaʕni | w-yōm kān ʔktīr ḥəlu |*

1. Tomorrow is Palm Sunday. We must go to church. The mass in the church is beautiful. 2. Today, we have to make ready everything from food to cleaning the house. That means everything. The house must be perfect. 3. All the things to eat must be brought because tomorrow is a holiday. All people are in churches. 4. They go to visit each other or maybe we will go to a restaurant where we have lunch.

5. The holiday is 17th April, Palm Sunday. The weather is also very beautiful. It is Sunday. The weather is very beautiful. 6. We have prepared everything. We have prepared the clothes. We have prepared the food. We have cleaned the house. We have made ready everything that is necessary for this holiday. 7. This is because, after that, all the holidays are also around this whole week after Palm Sunday. 8. They are Christian holidays, that is, for Christians. Christians celebrate the most during these holidays. 9. It became Sunday, the 17th of April. We got up in the morning. We ate breakfast. We washed ourselves. We dressed our new clothes. 10. And now we have to go to church first because the church is very beautiful. There will be many children. There will be a lot of children in it. 11. And all (children) hold a candle and celebrate on that occasion. This (holiday) is Palm Sunday, they call it that.

12. Around ten o'clock, we left home. We went to church. The mass began. There were a lot of people in the church. 13. There were also very young children in the church. People outside filled the churchyard. 14. All the people were holding these phones, these mobile phones. There is a camera in them and they are taking pictures

11 A vowel ə is pronounced here as u (*šufna* 'we saw') probably under the influence of the conjunction *w-*.

12 *rāḥ ʕala ... > rāʕ ʕala ...* 'he went to ...'

13 *nəʔʕod > naʕʕod* 'we sit.'

of their children. 15. Every small child, for example, one year, two years old, that is, up to a maximum of three years old, has a candle. (The child) likes to hold it, a candle. 16. We spent two hours in the church. Two hours and a little bit until around 12 o'clock, until the mass is over. Immediately at nine o'clock mass began. 17. They went out. We went out, after the mass was over, to the churchyard. They were having a sort of small party. 18. There were scouts and they were drumming a little. And priests with children with candles were walking around. 19. There were even orphans in the church. They were, because the church makes a provision for their affairs. It teaches them. They feed them. They dress them. 20. There was a very large number of these children in the church. These children also held a candle. 21. With them, every one of them, there was a nanny or—it means, as they say—she is a servant to them, or somehow so.

22. At around twelve o'clock, after we attended mass and saw the scouts, it was over. Everyone went to his home. 23. After people have gone to their homes. People went to their homes. People went to a restaurant to have lunch. People went to their relatives, to visit each other, to have dinner together perhaps. 24. We had a very beautiful day. As for me, I came home because I made the food at home. 25. I do not like eating lunch outside the house. I came home. I ate dinner at home. We enjoyed it very much and the day was very beautiful. We ate dinner. 26. Somehow or other, we rested a little at home because we were tired. Of course, we could not sit in the church because of many people. 27. In the evening, we may have gone for such a small walk. We visited relatives and friends on that occasion. 28. That is how the day ended. I mean, naturally, this whole week is a holiday.

29. After Palm Sunday we have Maundy Thursday. After three or four days, it is Maundy Thursday. 30. Good Friday, Easter, Easter Saturday, Easter Monday—these are all holidays. 31. And all the people are celebrating during them. That is, these days. And the day was very beautiful.

Text 2: *rfiṭti* 'My friend'

1. *ṭtaṣlet*¹⁴ *fiyyi mbāreh* *rfiṭti* | *w-ṭālēt-li ṭəži la-ṣanda ṭaḏḏi n-nhār* | *ṭana w-hiyye mā ṣanda ḥada b-əl-bēt* | 2. *žōza*¹⁵ | *rāyeh ṣa-mašta l-ḥalu huwwē* | *w-bānta* | *fi ṣāndon munāsabe* | *w-l-munāsabe hiyye ṭanno ṭaxū bəddo yəḡḡawwaz*¹⁶ *bukra* | 3. *laṭ mū bukra yaṣni ṭanno xilāl əl-ṭəsbūf baṣṣd šī ṭarbaṣ xamṣ tiyyām w-lāzem yaṣni ṭaxū ykūn b-əl-ṣarṣ* |

14 < **ṭtaṣlet* 'she called [me].'

15 Here pronounced with *ḡ* instead of *ž*.

16 *yəḏḏawwaz*/*yəṭṭawwaz* > *yəḡḡawwaz* 'he gets married.' In this case, I leave the original pronunciation with the consonant *ḡ*.

4. *fa-ṭtaṣlet fiyyi ʔālēt-li ʔanno ʔəzi ʔaḍḍi ʔanda ši yōmēn* | *ʔəlt-əlla lēš ʔanno masalan mā bətrūhi ʔa-l-ʔərʔs* | 5. *əl-ʔərʔs bikūn ḥəlu yaʔni lāzem əl-wāḥed yšārek w-xuṣuṣan ʔanno ḥōne byəʔrabek səlfek* | *ʔaxu žōzek* | 6. *ṭəʔet ḥarām marīda* | *ʔanda mašākel b-əl-məʔde w-ʔam tətʔalāz ʔand əd-dōktōr w-ʔal-la d-dōktōr ʔanno lāzem yaʔni ʔanno* | 7. *w-halla? mū šəf əd-dənye w-ṭ-ṭaʔʔ bikūn šōb* | *lāzem mā təṭlaʔi yaʔni b-əš-šōb w-...* | 8. *yaʔni ʔanda mašākel ʔktīr ʔanno* | *b-əl-məʔde w-ʔanda tasarroʔ b-əl-ʔaʔb w-...* | *ktīr šaḡlāt yaʔni* | 9. *fa-ṭtaṣlet fiyyi ʔālēt-li ʔəza btəzi bətʔaḍḍi-lek ši yōmēn bēn-ma yəzi žōzi w-bənti mn əl-ʔərʔs* | 10. *ʔəlt-əlla ʔē bšūf ʔəza kənt faḍye bəzi yaʔni tāni yōm əš-šəbʔh* | *tāni yōm əš-šəbʔh walla* | *mā kazzabʔt xabar yaʔni šaḥabt w-rəḥʔt la-ʔanda* | 11. *w-ʔana bḥəbba la-ḥayy ʔrfiʔti yaʔni rfiʔti mən zamān ʔaktar mən ʔašš_ʔsnīn¹⁷* | *kənna ktīr ʔana wiyyāha ʔaždiqāʔ yaʔni w-ʔaktar mn əl-ʔəxwāt* |

12. *rəḥʔt la-ʔanda* | *ʔaḍḍēt ən-nḥār* | *ṭabʔan* | *ʔaʔatt¹⁸ ʔana wiyyāha šwayy* | *ʔtsallēna kān žōza ṭələf mn əš-šəbʔh bakkīr huwwe w-əl-bənt rəyḥīn* | 13. *rəyḥīn ʔa-l-ʔərʔs yaʔni huwwe l-ʔərʔs bikūn yōm əž-žəmʔa nəḥna kān əl-ḥaki ḥāda n-nḥār ət-talāta l-ʔarbʔa* | 14. *ʔaddēna ʔaddēt yōm ʔanda ktīr ḥəlu* | *w-nəmʔt ʔanda w-tāni yōm əš-šəbʔh* | *yaʔni ržəʔʔt ʔa-l-bēt ʔana wiyyāha žəbta maʔi ʔana la-ʔand ʔahla ʔahla ḥōn sāknīn ʔəddāmna ʔəddām bētna yaʔni* | 15. *ʔaʔadna ʔana wiyyāha mbaṣaṭna* | *yaʔni mā kān fi šaḡlāt tasliye ktīr hiyye šaḥīḥ marīda* | 16. *bass ḥarām ʔanno sāʔatta¹⁹ šwayy bədda tʔūm ʔa-l-ḥammām* | *bədda tākol masalan la-ʔanno māna ʔadrāne yaʔni* | 17. *w-kān žōza²⁰ xādama huwwe w-bənto bass lāzem fi wāžeb ʔandon ʔanno* | *fi ʔərʔs w-lāzem ʔanno ykūnu yaʔni b-əl-ʔərʔs* | 18. *daʔʔet hiyye w-ʔtaʔret yaʔni l-əl-ʔarīs ʔanno hiyye mā fiyya w-marḍāne w-...* | *ʔanda ktīr mašākel yaʔni* | 19. *ṭṭaṣal žōza* | *waʔʔt waṣṣalu ʔala ...* | *mašta l-ḥəlu* | *sallam ʔalēna* | *w-ʔṭamman²¹ ʔala marto ʔanno kīfa w-šū ʔamle w-...* | 20. *w-ʔam yəzi ʔa-š-šī w-ʔəza ʔana waṣṣalt la-ʔanda walla lā ḥənnə²² bēton šwayy ʔbʔid b-ʔždaydet ʔarṭūz* |

21. *mbaṣaṭna* | *ʔē ḥaka maʔna yaʔni w-mbaṣaṭna w-ʔənnā-lo²³ l-ḥamdəlla mā fi ši w-kaza* | 22. *w-ʔaʔadna walla ʔana wiyyāha mbaṣaṭna šwayy nəʔfarraʔ ʔa-t-təʔzyōn šwayy nədzakkar nəʔʔod nəḥki ʔəšaṣ mn əl-ʔadīme wən kənna rrūḥ wən kənna nəzi* | 23. *šū naʔmel* | *maʔ mīn masalan sāʔed ʔēmta šū wən ʔrrūḥ* | *w-ḥakēna ʔəṣša ktīr ḥəlwe w-hiyye waʔʔt rəḥʔt ʔana w-hiyye ʔa-bērūt* | 24. *b-yōm qarrarna ʔabʔl b-ən-nḥār ʔanno nəḥna bəddna rrūḥ bukra ʔa-bērūt* | *ʔālēt-li trūḥi* | *ʔəlt-əlla brūḥ* | *tāni yōm rəḥna* |

17 *ʔašr ʔsnīn* > *ʔašš_ʔsnīn* ‘ten years.’

18 *ʔaʔadʔt* > *ʔaʔatt* ‘I sat.’

19 *sāʔadta* > *sāʔatta* ‘I helped her.’

20 Here pronounced with *ğ* instead of *ž*.

21 < **ṭamman* ‘he calmed down.’

22 Here the variant *ḥənnə* (3 pl.) appears once again. See my earlier footnote on this issue in Damascene Arabic.

23 *ʔəlnā-lo* > *ʔənnā-lo* ‘we told him.’

25. [s...] *ʔammanna sayyāra*²⁴ *ʔabʕan sayyāra xšūʕi yaʕni ʔaxdātna | laʔ yaʕni mānna maḥtāzīn l-əš-ši kanna ʔanno ġēr ʔanno masalan sayyāra*²⁵ *ʔaktar ši | 26. ʔaʕadna žəbna hayy əl-ʔəšša ʔanno waʔta kif^əmbaʕatna w-šū rəḥna zərna | w-tfarražna ʕa-t-təlfəzyōn^əšwayy | 27. tġaddēna ʔabaxna ʔana w-hiyye | yaʕni hək^əmbaʕatna w-shərna b-əl-ləl | kən žāye ʕala bāli ʔana bass ʔəšrab ʕanda bīra | 28. bass mā šrəb^t yaʕni yā ʔālət-li təšrabi ʔəlt-əlla laʔ mā bəšrab lēš haʔʔa ʔanno ʔəšrab la-ḥāli laʔ | law hiyye ʕam təšrab maʕi ʔē | 29. w-hək | ^əmbaʕatna | w-ʔaḏḏēna lēle ktīr ḥəlwe ʔana w-hiyye nəmna ši s-sāfa ʔarbaʕa wəšš əḏ-ḏaww | 30. əl-bēt^əktīr ḥəlu | kbīr | w-ʔi žnēne | w-balkōn yaʕni ʔanno xarž əs-sahra | w-šāyer mn əl-mantīʔa mətl əḏ-ḏēʕa |*

31. *w-tāni yōm əš-šəb^əḥ fəʔna faʕarna w-^əlbəsna tyābna w-ġassalna | w-ʔəžīna | ʔana wiyyāha ʕa-bāb tūma hiyye rāḥet la-ʕand ʔahla w-ʔana bšəʔʔ ʕa-bēt ʔahli | 32. kən yōm^əktīr ḥəlu | w-zəkrāyātna kānet^əktīr ḥəlwe |*

1. A friend of mine called me yesterday and told me to come and spend the day with her. Me and she (only). There will be no one else at her house. 2. Her husband goes to Mashta al-Helu.²⁶ He and her daughter. They have an occasion, and the occasion is that his brother will be getting married tomorrow. 3. No, not tomorrow.²⁷ I mean during the week. In about four–five days. And he must—it means—his brother, be at the wedding.

4. She called me. She told me to come and spend about two days with her. I asked her, for example, ‘Why are you not going to the wedding?’ 5. The wedding is beautiful. It means that you have to participate. Especially because he is a relative to you, your brother-in-law, your husband’s brother. 6. Unfortunately, she has turned out to be ill. She has stomach problems and is undergoing medical treatment with a doctor. The doctor told her that this is necessary, it means that ... 7. And now is not the full summer? The weather is hot. ‘You cannot go out in such heat and ...’ 8. It means, she has many problems. In (her) stomach. She has tachycardia and ... It means, a lot of things. 9. And she called me, told me, ‘If you come, you will spend about two days together until my husband and daughter come back from the wedding.’ 10. I told her, ‘Yes, I will see. If I am free, I will come.’ I mean, the next morning (I will come). The next morning, of course, I did not deny the information. I mean, I was a friend and

24 Here pronounced with a vowel *i* as *siyyāra* ‘car.’ It is a phonetic realisation, perhaps resulting from the rapid pronunciation of a word and a consonant environment with a semivowel *y*. A little further, the word is pronounced as *sayyāra*.

25 Here pronounced with a vowel *i* as *siyyāra* ‘car.’

26 Mashta al-Helu (*Mašta l-Ḥəlu*) it is a town situated in north-western Syria, belonging to the Tartus Governorate. Because of its mountain location, it is a popular tourist destination. The town is inhabited mainly by Christians.

27 The speaker tries to explain herself here from the word *bukra* she used, which dictionaryly means ‘tomorrow.’ However, the expression of time with this word is too inaccurate and means more like ‘in the near future,’ ‘for days,’ ‘soon,’ but it certainly does not refer to ‘tomorrow.’

I went to her. 11. And I like this friend. I mean, she has been my friend for more than ten years. She and I were very much friends, I mean, more than siblings.

12. I went to her. I spent the day at her place. Of course, she and I sat for a while. We had fun. Her husband left very early in the morning. He and (her) daughter went. 13. They went to the wedding. I mean, the wedding is on Friday. We, this conversation was on Tuesday, Wednesday. 14. We spent. I spent a very beautiful day with her. And I slept at her place. On the second day in the morning, I mean, I came home with her. I brought her with me to her family. Her family lives here in front of us, I mean, in front of our house. 15. We sat, me and her. We were happy. I mean, there was nothing very entertaining. She was really sick. 16. But terrible! I helped her a little (because) she wanted to stand on the toilet. For example, she wanted to eat. (I helped her) because she could not. 17. Her husband has served her. He and his daughter. But they had to, they had an obligation, because there is a wedding and they had to be at the wedding. 18. She called and apologised to the bride that she could not and was ill. And that she has many problems. 19. Her husband called when they got to Mashta al-Helu. He greeted us and calmed down about his wife that how she is doing, what she is doing and ... 20. And he is now going for something. Whether I came to her or not. They, their house, is a bit far away, in Jdeidat Artouz.²⁸

21. We laughed. Yes, he talked to us, I mean, we were happy and we told him that, thank God, everything is fine, and so on. 22. Of course, she and I sat, we enjoyed watching a little TV, we remembered a little. Then we were telling a story from the old days, where we were going, where we were coming. 23. What we do, who I help, for example, when, what, where we go. And we were telling a very beautiful story and it (that story) was when she and I went to Beirut. 24. One day we decided the day before that we would go to Beirut tomorrow. She said to me, 'Are you going?' I said to her, 'I am going!' The next day we went. 25. We provided us with a car. Naturally a private car. It means, it took us. No, I mean we did not need something else, like a bigger car. 26. Then we brought the story that we enjoyed it and what we visited afterwards. We watched some television. 27. We ate dinner, we cooked together. Well, we were happy. We passed the night awake. It came to my mind that we would only drink beer at her place. 28. But I did not drink, I mean, oh, she told me, 'Drink!' I said to her, 'I do not drink.' Why, actually, because I do not drink alone. If she drank with me, yes. 29. And that is how we enjoyed it. We spent a very beautiful night, her and me. We went to sleep around four o'clock at dawn. 30. The house is very nice, big. There is a garden and a balcony, which means it is suitable for a party. It is in an area like a village.

²⁸ Jdeidat Artouz (*Ždaydet ſArtūz*) is a town situated in southern Syria, about 20 km west of Damascus, belonging to the Rif Dimashq Governorate. Druze, Christians, and Sunni Muslims inhabit the town.

31. The next morning, we got up. We ate breakfast. We put on our clothes and washed ourselves. And we arrived, me and her to Bab Tuma. She went to her family, and I am visiting my family's house. 32. It was a very nice day. Our memories were very beautiful.

3 Remarks

The following types of assimilation appear in the texts:

a. left-to-right (progressive):

nl > *nn* *ʔəlnā-lo* > *ʔənnā-lo* 'we told him,'
šr > *šš* *ʔašr ʔsnīn* > *ʔašš ʔsnīn* 'ten years.'

b. right-to-left (regressive):

nr > *rr* *nrūḥ* > *rrūḥ* 'we go,'
dt > *tt* *sāʔadta* > *sāʔatta* 'I helped her,'
 ʔaʔadʔt > *ʔaʔatt* 'I sat,'
td > *dd* *bətdarrəson* > *bəddarrəson* '[the church] teaches them,'
tǧ (dž) > *ǧǧ* *yəḏzawwaz* > *yəǧǧawwaz* 'he gets married.'
tz > *dz* *bətzūr* > *bədzūr* 'she visits,'
ʔf > *ʔf* *nəʔʔod* > *naʔʔod (nəʔʔod)* 'we sit.'

Only one example of external sandhi occurs in both texts and concerns a word ending in *ḥ* (*rāḥ* 'he went') and a word beginning in *ʔ* (*ʔala* 'to'): *rāḥ ʔala ...* > *rāḥ ʔala ...* 'he went to ...'

The issue of pronunciation of the preposition/pseudoverb *ʔand* seems interesting, which I did not pay so much attention to before. The informant pronounces this word once as *ʔand* (*ʔand*, *ʔanda*, *ʔandon*, *la-ʔand*, *la-ʔanda*) and another time as *ʔənd* (*ʔənda*, *ʔənna*, *ʔəndon*).

There are also diphthongs which appear either in monosyllable words or borrowed from standard language:

a. a diphthong *aw*:

ʔaw 'or,'
law 'if,'
nawʔan-ma 'somehow or other.'

b. a diphthong *ay* [ey]:

ʔdaydet ʔarʔūz 'Jdeidat Artouz,'
ʔaytām 'orphans.'

Three forms of plurals are worthy of note which retain a prefix *ʔa-*: *ʔaʕyād* ‘feasts,’ *ʔaʕfāl* ‘children’ and *ʔaytām* ‘orphans,’ instead of expected plurals such as: *ʕyād*, *ʕfāl*, and *ʕitām*. Plurals such as *ʔaʕyād* and *ʔaʕfāl* are also included by Berlinches (2016: 467, 471) in her grammar.

Words borrowed from Standard Arabic may retain vowels *u* or *i* in the first syllable: *munāsabe* ‘occasion,’ *murabbiyye* ‘nanny, nursemaid,’ *xuṣūṣan* ‘especially’ and *xilāl* ‘during.’ The consonant *q* is also pronounced in borrowings: *qarrarna* ‘we decided,’ *ʔaqāreb* ‘relatives’ and *ʔaʕḏiqāʔ* (< OA *ʔaṣḏiqāʔ*) ‘friends.’²⁹

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29 Cf. Berlinches (2016: 464, 476) *ʔaṣḏiqāʔ*, *ʔṣḏiʔāʔ* and *qarrar biqarrer*.

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STEPHAN PROCHÁZKA 
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Bags, Liquorice and Traditional Cereal Products: Three Texts in the Arabic Dialect of the Harran-Urfa Region of Southeastern Turkey

ABSTRACT The three texts presented in this article were recorded in the Turkish city of Şanlıurfa and reflect an Arabic minority variety that belongs to the so-called Shawi dialects. Due to its isolation from other Arabic dialects, this variety has retained many features typical of the Bedouin-type dialects of the Syrian Desert and North Arabia (e.g. the consistent use of the dialectal *tanwīn*). Text 1 explains the different kinds of bags that are used for wheat, cotton, etc. Text 2 is about the production of a liquorice drink which is especially popular during Ramadan. Text 3 is a rather long description of how, in former times, the women of the region prepared various kinds of crushed wheat (bulgur) and how traditional bread is baked.

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, Bedouin-type, field research, Harran-Urfa Region, Şanlıurfa, Shawi dialects, Southeastern Turkey

1 Introduction

The term ‘Shawi-Arabic’ refers to a bundle of closely related dialects spoken in various regions of the Fertile Crescent. Typologically similar dialects are found in many rural parts of Iraq, which is why the Shawi and the rural Iraqi *gilit*-type dialects are often grouped together as ‘Syro-Mesopotamian (fringe) dialects’ or pre-ʕAnazī¹

1 This label indicates that the Shawi tribes entered the region before the large camel-breeding tribes like the ʕAnaza (and Šammar).

dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 24; Palva 2006: 606). The presence of an Arabic-speaking community in what is today the Turkish province of Şanlıurfa may go back to the 11th century or even earlier (Oppenheim 1939: 226 f.). The semi-nomadic sheep and goat herders elsewhere called Shawi² have been present for centuries in the Plain of Harran, south of Urfa, between the city and the Syrian border. Today, these Anatolian Shawi dialects are spoken in Urfa itself, in the historical town of Harran, and in numerous small villages scattered over the plain. Due to the lack of official statistics, the number of Arabic speakers in that region can be only roughly estimated to be between 200,000 and 300,000 people. For almost a century—since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923—this Arab minority has been rather isolated from other Arabic speakers because the border to Syria was difficult to cross for ordinary people. Since Turkish is the only language of education and media used in the region, for decades the Shawi dialects here have been virtually isolated from any influence of Modern Standard Arabic. Because of this linguistic isolation, several linguistic changes that have recently been observed in the Bedouin-type dialects of Syria and the Gulf have not taken place in Harran-Urfa Arabic.

2 Grammatical notes

In the following, several characteristics of Harran-Urfa Bedouin Arabic will be briefly described. Only features that are present in the texts are discussed: the examples are referred to by section number.

Phonology

- The Old Arabic diphthongs have been monophthongised: *ay* > *ē* (*xēṭ* ‘cord’), *aw* > *ō* (*fōg* ‘above’).
- Word-final *-a#* tends to be raised, particularly in non-emphatic, non-guttural contexts: e.g. *ʕalīḡe* ‘sack,’ but *ḡunṭa* ‘wheat’ (1.1). There seem to be, however, other factors involved because the pronominal suffixes 3FSG and 1PL occur both as *-ha* and *-he*: e.g. *xām-ha* ‘its cloth’ (1.4) vs. *nsammī-he* ‘we call it’ (1.1), and *-na* and *-ne*: *bēnāt-na* ‘among us’ vs. *ṭidēn-ne* ‘our hands’ (2.9).
- The interdentalals *ṭ*, *ḏ* and *ḑ* are generally retained in all positions.

2 The term Shawi is an exonym used for sheep and goat breeders by other Arabic speakers in Syria and Iraq. In the Harran-Urfa region, people who do not belong to the community speak Turkish or Kurdish and therefore the term Shawi is not known there.

- Old Arabic (OA) *ġ* has shifted to *q*: e.g. *ītifarraq* < *yatafarraq* ‘it opens (intr.)’ (1.8), *yqassil* < *yugassil* ‘he washes’ (3.3), *qirbāl* < *ġirbāl* ‘sieve’ (3.24).
- *g* (< *q*) and *k* have been affricated in front vowel environments: e.g. *ġarye* [dʒerye] < *garya* < *qarya* ‘village’ (1.2), *ywaġġiṣ* < *yuwaqqiṣ* ‘it removes’ (2.7); but *guṭun* < *quṭn* ‘cotton’ (1.6). The affricated *g* has completely merged with original *ġ* that has been retained as an affricate (e.g. *ġurn* ‘stone basin’). Examples for *k* > *č*: *čibīre* < **kibīra* < *kabīra* ‘big’ (1.5). In *wuruč* ‘side’ (1.8), the vowel shift to *u* (OA *wirk* ~ *warik* ‘hip’) under the influence of the initial *w* has apparently happened after the shift *k* > *č*.
- The dialect exhibits the so-called *gahawa* syndrome: e.g. in elatives *ʔaħala* < *ʔaħlā* ‘better’ (2.8), and in the imperfective verbs of Form I: *yfazil* < OA *yafzil* ‘it separates’ (3.24), *yqadi* < OA *yaġdī* ‘to become’ (3.37), *ʔaxabiz* < *ʔaxbiz* ‘I bake’ (3.44).

Morphology

- Gender distinction is consistently made in the 2nd and 3rd persons of verbs and pronouns. The suffix 3FPL is subject to a kind of vowel harmony: *b-qaḷəb-hin* ‘inside them’ (3.11), but *nšuff-hun* ‘we put them in rows’ (3.10).
- The numeral ‘100’ is usually *ʔimye* (1.3/1.6).
- Conjunctions: *šaman* + pronominal suffix ‘because’ (2.10/3.5), *šugub-ma* ‘after’ (3.17), *čan* + pronominal suffix ‘if’ (3.46).
- Compound prepositions: *b-qaḷəb* ‘inside,’ e.g. *b-qaḷəb al-ħunṭa* ‘inside the wheat’ (3.7); *ʔb-sāġit* ‘together with’ (3.28).
- The existential particle is *šī* (3.7/3.19), NEG *māmiš* or *māmin*.³

Syntax

- The dialectal *tanwīn* is consistently used as a nominal linker between indefinite nominal heads and adjectival attributes, e.g. *širġ-in qalīd* ‘a thick root’ (2.1). The *tanwīn* is also used for linking two identical nouns to express repetition, e.g. *nšil-hin ġidir-in ġidir* ‘we pull(ed) it up pot by pot’ (3.13), *nimli w-ʔnfariq w-ʔndall ġurn-un ġurun ndugg* ‘We fill and empty it and thrash (the wheat) basin by basin’ (3.21). Another of its functions is to link indefinite heads with a following relative clause, as in *šala maṭraħ-in ndugg-u* ‘to a place where we thresh it’ (3.19) and *nahār-in šī hawa* ‘the day there is wind’ (3.24).
- The feminine ending *-t* is retained in (1) definite attributive phrases and (2) in the heads of relative clauses:⁴ *al-ħunṭit al-ġidide* ‘the new wheat’ (3.47); *ʔarīd aš-šakilt*

³ See Procházka (2018: 279).

⁴ For this phenomenon, cf. also Procházka (2021) and Retsö (2009: 21–22).

al ašrab-ha ‘I want (to see) the thing (lit. shape), which I drink’ (2.11); *al-ḥunṭit at ttišawwal* ‘the wheat that has been soaked’ (3.5).

Plural heads that do not denote humans usually exhibit agreement with feminine plural: e.g. *ḥadannič yišnašun-hin yxayyṭun-hin šala bašaq-hin* ‘they produce and sew them (viz. the sacks) up together’ (1.5), *ʾnḥuṭṭ-hun ša-l-ḥağar* ‘we put them (viz. the cauldrons) on stones’ (3.10).

3 Lexical notes

Here, only lexemes found in the texts are explained; for an overview of the most important lexical features of Harran-Urfa Arabic, see Procházka (2014).

- To express ‘in the language X,’ the preposition *b-* plus the ethnonym is used: e.g. *b-at-turuk* ‘in Turkish’ (2.1); *b-al-šarab* ‘in Arabic.’
- *šūše* PL *šuwāš* ‘bottle’ (2.9) is a loan from the local Turkish dialect word *şüşe* (vs. Standard Turkish *şişe*).
- The noun *fāl* ‘time’ is typical for this and some other Shawi dialects, e.g. *awwal fāl* ‘first time’ (3.1).
- The noun *gāf* ‘land’ (3.2) is feminine and has replaced *ʾarḍ* in this meaning. The latter is used only in the sense of ‘place.’
- For ‘roof,’ the compound noun *fōg ad-dār* is used (3.9).
- Adverbs: *b-sāf* < **bi-sāfatihi* ‘immediately’ (3.17), *guṭma* ‘a little’ < OA *qaṭma* ‘piece’ (3.45).
- As can be seen from Text 3, the word *ʾēš* < *ʾayš* ‘life’ is used for bulgur, which has long been the staple food in the region (cf. Egyptian and Khuzestan Arabic *ʾēš* ‘bread,’ Gulf Arabic *ʾēš* ‘rice’).
- Sometimes the meaning of the Turkish equivalent influences the semantic range of Arabic words. Because the Turkish verb *sürmek* means both ‘to drive’ and ‘to last,’ the Arabic verb *sāg* is also used in both meanings, though only the first is attested in other Arabic varieties: *ysūg-illu nahārēn talāt w-yibas* ‘It takes only two or three days until it dries.’ (3.17).
- Under the influence of Turkish, light verb constructions can sometimes be found, particularly with Turkish loans as the nominal element: *ḥazam ysāwi* ‘it digests’ (2.6)⁵; *ʾaxallī ysāwi dīnlenme* ‘I let it rest’ (3.43).

5 The noun *ḥazam* is used here in the word’s Turkish meaning ‘digestion’ (*hazım*).

4 Texts

The transcription is mostly morpho-phonemic with some exceptions: the glottal stop /ʔ/ is indicated after a pause or between two vowels if clearly articulated; and the allophone [ə] of the phoneme /i/ is consistently noted.

Epenthetic vowels inside the word are not specially marked as such; but the epenthetic vowel at the beginning of a word (and also after the definite article) is indicated by a superscript ^ə.

Text 1: Bags and sacks

The recording was made in Urfa on 7 May 2010. The speaker is the second author of this article, Ismail Batan. He was born in a poor neighbourhood on the edge of the city in 1969. He belongs to the Bani ŪĠġil tribe and his family is originally from the village of Qōran (Turkish Uzunyol), situated 9 km southwest of Hārārān. The speaker is fluent in Turkish, but has only a basic education. Because for a while he worked as a truck driver to neighbouring Arab countries, he is somewhat familiar with Iraqi and Syrian dialects and sometimes uses forms he learned there (e.g. *mīye* instead of the local *?imye* ‘100’; see below 1.3).

1. *?ihna hēne, ?al-ʕalġe⁶ ta-ngūl, ?al-ħunṭa wēya ?aš-šifīr wēya⁷ kull šakle nħuṭṭ-u b-al... ?aṭ-ṭorba nsammī-he, ṭorba, čwāl ta-ngul-il-he bi-de⁸ ngul-l-he ʕalġe. 2. riħit ʕala xālt-i ʕa-ġ-ġarye w čān tinṭi-ni ʕalġit ħunṭa, ʕalġe. ʕind wurč al-ʕarab, duwal al-ʕarab, ?al-ʕIrāġ as-Sūrīye ygūlūn kīse. ?ihna nsammī-he ʕalġe. 3. ?ašġar min ʕalġe ngul-l-he pōšēte, pōšēt, pōšētixubuz, ?akbar m-al-pōšēte ʕalġe, ?akbar m-al-ʕalġe ngul-l-he farde,⁹ farde, farde, fardit ħunṭa. ?al-farde fōġ al-mīyit kīlo, fōġ al-mīye, min ^ətfūt al-imye, ^ənsammī-he ?awwali b-al-ʕarṣa ybīʕūn ħanāṭi,¹⁰ ysawwūn-he min šaʕr al-maʕaz. 4. m-aš-šaʕar ysāwūn al-fardāt al-fa... ?al-awwalīyāt al-awwalīyīn alħaz gāmat. haḏīč ^ənsammī-he farde. yaʕni ħitt xām-ha m-aš-šaʕar al-ma... al-ʕaniz miṭīl as-šaʕar, yaʕni t-turki ygūl keçi kıldan. 5. miṭīl bēt aš-šaʕar haḏannīč yiṣnaʕūn-hin yxayyūn-hin ʕala baʕaḏ-hin w čībire hiyye ṣṣīr, ^ənsammī-he farde, farde. 6. w-al-guṭun, ?al-guṭun al yħuṭṭūn-u bi...*

6 This term is derived from the root ʕ-l-q ‘to hang’; it is also attested in other Shawi dialects (Lentin 2013: 165). Cf. also Iraqi Arabic *ʕillāġa* ‘basket’ (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 320).

7 Turkish *veya* ‘or.’

8 Local Turkish for *bir de* ‘also.’

9 Cf. Iraqi *farda* ‘heavy cloth sack usually used as a packsaddle on beasts of burden’ (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 348).

10 Plural of *ħunṭa* in the sense of ‘kinds of wheat, kinds of cereals.’

*al-^əhniye*¹¹ *nsammī-he bandağ*,¹² *bandağ guṭun, zād yāxuḍ imyit kīlo^w, ?al-guṭun yaḥni, ?al-guṭun lā ngūl li-ḥalīğt-u bandağ-u, farde wa-lā kīse, bandağ, bandağ guṭun ḥaša.* 7. *zād luwwa maḥdan tara yizrafūn-u w yiğī m-aĉ-Ĉīn w yiğī min Bangladēš, yiğī min Bangladēš, yiğī b-al-matrāt w hēne yigṭaḥūn-he, ṭūl-ha mīye w sittīn, mīye w sittīn yxayyṭūn wuruĉ min-he,* 8. *wuruĉ ḥayrə yxallūn-ha maftūḥa, yxayyṭūn-ha b-xeṭ ib-xeṭ al-guṭun w yḥabbūn-ha guṭun nsammī bandağ guṭun. ?al-guṭun yōmin yrūḥ ḥa-l-fabriğa, yaḥni huwwa w ĉiğīt-u, yikšimūn al-xeṭ m-al-kenār*¹³ *w min fōg-ha w yiftaḥūn-u hiĉīd ^əb-sāḥ itifarraq bandağ al-guṭun.* 9. *ṭalṭit aškāl ḥalāyiğ bandağ al-guṭun w-al-kīse, ?aaa, w-al-ḥalīğe w-aĉ-ĉwāla, ?al-farde nsammī-hin ḥalāyiğ hiĉīd. w-zigīr-u pōšete, ?al-Ḥrāğyīn al-ḥarab ygūlūn ḥillāga. humma ygūlūn ḥillāga ?iḥna ngūl-l-u kīse l-al-^əĉwāla, ?iḥna nsammī-he pōšete yaḥni ?asas al-pōšete zād kilme turkīye mī-hi ḥarabiye.*

1. Here, let's say, we have the sack and we put wheat, barley and everything (like this) in it. We call it *ṭōrba*,¹⁴ sack; and we also call it *ḥalīğe*. 2. (In the past) I went to my aunt in the village and she used to give me a sack of wheat, a *ḥalīğe*. With the Arabs, in the Arab countries, in Iraq and in Syria, they say *kīse*. We call it *ḥalīğe*. 3. [SP When it is smaller than a *ḥalīğe*?] When it is smaller than a *ḥalīğe*, we call it *pōšete* or *pōšet*, like a bag of bread. A *ḥalīğe* is bigger than a *pōšete*, and what is bigger than a *ḥalīğe* we call *farde*, large sack, like a sack of wheat. The *farde* contains more than 100 kilos, more than 100. When it exceeds 100, we call it like this. Formerly, they sold different kinds of wheat in it at the corn exchange. They used to make it from goat hair. 4. The people in former times made the large sacks from hair and these we call *farde*. Even their cloth is made of goat hair, like the hair. The Turks say it's from *keçi kılı*. 5. They (i.e. the big sacks) are like the black tents: they produce and sew them up together. And they become big. We call them *farde*. 6. As for the cotton, we put the cotton in things we call *bandağ*, a sack of cotton which also contains 100 kilos. When it is for cotton, we do not call it *ḥalīğe* or *farde* or *kīse*, we call it *bandağ*, a sack for cotton. 7. There is a production for it. They grow it and it comes from China and Bangladesh. From Bangladesh it comes in panels (lit. in metres) and here they cut it into size. Its length is 160 cm, 160 cm, and then they sew up its side. 8. They leave one side open; this side is later sewed up with a cotton string. They fill it with cotton and we call it a sack of cotton. When the cotton and its seeds are brought to the factory, they tear the cord from the sides and from above and open it like this. The sack of cotton opens immediately. 9. Many types of sacks have come up: the sack of cotton, the bag, the middle-sized

11 The word *hniye* 'thing' is used as a substitute for any noun which does not come to the mind of the speaker at the moment (like thingamabob, thingummy etc.). There is also a verb *yihni* that is often attested in the texts.

12 This word is a loan from the local Turkish dialect: *bendek* 'large sack' (*Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü* 1963: 626).

13 Turkish *kenar* 'margin, side.'

14 The word *ṭōrba* is a loan from Turkish *torba* 'sack, bag.'

sack, the (normal) sack, the large sack. We call them sacks. The small one is called *pōšēte*. The Iraqi Arabs say *fillāga*. They say *fillāga*: we (also) say *kīse* to the *čwāla*. We call it *pōšēte*, which is actually a Turkish word; it's not Arabic.¹⁵

Text 2: Liquorice

This text was recorded the same day from the same speaker as Text 1.

1. *hāda ?iḥna nsammī firğ as-sūs, fala... firğ as-sūs – firğ as-sūs – firğ as-sūs, hāda ?as-sūs yḥafrūn-u m-al-asfal, min firğ-u yiḥlufūn-u w b-al-makīne yi-yi... ykassrūn-u miṭil ta-ngūl press gibi.*¹⁶ *hāda ?aşlānda*¹⁷ *firğ-in qalīḍ w b-at-turuk insammī ?iḥna hēne ygūlū-l-u yambali, yambali.*¹⁸ 2. *?iḥna ?a-l-firğ as-sūs nāxuḍ hāda kilo^w hāda kilo firğ as-sūs, kilo^w, ?arbaḥ līrāt al-kilo^w, insawwī bī ?iḥna ?aşər marrāt hemen hemen, mayy as-sūs ?aşər marrāt b-al-bēt.* 3. *al-muqrib b-irmaḍān miyyit grām firğ as-sūs ?ā... yšīr – ?Ayše, uskuti bāba,*¹⁹ *?Ayše uskuti! ?Ayše uskuti, ugḥudi, ugḥudi, Ḥalīme zād ugḥudi!* 4. *b-irmaḍān miyyit grām yḥuṭṭūn-u b-al-tabsiyye w-yḥuṭṭūn falē ṭaliğ, ṭāsīt būz*²⁰ *ənsammī būz, yḥuṭṭūn al-būz fōg as-sūs, yḍall ymūf ymūf ymūf fōgu, fōg hāda ymūf al-būz l-al-mağrib.* 5. *lummun-ma yišīr al-būz ymūf min fōg-u, w-inšaffi b-as-süzgāğe, inšaffi, w-inḥuṭṭ falē ?ād indaḥḥiğ ?ala ṭəxn-u, guṭmut mayye w-aš-šurūb šār. nuşş litrit al-uxra mayy inkabb inḥuṭṭ fōg-u yšīr litre w-nuşş; ?ala miyyit grām litre w-nuşş.* 6. *şugub-ma nšaffi b-as-süzgāğe nişrab-u ?a-l-mağrib inḥuṭṭ falē uxra būz, – ?Ayše, uskuti ?abūy! – al-mağrib nişrab-u b-irmaḍān, hāda, şugub... başdēn-ma nişrab yōmin nişrab-u ymawwif al-açil, yaşni ḥazəm*²¹ *ysāwi.* 7. *w mişşān ač-çlē, ač-çlē, al-böbrek yaşni, al-ḥağara*²² *b-ač-çlē ywağğif al-ḥağar, ywağğif al-ḥağar, ymawwif al-ḥağar al-mayyt as-sūs hādi, w-şifāt-he çitire yaşni çitir yinşifi yaşni, iš-ma tfidd mā txalaş.* 8. *Urfa kull-u b-irmaḍān yişrab mayyt as-sūs, al-pepsi-kōla mā nişrab-ha, ?abad! mayyt as-sūs şidna (?ağla) ?aḥsan m-al-pepsi. aḥa... yaşni ?aḥala, aḥsan inḥibb-he. [...] w b-at-turuk zād ysammūn-he yambali.* 9. *b-as-sūg yḥaḍḍrūn-he ybifūn-he b-aş-şuwaş, ḥāḍre. başad, başad maşmalçyye b-al-bēt yḥuṭṭ-l-u, hiçid ysawwi dabaw-in çibir yḥuṭṭ ?aşər kīlawāt min hal-mayy as-sūs, msawwī ybif min-he, yaşni maşāş xubuz, ?iḥna, əhnit*

15 He is right insofar as the Arabs of Urfa have taken it from the Turkish word *poşet*, which in turn is a loan from the French *pochette*.

16 Turkish postposition *gibi* 'like.'

17 Turkish *aslında* 'actually.'

18 In standard Turkish it is called *meyan kökü*.

19 He addresses his daughter by calling her 'daddy'; this is very common.

20 Turkish *buz* 'ice.'

21 See 'Lexical notes.'

22 Usually the word is pronounced *ḥğara*.

as-sūg mā nāxud-he, baḡaḡ-ne ʔiḡna nsawwī b-īdē-ne b-al-bēt. 10. niḡmil iḡnīt b-al-bēt aḡsan insawwī aš-šakle ʔal īdē-ne, ʔnšūf-ha b-iḡyūn-ne šīnu šī bī-he. ʔiḡna ʔal-ʔarab, gerči kull šakle, ḡatta l-al-pepsi kōla uxra, ʔaman-ni mā šūf yōmin iḡnōn ysawwūn-he mā ḡibb-he. 11. ʔarīd aš-šakilt al ašḡrab-ha, ʔal akul-ha ʔašūf-ha b-ʔēni, yaḡni šnōn tiḡīr šnōn tin... tistawī. min ḡaḡa nḡibb ʔškāl-ha al b-īdē-ne, w-salāmt-ak w-al-ʔāfyē – xurf Aḡḡa ʔalē-k – w ʔalē-k!

1. This we call liquorice, liquorice – liquorice – liquorice. They dig this root from beneath (the ground). They get it from (the plant's) root and then they grind it with a gadget, something like, let's say, a press. Actually, it is a thick root; in Turkish we call it... here they say *yambal*. 2. We buy one kilo of liquorice. From this one kilo of liquorice, which costs four lira, we can make a liquorice drink about ten times, ten times (we can make it) at home. 3. In Ramadan, at sunset, (we take) one hundred grams of liquorice and it becomes... Aicha, shut up, Aicha, shut up! Shut up, Aicha, and sit down! Halime, sit down too! 4. In Ramadan they take a hundred grams, put it on a tray and put ice on it; a cup of ice. We call it *buz* (in Turkish). They put the ice on the root and it slowly melts on it; the ice melts on it until sunset. 5. When the ice has melted upon it, we drain it through a strainer and, according to its thickness, put a little bit of water on it and it becomes syrup. We add another half litre of water, pour it on it, and it becomes one litre and a half. Out of hundred grams (of root) one litre and a half (of syrup). 6. After we have drained it through a strainer, we again put ice on it and drink it at sunset. – Aicha, shut up! – In Ramadan we drink it at sunset. When we drink it after breaking the fast, it softens the food²³, it (helps) digest it. 7. It's (also good) for the kidneys, the kidneys, kidney stones; it removes nephroliths. The liquorice syrup removes the stone: it makes the stone melt. It's a cure for many things; many things are cured by it—as many as you list; you could not finish (listing all its cures). 8. The whole of Urfa drinks liquorice syrup; we don't drink Pepsi Cola. Never! We regard liquorice syrup better than Pepsi; we like it more. In Turkish they call it *yambal*. 9. At the market they prepare it and sell it in bottles, readymade. Some people, who know it well, take large amounts (home), ten kilos of liquorice, make (syrup) and sell it, just to make some extra money.²⁴ We do not buy it from the market; we make it at home with our own hands. 10. We prepare it at home. It's better to do it with your own hands, so we can see with our own eyes what is in it. Actually, we Arabs (have reservations against) everything... even for Pepsi Cola. Because I don't see how they make it, I do not like it. 11. I want to see with my own eyes how things I drink and eat are prepared. Therefore I like that we do it ourselves. Enjoy it! – Thank you! – You're welcome.

23 Literally: it makes the food melt.

24 Literally: income for bread.

Text 3: All around the wheat: on bread and different types of bulgur

The recording was made in Urfa on 23 November 2014. The speaker is Amīna who was born 1974 in the town of Tall Abyaḍ (Turkish Akçakale) on the border of Syria. She also belongs to the Bani Ūġil tribe. Amīna finished eight years of primary school and is fluent in Turkish.

1. *šnōn ʔtsāwīn al-xubuz? – walla, ʔal-xubuz awwal fāl xōḡe nḡīb ta-ngūl iḡne... ʔasōlif al-awwalīn alla ʔalḡaz? ʔasōlif al-awwalīn alla ʔalḡaz? ʔasōlif²⁵ al-awwalīn, ʔal-awwalīn w-alḡaz zād. ʔawwal fāl m-al-awwalīn ta-ndaššin.*²⁶ 2. *ʔal-awwalīn iḡne ta-ngūl bēt ahal-i ta sōlif ʔal ahal-i, ʔnḡīb iḡne ʔarbaʔ xamīs tičyāl, ništiri l-ḡunṡa, ništiri l-ḡunṡa, čādin al ʔind-u ḡāʔ zāten ḡuntit-u ʔālfe mn-ač-čōl.*²⁷ 3. *w-al mā ʔind-u yrūḡ itimawwan yištiri ʔarbaʔ xamīs tičyāl ḡunṡa. ḡāḡiyye nḡīb al-ḡunṡa. al yrīd yunxul-ha, yuṡluʔ min-he ḡūwāš w-mā yqassil-he* 4. *w-al yrīd zād yšawwul-ha ʔaš-šuwal,*²⁸ *yafni qasīl al-ḡunṡa, ʔiḡna ngūl-ill-u š-šuwal. ʔnšawwil yafni čēlēn ʔalāt ʔnšawwil ḡunṡa.* 5. *al-ḡunṡit at tišawwal xubuz-he yšir fadar ʔaman-he ttiqassal, w-al-ḡunṡit al mā tišawwal yšir xubuz-he mitīn ʔaman-he mā ššūf mayye.* 6. *ḡāḡīč ʔaman-he ttiqassal ššir geṡšek,*²⁹ *xubuz-he, ʔngūm ʔād ta-ngūl ʔala ḡnīt ahal-i, ʔngūm ʔnšawwul, ʔngūm ʔnšawwul arbaʔ xamīs tičyāl.* 7. *ʔyḡall b-al-mayyāt w-ʔyṡūf yuṡluʔ minn-u al-ʔxrayān, ʔism al ḡičid ši yabangī*³⁰ *ši b-ḡalḡ al-ḡunṡa* 8. *yuṡluʔ minn-u ta-ngūl aš-šifir, yuṡluʔ minn-u ʔaḡ-ḡūwāš, ʔnqassil-u nišhal-u zēn, ʔal-ḡunṡa kull-he nqassil-he w-nišhal-he.* 9. *w-ʔnḡuṡṡ-ha fōḡ ad-dār w-ʔnšurr-ha ʔa-š-šamis b-al-ḡeḡ ḡāḡa. w lummun-ha tibas, nuṡluʔ min-he ta-ngūl čēl čēlēn l-al-ʔhniye l-al-xubuz, w-čēl zādēn ḡāḡe ham ʔa-l-ʔkbaḡ ḡirīš.* 10. *ham zād la-ḡunṡit al-ačil al-burqul,*³¹ *burqul al-ʔeš w-burqul ač-čige. ʔnḡīb-he, ʔnḡīb-he ʔal-ʔḡḡūra, ʔḡḡurt al-ḡadīd, ʔnḡīb-in-ne hemen hemen al-bēt itnaʔaš ḡidīr, baʔaḡ-hum xaməšʔaʔəš ḡidīr, nšuff-hun ḡičid w-ʔnḡuṡṡ-hun ʔa-l-ḡaḡar* 11. *w-ʔnʔabbi b-ḡalḡb-hin al-ḡunṡa ta... ta-ngūl al qassalnā-ha, al ʔmšawwala nʔabbi b-ḡalḡb... w-ʔnḡuṡṡ ʔalē-he mayye w-ninṡi-he n-nār.* 12. *ʔngūm ʔnwizz-he b-ḡaṡab ḡuṡun yā b-ḡišš,*³² *iš-ma ligēne l-wḡūd aš-ši. w-lummun-ha tistawi, ʔal-ḡunṡa, ʔugub-ma tistawi yḡūlūn ḡāḡi yḡūlū-l-he siliḡe.*³³ *ḡitt aḡ-ḡirān yḡūn*

25 A typical Bedouin word, cf. Holes (2001: 245).

26 Used in Iraqi Arabic in the more restricted sense of ‘to use for the first time’ (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 158).

27 In Harran-Urfa Arabic, *čōl* < Turkish *çöl* ‘steppe,’ means ‘open land’ and even ‘outside.’

28 Cf. Lane (1863: 1749): *šawwala* ‘to extract a thing by means of water; to soak a thing to extract the juice or bitterness.’

29 Turkish *gevşek* ‘soft, elastic.’

30 Turkish *yabancı* ‘strange(r).’

31 The form *burqul* suggest an origin in the local Turkish *burgul* rather than Standard Turkish *bulgur*.

32 Cf. Mayadin (E Syria) *gešš* ‘whole straw’ (Lentin 2013: 166).

33 Derived from the root *s-l-g* < *s-l-q* ‘to boil.’

yişhadün as-siliğē. yğ̃ibün °mmāfīn ‘mā tinṭīn-ni siliğē?’ 13. *hā ?awwali mā fid-ne iḥne mardiwānāt*³⁴ *miṭil alhaz fōg ad-dār, nirgi ta-ngül şala mardiwān al-xaşab w-°ng̃ib-in-ne mrise w-saṭəl w-nnāwiş řād nşil-hin ġidir-in ġidir.* 14. *řād °nşil-hin ġidir-in ġidir yḍall yğ̃ibinn-u ta-ngül hināk yinṭabix ta-ngül min... řişrīn mitraw ygallṭinn-u lē hēn l-iṭum bāb ad-dār.* 15. *ta-ngül wəḥde zād fōg ad-dār rāçbe tinṭi °tnāwiş al-°mrise ar rabifit-he b-al... b-as-saṭəl w-nşil-u kull-u fōg ad-dār as-siliğē nşil-he ḥāřra. w-°nşurr-ha řa-l-hawa ygubb buxār-ha ygubb w-riḥit-he timli l-balad.* 16. *riḥit-he zēne zād al-ḥunṭa yōmin tinṭabix, ?ī alle řşir-il-he riḥe, ?aha, w-an-nās min hāḍa yiştammūn ar-riḥe w-yiğ̃ūn zād yridūn siliğē nfariğ̃ řād min-he ta-şşir baraktiyye.* 17. *?aha w-°nşurr-u řugub-ma yibas lummun řād °nḍall °nşūt-u řa-ş-şamis nahārēn ṭalāt waktin b-al-ğēḍ, ?ad-dinye b-ad-dinye ḥāřra. °b-sāf yibas ysūg-ill-u nahārēn ṭalāt w-yibas.* 18. *řugub-ma tibas as-siliğē hāḍi nuṭluş m-al-°mşawwala nuṭluş řin-ne zād řaliğē m-al-°mşawwala hāḍi nfazil-he řayre*³⁵ *hāḍi řād as suwwēne stuwa w-yibis w-şinnā [< řilnā],* 19. *hāḍa nğ̃ib-u nāxd-u řa-l-°hnīye, řala maṭraḥ-in ndugg-u ři ġurun hiçid °hnit al-awwalīn yařni ġurun řağ̃-ğurun m-al-ḥağar, w-luwwa hnīye al-miğane,* 20. *hāḍa kullu nḍall hā-w-hā nḍall °ndugg lummun °tgūm-ill-u hiçid miṭil al-°hnīye yařni ygūm-ill-u řağ̃-ğuwāş, lummun °ğwāş-tu tgūm al-ḥunṭa lummu ġuwāşit-he trayyiş °tgūm-il-he ġuwāşe.* 21. *°ngül °stuwa ngūm řād °nfarrq-u ha-l-řalu ġuwāş-u b-idē-ne hiçid yihnin m-ağ̃-ğuwāş, nimli w-°nfariiq w-°nḍall ġurn-un ġurun ndugg. lummun nigḍi ḍiç al-ḥunṭa kull-he ṭnařaş ġidir ē.* 22. *w-kull-he řād °nşurr-ha ?uxra nşurr-ha ?umm-i şşurr-ha b-nōba al hiçid řa-l-... ta-ngül řa-l-ḥaşāyir řa-l-xālyāt,*³⁶ *řa-l-... řa-ş-şūḥ °şşurr-ha w-lumm-he tibis.* 23. *uxra w-°tgūm řād °ḍḍarrihe řa-l-hawa, °ḍḍarri-he tgūm waktin °şşūf ad-dinye hawa tgül “al-yōm arīd aḍarri ḥunṭət-i.”* 24. *nahār-in ři hawa ṭdarri ?al-ḥunṭa tigaf řād hiçid w-timli ta-ngül al-qirbāl ya da al-ligan timlā (= timlī) w tigaf al-hawa waktin tigaf řād °ḍḍarri al-hawa řād yḍall yiḍrub yřazil al-ḥunṭa m-ağ̃-ğuwāş ağ̃-ğuwāş yařni al-qābuq.*³⁷ 25. *hā řugub řād řřabbī-he uxra kull-ha zēn uxra °şşurr-ha ta-ngül w-waktin waktin tindagg uxra °nbill-he mayye.* 26. *řugub-ma tibis nirmī-he min fōg ad-dār waktin °ngūm °ndugg-ha b-ğalb ağ̃-ğurn uxra nbill-he mayye ta-tgūm °trayyiş.* 27. *?ā ngūm řād uxra nşurr-ha, řugub-ma řād tihni-he uxra nşurr-ha, w nşurr-ha tibas zēn w-°nřabbī-he b-al-řalāyig̃. haḍiç řal al mū maṭbūxa, al mū maṭbūxa, ?al-ḥunṭit al mī maṭbūxa, bass °mqassale.* 28. *haḍiç zādēne wāḥad-he tindagg mişşān al-°kbab w-al-başırma. haḍiç zād tindagg wāḥad-he řayre, haḍiç mā tinxaliṭ °b-sāğit hāḍa.* 29. *hāḍa zād řād ndarrib-hin řād řa-ğ-ğā... řa-ğ-ğārūşe, ?at tuğruş al-burqul tuğurş-u řād ta-ngül nrid-u řeş °şğadd xayye °tridīn řeş? walla ?arīd-ill-i xall ṭīman °ğḍūra ta-yşirīn çige, ?aç-çige trūḥ aḳtar mi-l-řeş.* 30. *wa-t-tālyāt zād ta-yşirīn zād řeş, ?al-ḥurma řād tiğruş yařni sşāwi ham xaşin ham °sşāwi ta-ngül nāřim mişşān aç-çige.* 31. *?ā, ?uxra nğ̃ib-u řa-l-bēt, ?uxra °tgūm tunxul-u ?umm-i řřazl-u*

34 Turkish *merdiven* ‘staircase.’

35 Turkish *ayrı* ‘separate.’

36 Turkish *halı* ‘carpet.’

37 Turkish *kabuk* ‘husk, peel.’

**tʃazil al-ħunṭa, *mn-aş-şrēşra, *mn-al... *mn-al-ğiriş al-burqul, fēş al-burqul.* 32. *yafni nsāwī-hin ṭalt *gsam. tʃazl-u uxra tʃabbi b-al-ʃalāyığ, hāda l-aç-çige w-hāda ta-ngül l-al-fēş, ʔal-burqul hāda l-al-burqul w-aş-şrēşrit at tuṭluṭ yinṭi-he l-al-ħalāl.*³⁸ 33. *hadīç an-nuwāsim at tuṭluṭ, ʔaş-şrēşra ygülū-l-he, hadīç an-nāşme ninṭi-he l-al-ħalāl yafni, ʔē hnīye yafni mişşān al-açil. tā hiyye w-ğuwāş-he w-balā-ha w-qaḍab-ha w-balā-ha kull-u l-al-ħalāl hāda.* 34. *ʔaha, w-tuṭluṭ al-ħunṭa hadīç fād al-ħunṭa ʔal... ad daggēnā-ha b-ağ-ğurun al wāhad-he yafni ʔal-ħunṭa al mī maṭbūxa.* 35. *hādi zād *ngül xayye tara ʔal-ʃalığe hādi bass *nsāwī ʃalığe, ʔal-ʃalığe hādi zād tara hī ğiriş, ğiriş ħunṭa ngül-il-he hadīç zād *ṭuṭṭ-ha wāhad-he w-tuğruş-he.* 36. *hādi zād mişşān al-başṭirma w-al-^okbab, *nğib-he zād ʃa-l-bēt zād tunxul-ha ʔumm-i, w-tʃabbī-he b-al-ʃalığe. hādi şşil mişşān al-burqul.* 37. *hādi zād burqul *rħamt abū-y yiştahī mā-yāwī ta-ngül wiğaf mişde fēş al-burqul yqadi zēn, mā-yōğif al-mişde.* 38. *ʃaman ʃa-l-şid şāyir aç-çige b-sāf tistawī, ʃaman-he ʃa-l-şid şāyir mū miṭil al-ħaḍir, qiymetli yafni.* 39. *ʔağ-ğiriş zādēne başṭimat-u zād şşir zēne w-kbabt-u şşir zēne, hāda, w-al ʃizalnā fād l-al-xubuz, haḍāk zād ta-ngül b-al-bēt ʃala gədar al-ʃele.* 40. *yafni al-yōm *nrīd *nrūh niṭhan, nāxud-in-ne ʃalığe w-nrūh niṭhan-he ʃa-ṭ-ṭāhūne yiṭhanūn-he w-yğibūn-he.* 41. *ʃugub-ma yiğibūn-he ta-ngül nuşş-ha ʔarīd axabiz-ha ʔāni ʔarudd-he b-ligan an-naylōn, nuşş-ha w-aḥuṭṭ ʃalē-he milih.* 42. *malāt ħafint-i ʃala hnīt-u ʃala quwām-ha hiyye ʔaʃağin-he ʔaʃağin-he zēn, lummun aşuf-ha tgūm *ḍḍall ha-l-gadd al-bālōn at tuṭluṭ min hēne tistawī.* 43. *ʔal-ʃağin yistawī yrīd hēl yrīd taʃab, lummun yistawī ʔaxallī ysāwī dinlenme, ʔahaḍḍir şāğ-i ʔahaḍḍir... ṭahin-i w... ʔaha, w-ağib nār-i kull şakilt-hin.* 44. *yafni ʔahaḍḍir-he, w-ağūm fād axabiz, axabiz aḍall agaṭṭif fād alawwiz awwal fāl asāwī yumāq,*³⁹ *aha, w-ağib ṭahin aḍardir ʃalē ʔaṭ-ṭahin w-axabz-u.* 45. *w-ankut-u fād axalli guṭma yitni m-aṭ-ṭahin w-ʃa-ş-şāğ ahni ʔaḍall asāwī w-hāda zād fād *nşil-u ta-ngül ʃala gədar al-bēt.* 46. *çan-ni msāwye al-ligan hāda yāzi-ni*⁴⁰ *hemen hemen fōg aş-şahrēn, ʔal-ligan, nuşş al-ʃalığe ʔāni tāzi-ni şahrēn ʃaman-ne niştari m-al-firin hā!* 47. *w-alħaz ʃad al-ħunṭit al-ğidide ʔalħaz mā ḍall ħada ybarqil. kull an-nās trūh tiştari l-ħunṭa hāḍir al yrīd fēş yiştari fēş.* 48. *ʔar-rāyid yāxuḍ b-al-markēt, ar-rāyid yāxuḍ b-^oçuwālāt zād şī yinbāş, ahl al-garāye zād şāyrin alħaz mitmaddnūn*⁴¹ *şāyrin mā fād ħade ybarqil.* 49. *mā fād ħade ydugg, mā fād ħadannīç kull-hin yihnin, ʔan-nās alħaz *trūh hemen pēşin tiştari ʃalığit burqul w-ʃalığit çige.* 50. *ʔahaw ʃalığit ħitt ṭahin-he zād hāḍir aṭ-ṭahin ygülün *flān marqa zēn yrūhūn yğibūn mā ḍallat at-tmuwwan.* 51. *ʔawwal b-al-awwal an-nās gāmat *ğğib, ʔal-awwalin yafni barakt al-awwalin rāhat an-nās gāmat awwal b-al-awwal *ğğib.* 52. *ʔamma l-ħarim zād mişşān raħatliq*⁴² *al-ħarim, ʔal-ħarim zād raħat mū miṭil awwali w-at-taʃab zād zēn yafni.*

38 Cf. Holes (2001: 124): ‘legally accounted property: crops, food; camel-herds.’

39 Turkish *yumak* ‘ball, knot.’

40 The verb *yāzi* ‘to be enough (for)’ is very typical, cf. Procházka (2014: 345).

41 Cf. Turkish *medeniyet* ‘civilisation.’

42 Turkish *raħatlık* ‘convenience.’

1. How do you make the bread?—Look, for the bread we first bring, let's say ... Should I talk about the past or about today? (2x) I will talk about the past; the past and also the present. First, let us start with the past. 2. In former times, let's say in my family—I will talk about my family—we used to bring four, five sacks. We bought wheat, we buy the wheat. The one who owns land has wheat anyway from the fields; 3. the one who hasn't land stores up provisions and buys four, five sacks of wheat. Then we bring the wheat. One who wants to sift it to remove the chaff does not wash it. 4. (But) the one who also wants to soak it; the soaking means 'washing of the wheat.' We call it *şuwal*. We soak two to three *čēls* of wheat.⁴³ 5. The bread made of wheat that has been soaked becomes soft because it has been washed⁴⁴ (and therefore is moist). The bread made of wheat that has not been soaked becomes hard because it has not come in contact with water.⁴⁵ 6. This (wheat), because it has been washed, becomes smooth and (like-wise) the bread (made from it). My family, let's say, soak it. We soak four, five sacks. 7. It stays in the water and the black seeds float: they come out. The name of this means there is something in it that is not part of it; it is inside the wheat. 8. Let's say, the barley comes out, and the barn also comes out. We wash and sieve it well. We wash and sieve the whole wheat. 9. We put it on the roof and spread it in the sun; in summer we do that. When it has been dried, we take one or two *čēls* for the bread. And there is also one *čēl* for the *kbab* (made of) fine wheat flour (called *ğirīs*).⁴⁶ 10. And also for the wheat used for eating, the bulgur; bulgur for cooking and bulgur for (making) *čīge*.⁴⁷ We bring the cauldrons, the iron cauldrons. We bring, each family, about twelve cauldrons, some bring fifteen cauldrons. And we put them on stones in rows. 11. Then we fill them with the wheat that we have washed. We funnel the rinsed (wheat), pour water on it, and put it on the fire. 12. We heat it with the straw or stalks of cotton, whatever we find as heating fuel. And when the wheat is done, after it is cooked, it is called *siliğe*. And even the neighbours come and ask for the *siliğe*. They bring vessels and say, 'Won't you (F) give me *siliğe*?' 13. Look, in former times we had no stairs to the roof like now. We climbed onto the roof with a wooden ladder and then took a rope and a bucket and, by passing it on from one to the other, pulled it up pot by pot. 14. We pulled it up pot by pot. They (F) brought it—let's say it was cooked there—from twenty metres they brought it here in front of the door⁴⁸ of the house.

43 *čēl* is a local measure of capacity: 1 *čēl* of wheat is 184 kilos. Cf. Iraqi Arabic *čēla* 'a container of no standard size used by merchants to measure out grain, etc.' (Woodhead and Beene 1967: 88).

44 Actually, not the bread itself, but the wheat from which the bread is made is washed.

45 Literally: it has not seen water.

46 Called *kibbe* in the Levant, *içli köfte* in Turkish: balls made of bulgur, onions and minced meat.

47 This word comes from Turkish *çiğ köfte* 'raw kofta'; originally a kind of beef tartare, the local dish is usually vegetarian and made from extra fine bulgur. The region of Şanlıurfa is famous for *çiğ köfte* which are usually served rather spicy.

48 Literally: to the mouth of the door. Reflexes of *famm* > **tamm* with an initial vowel are characteristic of the Shawi dialects, see Behnstedt and Woidich (2011: map 47).

15. Let's say one has climbed up to the roof and passes the rope over to her friend, and in the bucket we pull the *siliġe* up to the roof. We then pull it up (when it is) still hot. And we spread it in the open air and its aroma spreads and fills the village. 16. When the wheat is cooked, it smells very nice. Yes, it really gets a (good) fragrance. Therefore the people smell it and come to ask for *siliġe*. And we distribute some of it to secure a blessing. 17. Yes, we spread it and after it has dried... We still keep turning it over in the sun for two or three days. It's summer and the weather is hot and so it dries immediately. It takes only two or three days until it dries. 18. After the *siliġe* has dried, we take something from the soaked wheat. We put aside one sack of the soaked wheat, the one which we had made. It is done and dry and we take it. 19. We take this and bring it to this... to a place where we thrash it. There was a basin in former times, a basin. (They bring it) to the basin made of stone where there is also the large wooden hammer. 20. And we keep hitting it until this thing comes out, until the chaff comes off. When its chaff comes off, when it peels off the wheat, then the chaff comes off. 21. We say, 'It's finished!' and start to empty this pile of chaff with our hands. And they (the hands) become like this⁴⁹ from the chaff. We fill and empty it and thrash (the wheat) basin by basin until we have finished all this wheat—twelve cauldrons! 22. And we spread all this again (in the open air). My mother used to spread it at once—let's say she spread it on mats, on carpets, on kilims until it again dried. 23. Then she winnowed it in the wind. She winnowed it when she saw that it was windy and then said, 'Today I will winnow my wheat.' 24. The day there was wind, she winnowed the wheat by standing like this. And she filled the sieve or she filled the large basin and standing in the wind, she winnowed. And the wind separated the wheat from the chaff, from the husk. *ġuwāš* means husk. 25. Then she fills it again⁵⁰ and when everything is fine, she spreads it again. And when it is crushed again, she wets it with water. 26. After it has dried, we throw it from the roof; and when we hit it again in the stone basin, we wet it with water so it becomes soft. 27. Yes, and then we spread it again. After we have spread it again and after it has completely dried, we fill the sacks with it. This (kind) is not cooked, the wheat that is not cooked, only washed. 28. It is also crushed for making *kbab* and *baştirma*.⁵¹ It is crushed extra in order to be mixed with the other. 29. Then we send it to the mill which shreds the bulgur, shreds it. Let's say we want to make (rough ground) bulgur for cooking: (they say) 'How much bulgur do you want, sister?'—'I also want to leave eight cauldrons to get fine ground bulgur.' The fine bulgur needs more (wheat) than the rough ground bulgur for cooking. 30. And what comes after also becomes bulgur for cooking. The

49 She wants to say that their hands get very dusty.

50 She fills the sieve with wheat.

51 This is a local dish made of bulgur and meat which is roasted in ghee (local Turkish *bastırma*). The word is thus not related to Standard Turkish *pastırma* that is a seasoned, air-dried cured beef.

woman shreds it, she makes both rough ground bulgur and fine bulgur for the *čĭge*. 31. Yes, then we bring it home and again my mother sieves it: she divides it, she divides the wheat into the bad quality⁵², the fine bulgur, and the more rough one, the bulgur for cooking. 32. We make three types (of bulgur). She separates them and fills sacks: this is bulgur for *čĭge*, and this bulgur for cooking, and this bulgur for fodder that she gives to the animals. 33. These small little things which come out, they call it *srēsre*; we give these tiny grains to the animals, yes, for eating. This and the chaff, all the bad things which are in it are for the animals. 34. And the (pure) wheat remains, the wheat which we have crushed in the stone basin. This alone, the uncooked wheat. 35. We say, ‘My sister, only this sack, we make only one sack; this sack is only for *ġiriš*.’ We call it *ġiriš* wheat. This we put aside and crush it. 36. This is also for *baštirma* and for *kbab*. We take it home and my mother sieves it and fills it into the sack. And she takes this out for the bulgur. 37. This is also bulgur; my late father liked it very much because it does not cause pain in the stomach. The bulgur dish is digestible and does not cause stomachache. 38. But the *čĭge* was made only on holidays; on holidays it was made because, unlike today, it was precious. 39. The *ġiriš* and the *baštirma* which was made of it were also good; and likewise the *kbab*. This and also what we had separated for the bread. This (wheat) was also (kept) at home in an amount the family could afford. 40. We said, ‘Today we want to go milling: we will take one sack and let it be ground at the mill.’ They ground it and brought it (home). 41. After they had brought it home—let’s say I want to make bread from half of it. I put (one half) back into the plastic vessel and put salt into the other half. 42. A handful (of salt) for this amount; then I make the dough. I knead it well until I see that it has become this size. Like a balloon, like this it raises (because of the yeast). 43. The dough needs strength, it wants effort. When it is done, I let the dough rest. I prepare my baking iron, I prepare my flour, and I make (lit. bring) my fire, all this. 44. I prepare (everything) and then I start baking. I bake (but) first I cut off (chunks) and make pieces of dough, I make dough balls. Then I take flour; I dust it with the flour and bake it. 45. I remove the dust and let it remain (lit. wait) a little bit with the flour. And then I bake it on the baking iron and we make as much as the family needs. 46. If I make (all that is in) this vessel, it is enough for me for two months. This vessel equals half a sack and it suffices two months because we also buy (bread) from the bakery. 47. Today, nobody makes bulgur out of the new wheat. Everyone buys the wheat (i.e. flour) ready (for baking) and those who want bulgur buy bulgur. 48. There are those who want to buy it from the supermarket and those who want to buy it in sacks (i.e. from the wholesaler). It is sold (as they like it). Even the village people have become civilised⁵³ and no longer make bulgur. 49. Nobody crushes (wheat): all this is gone. Now the people go and just buy a sack of bulgur and a sack of *čĭge*. 50. Even a (whole) sack of flour is always available.

52 The word also means ‘cricket.’


53 She wants to express that modern life has even reached the villages.

The flour, they say this or that brand is good and they go and bring it. There is no storage any longer. 51. In former times the people started to bring it (from the village). In the blessed days of the elders, the people went (to the village) and brought it. 52. But now the woman (does not do it) out of laziness; the (life of the) woman has become comfortable and is not like it was in former times. But the effort itself was also a good thing.

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VERONIKA RITT-BENMIMOUN 

Traditional Recipes from il-Kāf (Northwestern Tunisia)

ABSTRACT My paper presents the transcription and translation of two texts in the dialect of the northwestern Tunisian town of il-Kāf (el Kef). The texts were recorded during fieldwork carried out for the TUNOCENT project. The speaker gives the recipes for traditional dishes and the various kinds of bread typical of the il-Kāf region. Linguistic notes are given in section 3 to show the local linguistic peculiarities of the dialect. Some final remarks will summarise the differences and similarities in linguistics between the featured texts and other Bedouin-type dialects in Tunisia.

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, Tunisian dialects, Bedouin dialects, areal linguistics, material culture, field research

1 Introduction

The town of il-Kāf (el Kef) is the administrative centre of the same-named Tunisian governorate in the northwestern part of the country. A short description of il-Kāf and other important towns in the governorate can be found on our project's website: <https://tunocent.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/>. To the best of our knowledge, nothing has been previously published on the dialect of il-Kāf.¹ The following two texts were recorded during fieldwork for the TUNOCENT project by Franziska Schwemmer in August 2019. The speaker is a 45-year-old woman from il-Kāf (Kef₁/f/45). In the texts, she describes the traditional Kefan dish *burzgān* and the different kinds of bread

¹ The linguistic material collected during the project of the *Atlas linguistique de Tunisie* is still largely unpublished: 'For the "Atlas linguistique de Tunisie" data have been elicited in 250 localities but, unfortunately, apart from some theoretical articles, nothing has been published so far.' (Behnstedt and Woidich 2011: XVIII, in the footnote).

that are traditionally baked in the governorate of il-Kāf. There are some major differences between the kinds of bread described by our speaker and those listed in Ritt-Benmimoun (2005)² for the South Tunisian region of Douz. In il-Kāf, there is no *xubzat malla*, a type of bread traditionally baked in the sand of the desert, a procedure which, due to the different climate and geology, is not possible in Northern Tunisia. In Ritt-Benmimoun (2005), *xubzat ṭāẓīn* is characterised as one of the most important bread types in Southern Tunisia. Though a tableware for baking bread called *ṭāẓīn* is described by the Kefan speaker, the bread itself is called *mṭālīf*. On the other hand, *xub^{uz} mlāwi* and *xubz abrāẓ* are not known in the region of Douz. Other kinds of bread, such as *ruggāg* and *ṭābūna*, as well as the dishes *rfīsa* and *ṣīda*, are known in both regions. It is remarkable, however, that in il-Kāf, fine semolina (*smīd*) is used for almost all types of bread.³

The dish called *burzgān*, a variant of couscous described in the first text, is typically Kefan. Gobert (1940: 509) described a dish called ‘Bazergan’ as follows:

Kouskous spécial au Kef. C'est un kouskous dont la sauce est faite de lait, de smen, d'oignons et d'épices. La viande préalablement épicée a été cuite à part, à la vapeur, au-dessus d'une marmite remplie d'eau et de romarin. [...] Quand le lait bout, il est versé sur le kouskous, que l'on décore de morceaux de viande déjà cuite, d'œufs durs et de fakia. Pas de légumes.

2 Transcription and translation

Short vowels: *a, i, u*.

Long vowels: *ā, ā̄, ī, ū, ē, ō*.⁴

Epenthetic vowels: *^a, ⁱ, ^u*.

Important linguistic peculiarities of the dialect are explained in section 3.

2 The relevant literature concerning the types of bread in the South Tunisian region of Douz is cited there.

3 Alonso et al. (2014: 26) distinguish between the fine semolina (*smīd*) used for baking bread and the coarse semolina (*zdir* or *glūb smīd*) for preparing couscous.

4 The phonemic status of *ā̄* has not yet been established, but its presence or absence in certain words under certain phonological conditions is a very important criterion for Tunisian dialects. For this reason, though the transcription here is otherwise mainly phonemic, *ā̄* is used. All other relevant information concerning transcription can be found in Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a). Most previously published scholarly work on Tunisian dialects, and especially Bedouin-type dialects, can be found in the reference section of Ritt-Benmimoun (2014a).

Text 1: The dish *burzgān*

1. *il-mākla l-mašhūra f-il-kāf fanna il-burzgān. yittaṣmal fi... nṭayybū fi-šhar māy, fi-maṣṭāz māy, w-^hngūlū-lu fēd mayyu.* 2. *waqtha yuktuṛ il-xass. w-fi-nafs il-waqt il-kāftya, il-wilāyāt il-kullha taṣrif illi kī ngūlu burzgān burzgān kāfi. w-yitkīl fi-māy.* 3. *biš nḥaḍḍru l-burzgān w-nṭayybū f-il-kāf nišru l-fākya.* 4. *il-fākya illi hīya lōz w-bunduq w-zōz w-bū frīwa w-dagla w-nišru l-lḥam, ṣallūš.* 5. *w-b-īt-tbīsa l-kull l-kāftya sandha kusksi f-id-dār, il-fōla. w-^hhlib w-zibda. w-sukkuṛ.* 6. *biš nḥaḍḍru burzgān niglu l-fākya nṣarrzōha w-nḡuṣṣu d-dagla flā arḃsa w-nṣayydu l-^hhlib w-^hndawwbu z-zibda.* 7. *w-nṣawwru l-kusksi illi hūwa šamsi nṣawwruḥ. w-fi-nafs il-waqt nḥuṭṭu l-lḥam illi baṣd-ma naḡslūh nṣawwruḥ b-ṭar'if mil^h w-il-klīl.* 8. *yabda klīl axḍar b-iz-žbal yabda fih riḥa fāyḥa w-nḥuṭṭūh nṣawwruḥ nsammūh knāf.* 9. *biš ... baṣd-ma fawwirna l-kusksi nḥillū b-iš-šwayy nṣarrqū b-šwayy zibda w-naṣmlu couche kusksi.* 10. *w-nzayynu l-fākya lli ṣarraznāha illi hīya m-il-lōz, l-il-bū frīwa, l-il-bunduq, l-iz-zōz,* 11. *fi-nafs il-waqt kaṣbāt id-dagla illi maṣnāha naḍḍafnāha w-gaṣṣināha flā arḃsa.* 12. *w-nzayynu kīma iz-zīna byūt byūt: bit hāka lōz, zōz, bū frīwa, bunduq, dagla.* 13. *hāka tabda kīma il-ṣaḡon kīma l-warḍa. nzīdu naṣmlu kusksi, couche uxra kusksi, mxallaṭ b-is-sukkuṛ w-iz-zibda.* 14. *w-baṣd naṣmlu ixzir iz-zīna ntāf il-kusksi naṣmlu illa byūt byūt b-āk il-fākya lli ṣarraznā w-illi ṣmannā il-couche l-ūlāniya.* 15. *bit bit bit bit fākya w-dagla. fi-nafs il-waqt fanna l-^hhlib illi hūwa sxun w-ṣanna ṭar'if iz-zibda illi ḥaṭṭinā fi-kasarūna ḍābit.* 16. *w-fi-nafs il-waqt fanna l-laḥmāt illi hūma gāṣḍin yitsammu knāf illi gāṣḍin yfūru flā l-kaskās b-rīḥit l-klīl tabda riḥitha fāyḥa.* 17. *nṣubbu āk l-^hhlib, nṣubbu couche zibda w-mbaṣdha šwayy ^hhlib muš barša.* 18. *w-baṣd nḥuṭṭu āk l-laḥmāt illi ṭabu yabdu ṭaybīn b-il-gdā nḥuṭṭu laḥma ḥḍā laḥma.* 19. *w-yabda z-zīna ntāḥḥa illi maṣnāha šakl warḍa w-bit bit yabda b-āk il-fākya.* 20. *w-āk il-laḥmāt illi ṭabu b-il-^hklīl illi hūma yitsammu knāf w-hāḍeka l-ḡukla l-kāftya il-[-...].* 21. *kūli b-iš-šfā!* 22. *b-īt-tbīsa fōg it-tāwla yabda maḥṭūṭ xass, maḥṭūṭ rāyib, ḥlib rāyib w-maḥṭūṭ tibi xāṭir illi kī nḥuṭṭūh nḥuṭṭu l-burzgān nḥuṭṭūh f-it-tibi.* 23. *yabda ṣaḡon ntāf tibi, yabda mzayyin. ḥāḍika lli yitsamma ukla kāftya illi hīya l-burzgān.* 24. *w-titkīl fi-šhar mayyu mil-le quinze māy w-aḥṭifāl kbīr barša fi-wilāyit il-kāf.*

1. The famous food of il-Kāf is called *burzgān*. It is made in... we cook it in the month of May, on the fifteenth of May. We call it “the feast of May.” 2. At that time we have a lot of green salad. At the same time the people of il-Kāf, (the people of) all the (other) governorates know that, whenever we say *burzgān*, (we mean) the Kefi *burzgān*. It is eaten in May. 3. In order to prepare and cook *burzgān* in il-Kāf, we buy dried fruits, 4. dry fruits which are almonds, pine nuts, walnuts, hazelnuts and *dagla* dates. And we buy lamb meat. 5. Of course, all the Kefan people have couscous at home and everything that is needed to cook it, and milk and butter. And sugar. 6. In order to prepare the dish *burzgān*, we fry the dried fruits, we roast them. We cut the *dagla* dates into four, boil the milk, and let the butter melt. 7. We let the sun-dried couscous

steam. At the same time, we place the meat that, after washing, we have spiced with a pinch of salt and rosemary. 8. It is green rosemary that (grows) in the mountains and sends forth a nice aroma. We place it (i.e. the meat), let it steam, and we call it *knāf*. 9. After we have let the couscous steam, we open (the couscous chunk) slowly and dissipate it with some butter. We make a layer of couscous. 10. We garnish (it with) the dried fruits that we have roasted, which are the almonds, the hazelnuts, the pine nuts and the walnuts; 11. and at the same time, the pieces of *dagla* dates that we have cleaned and quartered. 12. We arrange it as decoration in (different) sections: a field like this with almonds, (another with) walnuts, (another with) hazelnuts, (one) with pine nuts and (one) with *dagla* dates. 13. Like this, it shapes a rose. We continue with the couscous. We make one more layer of couscous mixed with sugar and butter. 14. After that, we make the last (thing), the decoration of the couscous. We make different sections with those dried fruits that we have roasted and with which we made the first layer. 15. Different sections of dried fruits and *dagla* dates. At the same time, we have the milk that has become hot, and we have the piece of butter that we put in a pan and that has melted. 16. At the same time, we have the pieces of meat that are called *knāf*, that are steaming in the couscous steamer with the smell of rosemary, the smell of which spreads fragrance. 17. We pour that milk, we pour a layer of butter and then a bit of milk, not too much. 18. And then we place those pieces of meat that are cooked, they are cooked very well. We put one piece of meat next to the other. 19. Its beauty lies in its form (which is like) a rose and (in its arrangement) in (various) sections with those dried fruits. 20. And in those pieces of meat that were cooked with rosemary and called *knāf*. That is the dish of il-Kāf [...]. 21. Eat (it) and bon appétit! 22. Of course, there is green salad on the table; there is sour milk; there is an earthen plate because when we serve the *burzgān*, we put it on an earthen plate. 23. It has the form of a decorated earthen plate. That can be called a Kefan dish, the *burzgān*. 24. It is eaten in the month of May, beginning with the fifteenth of May. It is a big celebration in the governorate of il-Kāf.

Text 2: Bread in il-Kāf

1. *f-il-kāf fanna xub^z ruggāg w-fanna xubz abrāž, xub^z ruggāg w-xubz abrāž w-fanna l-ⁱmṭālīf. w-fanna il-xub^z l-ⁱmṭabbig b-iz-zīṭ.* 2. *hādūma anwāf il-xub^z illi mawžūda fi-wilāyt il-kāf.* 3. *biš naḥku f-lā xubz ir-ruggāg. xubz ir-ruggāg yžī m-is-smīd w-zīt w-šwayy mil^h muš bařša biš mā-yžī-š mālah w-mā.* 4. *nuřku il-xub^z b-il-gdā b-il-gdā twalli řžīna façon ⁱntāf ^ařžīna nxallōha tirtāḥ.* 5. *w-nabdu řraknāha lilli twalli bāhya bařša w-nḥuṭtu t-tāžīn fōg il-gāz nxallūh yusxun.* 6. *w-ṭamma illi ft... nṭayybu b-iṭ-tāžīn il-řarbi nṭayybūh řa-l-^aḥṭab. hādāy illi mawžūd f-ir-rīf.* 7. *āma f-il-blād f-il-village nṭayybu řa-l-gāz. illi tawwa fanna mawžūda fanna tāžīn ^aḥdīd, façon ^aḥdīd. bāh. [...]* 8. *ⁱrtāḥt āk il-xubza nařmlōha xubza hāka řğīra muš kbīra l-^ařžīna nōxdu nšammu ngūlu gurřa.*

9. nub^us^tōha nub^us^tōha b-ⁱšwāba^fna ḥatta twalli lāhi xšīna w-lāhi rhīfa. 10. b-ⁱṭ-^tbīfa āk il-^tāžin il-maḥ^tūṭ fōg il-gāz yabda sxūn. 11. w-nḥuṭ^tu āk il-gur^ša ntāf il-xub^uz w-nabdu bēn nṭayybu fāha nḥarrku fāha b-ⁱḍīna b-ⁱš-šwayy b-ⁱš-šwayy ḥatta tiḥmār. 12. hādāy illi-tsamma xub^uz ruggāg.

13. fi-nafs il-waq^t ṣanna xubz abrāž. āma xubz l-abrāž yabda mbassis b-iz-zēt w-fih... 14. ṭamma ⁱškūn illi yḥibbu b-is-sukkuṛ w-ṭamma illi mā-yḥibbū-š, blāš sukkuṛ. 15. nguššūh abrāž maṣnāha murabbaṣāt w-yabda mbassis w-nṭayybuḥ kif kif flā ṭāžin l-^aḥdid.

16. ṣanna ṭāni xub^uz illi nsammūh l-ⁱmṭālīf mā-yžī-š b-is-smīd. 17. yži smīd w-fārīna walla yži b-il-smīd ntāf il-gam^ah walla yži b-il-fārīna illi hīya maṣnāha dži fārīna ruṭba muš kīma s-smīd. 18. w-dži b-il-^axmīra illi dži fārīna w-^axmīra b-ⁱṭ-^tbīfa šwayya mil^ah w-mā mladlīd. 19. w-nxallṭu āk l-^ašžīna illi twalli hīya šžīna w-nafmlūha gruš gruš w-nxallōha tirtāḥ. muš kīma r-ruggāg. w-ⁱnṭayyboha flā ṭ-^tāžin.

20. ṭamma illi talgāha f-il-blād w-talgāha f-ir-rīf illi ygūlu xub^uz ṭābūna. 21. xub^uz ṭābūna illi hīya ⁱdži b-is-smīd w-dži b-il-fārīna w-dži b-il-xub^uz il-gam^ah illi ygūl xub^uz asmar. 22. w-ⁱnṭayybu il-gōža kī ngūl gōža maṣnāha faṣon illi naṣmlōha b-ⁱṭ-^tin w-yabda... 23. w-ⁱnšaxxnōha biš twalli four baṣša ḥṭab lil ywalli āk l-^aḥṭab hādāka rmād w-lassgu kull gur^ša ntāf xubz ṭ-^tābūna flā žnab āk ṭ-^tābūna. 24. hādēka illi naḥna nsammūh xub^uz šarbi w-xub^uz ṭābūna, vrai vrai ṭābūna. 25. illi⁵ tawwa tqaddmit šwayy maṣnāha id-dīna wallit maṣnāha il-ḥāžāt iž-ždīda w-il-ⁱkwiš is-sūri, 26. illi ṭamma kōša sūri yṭayybu bāha xub^uz ygūlu xub^uz ṭābūna. illi hīya maṣrūfa il-ⁱšak^s abann xub^uz w-aḥsan xub^uz illi hūwa xub^uz ṭ-^tābūna. 27. illi ṭamma nsā ngūlu gōža. hīya l-kōša illi nṭayybu bāha. 28. maṣnāha ṣanna ṭ-^tābūna ṣanna r-ruggāg ṣanna xub^uz ⁱmlāwi illi...

29. xub^uz ⁱmlāwi yži b-is-smīd. illi kunti inti kliti fih gbīlika w-nṭabbgūh b-iz-zīt w-ⁱnṭayybuḥ ša-l-gāz flā ṭ-^tāžin illi ḥaṭṭīnāh fōg il-gāz. 30. fi-nafs il-waq^t l-abrāž. bāh. ādāy anwās il-xub^uz illi mawžūda fi-wilāyt il-kāf illi l-ḥāžāt ngūlūha naḥna l-ḥāžāt il-šarbi illi kull dār ṭṭayyibha. bāh.

31. biš ngūlu flā r-rfisa. biš naḥku šwayya ša-r-rfisa. 32. ir-rfisa nṭayyboha fi-sayūr l-ayyām āma l-aktarūt⁶ il-kāfiya ṭṭayyib xub^uz ir-rfisa yaṣni naṣmlu ir-rfisa kī ṭsubb ṣanna baṣša mṭar w-yšubb ṣanna ṭ-^talž. naṣmlu rfis. 33. aktarūt il-kāfiya talgi f-ⁱš-štā dīma ṣanna rfis. 34. yaṣni s-smīd w-zīt w-mil^ah w-mā w-ⁱttaf^rāk āk l-^ašžīna illi twalli šžīna w-kif kif xub^uz yiṭṭabbag ša-z-zēt. 35. w-ⁱngūlu rrayyšū yaṣni nguššūh šwayy murabbaṣāt šwayy hāka šwayy šwayy šwayy šgīr murabbaṣāt šgīra. 36. w-nišru d-dagla nağslōha nguššōha murabbaṣāt w-baṣd f-il-ğašfa matrīt⁷ walla ğašfa lōh nšubbu āk

5 Besides its function as a relative pronoun and conjunction, *illi* seems to play an important role as a discourse particle, the function of which needs further investigation.

6 The article preceding this word seems to be a lapsus linguae. This is corroborated by the fact that it is not found in sentence 33.

7 In the TuniCo dictionary, citing Singer (1984), *matrīt* is found. The *t* in our text may be caused by final devoicing.

ir-rfis illi tayyabnā. 37. āk l-ʿšīna xubz illi fatfitnāh nšubbu flēh is-sukkuṛ nšubbu flēh iz-zibda w-nšubbu flēh šwayy ʿhlib w-āk id-dagla w-nxalltōha. 38. tōkli b-iš-šfā. hādīy ir-rfis.

39. *ʿanna ngūlu l-ʿšīda. ʿšīda hārṛa, ʿšīda hārṛa walla ʿšīda hlūwa. 40. yaʿni s-smīd nṭayybūh nḥuṭṭu l-mā yabda mlaḍlīd w-b-iš-šwayy b-iš-šwayy nabdu nšubbu f-is-smīd lilli naʿmlu ʿšīda [...]. 41. bāh. baʿd-ma ṭayyibna āk l-ʿšīda f-il-mā illi mlaḍlīd w-tabda twalli mā-yilzimhā-š tkūn mkaʿbra w-mā-yilzimhā-š tkūn yābsa w-mā-yilzimhā-š tkūn žārya tkūn ṭayba b-il-gdā. 42. flāš tabda ṭayba biš [...]. 43. bāh. ṭābit āk il-smīdāt⁸ walla l-fārīna... ʿal-xāṭir tnažžim dži ʿšīda fārīna walla tnažžim dži ʿšīda smīd. 44. ṭābit b-il-gdā. yilzimha ṭṭīb biš kī yōkulha l-ʿabʿd iš-šaxʿš mā-tōžfū-š kiršu. 45. kī ngūlu ʿšīda hlūwa walla ʿšīda hārṛa [...] ʿanna ʿšīda hlūwa w-ʿšīda hārṛa. 46. ṭamma illi yḥibb l-ʿšīda l-ʿhlūwa yaʿmil fāha z-zibda w-is-sukkuṛ wa-ʿilla iz-zibda w-il-ʿsal. 47. ʿsal kī ngūl ʿsal maʿnāha ʿsal ngūlu ʿsal ḥuṛṛ. yaʿni ʿsal ntāf naḥla. [...] 48. w-kī ngūlu ʿšīda hārṛa... ʿšīda hārṛa yaʿni dži b-il-mirgāz w-il-ʿaktariya illi f-il-kāf ngūlu ʿšīda hārṛa nṭayybōha b-il-giddīd. [...]*

49. *bāhi. ʿhkīna flā l-burzgān ʿhkīna flā anwāf il-xubʿz w-ʿhkīna flā l-ʿšīda l-hārṛa w-l-ʿhlūwa illi maʿrūfīn fi-wilāyt il-kāf. 50. w-l-aktariya maʿnāha il-kāfiya l-aḥṛār illi hūma sukkān il-kāf l-ašlīyīn nṭayybu l-ʿšīda xāšṣtan kī yabda kī yṣubb iṭ-ṭalʿz yaʿni fi... tubrud id-dinya baṛša naʿmlu l-ʿšīda w-naʿmlu r-rfis.*

1. In il-Kāf, we have the type of bread called *ruggāg* and we have *abrāz* bread. The bread *ruggāg*, the bread *abrāz*, and we have *mṭālīf*. And we have the bread that is folded with oil. 2. These are the kinds of bread that exist in the governorate of il-Kāf. 3. We will talk about *ruggāg* bread.⁹ The bread *ruggāg* is made of fine semolina, oil and a little bit of salt—not too much, so that it does not become too salty—and water. 4. We knead (the ingredients of) the bread very thoroughly (until) it becomes dough, the consistency of dough, and we let it rest. 5. We have kneaded it until it becomes very good, (then) we put the *ṭāžīn*¹⁰ on the gas stove and heat it. 6. There are those who... When we bake bread with the traditional *ṭāžīn*, we bake it (directly) on firewood. This is how they do it in the countryside. 7. But in the village we bake it on the gas stove. What we have nowadays is the *ṭāžīn* of iron, it is of iron. Okay. [...] 8. After the (dough of) the bread has proved, we make a small bread (of) the dough, like this, not very big. We call it *guṛša*, a flat bread. 9. We flatten (the dough) with our fingers until it becomes neither too thick nor too thin. 10. Of course (meanwhile) that *ṭāžīn* that is placed on the gas stove has become hot. 11. We put that flat bread (in it). While

8 For the suffix *-āt/-āt* as ‘individuation marker,’ see Brustad (2008).

9 For a description of the bread *ruggāg* in Southern Tunisia, see Ritt-Benmimoun (2005: 52, 58, section 72–73).

10 For a description of the *ṭāžīn* and an illustration of it, see Ritt-Benmimoun (2005: 51 f., 56, section 35–36) and Louis (1979: 130).

we are baking it, we move it carefully with our hands until it becomes brown. 12. This is the bread called *ruggāg*.

13. Also we have the bread *abrāž*.¹¹ But *abrāž* bread is soaked in oil and has... 14. There are people who like it with sugar, and there are those who don't like it (that way), (they prefer it) without sugar. 15. We cut it into squares, into quadratic pieces. It is soaked (in oil), and we also bake it on the iron *ṭāžīn*.

16. We also have the bread that we call *mṭālīf*,¹² it is not made of fine semolina. 17. It is possible with fine semolina and flour, or with fine wheaten semolina, or it is possible with flour that is..., it can be made of cake flour, which is not like fine semolina. 18. It is made with yeast, with flour and yeast, of course a bit of salt, and lukewarm water. 19. We mix those (ingredients of) the dough that become a dough, and make flat loaves of bread out of it. Then we let it prove. (It is) not like the *ruggāg*. And we bake it in the *ṭāžīn*.

20. You find people in the village and the countryside who (have what) they call *ṭābūna* bread. 21. The *ṭābūna*¹³ bread is made of fine semolina or flour, and it is possible with bread, with wheat, which is called a brownish bread. 22. We bake (the bread in the oven we call) a *gōža*. When I say *gōža*, I mean the way we make it with clay and it is... 23. We heat it with a lot of firewood so that it becomes an oven, until that firewood becomes ash. (Then) we attach every flat loaf of *ṭābūna* bread to a side of the *ṭābūna* stove. 24. That is what we call traditional bread, the *ṭābūna* bread, this is the real *ṭābūna*. 25. Nowadays, the world has developed: there are new things (now) and modern bakeries. 26. There are even modern ovens (in the bakeries) with which they bake bread which they call *ṭābūna*. But the opposite is well known: the most delicious bread and the best bread is the (real) *ṭābūna* bread. 27. Some of us women say *gōža*. It is the oven in which we bake it. 28. We have *ṭābūna*, we have *ruggāg*, we have *mlāwi* bread which...

29. *Mlāwi* bread is baked with fine semolina. It is the one you have eaten before. We fold it with oil and bake it on the gas stove, in the *ṭāžīn* that we have put on the gas stove. 30. At the same time (we have) *abrāž*. Okay. These are the kinds of bread that exist in the governorate of il-Kāf, the ones that we call traditional, which every family bakes. Okay.

31. We will tell (you) about *rfīsa*. We will talk a little bit about *rfīsa*.¹⁴ 32. We can make *rfīsa* on all the days (of the year), but most of the Kefan people bake the bread

11 The word *abrāž* (SG *burž* 'slice [of a melon, of a cake]') refers to the form of the bread that is cut into square pieces.

12 Cf. Louis (1979: 131), Saada (1981: 27), and Gobert (1940: 567), where this bread is called *maṭlūsa*.

13 For a detailed description of *ṭābūna* bread in Southern Tunisia, see Ritt-Benmimoun (2005: 52 f., 56 f., section 37–61).

14 For a description of *rfīsa* in Southern Tunisia (where they have *rfīsa* and *marfūsa*), see Ritt-Benmimoun (2005: 52, 59, section 90–93).

rfisa... we make *rfisa* when it rains a lot and when it is snowing. (Then) we make *rfis*. 33. Most of us Kefan people have *rfis* all the time in winter. 34. (We need) fine semolina, oil, salt and water. (The ingredients of) that dough, that will become a dough, are kneaded. It is also a bread that is folded with oil. 35. We say we pluck it—that is, we cut (the bread) into small pieces, small like this, very small, small squares. 36. We buy *dagla* dates, wash them and cut them into squares. Then we pour that *rfis* which we have cooked, into a bowl, an earthen one, or in a wooden bowl. 37. The dough, the bread that we have crumbled, we pour sugar, we pour butter on it, and we pour some milk and those *dagla* dates on it and mix it. 38. You can eat (it now) and bon appétit! This is *rfis*.

39. We have what we call *ṣṣīda*. Spicy *ṣṣīda*, spicy *ṣṣīda* or sweet *ṣṣīda*.¹⁵ 40. We cook the fine semolina, we put the water (until) it becomes lukewarm, and (then), little by little, we pour the fine semolina (into it) until we make *ṣṣīda* [...]. 41. Okay. After we have cooked that *ṣṣīda* in the lukewarm water, it must not form lumps, it must not be too dry, and it must not be too runny. It must be well cooked. 42. Why must it be cooked? So that [...]. 43. Okay. When that fine semolina or the flour is cooked... Because it can be *ṣṣīda* made of flour or it can be *ṣṣīda* made of fine semolina. 44. Is it well cooked. It must be well cooked so that, when someone eats it, he does not get a bellyache. 45. When we say sweet *ṣṣīda* or spicy *ṣṣīda* [...]. We have sweet *ṣṣīda* and spicy *ṣṣīda*. 46. The people who like the sweet *ṣṣīda*, (then) add butter and sugar or butter and honey. 47. Honey... When I say honey, I mean natural honey—that is, bee honey. 48. When we say spicy *ṣṣīda*... Spicy *ṣṣīda* is cooked with sausages called *mirgāz*.¹⁶ Most of us Kefan people mean by spicy *ṣṣīda* (that which) we cook with corned sun-dried meat [...].¹⁷

49. Okay. We have talked about *burzgān*, about the (different) kinds of bread, and we have talked about the spicy and the sweet *ṣṣīda*, (dishes) that are known in the governorate of il-Kāf. 50. And the most... The indigenous Kefan people who are the original residents of il-Kāf, we cook the *ṣṣīda* especially when it snows: when it is very cold, we make *ṣṣīda* and *rfis*.

3 Linguistic notes

Phonology

- *g*: *ygūl* ‘to say,’ *gāṣid* ‘sitting; staying (in a certain place)’; (four *q*-words in the texts: *waqtha* ‘at that time’; *bunduq* ‘pine nuts’; *nfarrqu* ‘we separate’; *tqadmit* ‘it developed’).

15 See Gobert (1950: 547 f.) for an ethnographic description of *ṣṣīda*; al-Marzūgi (1984: 152), and Marçais and Guiga (1925: 184 f., 193 f.).

16 See Gobert (1940: 501 f.) for an ethnographic description of *mirgāz*.

17 See Gobert (1940: 499 ff.) for an ethnographic description of *giddid*.

- *ž*: *ʕžīna* ‘dough’; *yžī* ‘to come’; *tal’ž* ‘snow.’
- Interdentals are retained: *tal’ž* ‘snow’; *tamma* ‘there is’; *ʕndawbu* ‘we let melt’; *naḏḏafnāha* ‘we cleaned it.’
- Monophthongisation: *aw* is generally monophthongised as *ō*; *ay* more frequently as *ī* than *ē*: *lōz* ‘almonds’; *zōz* ‘walnuts’; *lōḥ* ‘wood’; *bīt* ‘field’; *kīf kīf* ‘the same, also’; *zīt/zēt* ‘oil.’
- Influenced by a certain vowel harmony caused by the suffix *-ha*, the long vowels *ī* and *ū* are realised as *ā* and open *ō* respectively: *ṇṭayybōha* (< *ṇṭayybūha*) ‘we cook it’; *nub^usṭōha* ‘we flatten it’; *fāha* (< *fīha*) ‘in it’; *bāha* (< *bīha*) ‘with it.’
- *Imāla* of stressed word final *ā*: *mā* ‘water,’ *b-il-gdā* ‘thoroughly, well’; *nsā* ‘women’ (whereas the *imāla* has developed a step further in the South Tunisian Bedouin-type dialects, resulting in *mē*, *b-il-gdē* and *nsē*).
- No traces of a short *a* in open pre-stressed syllables: *ʕḥlib* ‘milk’; *smīd* ‘fine semolina’; *ʕḥtab* ‘firewood.’
- The distribution of short vowels does not follow the Classical Arabic pattern but is subject to consonantal influence, as seen in the passive participles *mbassis* ‘soaked,’ *mzayyin* ‘decorated’; *mṭabbig* ‘folded’; in the perfect forms *fatfitnāh* ‘we crumbled it’; *ṭayyibna* ‘we cooked’; and in the adjective *mālah* ‘salty.’
- Epenthetic vowel between two word final consonants: *xub^uz* ‘bread’; *mil^uḥ* ‘salt’; *gam^uḥ* ‘wheat.’
- Pausal forms: glottal stop between a long vowel and a final consonant, e.g. *gāʔz* (context form: *gāz*); *tirtāʔḥ* (context form: *tirtāḥ*); *zīt* (context form: *zīt*). In pausa final *-h*, the suffix of the 3MSG following a vowel, is pronounced very clearly (e.g. *w-nfawwṛu l-kusksi illi hūwa šamsi nfawwṛūh*), whereas it is pronounced very weakly or not heard at all in context, when only the stress which shifts to the final vowel makes the form recognisable (e.g. *biš ṇḥaḏḏṛu l-burzgān w-ṇṭayybū f-il-kāf*).

Morphology

- Personal pronouns: *inti* ‘you (F)’; *ḥiya* ‘she’; *hūwa* ‘he’; *naḥna* ‘we’; *hūma* ‘they’; (no feminine plural forms in the texts).
- Gender distinction in 2SG: *talgi* ‘you find (F)’ (M: *talga*); *tōkli* ‘you eat (F)’ (M: *tōkul*); *kūli* ‘eat (F)’ (M: *kūl*); *kunti* ‘you were (F)’ (M: *kunt*); *inti* ‘you (F)’ (M: *inta*).¹⁸
- 3MSG pronominal suffix after -(C)CC or -VC is *u*: *yḥibbu* ‘he wants it’; *kiršu* ‘his belly’; *ʕngūlū-lu* ‘we call it.’

18 The respective masculine forms are not found in these two texts but in questionnaires recorded in il-Kāf.

- 3FSG of verbs in the perfect is *-it*: *dābit* ‘it melted’; *ṭābit* ‘it is well cooked’; *wallit* ‘she became.’ This vowel *i* is prone to omission, resulting in forms like *ʿrtāht* ‘she/it rested, proved.’
- Status constructus of *-a* is *-it*: *rīḥitha* ‘its smell.’
- 3PL of III-weak verbs of the I. form in the perfect is *-ū*: *klū* ‘they ate’; *zū* ‘they came’ (as opposed to *zāw* in sedentary dialects).
- Plural forms of III-weak verbs in the imperfect are formed with *-u*: *naḥku* ‘we talk’ (as opposed to *naḥkiw* in sedentary dialects); *nišru* ‘we buy’; *niglu* ‘we fry.’
- Irregular verbs ‘to take’ and ‘to eat’: *yōxuḍ* and *yōkul*.
- Passive verb forms: prefixed *t* (in the imperfect occasionally *tt*) as in sedentary dialects: *yittasmal* ‘it is made,’ *yitkil* ‘it is eaten’; *ʿttaṣṣāk* ‘it is kneaded.’
- Prepositions: *kīma* ‘like’; *ḥdā* ‘next to’; *ʿand* ‘at’ (*ʿanna* ‘we have’).
- Adverbs: *tawwa* ‘now’; *ṭamma* ‘there is’; *baṣṣa* ‘very; a lot’; *b-il-gdā* ‘thoroughly, well’; *hāka* ‘like this’; *ṭāni* ‘also’; *gbīlika* ‘previously, before.’
- Subordinating conjunctions: *biš* ‘so that, in order to’; *kī* ‘when(ever)’; *baʿd-ma* ‘after’; *illi* ‘that’; *lil*, *lilli* ‘until’; *ʿal-xāṭir*, *xāṭir* ‘because.’
- Interrogative pronouns and adverbs: *ʿškūn* ‘who’; *ʿlāš* ‘why.’
- Demonstrative pronouns: (*h*)*ādāy* ‘this (M)’; *hādīy* ‘this (F)’; *hādūma* ‘these’; *āk* (invariable) ‘that,’ *āk l-^aḥṭab hādāka* ‘that firewood.’
- Relative pronoun: *illi: kaʿbāt id-dagla illi maʿnāha naḍḍafnāha* ‘the pieces of *dagla* dates that we have cleaned.’
- Genitive marker: *ntāf* (*ntāḥḥa* ‘her(s)’) (no gender distinction): *ʿsal ntāf naḥla* ‘bee honey’; *w-nḥuṭtu āk il-gurṣa ntāf il-xub^z* ‘we put that flat loaf of bread.’
- Future marker: *biš: biš naḥku šwayya ʿa-r-rfisa* ‘We will talk a little bit about *rfisa*.’
- Negation: *mā-yḥibbū-š* ‘he doesn’t want it; they don’t want’; *mā-yilzimbā-š* ‘she must not’; *lāhi xšīna lāhi rhīfa* ‘neither thick nor thin’; *muš kbīra* ‘not big (F).’

Syntax

- Progressive with *gāʿid*: *illi gāʿdīn yfūru ʿlā l-kaskās* ‘which are steaming in the couscous steamer.’
- Agreement with plural heads: *w-^aḥkīna ʿlā l-^aʿṣīda l-ḥārṣa w-l-^aḥlūwa illi maʿfrūfīn fi-wilāyt il-kāf* ‘and we have talked about the spicy and the sweet *ʿṣīda*, (dishes) that are known in the governorate of il-Kāf’; *w-b-iṭ-ṭbīsa l-kull l-kāfīya ʿandha kusksi f-id-dār* ‘of course, all the Kefan people have couscous at home.’

Lexis

- French words: *façon*; *couche*; *four*; *vrai*; *le quinze*; *village*.

4 Final remarks

The voiced realisation of *q* as *g*, gender distinction with independent pronouns and with verbs and the conjugation of III-weak verbs (*naḥku* as opposed to *naḥkīw* in sedentary dialects) clearly mark the dialect of il-Kāf as a Bedouin dialect (W. Marçais 1950: 212). Within W. Marçais' categorisation, it forms part of the so-called Tunisian Hilāl dialects (H-dialects) that are spoken in Central Tunisia. Certain phenomena, as the 'lighter' *imāla* of word-final *ā*, as in *mā* 'water,' distinguish them from what Marçais called the Tunisian Sulaym dialects (S-dialects) in which the word is realised as *mē*.¹⁹ Further differences are the use of the suffix *-u* for the 3MSG in the dialect of il-Kāf (e.g. *kiršu* 'his belly'), whereas the suffix is *-a* in the S-dialects; and the realisation of the verbs 'to take' and 'to eat' as *yōxuḍ* and *yōkul*, which correspond to *yāxid* and *yākil* in the S-group. No traces are found in these two texts of the VII. form for the passive that is used in the S-dialects; but we do find some examples with a prefixed *t(t)-* (e.g. *yittaḥmal* 'it is made'), the so-called T-stem, that is also found in Tunisia's sedentary dialects.

Thus, some linguistic Kefan features mark the dialect as clearly different from both urban dialects and the Bedouin dialects further south. These features will be crucial for achieving a re-classification and re-naming of the Northwestern and Central Tunisian dialects.

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19 According to W. Marçais (1950: 211, 214), Group H comprises the dialects spoken in Central Tunisia, extending from north of the region of the Chotts to the Medjerda River in Northern Tunisia. The dialects of Group S are to be found in Southern Tunisia, along the eastern coastline and in the north between the Medjerda River and the Mediterranean Sea.

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FELIPE BENJAMIN FRANCISCO 

New Texts in the Arabic Dialect of Essaouira (Jewish and Muslim Varieties)

ABSTRACT This paper consists of a collection of oral texts in the Arabic dialect of Essaouira (Mogador), providing updated linguistic data on the Jewish and Muslim dialects of the Moroccan town and the Chiadma territory. The transcription and translation of the texts are followed by comments which highlight salient features of these communal dialects, including linguistic variants registered for the first time in southern Morocco. The texts comprehend personal experiences, memories of the old times of religious coexistence and popular local stories. The interviewees present a wide range of backgrounds: Jewish and Muslim, urban and rural, young and elder, male and female. In this way, these oral texts are a first step to understanding how the Muslim dialect and the Judeo-Arabic of Essaouira have evolved and interacted through time.

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, Chiadma, communal dialects, Essaouira, field research, Judeo-Arabic, Moroccan Arabic

The oral texts below provide an overview of the current situation of the Arabic dialect of Essaouira (Mogador), representing the speech of a relatively wide range of speakers through time. Despite well-known studies on the Jewish dialect—or Judeo-Arabic—of Essaouira (Lévy 1994, 2009; Heath 2002; Chetrit 2012), there remained a paucity of descriptions on the speech of its Muslim population, except for the pioneer work of Socin (1893). Therefore, more than a century later, I attempt to contribute with updated linguistic data for the linguistic reality of the town and its surroundings—inside Chiadma territory—, documenting both Muslim and Jewish communal dialects. Some of these texts appear partially in my unpublished doctoral dissertation *O dialeto árabe de Essaouira: documentação e descrição de uma variedade do sul do Marrocos* [*The Arabic dialect of Essaouira: documentation and description of a southern Moroccan variety*] (Francisco 2019).

Text 1: Childhood memories of a Judeo-Arabic speaker¹

The family

1. *s-slām flīk ya ḥbībi, āna gūtt lək bās ḥāḥa kān yīxdəm šānd Cartier, Cartier kān wāḥəd n-nāšrāni lli kān šāndu bīš u-s-sra kbīr bəzzāf, 2. kānu zūz d-əl-xwān Cartier, u-ḥāḥa kān xdəm šāndūm tlātīn šām, u-āna ta-nəšrəf... kīma škəlt² šla žəddi di ḥu ḥāḥa, 3. nəškəl šla mṛāt žəddi, maḥa Dūna, u-nəškəl šla žəddi u-žəddāti m-žih³ ūmm maḥa, 4. ma šəftūm bəzzāf, əmma⁴ xlāku⁵ f-Ūfrān, Ūfrān ila ta-təšrəfha fāyn ḥīyya Ūfrān.*

1. Hello dear, I told you that my father used to work with Cartier, Cartier was a Christian who had a very big ‘commerce’ [store], 2. they were two brothers, the Cartiers, and my father had worked for them for thirty years, and I know... And I remember also my grandfather who is my father’s father, 3. I remember my grandfather’s wife, grandma Dūna, and I remember my grandfather and my grandmother from my mother’s side, 4. I didn’t know them very well, they were born in Ifrane, Ifrane [I am not sure] if you know where Ifrane is.

The Port

1. *āna nəškəl šla l-məšša d-əš-šwīra, kānīt⁶... kānu fīha les dépots, 2. l-xnāsi, kānu izīw f-əl-ḥāḥūrāt, kānu hnāk xnāsi d-lūz, u-d-kāwkāw, les cacahouètes, u-d-xərṛūb məḥḥūn, 3. u-kūnna nzīw nḥəllu si... f-əl-xənsa u-[...] mən hnāk, kāwkāw u-l-lūz, məddi kūnna šgār. 4. u-kānu... u-kūnna nəmsīw šāl-l... kūnna nšīyydu hnāk f-əl-məšša mən šla bəṛṛa 5. u-kūnna nəmsīw ta-ntsənnāw məddi izīw s-sərdīl küll nhār fə-š-šbāḥ... 6. kānu izīw l-ḥāḥūrāt b-əs-sərdīl u-kūnna nzīw b-wāḥəd l-xənsa f-īdīna kūnna... 7. išīwna s-sərdīl b-fāḥūr, bla flūs, 8. hādsi ta-nəškəl šla... šāl-l-məšša.*

1 Asher, 84 years old, is a Jewish speaker who lived in the *medina* of Essaouira until the age of 16. He is of Jewish Berber descent from Ifrane. He accomplished his elementary studies in a Torah school in Essaouira and in the school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Later, he immigrated to Israel where he has been living most of his life until today. Our communication has been carried out via WhatsApp audios recorded by himself.

2 Predominates /q/ > /k/ in his speech. Lévy (2009: 367) attests this phenomenon, known as *l-həḍra š-šgīra*, in Essaouira—as a peculiarity of Mellah speakers—and also in the neighbouring cities of Safi and Azemmour.

3 < *mən žih* ‘from the side of.’

4 < *ḥamma* ‘they.’ Very frequently the /h/ is not heard in Muslim and Jewish varieties.

5 < *xlāqu* ‘they were born.’

6 -*īt* (3FSG perf.) occurs sometimes in hollow verbs and frequently in strong ones.

1. I remember the port of Essaouira, it was... there were *les dépôts* [warehouses] in it, 2. the bags used to come in the steamships, there were bags of almonds and of peanuts, *les cacahouètes* [peanuts], and of milled carob, 3. and we used to come and open some... in the bag and [...] from it, peanuts and almonds, when we were kids. 4. And they were... we used to go... to fish there in the port from the outside 5. and we used to go wait for the sardines to come every morning, 6. the ships used to come with the sardines and we used to come with a bag in our hands, we used to... 7. they used to give us the sardine for free, no money for it, 8. this is what I remember of... of the port.

A Moroccan Jewish story⁷

1. *smāf a šāḥbi, āna ktābt bazzāf d-əl-mšāḥaf, wāḥad mēšḥāf fih ʔl-ḥdāyt d-əl-ihūd d-əl-Mārōk*, 2. *u-āna tərzamt wāḥda b-əl-šārb... si wūḥdāt b-əl-šārbīyya ila... ḥki, nakra lək wāḥda mēnnūm*. 3. *l-īsəm dyālha hüwwa ‘sədd l-bāb’*:

4. *šəmmər ma-tkūl lā l-šərḍa kālūk n-nās, ‘ila kūlti lā bka blās.’ Məsḥūd kān ḍāyf šānd šwāḥbu*, 5. *kəššru⁸ u-həḍru u-tməlḡu, u-məddi wūššlu d-əl-mākla kām u-kāl lūm ‘ya xwāni b-slāma.’* 6. *kālu lu ‘šlās māsi? gəls mšāna,’ kāl l-hūm ‘nəḥdāz nəmsi⁹, zərban āna.’* 7. *kālu lu ‘ha üwwa¹⁰ l-ftūr müžūd¹¹, kūl mšāna a tāzər Məsḥūd.’* 8. *‘La, səmḥū li ḥād l-mərḡa, nəftər mšākūm mərḡa üxḡa,’* 9. *dəzbād¹² u-səlləm šla dūk n-nās u-bərḡa xəmməm ‘āna ḥmār, āw ās?* 10. *āna zīfān u-kānt šāndi l-ūzba u-hūmma šərḍu šlīya b-əl-mḥəbba*, 11. *u-āna kūlt l-hūm ‘lā,’ ās ḥādsi, ās ḥād zəbla?’* 12. *xəmməm u-kāl l-rāšu ‘nərzəf šāndhūm fhāl ila šāndi mšəkšīyya ma nšəkšīhūm*, 13. *ikūlu li ‘Məsḥūd gəls mšāna,’ ngəls bla həḍra u-bla məšna.’*

1. Listen my friend, I wrote many books, in one of them there are stories of the Jews of Morocco. 2. I translated one of them into Ar... some of them into Arabic and if you want¹³ I will read one of them to you. 3. It is called ‘close the door.’

4. Never say no to the invitation. People tell you ‘If you say no, you end with nothing.’ Məsḥūd was guest at his friends. 5. They spent time together, talked and got drunk and when they brought him the food, he stood up and told them ‘Bye my

7 The informant reads a text written in his own dialect by himself.

8 /k/ < /q/.

9 The use of the auxiliary *ḥdāz* (< *ḥtāz*) ‘need’ in the sense of ‘must’ agreed with the main verb (Heath 2002: 501; Prémare et al. 1994 3: 263).

10 < *hūwwa*.

11 It seems the informant pronounces an intermediary consonant between /z/ and /ž/, maybe [ž].

12 The verb ‘to go out’ in the Jewish dialect of Essaouira. Another informant also told us the expression: *dəzbād m-šlīyya* ‘go away!’

13 Lit. if... tell.

brothers.’ 6. They told him ‘Why are you leaving? Sit with us.’ He told them ‘I have to go, I’m on a hurry.’ 7. They said ‘The meal is here, eat with us oh Merchant Məsʕūd.’ 8. ‘No, excuse me this time, I will eat with you other time.’ 9. He left, greeted those people and outside he thought ‘Am I stupid, or what?’ 10. I am hungry and there was a meal for me and they invited me with kindness 11. and I said “no” to them, what is that? What a gaffe!,’ 12. he thought and said to himself ‘I will go back there as if I had a question to make, 13. so they will say “Məsʕūd sit with us,” and I will sit without saying anything.’

Text 2: Memories of a Muslim baker in the Mellah¹⁴

- H: 1. *fīn kūnti xəddām f-əl-lüwwəl dyālək?*
 F: *ḍərb Mərdūx*
 H: 2. *kān l-fərrān dyāl ḍərb Mərdūx. u-ḍərb Mərdūx kānu fih l-msəlmīn u-l-ihūd?*
 F: *la, müsəlmīn q^wlāl.*
 H: 3. *šku¹⁵ lli kān təmma f-ḍərb Mərdūx?*
 F: *l-ihūd, küll ši fāmər ġīr b-əl-ihūd, [...] fāmər b-əl-ihūd.*
 H: 4. *kifāš kānt l-flāqa dyāl l-ihūd lli sākūn f- ḍərb Mərdūx f-əl-məllāḥ mṣāk f-əl-fərrān a mṣālləm F.?*
 F: *məzyāna, məzyāna, bxīr... ka-yzību... āsmu...lə-ḥrām fliḥ, kū-n-nhār¹⁶, ka-yzību... l-ḥədd... nhār s-səbt ma ka-ydīru šāy, āsmu...*
 H: 5. *k-iṭəyybū-š¹⁷.*
 F: *ma k-iṭəyybū-š.*
 H: 6. *ka-yšfəl fih əl-fāfyā.*
 F: *ka-tkūn s-sxīna fāndi, ka-ydīru s-sxīna nhār əž-žūmfa f-əl-fššyya, 7. nhār ārbəf, ka-ydīru s-sxīna dyālthūm, küll ši l-ihūd. 8. ka-ydīru s-sxīna dyālthūm, kāyən lli ka-ydīra b-əl-lḥəm, kāyən lli ka-ydīra b-əl-kūrīn kāyən lli ka-ydīra b-ādāk¹⁸ āsmu... bāš ka-ydīra... 9. kāyn ka-ydīra b-əl-ḥūmmūš, kāyn k-idīra b-ərrūz... kāyn lli k-idīra b-... b-ādāk āsmu... ḥrām fliḥ [...] 10. u-bāš ka-ydīr s-sxīna dyāltūm, ka-yzi nəmra wāḥəd məzyāna, ka-yzi sxīna məzyāna küll ši məzyān u-āsmu, 11. u-nhār s-səbt ka-yzīw mfa ṭ-ṭnāš, mfa ṭ-ṭnāš ntāfət¹⁹ n-nhār ka-yzību l-lūḥāt ka-yddi s-sxīna dyāltūm, 12. dīk s-sāfa ḥəttā ka-ywūžždīw s-sxīna dyālthūm hāda ka-ywūlli l-ḡda*

14 Informal interview carried out by Hafid, 55 years old (indicated above by H), with an old baker of the city, known as Mṣəlləm Fātəḥ, 87 years old (indicated by F), both from Essaouira.

15 $l < n + l$

16 $n < l + n$

17 Negation without the particle *ma-*.

18 $< hādāk$ ‘that one.’ The Muslim and the Jewish varieties sometimes drop /h/ in postconsonantal positions. Similar cases are found in Socin (1893): *fād* ($< f-hād$) and *fādi* ($< f-hādi$) ‘in that.’

19 The alternation between the genitive particles *dyāl* and *ntāf* is attested already in Socin (1893).

dyālhūm hāda ka-ywūlli l-šša dyālhūm. 13. u-ka-ydiru...āsmu...dāk... ka-yžiw n-nās šāndhūm, l-mšalmīn, ka-yddīw šāndhūm s-sxīna, 14. n-nās lli šārfinhūm ka-yiddi šāndhūm ṭəbšil ntāš s-sxīna, ka-yiddīw šāndhūm ṭəbšil dyāl s-sxīna.

H: 15. *āš šām, āšmān šām təqribān nta šāqəl šlīha, š-mān²⁰ šām?*

F: *xəmsa u-xəmsīn.*

H: 1. Where did you use to work when you were young?

F: Mərdūx street.

H: 2. It was the bakery of Mərdūx street. There were Jews and Muslims in the Mərdūx street?

F: No, a few Muslims.

H: 3. Who was there in the Mərdūx street?

F: The Jews, it was full of Jews only, [...] full of Jews.

H: 4. How was the relation between the Jews living in the Mərdūx street in the Mel-lah and you in the bakery, Mšālləm F?

F: Fine, fine, good, they used to bring... how is it called, every day, they used to bring the tasty one, Sunday, on Saturday they didn't use to do anything at all, how is it called...

H: 5. They don't cook.

F: They don't cook.

H: 6. They don't light the fire.

F: There was the *skhina* in my place, they cooked the *skhina* on Friday, in the evening, 7. on Wednesday, they used to make their *skhina*, all of them Jews, 8. used to make their *skhina*, some of them used to make it with meat, some of them used to make it with lamb feet, some used to make it with...to make it... 9. some used to make it with chickpeas, some of them used to make it with rice, some of them used to make it with... so... how is it called... that thing that is forbidden [...] 10. and to make their *skhina* the number one, good, the *skhina* is good, everything is good, how is it called, 11. and on Saturday they used to come by midday carrying their *skhina* on boards, 12. at that time they used to prepare their *skhina* and this used to become their lunch and their dinner. 13. They used to make that... how is it called? The people used to come to their place, the Muslims, they [the Jews] used to take *skhina* to them. 14. To the people they knew, they used to take a plate of *skhina*, they used to take a plate of *skhina* to them.

H: 15. Which year are you remembering more or less? Which one?

F: Fifty-five.

20 < *āš mān* 'which?'

Text 3: The Jewish neighbours²¹

1. *āna fāš kənt nəʔləʃ l-əʔ-tābəq t-tāni fin kənna sākniṅ, f-wāhəd d-dār mən d-dyūr t-tlāt,*
 2. *kān sākniṅ mʃāna žūž fāmiyāt f-nəfs ʔ-təbqa, kān Nīsīm u-Stēr w-ūlādu ʃhābna,*
Salōmōn u-Hāym, ʃhābi. 3. *u-kān ḥdāna f-əl-lūwwəl wāhəd u-mārtu, ma kānū-š mʃāh*
ūlādu, ūlādu kəbrū u-lākīn kāyən f-əl-xārəž, 4. *āsmu Monsieur Nīsīm, lʻhorloger, l-mwāgni,*
ta-ysəmmīwh l-mwāgni. hūwwa məxtāšš... ta-yšūwwəb l-mwāgən, magānāt k^wbār,
 5. *hādik s-sāfa n-nās ʃəndhūm bəzzāf magānāt k^wbār.* 6. *gütt lih: āna hādāk kān mərṛa*
mərṛa ta-ndxūl ʃəndu u-ta-yʃīna l-mākla, l-kūftir u-dākši, 7. *u-lamma²² ta-nzi hūwwa*
t-igūl liyya ‘āzi ntina, wāš qriṭi ši šwīyya ūlla lā, wāš mšiti l-əž-žāməʃ ūlla lā?’²³ 8. *yəʃni,*
hūwwa t-igūl liyya wāš āna mšit l-məšžid ūlla lā. u-āna... t-igūl liyya ‘[rā] ma təqra gəʃ,
žib ktūb dyālək, āzi gəls f-hād ʔ-təbʎa hnāya.’

1. When I used to go up to the second floor where we lived, in one of the three houses,
 2. two families lived with us on the same floor, Nissim and Esther with his kids, who
 were our friends, Salomon and Haim were my friends. 3. And on the first floor there
 were next to us a man and his wife, their children weren't with them, their chil-
 dren grew up, but went abroad. 4. His name was *Monsieur* Nissim, *l'horloger*, the
 clockmaker, they called him the clockmaker. He was specialised... he repaired (made)
 clocks, big clocks, 5. at that time people used to have big clocks. 6. I told him:²⁴ at that
 time I used to enter from time to time into his place and he gave us food, jam and that
 kind of thing, 7. when I came he would say to me 'Come, did you study a little bit or
 not? Did you go to the mosque or not?,' 8. I mean, he was asking me if I had gone to the
 mosque or not, and I... He used to say 'You are not studying at all, bring your books,
 come sit on this table here.'

21 Interview with Ahmed Harrouz, 63 years old, plastic artist, researcher on the material and oral cultural heritage of the city. He is Muslim and spent his childhood in the Mellah, in a time when Muslims and Jews were still living in the same buildings.

22 < CA *lamma* 'adverbial) when.'

23 He tries to imitate the speech of the Jewish neighbour, using the pronoun *ntina* 'you,' which was in fact very frequent in the Jewish dialect of the city.

24 The informant was telling a story he had told another person before.

Text 4: The childhood in the countryside²⁵

1. *kūnna ka-nzīw*²⁶ *l-ṣṣrūbyya u-ḥna ṣḡār, māzāl ma kāyn-š d-ḍu, kānu ka-ydīru š-šmāf, la bougie, d'accord?* 2. *kānu ka-ydīru f-wuṣṣ d-dār bās ka-yḍūwwu u-ma kān-š hād l-ḥūla bhāl hādi ma-kān-š, 3. āh, f-əd-dāxəl dyāl d-dār ma-kān-š d-ḍu, kān š-šmāf. [question]* 4. *lā! kūnna ka-nxūrzu bhāl hākka, ka-ybqāw ilāṣbu, ḥna ṣ-ṣḡtṣrīn u-kān ḡīr d-ḍu dyāl l-qāmār*²⁷ *bhāl hākka, 5. k-ibqāw ilāṣbu, k-ibqāw ilāṣbu, dīma hna f-əl-līl w-āna kātt ka-nxāf, āna ma ka-nbḡī-š nəthārṣāk, 6. dīma ka-ndīr hākka u-ka-nəbqa f-blāṣti bəzzāf w-ūma*²⁸ *ka-yzru*²⁹ *w-ilāṣbu. [...]* 7. *dāba... fti*³⁰ *d-dār lli mšīna liha dyāl ṣāmmi Ḥasān u-dyāl ṣāmmi, llāh yīrḥamu, lli māt...* 8. *hādīk d-dār ḥīyya fīn kbəṣ ḥāḥa*³¹, *ma fīn kbəṣt, hādi kān d-dār dyāl žəddi* 9. *k-itsəmma d-dūwwār, šna ḥūwwa d-dūwwār? d-dūwwār ḥīyya lli fīh dār ḥda dār, 10. hādūk b-žūž āwla tlāta āwla ārbṣa, k-isəmmu d-dūwwār, d-dūwwār ḥūwwa lli ka-yzəmmāf dār u-dār u-dār u-dār. ṣāfi?* 11. *dāba ḥīyya kāy... hād d-dār tamma, hāda kūllu k-isəmmīwh d-dūwwār, yāk? [...]* 12. *u-nkəmməl līk l-histoire? ḥāḥa fās kbəṣ [bāqi/bqa] wūlla šābb, mša yīntāqəl l-əṣ-šwīra, 13. mša ka-yx^ədəm*³² *fə-l-bārko fa-mša l-ṣ-šwīra u-skən təmmāk u-ža hna u-dzūwwəž məma, 14. məma kānt hna u-dzūwwəž bīha u-ddāha ṣ-šwīra, ṣāfi? w-ūlīdna*³³, *ḥnāya dzādīna*³⁴, *u-kbəṣna təmmāk.*

25 Interview with a 30-year-old woman, dweller of the Sqāla ž-ždīda, a poor neighbourhood of Essaouira built in the 80s, outside the *medīna* walls. Her family is originally from the Aquermoud zone, rural outskirts of Essaouira, in the Chiadma territory. The text was collected during the evening in a village where her relatives live, near the Bhibeh (*Bḥāybḥ*) beach in Aquermoud.

26 The preverb *ka-* is predominant in her speech as it happens in the Chiadma territory, the rural area of Essaouira, *ta-* being an urban feature. However, in the city, many speakers alternate between both particles.

27 < CA *qamar* ‘moon.’ It alternates with *gəmrā*, but it is quite frequent in the city, among Muslims and one Jewish speaker, and in the rural zone (Aquermoud and Sidi Ishaq). It seems to be associated normally with the full moon or the light of the moon. The word was obtained through oral texts and elicitation as well. It is found also in Fez (Prémare et al. 1998 10: 422).

28 < *hūma* ‘they.’

29 This is one of the Bedouin features which demonstrate the presence of Maṣqil tribes among the first settlers of Essaouira—such as Šbānāt and Mnābha—and also in the origins of the Chiadma tribe. For more details on the origins of the settlers of Essaouira, see: al-Kānūnī (1932), ar-Ragrāḡī (1935), aṣ-Šiddīqī (1969). For instance, this conjugation is found in *ḥassāniyya: nəšru* (1PL imperf.), *tašru* (2PL imperf.), *yəšru* (3PL imperf.) (Cohen 1963: 103). On the other hand, the suffix *-iw* alternates with *-u*, as we can see in the text where both variants are found: *k-isəmmu ~ k-isəmmiw* ‘they call/denominate.’

30 < *šəfti* ‘you saw.’

31 The use of *ḥāḥa* and *məma* is a northern feature (Heath 2002: 574, map 6–17, 575 map 6–26), also found in the Jewish dialect of Essaouira.

32 Presence of an ultra-short epenthetic vowel in open syllable.

33 < CA *wulīdna* ‘we were born.’

34 A passive form *ttzād > dzād* ‘to be born’ (Prémare et al. 1995 5: 434). It has a double conjugation in the perfective: *dzatt ~ dzādīt* (1SG), *dzādna ~ dzādīna* (1PL), *dzatti ~ dzādīti* (2SG), *dzattu ~ dzādītu* (2PL), *dzādət ~ dzādāt* (3FSG), *dzādu ~ dzādāw* (3PL). The augmented conjugation of the verb with

1. We used to come to the countryside when we were kids, there was no light (electricity) yet, they used to put on candles, *la bougie, d'accord?* 2. They used to put it in the middle of the house in order to illuminate and there was no lamp like this one there wasn't, 3. that's it, inside the house there was no light, there was the candle. [F.B.F.: There was no electricity?] 4. No! We used to go out like this, they kept playing, us the children, and there was the moonlight only, like this: 5. they kept playing and playing, always here in the evening. I used to be afraid, so I preferred not to move, 6. I always did this way and stayed firmly at my place and they kept running and playing [...] 7. now... you saw the house where we went to? My uncle Hasan's house? And the house of my uncle; God's mercy be upon him, who died... 8. That is the house where my father grew up, not where I grew up, this was my grandfather's house, 9. it is called *ḏūwwār*, what's a *ḏūwwār*? A *ḏūwwār* is a house side by side with another house, 10. those ones by two, three or four, it is called *ḏūwwār*. A *ḏūwwār* gathers a house with another house, and another one, ok? 11. Now, there is...that house there, this all is called *ḏūwwār*, right? [...] 12. Shall I finish the *histoire* [story] to you? My father when he grew up, when he became a young man, he moved to Essaouira, 13. he went to work with the boat, so he went to Essaouira, he lived there and came here and married my mother, 14. mom was here, he married her and took her to Essaouira, ok? We were born, here we were born and we grew up there.

Text 5: The miracles of Rabbi Haim Pinto³⁵

1. *Ḥāym Pinto, rəbbi Ḥāym Pinto, ḥūwwa ḥāxām*³⁶ *kbīr lli twūffa f-əṣ-ṣwīra ḥādi təqribān mya u-səbʕa u-tmānīn ṣām.* 2. *u-rəbbi Ḥāym Pinto ārāv a-šārōm*³⁷ *mədfūn f-ər-ṛūḏa dyāl l-iḥūd d-bāb Dūkkāla, ṛ-ṛūḏa lli ta-təṣṭi*³⁸ *ṣāl-lə-bḥār smīyytha b-əl-frānsāwīyya le cimetièrè marin.* 3. *kāyən ḏərbūz*³⁹ *t-iṣṭi ṣāl-lə-bḥār, u-ḥūwwa dzād fə-mdīnāt Agādīr u-za l-əṣ-ṣwīra bāš iqra,* 4. *ḥəll wāḥəd lə-mḏrāsa dyāl t-tālmūd smīyytha ha-yīšīva,*

-*īt/-īna* (1 perf.), -*īti/-ītu* (2 perf.), -*āt* (3FSG perf.) and -*āw* (3PL perf.) seems to be predominant in the rural area of Essaouira (Aquermond) (Francisco 2019: 134).

35 Interview with Joseph Sebag, 60 years old, who introduces himself as 'the last Jew of Essaouira,' being the last one living permanently in the city. His origins go back to Andalusī origin and Berber native Jews. He lived many years abroad, mostly in the United States, coming back to Essaouira a few decades ago.

36 Hebraism meaning 'a great sage' (Prémare et al. 1994 3: 33).

37 /r/ < /l/ in the Hebrew expression: *alav ha-shalom* 'may the peace be upon him.'

38 The emphatic /t/ articulated as the affricated [tʃ] consists of a feature of the Jewish dialect of Essaouira and it was also found in a Mellah informant by Lévy (2009: 363).

39 < *ḏərbūz* 'balustrade.' The speaker articulates /z/ as /ʒ/ maybe as the result of hypercorrection, due to the neutralisation of sibilants common to the Jewish dialects. Despite that, the speaker distinguishes /z/ and /ʒ/ most of the time.

ha-yišīva rəbbi Ḥāym Pinto. 5. u-f-əl-fūq kən məššīd⁴⁰ u-hād ḥāxām hāda xāšš, māšī fḥāl ḥāxām āxūr. 6. hāda kən šāndu wāḥəd... fūrša⁴¹ qūwwīyya u-kən ta-yītnəbbba, t-igūl šī qābl [...]. 7. lə-mra ila ḡa-twūlləd t-igūl liha wāš wūld wūlla bənt ila ḡa-twūlləd ila ma ḡa-twūlləd-š, yəfni šāndu wāḥəd l-pouvoir, fūrša kūwwīyya⁴², rūḥānīyya. [F.B.F.: What do you mean by fūrša?] 8. mātalān ta-yxərž wāḥəd z-zənqa u-ta-yšūf n-nās: 'nta šāndāk qəṭəf dyāl lə-flūs b-žībək, šīḥ l-masākīn, dīr hādi...', fḥāl hādi. 9. wāḥəd... nšāwdək wāḥəd l-qəšša. Rəbbi Dāvid Pinto lli hūwwa məsʔūl b-hādi Hillūla f-əš-šwīra lli t-ižīh fīha šəndu l-yūm, 10. fūq mən sətīn šām, rāžəl, tḃārk əllāh, b-ləḥya u-muḥtārām u-n-nās ta-yīhtārāmuḥ tḃīšāt l-hāl. 11. hād l-qīšša di⁴³ šāwd əlīna hūwwa b-fūmmu. kən žāyy mən Bārīz l-əš-šwīra fə-ṭ-ṭīyyāra⁴⁴, 12. gāl līk: ḡīr l-avion tzāt mə-l-ārḡ, wāḥəd d-dərri š-šḡīr, šāndu šī sīmāna wūlla šāšr ʔyyām, 13. t-yībki t-yībki u-dāk lə-bka māšī šādī, t-yībki ktīr ḥəttā d-dərri wūlla zārḡ, la mamam dyāl d-dərri txəllšāt, šīyyāt l-hôteesse de l'air, 14. gāl liha 'le bébé ma ḡādi... ma bqa šī...', xdat le micro stewardess 'ta-nṭəlbū mən les passagers ila kən šī ḥādd hūwwa tḃīb...', 15. ḥəttā wāḥəd ma žāwb, wāš kən šī ḥādd lli hūwwa infirmier, tta wāḥəd ma žāwb, wāš kən šī ḥādd lli [...], ma žāwb, 16. l-hôteesse de l'air ta-ḡḡūr hākka u-ḥīyya tšūf l-ḥāzzān⁴⁵ rəbbi Dāvid, gāl liḥ 17. 'šūf, ha-nžīb⁴⁶ līk hād d-dərri, ḥna ta-ntīqu f-əš-sādāt⁴⁷ dyālkūm, šūf nta dḡīr liḥ... žəṛṛəbna küll šī, tta ḥāža ma..., 18. gāl liha 'āna nīt mṛīḡ, xəšš li ibārək šlīyya, yixəšš li yīṭəlb šlīyya?' 19. gāl liḥ 'ma ta-nəqbəl-š hād l-kīlma, ḡādi nžību līk,' u-žāt liḥ le bébé, t-yībki, 20. u-igūl liḥ 'ya rəbbi Ḥāym, ma ḥəssəmni-š⁴⁸ mša hād ən-nās, bīyyīn lə-šžāyəb dyālək.' 21. ḡīr gāl hād l-klām d-dərri nšās f-īdīh. hādi qəšša mən šādād dyāl l-qəššāt.

1. Haim Pinto, Rabbi Haim Pinto is a big *hakam* who passed away in Essaouira approximately a hundred and eighty-seven years ago. 2. And Rabbi Haim Pinto *alav ha-shalom* (the peace be upon him) is buried in the Jewish cemetery of Bab Doukkala,

40 < CA *masḡīd* 'mosque,' but used as 'synagogue' by the speaker in many situations, what seems a derivation from 'religious place, temple' diffused among Muslims. The same happens with *ž-žāməf dyāl l-ihūd* 'synagogue' (lit. 'the mosque of the Jews'). The usual *šla* is also found in the local Jewish dialect.

41 The word is used here with the meaning 'spiritual force, supernatural power.' It differs from the use registered in Prémare et al. meaning 'physical force, brutality' and is thought to come from the Spanish *fuerza* (1998 10: 68). However, since the word is found in Andalusī Arabic as *fórça* (P. de Alcalá 1505: fol. 184), its origin is probably Romance.

42 /k/ < /q/. This phenomenon characterises the speech of some Jews in the town, but it has a single occurrence in this text. See Text 1.

43 Alternation between the relative pronouns *ddi* ~ *lli*.

44 Articulation of /t/ as the affricated /tʃ/.

45 Synonym of *rabbi* (Prémare et al. 1994 3: 100).

46 Instead of the usual *ḡa-nžīb* 'I will bring.' The origin of the future particle *ha-* is not clear, but it may be related with the future particle *a-* found in the Jewish dialect of Safi (Heath 2002: 210).

47 *šīyyəd* (SG) 'saint' (Prémare et al. 1995 6: 254).

48 < *ḥəššəm* 'to put in an awkward situation.'

the cemetery looks out onto the sea, it is called in French *le cimetière marin* (the maritime cemetery). 3. There is a balustrade looking out onto the sea. He was born in Agadir and came to Essaouira to study. 4. He opened a Talmud school, it is called *Ha-Yeshiva, Ha-Yeshiva Rabbi Haim Pinto*. 5. In the superior part there was a synagogue and this *hakam* is special, there is no one like him. 6. This one had a... a strong power, he used to foresee and say something before [...], 7. if a woman is going to have a baby, he says if it is boy or girl, if she is going to have it or not, I mean he has a *pouvoir* (power), a strong power, a spiritual one. [F.B.F.: What do you mean by *fūrṣa* (power)?] 8. For example, he goes out in a street, looks at the people [and says] ‘You have a little money in your pocket, give it to the poor, do this...,’ just like that. 9. One... I tell you a story, Rabbi David Pinto who is responsible for the *Hillulah* in Essaouira and comes to it, today 10. he is over sixty years old, a man, God bless him, with the beard and respectful and respected by the people obviously. 11. This story was told to us by his own mouth. He was coming from Paris to Essaouira by plane, 12. he said: the plane barely took off, a very young child, who had around a week or ten days, 13. he was crying and crying, and that cry was not normal, he cried so much to the point the child became blue, *la mamam* (the mom) of the child got frightened, she called the *l-hôtesse de l’air* (flight attendant) 14. and told her ‘the baby is not going to... isn’t there a...,’ the *stewardess* got the microphone ‘We ask *les passagers* (the passengers) if there is a doctor,’ 15. no one answered, if there was anyone who was *infirmier* (nurse), no one answered, was there someone who [...], no one answered, 16. so the *hôtesse de l’air* (flight attendant) turns this way and glances at the *Hazzan* Rabbi David, and says 17. ‘Look, I am going to bring this child to you, we believe in your saints, look, do..., we tried everything and nothing...,’ 18. He told her ‘I am sick, is it necessary to be me?’, 19. she said ‘We won’t accept these words we will bring him to you.’ She came with the baby who was crying and crying and 20. he says to him ‘Oh Rabbi Haim, do not let me in this shameful situation with these people, show your miracles.’ 21. He just said these words and the child slept on his hand. This is one of many stories.

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PETER BEHNSTEDT 

UND AHMED-SALEM OULD MOHAMED BABA 

Ḥassānīya-Texte des mauretanischen Dichters Ahmedou Ould Abdel Kader

ABSTRACT The four dialect texts were recorded with the Mauritanian poet Ahmedou Ould Abdel Kader. The first two texts are fables, the other ones ethnographic texts. The dialect is very elaborated since our narrator had prepared himself one day before the recordings by thinking about the subject and making a choice of typical and sometimes rare dialect words, for instance *aḍru* ‘elephant,’ glossed by the more common *vīl*. In a short introduction we deal with the anaptyctic vowel and accentuation.

KEYWORDS Arabic dialectology, dialect of Gəbla, Ḥassānīya, Mauritania, Mauritanian Arabic

Während einer Entrümpelungsaktion in seinem Büro ist B. auf fünf Kassetten gestoßen mit der Aufschrift „Ḥassāniyya“. Dazu wurden auch noch einige Transkriptionen gefunden. Die Aufnahmen wurden 1981 in Tübingen gemacht. Damals war der mauretanische Dichter Ahmedou Ould Abdel Kader für ein Jahr in Tübingen zu Gast, um dem Orientalischen Seminar bei der Katalogisierung und Bearbeitung mauretanischer Manuskripte behilflich zu sein.¹ B. hat die Gelegenheit genutzt, Ḥassānīya zu lernen und mit ihm Texte aufzunehmen. Irgendwann sind die Aufnahmen und Transkriptionen in Vergessenheit geraten. Beim erneuten Abhören der Bänder, stellte sich heraus, dass nur noch wenig brauchbar war und dass zudem Teile der Transkriptionen fehlten, auch eine lange Tonbandaufnahme über die „Zeltuniversität“. Honi soit qui mal y pense! Was übrig geblieben ist, scheint uns doch noch eine Publikation wert zu sein, zumal es sich um ausgefeilte Dialekttexte handelt. Ahmedou hat

1 Vgl. Rebstock, Osswald und Wuld ‘Abdalqādir (1988).

die Texte nämlich nicht spontan auf Band gesprochen. Er hatte sich jedes Thema einen Tag vor der Aufnahmesitzung genauestens überlegt, sich vorbereitet und sich Dialektwörter zurechtgelegt. Er ist eben ein Dichter. Dass er bisweilen ins Hocharabische verfällt, ist nicht verwunderlich. Was er produziert hat, ist aber nur zum Teil „artistic colloquial Arabic“ im Sinne von Heikki Palva (1992). Teils ist es nämlich auch bewusst „breiter“ Dialekt. Da keine Übersetzungen vorlagen und B. teilweise nicht mehr verstanden hat, was er seinerzeit aufgenommen hatte, hat Ahmed-Salem die Texte ins Spanische übersetzt und das eine oder andere Wort kommentiert. Die Übersetzungen auf Spanisch mussten ins Deutsche übersetzt werden, so wie auch die ganze Einleitung dieses Aufsatzes.²

Unser Erzähler stammt aus dem Süden Mauretaniens. Er spricht Gəbla-Dialekt, der von Cohen 1963 bestens beschrieben ist. Insofern ist zu seiner Sprache wenig Neues beizutragen. Ein erheblicher Unterschied besteht jedoch im Hinblick auf Silbenstruktur und Akzent. Während Cohen (1963: 62) feststellt, dass schwere Dreierkonsonanzen ein „*élément disjonctif*“ entwickeln – *maḥʔdra* „assistance, groupement de personnes“, *yašʔrbu* „ils boiront“, *naxʔbtu* „nous chasserons“ – und der Akzent hier auf der ersten Silbe liegt (ebd.: 85), betont unser Sprecher in den meisten Fällen den Sprossvokal. Es wurden mit ihm mehrere Stunden Paradigmen abgecheckt, die zum Glück noch gut hörbar auf zwei Bändern erhalten sind; hier eine Auswahl (in Klammern die Formen bei Cohen 1963, falls belegt). Die folgenden Imperfektformen kommen in dieser Reihenfolge: 2. f. Sg., 1. Pl., 2. Pl., 3. Pl. Da in den zur Verfügung stehenden Zeichensätzen kein Schwa mit Akzent vorliegt, wird der Akzent mit {} vor der betonten Silbe gekennzeichnet.

Verbum

yəktəl: *təkətli*, *nəkətlu*, *təkətlu*, *yəkətlu* „töten“

yəktəb: *təkətbi*, *nəkətbu*, *təkətbu*, *yəkətbu* (Cohen 1963: 87 *yəktbu*) „schreiben“

yədvəl: *tədəvli*, *nədəvlu*, *tədəvlu*, *yədəvlu* „spucken“

yəlgat: *təlgəti*, *nəlgətu*, *təlgətu*, *yəlgətu* „sammeln“

yaṛkab: *taṛəkbi*, *naṛəkbu*, *taṛəkbu*, *yaṛəkbu* (Cohen 1963: 87 *yaṛkbu*) „besteigen“

tə'nəʔgəl „ihr (der Kamelin) wird der Fuß festgebunden“

tə'nəhləb „sie wird gemolken“ (Cohen 1963: 128 *tənʒraḥ*)

sa'gəblu (Cohen 1963: 130 *sagblu*) „sie sind nach Süden gegangen“, entsprechend das feminine Partizip *musa'gəbla*.

Bei einer Reihe von Formen wurden jedoch Schwankungen festgestellt, so etwa *yənxbət* „er wird geschlagen“ ohne Sprossvokal oder bei *stəkətru* „sie erachteten für zu viel“,

2 Dieser sollte eigentlich in EDNA (*Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí*) erscheinen.

stáǧablu ~ *sta'ǧablu* „sie gingen nach Süden“. Dies zeigt sich auch bei den Vierradikaligen:

<i>ǧárablu</i> „sie siebten“	aber: <i>ma'šamšu</i> „sie spülten den Mund aus“
<i>hánəḥnu</i> „sie wieherten“	<i>ra'šəřšu</i> „sie bespritzten“
<i>dánəḍnu</i> „sie trommelten“	<i>da'ǧəḍgu</i> „sie zerbrachen“ ³
<i>támətmu</i> „sie grummelten“	<i>da'kamru</i> „sie stießen heftig“
<i>šánkru</i> „sie schabten einen Knochen ab“	<i>ǧarəmšu</i> „sie zwickten“

Nomen

madvař „Gewehr“: *ma'dəvfi*, *ma'dəvřak*, *ma'dəvřu*, *madvřha* usf.

Entsprechende Formen liegen vor mit: *maḥáḍra* „Zeltuniversität“,⁴ *ma'žəbna* „Magen, Lab“ (Cohen 1963: 190 *məžbnā*), *ma'qəḍra* „Fähigkeit“, *ma'xərta* „Hobel“ (Cohen 1963: 190 *maxərta*). Hier stellt Cohen loc. cit. allerdings fest, dass bei einer schweren Konsonantengruppe sich ein voller Vokal entwickeln kann und zitiert dazu die Beispiele: *mǧarga* „petit marteau“ und *mǧařda* „siège“. Aber: *maržan* „Kochtopf“: *maržni*, *maržnak*, *maržnu* ohne jeglichen Sprossvokal. Enthält das Nomen /w/ oder /y/ in einer Dreierkonsonanz, so ergibt der betonte Sprossvokal mit diesen die Längen /ū/ und /ī/:

dalw // *dalw*// „Eimer“: *dalwi*, *dalwak* etc., aber: *dalūha*, *dalūna* etc.

kəlwa „Niere“: *kəlūti*, *kəlūtak* etc., aber: *kəlwətha* etc.

mərwaḍ „kuḥl-Stab“: *mərūdi*, *mərūdak*, *mərūdək*, *mərūdu*, aber: *mərwaḍha* etc.

maři // *maři*// „Gehen“: *maři*, *maři*ak etc., aber: *mařiha*, *maři*na usf.

Auch hier hat unser Sprecher bisweilen geschwankt, etwa in Formen wie *ǧáḷbha* ~ *ǧa'ḷəbha* „ihr Herz“, *řəḷkha* vs. *řəḷəkhum* „ihr Gummi Arabicum“. Der Unterschied war ihm nicht bewusst, als er darauf angesprochen wurde.

Eine weitere Abweichung beim Akzent stellen wir bei Endbetonung von auslautenden Vokalen fest und bei einfach geschlossenen Auslautsilben, nämlich in Formen wie *yəntsá* „er wird vergessen“, *yənsmə* „er wird erwähnt“, *yənthá* „er wird beendet“, *yənxbát* „er wird geschlagen“.

Die Allophone *a* – *ā* und *ā* – *ā̄*, die in anderen Arbeiten zum Ḥassānīya unterschieden werden,⁵ bleiben hier unberücksichtigt, es wird nur /a/ und /ā/ geschrieben.

3 In Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 34) *dagḍgu*.

4 Vgl. auch in der Bibliografie *mahadra* (Ould Maouloud 2017).

5 Taine-Cheikh schreibt das {ā} von Cohen (1963) als {e}, also etwa für unser *tamtam* in Band II (1989 II: 234) *temtem*.

Auslautendes -a in vorderer konsonantischer Umgebung in Pausa wird von unserem Sprecher meist als -ə und nur selten als -e realisiert; oft durch einen Glottisschlag beschlossen.

Text 1: *rwāyt ləhmār w əlkalb, w ənnērəb, w əddik w əlɒxānīs, ɒaʃifin*⁶

1. gāllak ma gāllak w əl bān ənna w əl bānlak w əl bān lūlaydāt əlməsəlmīn. 2. xāləg w huwwa h̄mār, ɒaqq̄lu f̄līh əhlu w warr̄tu w h̄əmlu f̄līh ləgrəb w̄h̄əmlu f̄līh əzzraf̄ mən šamāna šōr l-bādīya ššahrāwīya. 3. w tʃab w əndbār ɒahru w mšə?, ylawwəd ləl-hərrīya, v blād ma vīh arwāgīz̄. 4. w f̄ trīgu z̄bar̄ kalb. 5. sawwlu ləhmār: ənta x̄bārak? 6. gāllu lkalb: āna kənt əmf̄a madda yəngāllha ulādādəm. 7. nasrah̄ ləgnamhəm m̄fa rāf̄ihəm w nbāt h̄ārəsha w n̄d̄əl h̄ārəsha w la yaʃtūni māhu šwayy mən əššr̄ab luṃṃassax v gdeḥa ysammūha lmaylaq. 8. w m̄fa h̄āda lli k̄afawli bīh ənn wāḥəd mənham̄ lāhi yʃayyab lowxar̄ ygūllu: ya kalb, ya lkalb! 9. w āna ma tleyt̄ šābər̄ aʃla h̄āda. 10. w māši nlawwəd ləl-hərrīya v blād ma vīh h̄add ydaqq̄l aʃlīya w la h̄add māləkni. 11. gāllu ləhmār: hatt̄ āna m̄fa waḥdeyn ulādādəm yə'rəvdu f̄līya w ydaqq̄lūni w la bāgi šī?, ma yʃaddlūhli w ndōr̄ blād vīh l̄hərrīya w māši ʃan ulādādəm. 12. gāllu: tʃāla nəttavgu! 13. w mšāw hūma ləḡneyn w f̄ trīghəm z̄əbru⁷ dik. 14. gālūlu: ənta x̄bārak? 15. gāllhəm: āna kənt əmf̄a waḥdeyn yəngāllhəm ulādādəm, naddan̄ əlhəm ʃgāb əlleyl̄ ənwaf̄f̄ihəm aʃla ššle?. 16. w rīši zeyn w ʃər̄fi lahmar̄ yzayynu bīh əyyām̄həm w m̄fa h̄āda ngānnilhəm. 17. mneyn yʃūd yōm əʃf̄id yowklu l̄ham w yə'ləbsu llbās əzzeyn w yə'vər̄hu w āna nənd̄bāh, w ʃḥābi yənd̄əbhū. 18. w mneyn naḡlaṭ w naddan̄ s̄ābəg m̄fa ššbāh v leyl̄ yəḡəbhūni. 19. gālūlu: tʃāla mšī m̄ʃāna! 20. nəbəḥ̄du ʃan blād ma vīh ulādādəm, ya kanna nrāw vīh əlhərrīya, ma yʃūd h̄add mwar̄raṭna. 21. tammu māšyīn z̄əbru nērəb⁸ gāltəlhəm ṃṃalli ʃanha w ṃṃar̄r̄t̄inha ləɒxānīs w tdōr̄ əlhərrīya w mšāt m̄ʃāhəm. 22. z̄āw ləblād wuʃt̄ əlgāba w ʃaddlu vīh zrība w ḥar̄du vīh yāsər̄ mən əzzraf̄ w ḥar̄d̄ ləḥdeyž̄. w ʃād ləḥdeyž̄ sandhəm yāsər̄. 23. w sandhəm ɒāya w sandhəm ḡərd w zrībəthəm zeyna w tnaʃf̄mu w traḥ̄hmu w ʃād ma m̄daqqal aʃlīhəm šī?, w m̄əstaʃmar̄həm šī?. 24. baʃad sana gāllhəm ləhmār: āna lleyla nəxtər̄⁹ ənganni! 25. gālūlu: ya ləhmār, la tḡanni! 26. əḥna z̄bər̄na h̄ərrīyət̄na mn̄ ulādādəm. 27. ya ḡeyr̄ la ḡanneyt̄ ygədd̄ yasmaʃna šī? ənn əhl̄ əlgāba, w yz̄ina šī? yaḡlamna waʃla ywar̄raṭna. 28. gāllhəm: āna lli māššāni ʃan ulādādəm ənhəm ydaqq̄lu f̄līya ywarr̄tūni. 29. əntūma ṃṃalli ʃā fədtu lāhi

6 Mit /d/ und nicht mit /ɒ/. Siehe Cohen (1963: 16) „ɒʃəf̄ ‘il s'est affaibli’ (toutes les formes de la racine de ce verbe comportent d'ailleurs un ɒ en ḥassaniya“. Auf Seite 17 erklärt er Formen mit /ɒ/ anstelle von /ɒ/ als „formes empruntées à la langue littéraire“.

7 Vgl. Satz 4 z̄bar̄. In Taine-Cheikh (1989 II: 290) z̄bar̄, aber auch z̄abrū-h.

8 In Taine-Cheikh (2004: 89) ist *neyreb* maskulin.

9 In Taine-Cheikh (1989 III: 587) *x̄tər̄* „(pour *x̄tār*) ... désirer, vouloir“ und Imperfekt *yəxteyr̄* neben *yəxtər̄*.

twarṛṭūni w tdaqqlu fliya, lāhi nāmšī fankām! 30. *w tammu f hāda ilin gām yğanni.*
 31. *mneyñ ganna w zā? šwayy māl-wağt*¹⁰ *žāhām gābūn, dābb.* 32. *gāllhām gābūn:*¹¹
əntūma xbarḱām? 33. *gālūlu: hna alla žeyna hūn.* 34. *walla tamm yətkallam mfaḱhām*
*ilin šāfləhmār w raššav gaysu*¹² *hāmmu yowklu.* 35. *gām ləhmār yxabbtu bkaršāyh af la*
lvumm. 36. *raššav əddik w nkət faynīn gābūn.* 37. *w raššav əlkalb w gtaf ašrāgīb gābūn.*
 38. *w bga gābūn əfma w mfaṛgab.* 39. *kətlūh w rədmūh.* 40. *w žamfu w gālu ləlhāmār: hādi*
sləkna mənha ya ġeyr ašṭina lšāvya, ašṭina lšāvya la tžīb ənna rḡwāyāt ma sandna əlhām
ši?! 41. *gāllhām ləhmār: əsəmhūli hādi lowwla w la tleyt inšalla lāhi nganni w ndōr*
nəgbəl niḡāmkām w nəsməfəlkām. 42. *baṣad sana kān ləhmār yəxtər yğanni maṛra xra,*
gāllhām: āna lāhi nganni! 43. *gālūlu: la tğanni ya ləhmār!* 44. *w baṣad ši?, bga yyām ma*
ğanna. 45. *təmm ilin gānnālhām.* 46. *mneyñ ganna žāhām sbaf, gāllhām: mən gāllkām əl-*
ğābti lli āna mələkha? ma sawwəltūni w la fallamtūni! 47. *gālūlu: š təbgi?* 48. *gāllhām:*
mā_na nəbgi ši? lāhi nowkəl əddik, əššbūh, lāhi nowkəl əlkalb əğde?, w lāhi nšaddəl
ləhmār əfšé?, w nnērəb w lāxreyñ nowkəlhām v-wağt owxaṛ. 49. *təmmu fhāda, ilin gām*
əssbaṣ hāmmu yməss ləhmār. 50. *gām ləhmār yxabbtu bkaršāyh af la lvumm.* 51. *raššav*
əddik w nkət faynīn əssbaṣ, raššav əlkalb w gtaf ašrāgīb əssbaṣ. 52. *əbgá sbbaṣ muṣaṛgab*
w la yrāfi f ši?, əfmá. 53. *w kətlūh w rədmūh.* 54. *žamfu maṛra xra w gālūlu ləlhāmār:*
ašṭina l-šāvfa, ašṭina lšāvya, ənheynāk ənheynāk! ašṭina lšāvya! 55. *gāllhām: inšalla*
ma tleyt lāhi nganni. 56. *hādi lmaṛra əsəmhūli ma tleyt lāhi nganni abadan.* 57. *mneyñ*
žāw fāmeyñ ya huwwa ləhmār ḡmalli yəxtər yğanni w yaṣṣav fannu mneyñ ygūlha
lašḱābu ma yxallūh. 58. *gām w ganna ma fallamhām.* 59. *mneyñ ganna təmmu ilin də-*
*hiyya zṛṛiba, žāyəthām aḡru*¹³ *huwwa l-vil, hāməlha rāvədhə flə řa'əgbtu.* 60. *gāllhām:*
əxbārḱām hūn ətzu ma fallamtūni w eynta žaytu hūn? 61. *gālūlu: š təbgi?* 62. *gāllhām:*
āna sandi ulaydāt žayfānīn lāhi nāmšī bikām yətfāššāw bikām ulaydāti. 63. *gālūlu:*
allā_lli təbgi? 64. *ya ġeyr əhna smaṣna fannak əmtīn w qawi.* 65. *mən dṛa ya kānak*
*tğədd tərḡəd hāda ččəhli?*¹⁴ 66. *gāllhām: əngədd!* 67. *əbrək taht əččəhli, řarīš, w ūgəv*
bīh w gām māši w ččəhli flə ḡahru. 68. *gāmu w rabtu ččəhli flə kəršu w gdāw vih ənnār.*
 69. *w hṛab řanhəm w nḡarag əlvil hṛuga mtān.* 70. *mneyñ řād mša ššbāh, řarvu řan*
əlvil ydōr yarzaṣəlhəm. 71. *ləhmār əhṛáb w řḡābu řalṣu teydūma*¹⁵ *kḡira.* 72. *žāhām əlvil*
w lḡaghəm vovg ətteydūma w ma ygədd yalḡaghəm. 73. *w mša w rzaṣ w řaddal hālu*
bāš yalḡaghəm. 74. *žāb dlādīn vil.* 75. *əbrək huwwa w huwwa ttahtāni w zā? vil dāni*
brək vovgu w zā? vil dāləd əbrək vovg dāk w zā? rābəf əbrək vovg dāk. 76. *wāhəd*

10 In Heath (2004: 267) *waqt* mit Punkt über /q/, Seite XII als „roughly [qʰ] with only a faint stop portion“. Hier liegt eindeutig /g/ vor. Nicht in Taine-Cheikh (2004) s. v. „temps“.

11 Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 239) „hiena (macho)“ ohne Etymologie. Wird immer ohne Artikel verwendet.

12 Vgl. Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 241) *gās, igīs* „dirigirse a“.

13 In vorliegenden Glossaren und Wörterbüchern nicht nachweisbar.

14 Taine-Cheikh (1989 II: 265) „hangar (en paille ou non), toit reposant sur des piliers (généralément en bois), couverture d'un étalage“, glossiert mit řarīš.

15 Taine-Cheikh (1989 II: 191) aus dem Zenaga.

vowg wāḥad ydōr iyyāk ḍāk mənḥəm əlli huwwa lvowgāni mən əddlādīn yalḥag rās ətteydūma w yaḡbaḥəm b-eydu, yaṭraḥḥəm v əṭrāb w yəktəlḥəm əlvīl əlmahṛūg. 77. mnəyn fād əlvīl əlli huwwa əddlādīn huwwa lvowgāni lāhi yalḥaghəm, gām əddīk w tkallam məlvowg fəyyaṭ ləl-nērəb, gāllḥa: ya mənt əžžhūra¹⁶ ilāḥ ənnār naḥrag ḍə lmalṣūn! 78. əsmāf əlvīl əttaḥtāni əlli kān mahṛūg sābəg ḍāk, əsmāf əxbār ənnār w ənxlā w ḥrāb. 79. ṭāḥu ləvyāl ləxreyn w mātu. 80. w ḥrāb əlmahṛūg waḥdu. 81. w səlku, slək əlkalb w slək ləḥmār w nnērəb w ṣḥābu ḍḍafīftīn w ražṣu l-ḥarṥḥəm, ḥayāṥḥəm əzzeyna. 82. w ləḥmār marr aṣlīḥəm, ma šāfūḥ. 83. ma fərvu ya kān kālūḥ ləbxānīs waḥḥa rzaṣ lūlādādəm. 84. w ḥakadā fit-taṣāwun quwwa w əḥurrīya maḥkūmatun bin-niḍām li?annaha nisbīya.

Text 1: Die Geschichte vom Esel, vom Hund, vom Hasen, vom Hahn und den wilden Tieren, den armen

1. Er sagte dir, was er sagte und was uns klar erschien und was dir klar erschien und was den Kindern der Muslime klar erschien.¹⁷ 2. Es war einmal ein Esel, dem machten seine Leute das Leben schwer und quälten ihn und luden ihm die Wasserschläuche auf und sie luden ihm das Korn auf von Šamāma¹⁸ bis zur Wüste. 3. Und er wurde müde und sein Rücken wurde schwierig und er lief weg, um die Freiheit zu suchen, in einem Land, wo es keine Menschen gab. 4. Und auf seinem Weg traf er einen Hund. 5. Da fragte ihn der Esel: Was ist mit dir? 6. Da sagte ihm der Hund: Ich war mit Leuten zusammen, die nennt man „Menschen“. 7. Ich bringe ihre Schafe zur Weide mit ihrem Hirten und verbringe die Nacht damit sie zu bewachen und ich bewache sie die ganze Zeit und trotzdem geben sie mir nichts außer ein bisschen schmutziges Wasser in einem Napf, den sie *maylaq* nennen.¹⁹ 8. Und obwohl sie mir das übertragen haben, ist es so, dass, wenn einer von ihnen den anderen beschimpfen will, er zu ihm sagt: Du Hund, du Hund! 9. Und ich habe dazu keine Geduld mehr. 10. Und ich bin losgegangen, um die Freiheit zu suchen in einem Land, in dem keiner mir das Leben schwer macht und in dem mich keiner besitzt. 11. Da sagte zu ihm der Esel: Auch ich war mit einigen Menschen zusammen, die luden mir Lasten auf und machten mir das Leben schwer, und das war schon alles, sie behandelten mich nicht gerecht und ich suche ein Land, in dem es Freiheit gibt, und ich bin den Menschen weggelaufen. 12. Er sagte zu ihm: Geh her wir schließen uns zusammen! 13. Und da gingen die beiden

16 *žhūra* „Hasenbau“ zu Taine-Cheikh (1989 II: 342–343) *žhar* „creuser (un puits)“. Alle weiteren Beispiele beziehen sich nur auf das Brunnengraben.

17 Stereotype Einleitung bei Märchen und Erzählungen.

18 Šamāma heißen die fruchtbaren Ufer des Senegal-Flusses, wo Getreide, darunter vor allem Hirse, angebaut wird.

19 Es ist ein hölzerner Trinknapf für Hunde.

los und auf ihrem Weg trafen sie einen Hahn. 14. Sie sagten zu ihm: Was ist mit dir los? 15. Er sagte zu ihnen: Ich war mit einigen zusammen, die nennt man „Menschen“, für die krähte ich nach der Nacht und rief sie zum Gebet auf. 16. Und meine Federn sind schön und damit schmücken sie ihre Tage und dazu singe ich ihnen auch noch etwas vor. 17. Wenn der Tag des (Opfer-)Festes ist, essen sie Fleisch und sie ziehen die schönen Kleider an und feiern und ich werde geschlachtet und meine Freunde werden geschlachtet. 18. Und wenn ich einen Fehler mache und vor dem Morgen in der Nacht zum Gebet rufe, schlachten sie mich. 19. Sie sagten zu ihm: Komm geh mit uns! 20. Wir suchen nach einem Land, in dem es keine Menschen gibt. Vielleicht finden wir in ihm die Freiheit, und es gibt keinen, der uns quält. 21. Sie zogen weiter, da trafen sie einen Hasen, der erzählte ihnen auch von sich und den hatten die wilden Tiere gequält, und er suchte die Freiheit und zog mit ihnen. 22. Sie kamen in ein Land mitten in dem Wald und da hatten sie einen umzäunten Acker gemacht, in dem sie viel Korn und Melonen anbauten. Und sie hatten eine gute Melonenernte. 23. Und sie hatten einen Tümpel²⁰ und sie hatten eine Düne und ihr Acker war schön und es ging ihnen gut und sie freuten sich des Lebens und nichts mehr machte ihnen das Leben schwer und nichts unterdrückte sie. 24. Nach einem Jahr sagte ihnen der Esel: Ich möchte heute Nacht singen. 25. Sie sagten zu ihm: Esel, sing nicht! 26. Wir haben unsere Freiheit vor den Menschen gefunden. 27. Aber wenn du singst, kann uns einer von den Bewohnern des Waldes hören und kommt zu uns und unterdrückt und quält uns. 28. Er sagte zu ihnen: Ich, was mich veranlasste, von den Menschen wegzugehen, war, dass sie mir das Leben schwer machten und mich quälten. 29. Wenn ihr mich nun auch quälen werdet und mir das Leben schwer macht, so werde ich von euch gehen. 30. Und so verblieben sie, bis er anfang zu singen. 31. Als er sang, da kam zu ihnen nach einer Weile eine Hyäne, ein Bär.²¹ 32. Da sagte die Hyäne zu ihnen: Was ist mit euch? 33. Sie sagten zu ihr: Wir sind nur hierhergekommen. 34. Nun sie redete weiter mit ihnen, als sie den Esel sah, da sprang sie auf ihn los und wollte ihn fressen. 35. Da schlug ihr der Esel mit seinen Füßen auf das Maul. 36. Da sprang der Hahn los und pickte die Augen der Hyäne aus. 37. Und da sprang der Hund los und biss ihr die Flechsen durch. 38. Und die Hyäne wurde blind und hatte durchgebissene Flechsen. 39. Sie töteten sie und begruben sie. 40. Und sie versammelten sich und sagten zum Esel: Wir sind noch einmal davongekommen, aber lass uns in Frieden, lass uns in Frieden und bring uns nicht solche Geschichten, mit denen wir nichts zu tun haben. 41. Da sagte zu ihnen der Esel: verzeiht mir, dieses ist das erste Mal und ich habe nicht vor, so Gott will, und werde nicht mehr singen und versuchen eure Ordnung durcheinanderzubringen, und ich werde auf euch hören. 42. Nach einem Jahr hatte der Esel wieder Lust, ein anderes Mal zu singen. Er sagte zu ihnen: Ich werde singen! 43. Sie sagten zu ihm: Singe nicht, Esel! 44. Und danach vergingen ein paar Tage ohne

20 *ḡāya* Taine-Cheikh (1998 VII: 1369) *ḡāye* „mare, marigot ... mare temporaire“.

21 Da hat er wohl etwas verwechselt.

dass er sang. 45. Bis er ihnen vorsang. 46. Als er sang, kam zu ihnen ein Löwe. Er sagte zu ihnen: Wer hat euch von meinem Wald erzählt, dessen König ich bin? Ihr habt mich nicht gefragt und ihr habt mir nicht Bescheid gesagt. 47. Sie sagten zu ihm: was willst du? 48. Er sagte zu ihnen: Ich will nichts! Ich werde den Hahn zum Frühstück fressen, ich werde den Hund zum Mittagessen fressen, und ich werde den Esel zum Abendessen machen, und den Hasen und die anderen esse ich zu einer anderen Zeit. 49. Sie verblieben so bis der Löwe den Esel angreifen wollte. 50. Da schlug der Esel ihn mit seinen Füßen auf das Maul. 51. Da sprang der Hahn los und hackte dem Löwen die Augen aus, da sprang der Hund los und biss die Flechsen des Löwen durch. 52. Da blieb der Löwe mit durchgebissenen Flechsen und sah nichts mehr, er war blind. 53. Und sie töteten ihn und begruben ihn. 54. Sie versammelten sich ein weiteres Mal und sagten zum Esel: lass uns in Frieden, lass uns in Frieden, wir sind fertig mit dir, wir sind fertig mit dir! Lass uns in Frieden! 55. Er sagte zu ihnen: So Gott will, werde ich nicht mehr die Absicht haben zu singen. 56. Dieses Mal verzeiht mir, ich habe die Absicht nie wieder zu singen. 57. Als zwei Jahre um waren, da hatte der Esel wieder Lust zu singen, aber er wusste, wenn er das seinen Freunden erzählen würde, würden sie ihn nicht lassen. 58. Er fing an zu singen ohne ihnen Bescheid zu sagen. 59. Als er sang da blieben sie, bis ein Dickhäuter, also ein Elefant, diesen Pferch hochhob und ihn auf seinem Hals trug. 60. Er sagte zu ihnen: Was ist mit euch hier, ihr kommt hierher und habt mir nicht Bescheid gesagt, und wann seid ihr hierher gekommen? 61. Sie sagten zu ihm: Was willst du? 62. Er sagte zu ihnen: Ich habe hungrige Kinder, ich werde euch mitnehmen und euch werden meine Kinder zum Abendessen verspeisen. 63. Sie sagten zu ihm: Nur das willst du? 64. Aber wir haben von dir gehört, dass du kräftig und stark bist, wie man weiß. 65. Vielleicht kannst du diese Laube hochheben? 66. Er sagte zu ihnen: Ich kann! 67. Er kniete unter die Laube und stand mit ihr auf und ging los mit der Laube auf seinem Rücken. 68. Da banden sie die Laube an seinem Bauch fest und zündeten sie an. 69. Und er flüchtete vor ihnen und der Elefant wurde ordentlich verbrannt. 70. Als es Morgen wurde, da wussten sie, dass der Elefant versuchen würde zu ihnen zurückzukehren. 71. Der Esel floh und seine Freunde stiegen auf einen großen Affenbrodbaum. 72. Der Elefant kam und fand sie auf dem Baobab, aber er konnte sie nicht erreichen. 73. Und er ging weg und kehrte zurück und bereitete sich vor, um sie zu erreichen. 74. Er brachte dreißig Elefanten mit. 75. Er kniete sich nieder, und er war der unterste, dann kam ein zweiter Elefant, der kniete auf ihm, und es kam ein dritter Elefant, der kniete auf jenem, und es kam ein vierter, der kniete auf jenem. 76. Einer auf dem anderen versuchte, dass derjenige von ihnen, der der oberste von den dreißig war, die Krone des Baobab-Baumes erreichte und ihn mit seiner Hand packen könnte. 77. Als der Elefant, der der dreißigste war, der der oberste war sie fassen wollte, da sprach der Hahn von oben und rief dem Hasen zu: Tochter des Baus,²² her mit dem Feuer, ich will diesen

22 Epitheton für den Hasen.

verfluchten Kerl verbrennen! 78. Der untere Elefant, jener der vorher verbrannt worden war, hörte das von dem Feuer, machte sich aus dem Staub und floh. 79. Da fielen die anderen Elefanten hinunter und starben. 80. Und der Verbrannte floh allein. 81. Und sie kamen davon, der Hund kam davon und der Esel kam davon und der Hase und seine armen Freunde, und sie gingen zu ihrem Acker zurück und ihrem schönen Leben. 82. Und der Esel verschwand aus ihrem Leben, sie sahen ihn nicht mehr. 83. Sie wussten nicht, ob ihn die wilden Tiere gefressen hatten oder ob er wieder zu den Menschen zurückgekehrt war. 84. Und so ist in der Zusammenarbeit Stärke und die Freiheit ist bedingt durch Ordnung, denn sie ist relativ.

Text 2: *rwāyt əl-xəttār əl-ḥukamā*

1. *gāllak ma gāllak w əl bān ənna w əl bānlak, w əl bān lūlaydāt əlməsəlmīn.* 2. *xāləg w huwwa səltān, vəd-dahaṛ lowwəl.* 3. *rāḥūlu dlət xəttār.* 4. *bayyathəm v beyt mən dāru w mneyn fād waḡt əlʔšəʔ, maššālḥəm ləʔšəʔ, w kən kəkəs əlli flīḥ əlḥām.* 5. *w huwwa ssəltān ma gʕad mʕa xəttāru w la tʕašša mʕāḥəm.* 6. *ya ġeyr əgbaḍ²³ wāḥəd barrku ḥdāḥəm ma yrāʕu vīḥ.* 7. *gāllu ssəltān ləmnādəm ḥāḍa lmbarrak: əsmāʕ līʔ, ḍāk əlli lāḥi ygūlu.* 8. *ənthāw əlxəttār ətʕaššāw, w šākkīn ʕanhəm ma ḥdāḥəm ḥadd.* 9. *gāl wāḥəd mənḥəm: ḥāḍa llḥəm əlli flīḥ ḍəʔ kəkəs rāḍʕa lban əbxānīs!* 10. *gāl əttāni: ḥatta ḥāḍa kəkəs mūlātu lli bārəmtu w mʕaddəltu ma fād tšalli lwaḡt əlli kənt tʕaddlu vīḥ qatʕan ʕanha ma tšalli.* 11. *gāl əttālət: ḥatta ssəltān əlli ḥna bəyyāt ʕandu blābu, ma ʕandú-bu.* 12. *rʕaʕ əlzāsūs əssəltān, gāllu ḍāk əlli gālu xəttār əttlāḍa.* 13. *gām əssəltān w mašša lərrāʕi lli sārəḥ ləḡnəm əlli mənḥa ššəʔ, əlmaḍbūḥa.* 14. *gāllu: ḥāḍi ššəʔ, bāš rabbeytha?* 15. *gāllu: ḥāḍi ššəʔ, mneyn kənt əxlāga šḡayyre, mātət əmḥḥa.* 16. *w kənət ʕandi kalbe, əlbanḥa yāsər w xalleytha tarḍaʕha.* 17. *w rbāt bəlbanḥa.* 18. *gām əssəltān uḥḥmalli w maššəʔ, ləmṛa lli mʕaddla kəkəs.* 19. *gāllha: mən ḍra yā kənək vəl-waḡt ḍīk əlli kənti tʕaddli ḥāḍa kəkəs²⁴ əlli kālū xəttār mən ḍra kənək ḍāk əlwaḡt ma tšalli?* 20. *gāl²⁵tlu: šaḥīḥ! ma kənt nšalli!* 21. *gām əssəltān, uḥḥmalli wʕad əmḥḥu w žāḥa wḥadhəʔ, w gvaʕ aʕlīḥa ddār w gbaḍ xanʕar w gāllha: yaḥḥmi ḡūlīli būya mənḥu! ḡūlīli būya lḥaḡīqi āna naʕṛav ʕannu!* 22. *əssəltān əlli tḡūli ʕannu būya māḥu huwwa būy!* 23. *xāft, xāft əmḥḥ əssəltān mənḥu yəktəlḥə, w gāl²⁵tlu: ya wleydi, əlḥaḡīqa, ən būk ma yūləd, kən ʕāqīm.* 24. *w xāft ənn əssəltāna təmsīʔ, ʕan beytu, ʕan xeymətkəm.* 25. *w gbaḍt leylə, rāʕi lbəll w daxxaltu flīya, w ḥməlt mənḥu ḍāk əlḥaməl kən w huwwa lli fād mənḥu wəlli lli huwwa əntə.* 26. *w ḥagg būk əssəltān əlli yəngəl ʕannu būk māḥu huwwa būk əlḥaḡīqi.* 27. *gām əssəltān əššāʔ,²⁵ w maššəʔ, ləlḥukamāʔ ləḍyāvi, əlxəttār əttlāḍə, gāllḥəm: āna*

23 Mit /d/ und nicht mit /ḍ/. Vgl. Cohen (1963: 16), der einige Formen mit /ḍ/ aufzählt, darunter aber nicht diese Form. Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 238) *gbaḍ*, Heath (2004: 63) idem.

24 Ohne Artikel!

25 Taine-Cheikh (1988 I: 21) *əšša ~ šša* „donc“.

smaſtkəm mneyn gəltu ſan kəskəs, w mülātu ma tšalli, əlli mſaddəltu. 28. w ſan əššə?, əlli maḍbūha rāḍſa lban əbxānīs. 29. w smaſtkəm mneyn gəltu ſanni āna blābu. 30. næxtər kəll wāhəd mənəkəm ygūlli hāda š waššāh ygūlu, bāš gālu! 31. gām ḍāk əlli gāl ſan əššə?, ſliha rāḍſa lban əbxānīs, gāllu: hāda aſraft ənnha rāḍſa bəlbán ləbxānīs bīya əlli šhamha yansaf beyn əllham w lſaḍəm. 32. hāda ma yəxləg ykūn ləbxānīs. 33. gāllak lowxaſ, əlli gāl ſan mülāt kəskəs ma tšalli, gāl: kəskəs bārəmtu māhi zeyna, miſtaxsaſ ſwəyy bih əlli mſaddəltu ma tšalli, taſraḥ ləgdaḥ aſla gwəymha tətḥarrək maſſāt ḍāk əttəḥrək, wəš əlſamal huwwa lli xassaſ barmət kəskəs. 34. gām lowxaſ əlli gāl ſan əssəltān blābu, gāllu: āna gəlt ſannak əblābu bīya lli ntə, ma ſallamt aſla xəttārak w la gſadt əmſāhəm, w la tſaššeyt əmſāhəm. 35. w hāda ḥadd əb-būh ma yſaddlu! 36. aſſrāv əssəltān ſan əlgowm əttlāda ḥukamā?, ḍyāvīnu xəttār ḥukamā?. 37. w gāllhəm: 'əšəknu mſāyə, w yſūdūlu wuzarā?, w ytamm yſawwəlhəm ſan kəll šī.

taſlīq

1. *ṭayyəb, hādi lqəšša āna vāhəm mənha, ḥikam*²⁶ *šəfbiya muſayyana. 2. əlhəkma lowwla maḍalan: ən baſſrāmət kəskəs mneyn ətkattər əlḥaraka, ətkattər əlḥaraka v waḡt ſamal ləbreym, ygəddu yzū lbaſmāt mətkabbrāt, waḥda ʔakbaſ mən ləxra. 3. mneyn tſūd waḥda kbaſ mən ləxra, tḡədd ḍik əššəyayra ttiḅ sərbəg ḍik ləkbira, tſūd hādi xsāra. 4. əḅbixət, əḅbixət əlkəskəs, idān nəvəhmu hawn*²⁷ *mən hādi lḥəkma ənnha ḥəkma v maydān əttəb. 5. ənnu sāft əbreym kəskəs, mülātu yallətha*²⁸ *ma tətḥarrək. 6. iyāk yzi maḍbūt w mutgaddyin baſmātu w maləs w la viḥəm waḥda kbaſ mən ləxra. 7. nəvəhmu mən masʔalt əššə?, ḥəkma šəfbiya ma nāſarvu*²⁹ *kānha šaḥiḥa walla kāḍba. 8. ənn ləbxānīs yənzbār əšḥam beyn aſḍāmhəm w əlḥamhəm, w əḥna lli nāſarvu lḥayawān ənnu ššḥam viḥ yſūd vög əllham, w la naſſrav ya kān əlli gālət əlhəkma ššəfbiya kānha šādga walla kāḍba. 9. masʔalt əssəltān nəvəhmu mənhe, ənnu ſayb ſand əlmürītānyin lowwlīn w ſayb ſand ḍū lli lyowm, řāžəl ymūt ma xalləf awlād. 10. hāda kān ſayb w ma zāl ſayb. 11. w ſandu asbāb xušūšan mən ənnāḥya ḍḍīniyə, ənnu wāhəd māt, ma ſandu ʔawlād yəḥəlbūlu „A!lāḥ əſſraḥma!“ w yšaddgu ſla řūḥu baſad mawtu, yſūd maḥſrūm, baſad mawtu. 12. w wāhəd ma xallaf awlād yənʔsə? w la tlə?, ḥadd yaſſrav əsmu. 13. w la ſād b awlādu w awlādu b awlādhəm, ytamm yənʔsmə?, w ytamm maſſrūf ſāgəb mawtu, w yſūd ḍə?, əmtidād əlḥayātu. 14. hādi lſaqlīya mən ſəzzət lawlād w ḥəbbhəm hiyya lli dawaſət zawzət əssəltān ləkbīr lənnhə?, mneyn ſād zawzḥa ſāqīm ənnha ma txalli*

26 Er spricht nicht immer ein Schwa aus, wo man es erwarten müsste, was schlicht eine Angleichung an das Hocharabische ist.

27 Er gebraucht *hawn* und *hūn*. In Cohen (1963: 231) *hūni*, Taine-Cheikh (2004: 81) *hūn*, Heath (2004: 85) *hawn*.

28 Taine-Cheikh (2004: 67) „yalle/yallt- (+ pron. affixe commençant par une voyelle) + v : ex. il faut que je parte demain ... yallt-i nəmši subh [sic]!“.

29 Beim Abfragen auch als *naſarvu* realisiert.

ssəltān yfūd fāqīm w dvasħa hādi l tšaddəl üləd māhu mašrūf. 15. w nəvəħmu uḡḡmalli mən hādi ləħkāyə, fənd əlmūrītānīyīn ma zeyn fəndħəm ħadd yxalli xəttāru wħādhəm ma tkalləm əmfāħəm w la gʻad əmfāħəm.

Text 2: Die weisen Gäste

1. Er sagte dir, was er sagte, und es wurde uns offenbar und dir offenbar und den Kindern der Muslime offenbar. 2. Es war einmal ein Sultan, in früheren Zeiten. 3. Zu dem kamen drei Gäste. 4. Er ließ sie in einem Zimmer seines Hauses übernachten, und als die Zeit des Abendessens kam, schickte er ihnen das Abendessen, und das war Kuskus, auf welchem Fleisch war. 5. Und er, der Sultan, saß nicht bei seinen Gästen und aß auch nicht mit ihnen zu Abend. 6. Vielmehr nahm er einen und schickte ihn zu ihnen ohne dass sie ihn sahen. 7. Der Sultan sagte zu dem Menschen, den er schickte: hör für mich das, was sie sagen werden! 8. Die Gäste waren mit dem Abendessen fertig und dachten, niemand sei bei ihnen. 9. Da sagte einer von ihnen: Dieses Fleisch, auf dem dieses Kuskus ist, stammt von einem Tier, das Milch von unreinen Tieren gesaugt hat. 10. Da sagte der zweite: Auch dieses Kuskus, diejenige, die es zerkrümelt hat, die hat nicht gebetet als sie es machte, weil ihr das Gebet nicht erlaubt war. 11. Da sagte der dritte: Auch der Sultan, bei dem wir übernachten, der ist ohne Vater, er hat keinen Vater. 12. Der Spion ging zum Sultan zurück und berichtete ihm das, was die drei Gäste gesagt hatten. 13. Da ließ der Sultan nach dem Hirten schicken, der die Schafe gehütet hatte, von denen das geschlachtete Schaf stammte. 14. Er sagte zu ihm: Dieses Schaf, womit hast du es aufgezogen? 15. Er sagte zu ihm: dieses Schaf, als es noch ganz klein war, da starb seine Mutter. 16. Und ich hatte eine Hündin, die hatte viel Milch und ich ließ es sie saugen. 17. Und es wuchs mit ihrer Milch auf. 18. Da schickte der Sultan auch nach der Frau, die das Kuskus gemacht hatte. 19. Er sagte zu ihr: Woher weiß man, dass du zu der Zeit als du dieses Kuskus machtest, stimmt es, dass du da nicht gebetet hast? 20. Sie sagte zu ihm: Das ist richtig! Ich habe nicht gebetet. 21. Da ging der Sultan auch zu seiner Mutter und kam zu ihr, als sie allein war, und schloss sie im Haus ein, nahm einen Dolch und sagte zu ihr: Mutter sag mir, wer mein Vater ist! Nenn mir meinen richtigen Vater, ich möchte wissen, wer er ist! 22. Der Sultan, von dem du sagst, er sei mein Vater, ist nicht mein Vater! 23. Sie fürchtete sich, sie hatte Angst, dass er sie töten würde und sagte zu ihm: Mein Sohn, die Wahrheit ist, dass dein Vater keine Kinder bekommen konnte, er war unfruchtbar. 24. Und ich hatte Angst, dass sein Haus, euer Zelt, die Herrschaft verlieren würde. 25. Und in einer Nacht nahm ich den Kamelhirten, ließ ihn mit mir schlafen, und ich wurde von ihm schwanger, und er ist es von dem mein Kind stammt, und das bist du. 26. Und in der Tat, dein Vater der Sultan, von dem man sagt, dass er dein Vater sei, er ist nicht dein richtiger Vater. 27. Da ging der Sultan sofort zu den weisen Männern, die er eingeladen hatte, den drei Gästen und sagte zu ihnen: Ich habe gehört, als ihr

von dem Kuskus spricht und derjenigen, die es gemacht hat, dass die nicht betete. 28. Und ich habe von dem Schaf gehört, das geschlachtet wurde und das von unreinen Tieren gesäugt wurde. 29. Und ich habe gehört, dass ihr sagt, dass ich keinen Vater habe. 30. Ich möchte, dass jeder von euch mir sagt, was ihn dazu gebracht hat, das zu sagen, weshalb er es gesagt hat. 31. Da sagte derjenige, der von dem Schaf gesagt hatte, dass es von unreinen Tieren gesäugt wurde: ich wusste dass es von unreinen Tieren gesäugt wurde, darauf brachte mich die Tatsache, dass sein Fett zwischen dem Fleisch und den Knochen trocken war. 32. Das kann nur ein unreines Tier sein. 33. Da sagte ihm der andere, der von der Frau, die das Kuskus gemachte hatte, dass sie nicht betete: Das Kuskus war nicht gut zerkrümelt, diejenige, die es gemacht hatte, hat etwas von ihm verdorben, weil sie nicht betete, sie ließ die Schüssel auf ihren Oberschenkeln mehrmals hin und her wackeln als sie es zerkrümelte, mitten bei der Arbeit, das war es, was dazu führte, dass das Kuskus nicht richtig zerkrümelt wurde. 33. Da sagte zu ihm der andere, der gesagt hatte, dass der Sultan keinen Vater habe: Ich sagte von dir, dass du keinen Vater hast, weil du nicht deine Gäste begrüßt hast und nicht bei ihnen saßest und auch nicht mit ihnen zu Abend gegessen hast.³⁰ 35. Und das macht niemand, der einen Vater hat. 36. Da wusste der Sultan, dass die drei Leute weise Männer waren, die Leute, die er eingeladen hatte, waren weise Gäste. 37. Und er sagte zu ihnen: Wohnt mit mir, und sie wurden ihm zu Wesiren, und er fragte sie immer nach allen Sachen.

Kommentar

1. Gut, ich verstehe aus dieser Geschichte, dass es sich um bestimmte Volksweisheiten handelt. 2. Die erste Weisheit zum Beispiel [besagt]: Wenn die Frau, die das Kuskus zerkrümelt, sich zu viel bewegt, wenn sie sich zu viel bewegt, wenn sie es zerkrümelt, dann können die Krümel grösser werden, eines grösser als das andere. 3. Wenn ein Körnchen grösser ist als das andere, dann kann dieses kleine vor dem großen gar werden, dann ist dieses ein Verlust. 4. Es geht um das Kochen, das Kochen des Kuskus, folglich verstehen wir hier von dieser Weisheit, dass es sich um eine Weisheit aus dem Bereich des Kochens handelt. 5. Nämlich dass, wenn man Kuskus zerkrümelt, die Frau, die es macht, sich nicht bewegen soll. 6. Damit es richtig wird und die einzelnen Körner gleich groß sind und glatt und dass unter ihnen keines größer als das andere ist.³¹ 7. Wir verstehen von der Angelegenheit mit dem Schaf, dass es sich um eine Volksweisheit handelt, von der wir aber nicht wissen, ob sie richtig oder falsch

30 Ahmed-Salem merkt an, dass es in 1001 Nacht ein Sprichwort gibt, wonach nur der uneheliche Sohn nicht mit seinen Gästen isst: *man lam ya?kul ma?a ?ayfihi fahuwa waladu zinā.*

31 Des Dichters Höflichkeit verschweigt, dass die Frau, die das Kuskus zerkrümelte, ihre Tage hatte und deshalb herumgerutscht ist. Das deutet er an durch „sie hat nicht gebetet“.

ist. 8. Bei den wilden Tieren ist es nämlich so, dass sich Fett zwischen ihren Knochen und dem Fleisch befindet, und wir wissen von den [reinen] Tieren, dass sich das Fett in ihnen über dem Fleisch befindet, aber ich weiß nicht, ob das, was die Volksweisheit sagt, richtig oder falsch ist. 9. Von der Angelegenheit des Sultans verstehen wir, dass es eine Schande ist bei den Mauretaniern von früher, aber auch denen von heute, wenn ein Mann stirbt ohne Kinder zu hinterlassen. 10. Das war eine Schande und bleibt eine Schande. 11. Und dafür gibt es Gründe speziell von der religiösen Seite her; nämlich, dass einer stirbt und keine Kinder hat, die für ihn um die Gnade Gottes bitten, und die nach seinem Tod für seine Seele Almosen geben, [so dass] er nach seinem Tod selig ist. 12. Und einer, der keine Kinder hinterlässt, wird vergessen und niemand weiß seinen Namen mehr. 13. Und er ist nicht mehr bei seinen Kindern und seine Kinder bei ihren Kinder, [wenn er aber Kinder hat] wird er weiterhin erwähnt, und er bleibt nach seinem Tod bekannt, und dies ist eine Fortsetzung seines Lebens. 14. Diese Mentalität, nämlich Kinder zu schätzen und zu lieben, hat die Frau des alten Sultans dazu gebracht, als ihr Mann zeugungsunfähig war, dass sie den Sultan nicht zeugungsunfähig sein lassen wollte, und das hat diese dazu getrieben, ein unrechtmäßiges Kind zu machen. 15. Und wir verstehen auch aus dieser Geschichte, dass es bei den Mauretaniern nicht schön ist, wenn jemand seine Gäste allein lässt, nicht mit ihnen spricht und nicht bei ihnen sitzt.

Text 3: *əlxəṭba w əzziwāž*³²

1. *əlxəṭba lli hiyyə?, əlli hiyya lwāṭya lowwlə?, əf-ṭriḡ əzziwāž təxləḡ aṭla keyvīyət fādāt əlmūrītānyīn lowwlīn, əb-ṭriḡ, bəṭ-ṭriḡ əlli lāhi ngūlu ḡark.* 2. *əv-zaman əddahaṛ lowwlə əlxəṭba ma tṣūd əṭwīlə?, ya ḡēr xāləḡ nōṣ məl-xəṭba yṭawwəl, w huwwa nnōṣ əlli yəngāllu ḡhawz, waḷḷa tṭrākīn.* 3. *w hāḡa yəxləḡ mnəyn əṭḡul umṇ əṭṭfəl, waḷḷa avgeylīš,³³ ṣanha ḡayzālu, əṭṭuvla lvulānīyə?, əlli tḡədd əṭṣūd mənt ṣamm hāḡa ṭṭfəl, mən əḡrayyəb waḷḷa mən əbṣīd.* 4. *hāḡa nnōṣ məl-xəṭba yṭawwəl.* 5. *ya ḡēr əlxəṭba lli ma yṭawwəl, ḡīk hiyyə?, əlli tṣaddəl əl-wāḡəd əkbūr, avuḡrāš, yəbḡi yəzzawwəž šābba kbīre.* 6. *xālḡa ṭriḡa xṛa ləl-xəṭba, waḷḷa ḡāṣ əṭrəḡ yāsṛə?.* 7. *ya ḡēr təx'tləf kīv ixtilāv ləḡbāyəl w əžžihāt, kīv əḡbāyəl əzZwāya, w əḡbāyəl Awlād Ḥassān, w əḡbāyəl Znāḡa w əlMṣallmīn, w əḷḤaṛṛādə?, əḷḤaṛṛāṭīn, w ələṣbīd.* 8. *hāḡu ṣādāthəm yāsər mənha māhu wāḡəd.* 9. *ya ḡēr əlli māšī ṣlīh yāsər mən nās kāmlə?, əv-dahaṛ lowwəl, huwwa nn umṇ əṭṭfəl, waḷḷa ṛṛāžəl, waḷḷa büh, huwwa lli yərvəd əlxəṭba šōr əḡəl ləmṛa, əlli lāhi yəzzawwəž bīhə.* 10. *yḡülūlhəm: əḡnə?, lāhi nnāsbukəm, waḷḷa nəbḡu nnāsbukəm, waḷḷa nəbḡu nšayvrūkəm!* 11. *ənšayvrūkəm kəlma, áşəlha barbari, w əlkəlma lṣašīḡa lbarbarīya: təšīfə:rt, əb-maṣna tžāwīr, ənžāwvrūkəm.* 12. *w mnəyn yən'thə?, w mnəyn yənthə?, yəxləḡ*

32 So vokalisiert auch in Taine-Cheikh (2004: 95).

33 Nicht in Taine-Cheikh.

faqd əzziwāž, yuxarraq fih fādātān qawāfəd əlvəqə əlmāliki. 13. maḍalan lāzəm yhaḍḍru šhūd, əsmu taḍhār əššhūd. 14. w lāzəm tʃūd əžžamāfa viha wāhəd wakil san ərḥāžəl, w wāhəd wakil san ləmḥa?. 15. w waqt əlfaqd əhəl ləmḥā yǧülü šrūḥəm. 16. w əššarḥ əlmafrūv sand əlbīḍān vəz-zərr əttəlli, əlli hūma lafḥāb, ənn əhəl ləmḥa yǧülü sand əlfaqd: lā sābiqata wa lā lāhiqata! 17. w hāda mafnāh sand lafḥāb: kənu w ma zālu fyālāthəm yarāvdu ḍḍyār. 18. ya ġēr vəz-zərr əlgəbli məl-lətrāb, šfūb ətkarīr, wəl-wulf, w əššwānək³⁴ walla šərgəllāt, kən yəxləg w ma zāl, ḥabfan, ma yəxtaḥṭa rbaḥ əfyālāt, māhu mamnūf sandhəm. 19. əlḥarḥāda bəl-xuṣūs yaftu, yafti rḥāžəl əhdīya l-ənsābu, sābg əlxəḥba, hāda v-baḥḍ əžžihāt. 20. ḍik ləhdīyə?, ysammūha ətmarvīgə?. 21. eywa, fəgb əlxəḥba, yfūd əzziwāž marḥalteyn. 22. lowwlə?, hiyya lfaqd, yəxləg əmfāh šəmn əlʔiḥtivālāt, šəmn ələvrāh kīv ətbūl, w zǧārīt. 23. w əv-muddə?, mən əzzaman, šhūr walla fām yəxləg ədxūl ləxtər walla tturwāh. 24. ədxūl ləxtər huwwa dxūl əlhawdaž, w əlhawdaž bəl-ḥassāniya žžəhva walla ārāgīn,³⁵ w ələxtər aḥla žžəhəvə?. 25. w kənt ləfrūs vəd-dahaḥ lowwəl, ydaxxlūha vəl-ləxtər bīhalli ma təbgi tənšāf, w kəshānə?. 26. w yowm əzzivāf, ysammūh əššakkə?, ləfāb w ələvrāh əsmu ššakkə?. 27. w əlukil əlli yugassam yowm əššakkə?, yəngāllu lwalīmə?. 28. sābg ədxūl ləxtər, waqt əlfaqd, yfūd əlmahaḥ vāt uḥayyan. 29. w nōf əlmahaḥ, nōf əlmahaḥ yəxtəlv b-ixtilāv əlhālāt əlʔižtimāfiya ləž-žihāt. 30. maḍalan vəž-žihāt əlli viha naxal, vəl-mudun əlqadīma, kən ərḥāžəl yafti naxlāt walla dār vəl-mahaḥ. 31. w vəl-manāṭəg əlli fəla ḥaywān yaftu baḡrāt walla nyāg, walla baḡra walla nāga wāhəda, walla yafti wāhəd šəmn əlfaḍḍa, mahru. 32. w ḍik əlfaḍḍa tǧədd təndvāf əb-qīmtha məl-ḥaywān. 33. eywa, yowm əššakkə, təxləg vīh ḥašrāt əkbīrə, w əḥtivālāt w əvrāh. 34. əššubbān yfaddlu əlfābhəm ərriyāḍiyə, w əžžmāl yəltazzu, w təxləg ətbūl, w ərgīs, w v-baḥḍ laḡbāyəl yaxabtu ršāš mən ləmdāvəf. 35. mən əššiyāt əlli taḍhar sand əššakkə, ətbāhīr ləfšār. 36. šənhūma ləfšār? šənhūma? 37. lāhi nətkallmu fān ləfšār šwayy. 38. vəl-mužtamaf ləmuritāni lqadīm yəḥqassmu ššubbān məzmūfāt ḥasab əssənn. 39. hādi ləmažmūfāt yəngāllha ləfšār. 40. əlfašər hūma ššubbān əlli xlāga b-fām wāhəd walla fāmeyn, mitwālīn. 41. w yfūdu ššəbbān³⁶ əlli akbaḥ mənhəm əb-ḍəlt əsnīn fašər oxwaḥ, wa hakaḍā. 42. hādu ləfšār sand əššakkə, yətbāhru tbāhīr əmtīn, bəl-muṣārəfāt əlli nǧulūlha ddəzz walla rḥəḍx. 43. yətbāhru bəš-šəfr əlhassāni, bəl-əǧnə?, w əššəfr əlfaḥbi lfaḥīh. 44. w fādātān yowm əššakkə, əlfašər əlli wāhəd mənhəm yətfarḥas yəxləg ətbāhīr əmtīn beynu w əmfə lfašər əlli akbaḥ mənnu walla šǧar mənnu. 45. kəll fašər yəšmət fašər əb-šəfər, walla lfašrayn yətdāzzu beynāthəm, yətdārbu bəl-ḥeydīn, w yəḥhawwəl hāda nnoḥ mən ərriyāda l-maḥārka ḥaḡiqiyə?, yətdārbu bəl-ḥeydīn əb-ḥāla mtīnə?. 46. ḥayyəb, ayyām əzzivāf sabaḥ, yəngāllha sbūʔh, w v-hāda lʔayyām yabǧāw, fašər ərḥāžəl yabga mḥāh, əf-xeymtu, xeymt ləfrīs. 47. w ytammu əhəl ləmḥa, ləfrūs yaḥni, ymaššūlhūm lukil w əššrāb vəl-leyl w vən-nḥār. 48. əlfašər əlli mḥāh mətfarḥas wāhəd mənnu, ilyā fād žāb

34 In Taine-Cheikh (1990 V: 1048) mit /s/. In der Übersetzung von Ould Mohamed-Baba mit /š/.

35 In Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 195) *arəgən*. So auch in Taine-Cheikh (1989 III: 544) s. v. *xḥeyr*.

36 Er schwankt bisweilen zwischen /ə/ und /u/.

amfāh iġgāwān ytammu mṣāḥam. 49. kəlmt iġgāwān tafni lmuṭribīn, w ḥādi lkəlma lbīdān ygūlu iġgāwān, w aṭkarīr ysammūḥam gāwlu, w əlwulf gēwal. 50. eywa, ṣāgəb layyām əssabaf yəṭfayrag əlṣaṣər, yabga ləṣrīs waḥdu mṣa nsābu. 51. mneyn əṭṣūd ləmṣa gaṭṭ ətzawwzət sābəg ḥāda, əṣṣakkə, əxbār əlṣərs əṭṣūd məxtalva ṣan ḥālt əlṣərs əlli vətna šraḥnāh. 52. maḍalan ḥādi ləmṣa ṭṣūd əxbārḥa v-eydha, əṭṣūd əxbārḥa v-eydha, əṭgədd tə'nəxtəb blā wāṣṭa, w ṣādatan mahārḥa gall w ləgrān ma yṭawwəl. 53. mneyn yṣūd əṭṭāzəl, ləṣrīs žayy əmṣa šḥābu, yṣūd zaman əlwalīma dəlt əyyām, māhu sabaf.

Text 3: Verlobung und Heirat

1. Die Verlobung, die, die der erste Schritt auf dem Weg zur Hochzeit ist geschieht nach den Sitten der Mauretanier von früher, auf die Art, die wir nun erzählen werden. 2. Früher dauerte die Verlobung nicht lange, aber es gibt eine Art Verlobung, die lange dauert, und diese Art nennt man *ḥawz*³⁷ oder *ṭrākīn*.³⁸ 3. Und dies geschieht, wenn die Mutter des Jungen, oder des jungen Mannes von ihr sagt, sie sei ihm reserviert, das Mädchen Soundso, die die Kusine dieses Jungen sein kann, aus der näheren oder entfernteren Verwandtschaft. 4. Diese Art von Verlobung dauert lange. 5. Aber die Verlobung, die nicht lange dauert, die ist diejenige, welche ein Erwachsener macht, ein junger Mann,³⁹ der ein erwachsenes Mädchen heiraten will. 6. Es gibt noch eine andere Art von Verlobung, oder es gibt sicher viele Arten. 7. Sie unterscheidet sich aber [auch] wie sich die Stämme und Gegenden unterscheiden, wie die Stämme der Zwāya, die Stämme der Awlād Ḥassān, die Stämme der Zenaga und der Handwerker, der Bauern, der freigelassenen Sklaven und der Sklaven. 8. Diese haben viele Sitten, die sind nicht alle gleich. 9. Aber was am häufigsten bei den meisten Leuten ist, früher, ist, dass die Mutter des Jungen, oder des Mannes, oder sein Vater die Verlobung der Familie der Frau anträgt, die er heiraten will. 10. Er sagt zu ihnen: Wir wollen mit euch durch Heirat verwandt sein, oder wir wollen uns mit euch verschwägern, oder wir wollen euch nahe sein. 11. *nšayvrūkəm* ist ein Wort berberischen Ursprungs, und das „hochberberische“ Wort ist *təšifə:rt*,⁴⁰ das bedeutet „Nachbarschaft, wir sind eure Nachbarn“.⁴¹ 12. Und wenn er beendet wird, wenn er zu Ende geht, der Heiratsvertrag wird gewöhnlich gemäß den Regeln der malekitischen

37 In Taine-Cheikh (1989 III: 484–485) *ḥāz* „prendre possession de“, *ḥawz* „prise de possession“, *ḥāyəz* „possesseur exclusif“. Der *ḥawz* entspricht dem *ḥyār* bei syrischen Beduinen. Vgl. Behnstedt (2000: 581, Fn. 2).

38 Taine-Cheikh (1989 IV: 829) „fait de fiancer, de se fiancer avec“.

39 *avugrās* „joven“ in Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 195).

40 Aḥmad-Salem hat *təšifə:rt* in *tāšāvārət* korrigiert. Taine-Cheikh (1988 VI: 1190) *teševārət* „(probablement du zén.)“.

41 Taine-Cheikh (1990 VI: 1190–1191) *šeyver* „habiter, être du même campement que qqn.“.

Jurisprudenz geschlossen.⁴² 13. Sie müssen zum Beispiel Zeugen beibringen, das nennt man „die Herbeiholung von Zeugen“. 14. Und unter den Leuten muss ein Bevollmächtigter des Mannes sein, und ein Bevollmächtigter der Frau. 15. Und wenn der Heiratsvertrag geschlossen wird, nennt die Familie der Frau ihre Bedingungen. 16. Und die bekannte Bedingung bei den „Weißen“⁴³ im Norden und Osten, also bei den Arabern,⁴⁴ ist, dass die Familie der Frau sagt: „Er soll keine vor ihr haben und keine nach ihr haben!“. 17. Und das bedeutet bei den Arabern: ihre Frauen lehnten die Polygamie ab und lehnen sie immer noch ab. 18. Aber im Süden des Landes, bei den Völkern der Toukouleur, der Wolof, der Soninke oder Sərgəllät,⁴⁵ da waren es und sind es auch noch, natürlich, bis zu vier Frauen; das ist bei ihnen nicht verboten. 19. Insbesondere die Bauern geben, der Mann gibt den Schwägern vor der Verlobung ein Geschenk, das gibt es in einigen Gegenden. 20. Jenes Geschenk nennen sie *ətmərvīgəʔ*.⁴⁶ 21. Nun,⁴⁷ nach der Verlobung findet dann die Heirat in zwei Etappen statt. 22. Die erste ist der Heiratsvertrag, da wird ein bisschen gefeiert, etwas Feiern wie Trommeln und Trillern. 23. Und nach einer Weile, [ein paar] Monaten oder einem Jahr, kommt das „Hineinbringen auf dem Frauensattel“ oder „das Eintreten der Braut in das Haus des Mannes“.⁴⁸ 24. Das Hineinbringen auf dem Frauensattel, das ist das Hineinbringen auf dem *hawdaž* (Kamelsänfte), und der *hawdaž* heißt auf Ḥassāniya *žəḥva* oder *ārāgīn*; und der Frauensattel ist auf der Kamelsänfte. 25. Und früher brachte man die Frau zu ihrem Ehemann auf einem Frauensattel, weil sie nicht gesehen werden wollte und sich schämte. 26. Und den Tag des Brautzuges nennen sie *əššakka*, die Spiele und die Feiern heißen *ššakka*.⁴⁹ 27. Und das Essen, das am Tag der Hochzeitsfeier verteilt wird, das heißt *walīma*. 28. Vor dem Hineinbringen der Braut, wenn der Heiratsvertrag geschrieben wird, da ist der Brautpreis schon festgelegt worden. 28. Und die Art des Brautpreises, die Art des Brautpreises variiert nach den sozialen Gegebenheiten je nach Gegend. 30. Zum Beispiel in den Gegenden, in denen es Palmen gibt, in den alten Städten, da gab der Mann Palmen oder ein Haus als Brautpreis. 31. Und in den Gegenden, in denen Tiere gezüchtet werden, geben sie Kühe oder Kamelstuten, oder eine Kuh oder eine Kamelstute, oder einer gibt

42 *yuxarraš* in Taine-Cheikh (1989 III: 523) „être regardé, être vu ... être jaugé, examiné, analysé“.

43 D. h., die mauretanischen Araber.

44 *ḡrab* bezieht sich normalerweise nur auf die Kriegerstämme. Hier sind aber generell die Araber Mauretaniens gemeint.

45 Sərgəllät ist Synonym zu östlichem *swānək* „Soninke“, Taine-Cheikh (1990 V: 985–986). Dort mit /q/ für /g/.

46 Wohl zu Taine-Cheikh (1990 IV: 804) *rəvq* „bonté, bienveillance, humanité, douceur“.

47 *eywa* ist nicht „ja“. Vgl. Taine-Cheikh (1988 I: 42) „eh bien! bon!“.

48 Taine-Cheikh (1990 IV: 842) *tərwāḥ* „fait d’amener chez soi sa nouvelle épouse – cela se passe toujours le soir“.

49 *šakke* Taine-Cheikh (1990 VI: 1236) „cri, bruit, tapage, brouhaha, ‘convesation bruyante, bavardage bruyant, ‘dispute verbale’; par ext. (au S.-O, pop.) ‘mariage““.

etwas Geld als Brautgeld. 32. Dieses Geld kann bezahlt werden für den Preis eines Tieres. 33. Nun, am Tag der Hochzeitsfeier, da gibt es viele Versammlungen, und Feiern und Festlichkeiten. 34. Die jungen Männer machen ihre sportlichen Spiele, und die Kamele versammeln sich, und es gibt Trommeln und Tanz, und einige Stämme schießen mit ihren Gewehren. 35. Zu den Sachen, die bei der Hochzeitsfeier geschehen, gehört der Wettstreit⁵⁰ der Altersgruppen. 36. Was sind die Altersgruppen? Was sind sie? 37. Wir werden ein bisschen über die Altersgruppen reden. 38. In der alten mauretanischen Gesellschaft werden die jungen Männer in Gruppen aufgeteilt nach dem Alter. 39. Diese Gruppen nennt man *laḥṣār*.⁵¹ 40. Der *ḥaṣr* sind, die im selben Jahr geboren sind oder in zwei Jahren hintereinander. 41. Und die jungen Männer die älter als sie sind um drei Jahre bilden einen anderen *ḥaṣr*, und sofort. 42. Diese Altersgruppen bei der Hochzeitsfeier, die wetteifern kräftig miteinander mit Ringkampf den wir *dāzz* oder *raḍx*⁵² nennen. 43. Sie wetteifern miteinander in Ḥassāni-Dichtung, mit Liedern und mit hocharabischer Dichtung. 44. Und gewöhnlich am Tag der Hochzeitsfeier, die Altersgruppe, aus der einer heiratet, da kommt es zu einem heftigen Wettstreit zwischen ihr und der Altersgruppe, die älter oder jünger als sie ist. 45. Jede Altersgruppe verspottet eine Altersgruppe mit Gedichten, oder die beiden Altersgruppen kämpfen miteinander, sie schlagen sich mit den Händen, und diese Art Sport artet zu einer regelrechten Schlacht aus, sie schlagen sich mit den Händen auf harte Art. 46. Gut, die Tage des Brautzeuges sind sieben an der Zahl, das nennt man *sbūf*, und an diesen Tagen bleibt die Altersgruppe des Ehemannes bei ihm, in seinem Zelt, im Zelt des Bräutigams. 47. Und die Familie der Frau, der Braut also, die schicken ihnen das Essen und Trinken tags und nachts. 48. Die Altersgruppen, aus der einer geheiratet hat, bringen, wenn es geht, Musikanten mit sich, die bleiben mit ihnen. 49. Das Wort *iggāwān* bedeutet „Sänger“,⁵³ und dieses Wort nennen „die Weißen“ *iggāwān*, und die Toukouleur nennen sie *gāwlu* und die Wolof *gēwal*.⁵⁴ 50. Nun, nach den sieben Tagen zerstreut sich die Altersgruppe, da bleibt der Bräutigam allein mit seiner Verwandtschaft. 51. Wenn die Frau vorher schon einmal verheiratet war, dann ist die Hochzeitsfeier, dann ist die Heirat anders als das was wir gerade erzählt haben. 52. Wenn die Frau zum Beispiel die Sache in der Hand hat, wenn sie die Sache in der Hand hat, dann kann sie ohne Vermittlung gefreit werden, und normalerweise ist ihr Brautgeld geringer, und die Zeit zwischen Verlobung und Heirat⁵⁵ dauert nicht lange. 53. Wenn der Mann, der Bräutigam mit seinen Freunden kommt, dann dauert das Festessen drei Tage und nicht sieben.

50 *tbāhīr* zu Taine-Cheikh (1988 I: 148) *bāhār* „rivaliser (en polémique)“.

51 Siehe Taine-Cheikh (1989 VII: 1472), Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 231).

52 Taine-Cheikh (1990 IV: 629) *dāzz* „(Est seulement) ‘lutter, faire la lutte’ – syn. (au S.-O) de *rāḍax*“.

53 Plural zu *iggāw* „cantante“ (Ould Mohamed-Baba 2008: 195).

54 Dem (1995: 14) *gēwēl* „griot, praise singers“.

55 Taine-Cheikh (2004: 69) *grān* „fiancailles officielles“.

Text 4: *ənnvās w əttazyān*

1. *eywa, mneyyn yəxləg iššīr, vəl-xayma lmuṛitānīya lowwlə?, hāda ʔiššīr əxlāgtu awwalan ətzi əfla eyd əlgabbāda.* 2. *əlgabbāda hiyya lli təgtaf sərrtu b-mūs.* 3. *w hiyya lli təsəhmu, ləhsūm əlli yəngəllu šhūm ləxlāga.* 4. *w hādi ləmṛa nnāfse, tafti sbaft əyyām, w hiyya v-ʔādāt ǧarībə?* 5. *ənnhār lowwəl təšbaḥ əmḥammṛa wʔəhhə?, yǧūlu nnās ʔan dīk əlhəmmērə?: ətšūf ʔanha žžānn.* 6. *ʔāǧəb dāk tafti nḥmalli sbaft əyyām dāʔiman ǧāfəd aragāš⁵⁶ sāhəlhə?* 7. *hāda yšūf əššayāʔīn v-əʔtiqād əššəʔb.* 8. *yǧūlu nḥmalli ʔan əmṛa nāfsə?, ma ǧfəd hadd sāhəlhə?, yǧədd iššīrha yubaddal.* 9. *maʔna yubaddal ənnu yəmsū bih əlfavārīt, w yxallūh v-ballu⁵⁷ wāhəd mən awlādhəm.* 10. *əyy aḥmaq ʔand əlmūritānīyīn lowwlīn yǧūlu ʔan sabab ḥamāqtu huwwa ənnu ubaddal v-əḥwāla⁵⁸ ləxlāga.* 11. *eywa, ənnāfsə?, layyām əssabʔa baʔd əxlāgt iššīr, ytamm ʔandha dāʔiman mūshə?, maršūǧ ʔand rās iššīr, bihalli b-əʔtiqād əššəʔb ənn əlfavārīt xāyvin mən ləhdīd.* 12. *maḍalan əʔya wāhəd yʔūd vīh maraḍ kīv əddowsə?, w yǧūlu lḥukamāʔ əššəʔbiyyīn əl-dāk əmnādəm ʔannu yəḥməl silāh, kif seyf, waʔlla səkkīn waʔlla xanzar waʔlla madvaʔ, məʔtaqdīn ʔan dāk əsslāh yšūf ʔannu lfavārīt.* 13. *ʔāǧəb layyām əssabʔa, ətzi əssmīyə?, yəxləg ləsəm.* 14. *w v-dāk əlhīn yʔūd varah ahl iššīr akbar mneyyn yʔūd iššīr ətfəl əḍkār, w əttuvla ma yənvrah biha dāʔiman.* 15. *w əlfādi ənn iššīr yusamma b-šə?, waḥdə?, yəngəllha šət əssmīyə?* 16. *mneyyn yʔūdu xālgīn tlāmīd əlmaḥāḍra tənəʔtəlhəm dīk əššə?* 17. *ətfūd ʔadga flīhəm.* 18. *w tǧədd əlxayma tmaṛṛag šāteyn, waḥda lət-tlāmīd, w waḥda təḍbaḥḥa lʔayma ləmsamma.* 19. *əlfāda ənn əṛṛās yənəʔtā ləš-ʔənnāf, əlmʔallmīn.* 20. *šət əssmīyə?, žəllhə?, w əḍḥarḥa yənəʔtā ləl-gabbāda, mneyyn yʔūdu ttlāmīd māhəm ḥāḍrīn.* 21. *mneyyn yʔūd əṛṛāzəl əmsayṭar vəl-xaymə?, huwwa lli yəxtər əsəm ləʔ-tfəl.* 22. *mneyyn yʔūd əttfəl ʔandu žədd ravīf bəl-ʔəlm, waʔlla bəš-šəzāʔa, yusamma flīh, blā xlāf.* 23. *eywa mneyyn tʔūd ləmṛa msayṭra waʔlla mtīna vəl-xayma, yǧədd əttfəl yusamma flā būha waʔlla bəl-əsəm, əlli təbǧīlu hiyya.* 24. *vīh ḥālāt əḥra, kif ḥālət zarg əlfūd, yəngabḍu əxməs sūdān waʔlla dlāda waʔlla rʔbʔa, w yuǧammaḍ aragāž w kəll wāhəd məl-sūdān yəḥməl əsəm, w yzi əmnādəm ləmgammaḍ w yəxtər sūd.* 25. *yʔūd əsəm dāk əlfūd huwwa sm əttfəl: Muḥammad, Šəx Bakkār, Ḥamdi, Ḥabīb w hakaḍā.* 26. *eywa əttfəl, mneyyn yʔūd ǧāli, mātu sābgu xūtu, waʔlla huwwa lowwəl, waʔlla awlād ʔammū ǧlayyīn rəžžālhəm, hāda tʔfəl yufaddallu šiʔ, yəngəllu əmrūg əlfāda.* 27. *maḍalan yəḥərdu wəḍnu, kīv əttuvlə?, w yḍīru vīha xərš, waʔlla ysammūh əsəm ǧarīb, ysammūh əsəm ʔazāmi, zanzi, waʔlla ysammūh əsəm ləkwaṛ, māhu mən asmāʔ aqārbu, w māhu mən ləsāmi lmaʔrūva ʔandhəm.* 28. *yǧūlu ʔan hāda maʔlūm ləttfəl.* 29. *yowm ələsəm yumaqqas⁵⁹ rās əttfəl,*

56 In Taine-Cheikh (1988 I: 18) *eregāž* „(zén.) individu“. Wohl dieses mit Assimilation von -ž an das folgenden s-, Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 216) *aragāž* „persona“.

57 In Taine-Cheikh (1988 I: 134) *bled/bell* „(Nord et Est)“, Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 198) s. v. *blḍ*: *ball* „lugar“.

58 *əḥwāla* Pl. zu *ḥawli* „lange“ (Taine-Cheikh 1989 III: 493).

59 Zu Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 248) *mǧaš* Pl. *mǧšə* „tijeras“. Vgl. Cohen (1963: 35–36) wonach nur *ǧǧ > qq obligatorisch ist, ansonsten /ǧ/ und /q/ frei variieren.

w aṭṭuvlā?, w tuzayyan aṭṭuvlā?, w hāda ttazyān yfaddlū šəmn⁶⁰ əlqbāyəl māhəm kāmlāt.
 30. *w əlli huwwa tṭfəl ləḍkār ma yuzayyan sābg əlfām əlxāməs mən fəmṛu.* 31. *tədxəl əssīma, əttazyān yfaddlū laṭibbā? əttaqlīdiyīn waḷḷa waḥdeyn māhəm aṭibbā?, ya ġēr mətxaššin vət-tazyān.* 32. *lālāt əlli yəstaxədmu laṭṭibā? vət-tazyān, hiyyə?, mūs maḍalan l-əgtēf əžžəllə?.* 33. *w yəsta'xədmu nṣmāllī abuzāž.* 34. *šənhu abuzāž? huwwa šəmn əbfār əlbəll waḷḷa ləġnām, hāda yənhṛāg w yəndagg vəl-məhrāsə?, w yənšabb əfla ball əžžərḥ, yraggi ddam.* 35. *abuzāž yəndār əfla žərəḥ hāmi, eywa əṣya⁶¹ laṭibbā? yəḡəslu ball əžžərḥ, gabəl ydiru abuzāž əb-bowl ənnfāž.* 36. *w bowl ənnfāž yusaxdam fənd əlmūrītānyīn lowwlīn dādd əžžrūḥa, əmžarrbīn fannu muṭahhīr, yəḡəslu žžərḥ əb-bowl ənnfāž.* 37. *eywa fənd fəmalīyyt əttazyān və-lfāda, əhl aṭṭfəl yšəžžfūh, ygūlulu maḍalan: əntə?, lāhi tṣūd ṛāžəl.* 38. *w v-əlfāda fənd waqt əlfəmalīya, yaṣni v-əllaḥḍa lli təngtāf žəllt əḍḍakar aṭṭfəl yḥūz maslə?, mən ḥəywān əhlu, w tṣūd, tṣūdlu məlku, maḍalan yəmləkhə?, ygūlu ənnu ḥəyəzhə?.* 39. *w ššīgā lli ygūl əlwələd: ḥawli b-əžžmal kəda, waḷḷa ḥawli b-əlbagra lvulānīye.* 40. *w bəfḍ əlawqāt ygūl aṭṭfəl: ḥawli b-burūr wāldayya?.* 41. *w hādi ?əšyā? tašžifīya nafsīya, əlġarəḍ⁶² mənha tafāwīn əlwəlad əfla ššbar, l-ə?alam əv-fəmalīya mu?lima b-ālāt bīdā?īya.* 42. *əttazyān ma yufəddal māhu zzaman əlhārṛ, iyyāk ysəfəd dāk əžžərḥ əfla lbəri.* 43. *maḍalan əttazyān ma yufəddal v-əšštə?, w v-ələxrīf, ya ġēr yufəddal v-āxər tivīski w əššayf.* 44. *yaṣṭi tṭfəl fāgb əttazyān əḍəlt usbūfāt, waḷḷa šḥar muṣəddallu niḍāṃ xāšš l-ukīlu w šṛabu.* 45. *maḍalan yowkəl tṣām žayyəd, mudassam aḥsan əmn-ukīl ləxṛa.* 46. *w yəšṛab v-ənnḥār šarba waḥdə?, waḷḷa dānteyn ilə fād ənnḥār hāmi ḥattə?.* 47. *bīhum əlli uṣṣaššyīn fən kəḍərt əlmə?, w əššṛāb ətbəll əžžərḥ, w la txallī yībəs b-əlfāžlə?.* 48. *əv-hāda zzaman əmn-əlfādə?, ənn aṭṭfəl yfəddal šəmn ərrīyāḍa, maḍalan yṣūd fəndu gows w nəššāba, w yṛūg yəštād aṭṭyūr.*

Text 4: Geburt und Beschneidung

1. Nun, wenn ein Kind geboren wurde, früher im mauritanischen Zelt, so fand die Geburt des Kindes mit Hilfe der *gabbāda* statt. 2. Die *gabbāda* (Hebamme) ist die, die seinen Bauchnabel mit dem Messer abtrennt. 3. Und sie ist es, die ihn badet, ein Bad, das „Geburtsbad“ heißt. 4. Und diese Frau, die geboren hat, praktizierte sieben Tage lang seltsame Sitten. 5. Am ersten Tag musste sie mit rotem Ocker gefärbtem Gesicht aufstehen, da die Leute meinen, dass dieser rote Ocker⁶³ die bösen Geister von ihr

60 < šī mən.

61 In Taine-Cheikh (1998 VII: 1528) fye „modal toujours suivi d'un v. à l'inacc., 'il arrive parfois, il est parfois'“.

62 So mit /d/. Cohen (1963: 16–17) nennt die Form nicht. Seine Liste der Wörter mit /d/ sei „non exhaustive“.

63 In Taine-Cheikh (1989 III: 465) *ḥəmmeyre* „pierre sanguine, hématite rouge, ocre rouge, variéé de terre ferreuse“, Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 207) *ḥəmmayra* „almagre“.

vertreibt. 6. Danach kommen noch sieben Tage während derer immer eine Person im Westen von ihr sitzt. 7. Das vertreibt die bösen Geister nach dem Volksglauben. 8. Sie sagen auch von einer Frau, die geboren hat, dass wenn niemand im Westen von ihr saß, ihr Kind ausgetauscht werden kann. 9. „Er wird ausgetauscht“ bedeutet, dass die bösen Geister ihn mitnehmen und an seiner Stelle eines von ihren Kindern lassen. 10. Von jedem Dummen sagen die alten Mauritanier, dass der Grund für seine Dummheit die Tatsache ist, dass er in den Windeln ausgetauscht wurde.⁶⁴ 11. Nun, die Frau, die geboren hat, die sieben Tage nach der Geburt des Kindes, bleibt mit ihr immer ihr Messer, dass sie beim Kopf des Kindes in den Boden gesteckt hat, weil nämlich nach dem Volksglauben die bösen Geister Angst vor dem Eisen haben.⁶⁵ 12. Zum Beispiel, wenn einer an einer Krankheit wie der Epilepsie leidet, so sagen die einheimischen Heiler zu diesem Mann, dass er eine Waffe tragen soll, wie ein Schwert oder ein langes Messer oder einen Dolch oder ein Gewehr, weil sie glauben, dass diese Waffe die bösen Geister von ihm vertreibt. 13. Nach den sieben Tagen kommt die Namensgebung, wird der Name gegeben.⁶⁶ 14. Und zu dieser Zeit ist die Freude der Familie größer, wenn das Kind männlich ist, und über ein Mädchen freut man sich nicht immer. 15. Und es war üblich, dass das Kind seinen Namen bekam mit etwas, das man „Schaf der Namensgebung“ nennt. 16. Wenn Schüler aus der „Zeltuniversität“⁶⁷ dabei waren, wurde ihnen dieses Schaf gegeben. 17. Es war ein Geschenk für sie.⁶⁸ 18. Und die Familie kann auch zwei Schafe holen,⁶⁹ eines für die Schüler und eines schlachtet sie für die Familie der Namensgeber. 19. Der Kopf wird gewöhnlich den Schmieden⁷⁰ gegeben. 20. Das Fell des Namensgebungsschafs und sein Rücken wird der Hebamme

64 Vgl. Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 92) 54 *mubaddal v-lə-ħwāla* „es tonto de nacimiento“. In Fn. 61 dieselbe Erklärung wie in unserem Text.

65 Vgl. Schienerl (1980).

66 Taine-Cheikh (1989 III: 563) *yəxləg* „exister, arriver, se produire“.

67 Taine-Cheikh (1989 III: 430) *maħədra* „école coranique, classe d’enseignement (traditionnel)“; Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 205) *xaymət əl-maħədra* „la jaima de *əl-maħədra* (escuela de enseñanza tradicional de los beduinos)“. Ould Maouloud (2017: 20): „La *mahadra* est une institution d’enseignement spécifiquement mauritanienne, qui date de plusieurs siècles. Ennahoui (1987) la définit comme ‘l’une des institutions éducatives authentiques du monde arabomusulman’: La *mahadra* est une université populaire, nomade, scolastique, avec un enseignement individualisé et est basée sur le volontariat. Pour lui, c’est une université car elle dispense des connaissances encyclopédiques : le Coran, le Hadith, la foi (les sciences religieuses et le soufisme, le *Fiqh*, la *Sira* (vie du prophète), la morale et les règles de la bienséance, la langue et la littérature (poésie, grammaire, conjugaison, rhétorique), la logique, les secrets des lettres (ésotérisme), l’arithmétique et la géométrie, la géographie, l’astronomie, la médecine, etc.). Elle est populaire car ‘elle reçoit celui qui demande à l’intégrer, quel que soit son niveau intellectuel, son âge, son sexe ou son origine sociale’ (Ennahoui, 1987)“.

68 Taine-Cheikh (1990 VI: 1213) *şadge* „cadeau à une personne religieuse“.

69 *mařrag* „sacar“ in Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 247), also „herausholen“.

70 *ləş-şənnāf*, *əlmşallmīn* sind synonym. Es handelt sich um eine professionelle Kaste, die von Schüsseln bis zum Taschenmesser alle möglichen Instrumente herstellt. Vgl. Ould Mohamed-Baba (2008: 14).

gegeben, wenn keine Schüler anwesend sind. 21. Wenn der Mann in der Familie das Sagen hat, sucht er den Namen des Kindes aus. 22. Wenn das Kind einen Großvater hat, der durch Wissen oder Mut hervorragte, so wird es zweifellos nach ihm benannt. 23. Und wenn die Frau das Sagen hat oder der stärkere Teil in der Familie ist, wird das Kind nach ihrem Vater benannt oder bekommt den Namen, den sie will. 24. In anderen Fällen wie das „Stäbchenwerfen“, da nimmt man fünf Stäbchen oder drei oder vier und verbindet jemandem die Augen, und ein jedes Stäbchen trägt einen Namen und es kommt der mit den verbundenen Augen und sucht sich ein Stäbchen aus. 25. Der Name jenes Stäbchens wird dann der Name des Kindes: Muḥammad, Šēx Bakkār, Ḥamdi, Ḥabīb und so fort. 26. Und wenn das Kind sehr teuer war, weil seine Brüder vor ihm gestorben waren, oder weil er der erste ist, oder weil er nur wenige Vettern hat, dann machte man mit ihm, was man *mrūg al-šāda* [Abweichen von der Sitte] nennt. 27. Zum Beispiel, sie durchbohren sein Ohrläppchen wie bei einem Mädchen und stecken ihm einen Ohrring an, oder sie geben ihm einen seltsamen Namen oder einen ausländischen Namen, einen Namen von Schwarzen oder Afrikanern, einen Namen, den keiner seiner Verwandten hat und der nicht zu den Namen gehört, die bei ihnen bekannt sind.⁷¹ 28. Sie sagen, dass das gut⁷² für das Kind ist. 29. Am Tag der Namensgebung werden dem Jungen die Haare geschnitten, und dem Mädchen wird die Klitoris abgeschnitten, aber diese Beschneidung machen nicht alle Stämme. 30. Der Junge wird nicht vor seinem fünften Lebensjahr beschnitten. 31. Die Beschneidung⁷³ wurde von traditionellen Ärzten durchgeführt, oder von einigen, die keine Ärzte waren, aber auf das Beschneiden spezialisiert waren. 32. Die Instrumente, die die Ärzte bei der Beschneidung benutzen, waren zum Beispiel ein Taschenmesser um die Vorhaut abzuschneiden. 33. Und sie benutzten auch *abužāž*. 34. Was ist *abužāž*? Das ist etwas Kamel- oder Schafmist, der wird verbrannt und im Mörser zerstoßen. Der wird auf die Wunde gestreut um die Blutung zu stillen. 35. Der *abužāž* wird heiß auf die Wunde getan. Nun, manchmal waschen die Ärzte die Wunde, bevor sie sie mit *abužāž* behandeln, mit Schafurin. 36. Und Schafurin das haben die alten Mauritanier bei der Wundheilung benutzt, da sie die Erfahrung gemacht hatten, dass es antiseptisch ist. Sie waschen die Wunde mit Schafurin. 37. Nun, bei der Beschneidung, da macht die Familie dem Jungen normalerweise Mut und sie sagen zum Beispiel: „Du wirst ein Mann werden!“ 38. Und normalerweise, bei der Operation, in dem Augenblick, in dem die Vorhaut abgeschnitten wird, nimmt er als Trost in Besitz ein Tier seiner Familie. Und es wird zu seinem Besitz, „ich suche mir die und die Kuh aus“ also er besitzt es. Sie sagen dazu: „er hat es in Besitz genommen“. 39. Und die Formel, die

71 Dieses Abweichen von den Normen hat den Zweck, die bösen Geister in die Irre zu führen und den bösen Blick zu vermeiden.

72 *maḥlūm* Taine-Cheikh (1989 VII: 1487) „bon (pour une personne, une chose), louable“.

73 *tādxāl ʿassīma* „die Einführung des Kennzeichens“ bezieht sich darauf, dass erst die Beschneidung aus einem Jungen einen echten Muslim macht.

der Junge sagt, ist „ich suche mir das und das Kamel aus“, oder „ich suche mir die und die Kuh aus“. 40. Und manchmal sagt der Junge: „meine Wahl ist es, meinen Eltern zu gehorchen“. 74 41. Das waren alles psychologische Sachen, um ihm Mut zu machen mit dem Ziel ihm zur Geduld zu verhelfen, um den Schmerz einer schmerzhaften Operation mit primitiven Instrumenten zu ertragen. 42. Die Beschneidung wurde nur zu heißen Jahreszeiten durchgeführt, da⁷⁵ dies der Heilung der Wunde behilflich war. 43. Zum Beispiel die Beschneidung wurde nicht im Winter oder im Herbst gemacht, sie wurde nur im Frühjahr⁷⁶ und im Sommer gemacht. 44. Drei Wochen oder einen Monat nach der Beschneidung hatte der Junge eine spezielle Diät was Essen und Trinken betrifft. 45. Er aß zum Beispiel nur gutes Essen, fetter als sonstiges Essen. 46. Und er trank nur einmal am Tag, oder zweimal, wenn es ein sehr heißer Tag war. 47. Denn sie empfahlen, wenig Wasser zu trinken, denn das Trinken befeuchtete die Wunde und ließ sie nicht schnell trocknen. 48. Während dieser Zeit betrieb der Junge etwas Sport, er nahm einen Bogen und einen Pfeil und ging Vögel schießen.

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74 *ḥawli* übersetzt Ahmed-Salem mit „escojo para mí“. Offensichtlich ist es ein Nomen *ḥawl* + Pronominalsuffix. In einschlägigen Wörterbüchern ist unter *ḥawl* lediglich die klassische Bedeutung „Macht“ mit dem bekanntesten Spruch dazu zu finden.

75 *ḥyāk* eigentlich „damit“. Vgl. Taine-Cheikh (1988 I: 51) „*ḥyāk* conj., invar. ... ‘afin que, pour que,’ toujours suivi d’un verbe à l’inacc.“.

76 *tiviski* in Taine-Cheikh (1989 II: 215) *tiveski* „printemps“ aus dem Zenaga.

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A Text in the Maltese Dialect of Sannat (Gozo) with Grammatical Remarks

ABSTRACT The text presented in the following was recorded in 2019 in Sannat, a village situated on the island of Gozo (Malta). It concerns the way of cooking one of the Gozitan/Maltese dishes—*turta ta-l-lampuki*, ‘lampuki pie.’ The recording is written in the transcription used in the study of Semitic dialectology, and it is followed by a translation into English and standard Maltese (SM). The final part of the article contains short explanations of selected grammatical issues, the most characteristic features of the dialect of Sannat. Issues such as pausal forms, an *išmām*, an *imāla*, realisation of consonants such as *għ (< ġ and ɣ), r, ġ, and š, a sandhi and a modal verb ‘have to’ are discussed.

KEYWORDS the dialect of Sannat, field research, Gozitan dialects, Gozo, Malta, Maltese, Maltese dialectology, Sannat

1 Introduction

Sannat (SM *Ta’ Sannat*) is a village located in the south of Gozo, the second inhabited island of the Maltese Archipelago. The population is estimated at less than 1,900 people.¹ It should be stressed that the number of inhabitants does not correspond to the number of speakers of the dialect of Sannat, and it is impossible to determine this data accurately.

1 Detailed statistics are available on the website: National Statistics Office, Malta. <https://nso.gov.mt/statdb/start> (accessed 10 January 2020).

Gozitan dialects are considered to be rural dialects of Maltese in the publications to date (e.g. Aquilina and Isserlin 1981; Borg 1976; Puech 1994: 17–23). Schabert writes about two basic groups of Maltese dialects as follows:

Es ist einerseits geographisch differenziert, wobei die eine der beiden Hauptgruppen die der Städtkonzentration um den Grossen Hafen und den Marsamxetthafen ist. [...] Die andere Gruppe ist die der ländlichen *Išmām*-Dialekte, die den ganzen Rest der Insel sowie die Nachbarinseln Gozo (“*Għawdex*” /*əwɔdæʃ*/) und Comino (“*Kemmuna*” /*kæmmūna*/) umfasst. Beide Gruppen weisen Untergruppen auf. (Schabert 1976: 3–4)

The term *išmām* (also known as *tafxīm*), as a characteristic used by Schabert to describe Maltese rural dialects (*Išmām*-Dialekte), was introduced by Stumme (1904: 99–100) in his *Erläuterungen* ‘explanations’ to the book *Maltesische Studien*. No detailed classifications within Gozitan dialects have been published so far.

As regards the dialect of Sannat, limited data are available. Puech (1994: 39–58) includes seven texts out of 25 from Gozo in his collection.² Unfortunately, recordings of these texts are not available anywhere, which hinders a factual dialectological discussion. Even the first comparison of the text in this article with the transcription of Puech’s texts raises key questions, the answers to which should be sought in the recordings. Farrugia, on the other hand, is the author of two theses in Maltese (*Aspetti soċjolingwistiċi tad-djalett ta’ Sannat u s-sistema vokalika tiegħu*, 2010; *Analizi akustika u komparattiva ta’ żewġ djaletti Għawdxin*, 2016), in which he deals with circumstantial and detailed issues of Gozitan phonetics based on language data from Sannat. This volume also contains an article, entitled ‘The Acoustic Vowel Space of Gozitan Naduri and Sannati Dialects,’ synthesising Farrugia’s research to date on this subject. Between 2018 and 2021, Klimiuk conducted field research in Sannat, and assembled dialectological material in the form of questionnaires and audio recordings. Earlier, between 2015 and 2016, he and Lipnicka made several recordings in the village (Klimiuk and Lipnicka 2019).

Klimiuk recorded the following text in Sannat on 28 September 2019. The author of the text is Doris Farrugia, at the time of a recording session a 63-year-old woman. She has lived in the village since birth, where her parents also come from.

The text is a recipe and concerns the preparation of one of the popular dishes of Gozo and Malta—*turta ta-l-lampuki*, ‘lampuki pie.’ The fish mentioned is known by many names, such as in English: common dolphin fish, dorado, mahi-mahi, in German: (Gemeine/Große) Goldmakrele, in Italian: lampuga, corifena etc. In Maltese, the name *lampuka*, pl. *lampuki*, is used.

2 Other texts come from the following locations: Għarb (8 texts), Kerċem (2 texts), Xewkija (1 text), Nadur (5 texts) and Qala (2 texts).

We first present a transcription of the text in the dialect of Sannat, its translation into English and SM. Then, we provide a grammatical commentary on the text together with explanations which should facilitate the reading of the dialectal text, especially for dialectologists and linguists who can easily understand written standard Maltese texts, but not spoken.

The transcription is consistent with use in the dialectology of Semitic languages, especially Arabic.³ The transcription system was developed as part of the project ‘GozoDia: Gemeinschaftsorientierte dialektologische Studien zur Sprachdynamik der Insel Gozo (Malta).’ In the course of further research, especially the extension of the studies to include the dialects of the island of Malta, the transcription may be slightly modified. At this stage of research, we have decided that:

- a glottal stop ʔ is only noted if it comes from *q, e.g. *tʔattahha* (SM *tqattaghha*) ‘you cut it (f.),’
- if a word begins with a vowel, and thus a glottal stop ʔ is not realised in a word initial position, it is attached to a preceding word with a tie (_) which refers to a continuous sequence of sounds, e.g. *bbat_ʔtfa-la* (SM *imbagħad titfagħlha*) ‘then you pour into it (f.),’
- if a glottal stop ʔ is realised in a word initial position, but does not diachronically come from *q, it is not noted and a word is not attached to a preceding word with a tie (_), e.g. *kilo u nufs ek* (SM *kilo u nofs hekk*) ‘so a kilo and a half.’

A vertical bar (|) appears in the text each time to indicate major prosodic breaks, whereas pausal forms are marked with the number sign #. Punctuation marks are not used in the transcription.

The length of vowels in the Maltese dialects of Gozo is entirely phonetic, as there are no minimal pairs in the phonological systems confirming the presence of long and short vowel phonemes (Klimiuk 2022). For this reason, vowel length notation is omitted in the transcription.

The sign *ħ* used in the transcription may correspond in the dialect of Sannat to three allophones: [ħ], [x] and [h]. However, the use of the sign *ħ* in the context of Gozitan dialects requires further clarification. Namely, the phoneme *ħ* is still preserved in some dialects. It appears in positions where it is not realised in SM. However, the Maltese alphabet, which is diachronic in nature and therefore does not reflect the phonetic and phonological realisation of the language, has the consonant *ħ* in its letter set. The transcription system for Gozitan dialects therefore foresees two separate characters: *h* (< OA *ħ*) and *ħ* (< OA *ħ* and *x*). As regards the phonetic realisation of the phoneme *ħ*, it is pronounced most often as [ħ] or [x]. The same language speaker can pronounce one word in several ways, e.g. [ħawħa], [ħawxa], [xawħa], [xawxa] ‘plum.’ During

3 See for example the transcription guidelines used in *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*.

the fieldwork, no minimal pair was found to differ these sounds. It also happens that the phoneme *ħ* is realised as [h]. However, these are still only allophones of the same phoneme *ħ*. In the dialect of Sannat, the consonant *h* has not been retained in any position, so the usage of *ħ* could be abandoned in favour of *h*. However, we have come to the conclusion that, in this case, it is necessary to be consistent and develop a system that allows the characteristics of all spoken dialects on the island of Gozo to be included.

2 Text

turta ta-l-lampuki

1. *emma ʔat yaʔbdu^w əssa da-zm^ven#* | 2. *rayta ši darba:#* | *ħuta rayta rayta:#* | *tayba ħafne#* | 3. *namlu turta ta-l-lampukoy#* | 4. *l-awwil tət əštrey#⁴ lampuka gbira:#* | *w əkun fiya:#* | *kilo:# yaw kilo u nufs ek* |

5. *u tʔattahħa:#* | *bbat⁵* | *tamle:# ġa tuġon bə-fteyt# əlma:#* | *fteyt#* | 6. *u mbat taʔalliya neydu-lu^w aħna:#* | *yəġifrey# l-əлма əkəwn#^{Eng}boylink#⁶ yaley#* | 7. *u mbat ħalliya ek əl əftət minuti fursey# əħalliya šar minutey#* | *u tətfiya* | 8. *bbat əġbor əl-ħuta:#* | *u tnaħħi-la š-šewk* | *aš əlek naʔalluwa beš ənnaħħu-la š-šewk* | *ənsumma* |

9. *bbat əməla:#* | *ek* | *ġo⁷ bawl aʔaliya* | 10. *u:# tət taməl əl-l-aġina* | *beš taməl turta t taməl l-aġina* | 11. *əkəllik parezampyew#* | *nufs kilo tʔe^ʔ#* | 12. *bbat ətfa-la tacca əlma:#* | 13. *u mbat əbda tħallat ə-tʔe^a# u l-əлма fləmk^ve:n#* | *u ftət milħ* | *k ətkon tridew# ənsumma:#* | 14. *u mbat yek yek [ə-] l-aġina:#* | *tkun əda šutta* | *kon tət əzit əлма u tətfa-la fteyt# əħur* | 15. *sa šħeyn#* | *təkumpli⁸ taġəna:#* | *yəġifrey#* | *tafas ek* | *[b-] b-ədeyk ek* | *tafas ek sa šħən təġi^v aġina* |

16. *u mbat l-aġina tħalliya taʔat* | *ye neydu-la⁹ təstr^ve:#* | *tamən nufs iya¹⁰* | 17. *u mbat wara nufs iya tarġa təftaħa:#* | *l-aġina bə-l-lambuba:#* | 18. *taʔsama fə-tneyn l-aġina beš əkəllik bəčča l-ʔe^a:#* | *u bəčča al-wəč* | *fə-t-turt^vera* | 19. *u mbašt#* | *phəlm et-lik* | *wara nufs iya təstr^ve:#* | *təftaħa:#* | *bə-l-lambuba:#* |

20. *u taməl-la l- [əl-]* | *əl-margerina neydu-la ħna* | *ənsumma* | 21. *u mbašt#* | *tarġa taʔalaʔa:#* | *l-aġina* | *u taməla:#* | *taməla ʔisa:#* | *ħabil ek twuyl#* | *u ddawwara* |

4 *trid təstri > *trit təstri > *ttit təstri > *tit təstri > tət təstri > tət əštrey# ‘you have to buy.’

5 *mbat* > *bbat* ‘then.’

6 Eng *boiling*.

7 This preposition is realised as *ġa* and *ġo*, probably under the influence of SM *ġo* ‘in.’

8 An anaptyxis *ə* is inserted between two consonants *tk*, which are a cluster difficult to pronounce: *təkumpli* (SM *tkompli*) ‘you continue [kneading it].’

9 *yaw neydu-la* > *ye neydu-la* ‘or we call it (f.).’ The conjunction ‘or’ (SM *jew*) is realised in the dialect of Sannat as *yaw* and *yew*.

10 *taməl nufs siya* > *tamən nufs iya* (SM *tagħmel nofs sieħa*) ‘it takes [about] half an hour.’

22. *təġi ʔisa ʔisa kafke# ek | u tarġa [ta] tħalliya təstr^{ye:h}# | u tħalliya nufs iy uħra parezampyew# | 23. u mbaft sadattant šən¹¹ ħa tkon əl-aġina ʔat əstr^{ye:a}# | tʔatta l-basal | 24. əkəllik fursej# ġ^{ye:s}¹² basl^{ye}et gbo:r# | tʔattahħim zo:r# | u taməlim ġa ftət zeyt fu? ət-tuġon |*

25. *w^otʔalliyim neydu-lu^w aħna | tʔalliyim fu? nor | bašš ek | sa šħin yəħmuraw# | 26. deyyim yehdu^w ašar minutej# | tʔallip | u don | ənsumma | 27. u mbaft# | əkəllik fursi ħamis tawm^{ye}et ek | gbor | yek əkunu zor taməl ašra:# | 28. u tətfaħħim ġa t-tuġon ukil ma-l-basal | 29. u mbaft# | šən šən əkun lest ənsumma dok | tnaħħeyħ# |*

30. *tamlu ġa bawl gbira:# | u tətfa l- əl-ħəwt# əl-lampuka yəġifirej# | u tətfa fteyt# wara? ta-l-mer?əwš# yaw ħaba^h# lə ykəllik | ənsumma | 31. tʔattahħim | ftə bzor¹³ | u ftət milħ | w əkəllik l-affariyet u patuta | 32. tʔatta l-patuta | bəčč^{ye}et zor u tħalla kəllis¹⁴ ma šulšeyn# | ənsumma | 33. u mbaft# | šən kon¹⁵ lest del l-affariyet¹⁶ kəlla | əkəllik əl- əl-aġina | 34. təftaħ waħda mənnim aš əkun zewč bəčč^{ye}et |*

35. *waħda | al-?e^h# ta-t-turt^{ye}era | təftaħa u taməl fə-t-turt^{ye}era l-aġina | 36. u tətfa əl- dəl le¹⁷ ʔat neyd-lik ət-taħlita ta-l- ta-l-ħəwt# | ta-l-patuta | ta-l-basal | ət-tewm | u ftət wara? ta-n-našn^{ye:h}# | 37. w^onseyt neyd-lik | šən kon əsseyr# əl-basla:# | 38. tət taməl marfa kunserva | əsser maħħim beš# [ə-] | l-aff^{ye}et¹⁸ yəġġəw# ʔəsim bə-l-kunserva | ənsumma | 39. u mbaft təmla at-turt^{ye}era | u mbaft tarġa təftaħ əl-bəčča l-uħra:# ta-l-aġina |*

40. *u ʔabil tətfa ftət zeyt ukill ek | fu? əl- fu? əl- | fu? əl-məley# lə tkon aməlt fə-t-turt^{ye}era 41. tətfa ftət zeyt | bbat | təftaħ l-aġina u ta?ala?a | u tal?-əla l-ġnəwp# ek | əddawwarum | ənsumma | 42. u mbaft# šən kon leste:# | ət-turta ek al ġa l-furn | 43. taməl-la zewč ʔasm^{ye}et | fu? l-aġina | beš əl-fwoš šən kon¹⁹ ʔat əsser fə-l-furn | yohruč mən dawk əl- əl-ġ^{ye}eš ʔasm^{ye}et | 44. u tətfaħħa fə-l-furn | u taməl-lik siya u nufs fə-l-furn | yaw fursi kwart əktar | 45. təttawl-əla wara siya u nufs | u mba k ətko ħmorut²⁰ | 46. tətfiya u k ma²¹ tkonš ħmurot ħalliya kwart uħra | w əkəllik ət-turta leste:# |*

11 *šħeyn# > šħən/šħin* (SM xħin) > *šən* ‘while.’

12 SM *ġiex, ġiext, ġix* ‘a couple of’ (Aquilina 1987: 402).

13 *ftət bzor > *ftəb bzor > ftə bzor* ‘a little pepper.’

14 *tħallat kəllis > tħallak kəllis > tħalla kəllis* ‘you mix everything.’

15 *šħin tkun > šən nkun > šən kun > šən kon* ‘when you are done [with this].’

16 *den l-... > del l-...* ‘these.’

17 *den le > del le > dəl le* ‘the one which.’

18 *l-affariyet > l-aff^{ye}et* ‘the things.’

19 *beš əl-fwor šən kon > beš əl-fwoš šən kon* ‘in order to the steam when [the pie] is ...’

20 *u mbaft k ətkon ħmorut* (SM imbagħad jekk tkun ħmaret) > *u mba k ətko ħmorut* ‘then if it is golden.’

21 *yek ma > k ma* ‘if [it is] not.’

Lampuki pie

1. But they are catching [it] now nowadays. 2. Did you see it once? Fish. Did you see it? Very good. 3. We make lampuki pie. 4. First you have to buy a big dolphin fish and it has to be a kilo or so, a kilo and a half.

5. You cut it. Then you make it in a pan with a little water. A little bit. 6. Then you boil it. We say it like that. This means that the water is *yaley* boiling. 7. Then you leave it for a few minutes, maybe you leave it for ten minutes and you turn off [the fire under] it. 8. Then you collect it and you remove its²² bones. That is why we boil it, in order to take its bones off.

9. Then we do it like this, in a bowl, for it. 10. And you must make the dough. To make pie, you have to make dough. 11. You have—for example—half a kilo of flour. 12. Then you pour a glass of water into it.²³ 13. Then you start mixing the flour and water together and a little salt if you need it. 14. And then if, if the dough is still dry, you must [add] more water and pour a little bit of another [glass of water] into it. 15. Until you continue kneading it. This means that you press so, with your hand, like this. You press so until dough comes out.

16. Then you leave the dough to stand, or we call it ‘to rest.’ It has to rest for half an hour. 17. Then after about half an hour you open it again, the dough, using the rolling pin. 18. You divide the dough into two [pieces] so that you have a portion for the bottom and a portion for the top in the cake tin. 19. Then, as I told you, it [the dough] rests for half an hour, [after which] you open it with the rolling pin.

20. And you make margarine for it. We say it like that. 21. Then you close it—the dough—again, and you do it like so long rope, and you turn it. 22. It takes the shape of a ring-cake and you repeat [the same procedure] ... You leave it to rest, you leave it for another half an hour for example. 23. Afterwards, while the dough is resting, you cut the onion. 24. You can use two big onions, cut them [two big onions] into little pieces and put them inside a pan greased with a little oil.

25. And then you fry them, that is the way we say it, you fry them over a low flame until they become golden. 26. It always takes around ten minutes of constant stirring [until they are cooked]. 27. Then you take five cloves of garlic, like these, big [ones], if they are small, then you use ten. 28. And you put them in the pan along with the onions. 29. And then, then when everything is ready, you remove it [from the flame].

30. You put it in a big bowl and put the fish, meaning the dolphin fish and some marjoram leaves or basil, if you have some. 31. You cut them ... [you put] a little pepper and a little salt and you would have everything done [all things] ... and potatoes. 32. You cut the potatoes into small pieces and mix everything together, that is. 33. And

22 Feminine in the original text.

23 Lit. ‘Then you throw a glass of water into it.’

then when you are done with [all] these things, you take [have] the dough. 34. You open one of them because it is made up of two pieces.

35. One to put it at the bottom of the baking tray. You open it and you put the dough in the baking tray. 36. And you put the ... the one I am talking about, the fish mixture, the potatoes, the onions, the garlic gloves and some mint leaves. 37. And I forgot to tell you ... When the onion is in the pan [while it is cooking]. 38. You have to put a spoonful of tomato paste with them [with the mixture] so that they [absorb] the tomato paste flavour that is. 39. Then you fill the baking tray [with the mixture] and then you open the other piece of the dough.

40. And before that you put a little oil, like this, on the, on the, on the mixture which you had put inside the baking tray. 41. You put a little oil and then you open the dough and close it and close the edges, like this, you round the edges that is. 42. Then when the pie is ready, like this, to put it inside the cooker.

43. You make two cuts in the dough so that when the pie is cooking inside the cooker, the steam goes out from those two cuts. 44. And you put it inside the cooker, and it should take around one and a half hours or maybe 15 minutes more than that. 45. You check on it after one and a half hours. Then if it is golden. 46. You switch off the cooker and if it is not golden yet, you leave it for another fifteen minutes and you will have the pie ready.

Torta ta-l-lampuki

1. Imma qed jaqbd[ha] issa daż-żmien. 2. Rajtha xi darba? Huta. Rajtha? Tajba ħafna. 3. Nagħmlu torta tal-lampuki. 4. L-ewwel trid tixtri lampuka kbira u jkun fiha kilo jew kilo u nofs hekk.

5. Tqattagħha. Imbagħad tagħmilha go taġen bi ftit ilma. Ftit. 6. Imbagħad tgholliha ngħidulu aħna jiġifieri l-ilma ikun *boiling* jagħli. 7. Imbagħad thalliha hekk għal ftit minuti forsi thalliha għaxar minuti u titfiha. 8. Imbagħad tiġbor il-ħuta u tneħħilha x-xewk għax għalhekk ngħalluha biex inneħħulha x-xewk. Insomma.

9. Imbagħad tagħmilha hekk go bawl għaliha. 10. U trid tagħmel il-għaġina biex tagħmel torta trid tagħmel għaġina. 11. Ikollok pereżempju nofs kilo dqiq. 12. Imbagħad titfagħlha tazza ilma. 13. Imbagħad tibda thallat id-dqiq u l-ilma flimkien u ftit melħ jekk tkun trid insomma. 14. U mbagħad jekk, jekk l-għaġina tkun għadha xotta, tkun trid iżjed ilma u titfagħlha ftit ieħor. 15. Sa xħin tkompli tagħginha jiġifieri tagħfas hekk b'idejk hekk. Tagħfas hekk sa xħin tiġi għaġina.

16. Imbagħad l-għaġina thalliha toqgħod jew ngħidulha 'tistrieħ.' Tagħmel nofs siegħa. 17. Imbagħad wara nofs siegħa terġa' tiftaħha l-għaġina bil-lembuba. 18. Taqsamha fi tnejn l-għaġina biex ikollok biċċa għall-qiegħ u biċċa għall-wiċċ fit-turtiera. 19. Imbagħad bħalma għidtlek, wara nofs siegħa tistrieħ tiftaħha bil-lembuba.

20. U tagħmilha l-margerina ngħidulha aħna nsomma. 21. Imbagħad terġa' tagħlaqha l-għagina u tagħmilha, tagħmilha qisha ħabel hekk twil u ddawwarha. 22. Tiġi qisha qisha kagħka hekk u terġa'... Thalliha tistrieħ, thalliha nofs siegħa oħra pereżempju. 23. Imbagħad sadattant xħin... l-għagina qed tistrieħ, tqatta' l-basal. 24. Ikollok forsi żewġ basliet kbar, tqattagħhom żgħar u tagħmilhom ġo ftit żejt fuq it-taġen.

25. U taqlihom ngħidulu aħna, taqlihom fuq nar baxx, hekk sa xħin jihmaru. 26. Dejjem jieħdu għaxar minuti tqalleb u dan insomma. 27. Imbagħad ikollok forsi ħames tewmiet, hekk, kbar, jekk ikunu żgħar tagħmel għaxra. 28. U titfagħhom ġot-taġen ukoll mal-basal. 29. Imbagħad, xħin, xħin ikun lest insomma dak, tneħħih.

30. Tagħmlu ġo bowl kbira u titfa' l-ħut, il-lampuka jiġifieri u titfa' f'fit weraq tal-merqtux jew ħabaq, li jkollok insomma. 31. Tqattagħhom... f'fit bżar u f'fit melħ u jkollok l-affarijiet... u patata. 32. Tqatta' l-patata biċċiet żgħar u thallat kollox ma' xulxin, insomma. 33. Imbagħad xħin tkun lest(ejt) dawn l-affarijiet kollha jkollok l-għagina. 34. Tiftaħ waħda minnhom għax ikunu żewġ biċċiet.

35. Waħda għall-qiegħ tat-turtiera, tiftaħha u tagħmilha fit-turtiera l-għagina. 36. U titfa' l-... din li qed ngħidlek, it-taħlita tal-ħut, tal-patata, tal-basal, it-tewm u f'fit weraq tan-nagħniegħ. 37. U nsejt ngħidlek... xħin tkun qed issir il-basla. 38. Trid tagħmel magħrfa kunserva ssir magħhom biex l-affarijiet jiġu qishom bil-kunserva nsomma. 39. Imbagħad timla t-turtiera, imbagħad terġa' tiftaħ il-biċċa l-oħra tal-għagina.

40. U qabel titfa' f'fit żejt ukoll, hekk, fuq il- fuq il-, fuq il-mili li tkun għamilt fit-turtiera. 41. Titfa' f'fit żejt u mbagħad tiftaħ l-għagina u tagħlaqha u tagħlqilha l-ġnub, hekk iddawwarhom insomma. 42. Imbagħad xħin tkun lesta t-torta, hekk, għal ġol-forn.

43. Tagħmilha żewġ qasmiet fuq l-għagina biex il-fwar, xħin tkun qed issir fil-forn, joħroġ minn dawk iż-żewġ qasmiet. 44. U titfagħha fil-forn u tğħammillek siegħa u nofs fil-forn jew forsi kwarta iktar. 45. Tittawliha wara siegħa u nofs imbagħad jekk tkun ħmaret. 46. Titfiha u jekk ma tkunx ħmaret thalliha kwarta oħra u jkollok it-torta lesta.

3 Grammatical remarks

3.1 Consonants

The consonant *r* is realised as a voiced trill [ɾ] or a voiced approximant [r]. However, these are only allophones of the phoneme *r*.

The affricate *ġ* has two phonetic realisations: a voiced palato-alveolar sibilant affricate [dʒ] (*ġ*), and a voiced alveolo-palatal sibilant affricate [dʒ̟] (*ġ*). The same applies to the fricative *š*, the allophones of which are as follows: a voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] (*š*) and a voiceless alveolo-palatal sibilant fricative [ç] (*š*), e.g.:

ġa ~ *ġa* (SM *ġo*) ‘in,’
tuġon ~ *tuġon* (SM *tagen*) ‘frying pan,’
šutta ~ *šutta* (SM *xotta*) ‘dry (f).’

During the fieldwork, Klimiuk and Lipnicka noticed that this is a characteristic of at least two dialects—Sannat and Munxar. The two villages lie side by side in southern Gozo.

The sound written in Maltese as *għ* corresponds in Arabic to two phonemes—*ġ* [ɟ] and *ʕ* [ʕ]. It is not pronounced in SM as a consonant, however, together with an adjacent vowel in stressed positions in which *għ* diachronically occurs, a compensatory lengthening takes place. In Maltese dialects this is not always the case. There are still dialects in Gozo, in which most of the oldest inhabitants articulate, distinguish and separate *ġ* and *ʕ*. Both sounds appear exactly in the positions where they are present in Arabic and its dialects. This means that in the word in which the *ġ* occurs diachronically, a speaker who has a sound *ġ* in her/his consonant system will neither lengthen an adjacent vowel nor pronounce *ʕ* in place of the consonant *ġ*. With one exception—‘mint’ (SM *nagħniegħ*), which in dialects with the remaining consonant *ġ*, it can be pronounced, e.g. as *nagħneġ* (Għarb) or *nagħn'eħ* (Għasri and Żebbuġ), and not as we would expect in Arabic with the consonant *ʕ*—*naʕnaʕ* ‘mint.’

Another essential question arises here, namely the status of the consonant *ʕ* and its articulation. Stumme introduced the term ‘der *in*-haltige Vokal’ to describe a vowel adjacent to *għ*, which he described as follows:

Der *ain*-haltige Vokal gibt sich auf folgende Art und Weise: es wird während der ganzen Dauer des Vokallautes starke Kehlpresung beibehalten; der *a*-Laut klingt hierbei fast unangenehm hell (ähnlich ungar. *á*), der *o*-Laut, wie der *e*-Laut und der *ö*-Laut sind hierbei immer offen. (Stumme 1904: 79)

Let us note, however, that Stumme had not met anyone in Malta who pronounced and distinguished between the phonemes *ġ* and *ʕ*, as he writes:

Ferner habe ich niemanden auf Malta und Gozo einen Unterschied zwischen altem *ʕ* und *ġ* machen hören; für beide Laute war deren gemeinsame Aussprache als ‘das Übliche, und es entwickelten sich Modifikationen des für *ʕ* und *ġ* gemeinsamen ‘ganz analog, – mochte *ʕ* oder *ġ* im Etymon vorliegen. (Stumme 1904: 79)

In this short paragraph, however, he states that *għ* was then articulated as *ʕ*, a sign which corresponds to *ʕ* in the transcription used here. Later publications began to omit information about *ʕ* (is it under the influence of standard language?) and focused on ‘der *in*-haltige Vokal,’ which was replaced by the English term ‘creaky voice.’ If it is really creaky voice in SM, it is worth considering its phonemic status. After all, there would be minimal pairs such as *šar* (SM *xahar* /ʃe:r/) ‘month’ and *šar*

(SM *xagħar* /ʃg:r/) ‘hair.’ So here we are dealing with more vowel phonemes. Only further studies of dialects, not standard language, may give us answers.

However, research on Gozitan dialects shows that *ʃ* is still preserved, although sometimes its articulation is weak (as Stumme already pointed out) and only in some positions, e.g. in pausa, as in the text from Sannat:

mbaʃt# (SM *imbagħad*) ‘then,’
kaʃke# (SM *kagħka*) ‘ring-cake,’
naʃn^ye^h# (SM *nagħniegħ*) ‘mint.’

Another proof of the preservation of the sound *ʃ* is that the glottal stop *ʔ* can also be articulated in positions where *għ* has diachronically occurred:

taʔalliya (SM *tgħolliha*) ‘you boil it (f.),’
naʔalluwa (SM *ngħalluha*) ‘we boil it (f.),’
bawl_laʔaliya (SM *bawl għaliha*) ‘[in] a bowl, on it (f.),’
taʔalaʔa (SM *tagħlaqha*) ‘you close it (f.).’

The similar phenomenon also appears, e.g. in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Hertevin, in which the consonant *ʃ* > *ʔ*: **ʃena* > *ʔena* ‘eye’ (Jastrow 1988: 6–7). In the case of the dialect of Hertevin, the shift *ʃ* > *ʔ* only applies to the consonant *ʃ*, and not to **ʃ* or **g* as in the dialect of Sannat.

Between two words, when the first one ends in a vowel and the second one diachronically begins with **ʃ*, there may also be an external sandhi:

bəččə l-ʔe^a:# (SM *bičča għall-qiegħ*) ‘a portion for the bottom,’ but *bəččə al-wəč*
 [bəččə ʔal-wəč] (SM *bičča għall-wiçç*) ‘a portion for the top,’
phalm_let-lik (SM *bħalma għidtlek*) ‘as I told you.’

3.2 Vowels and pausal forms

Characteristic features of Gozitan dialects include pausal forms, the most noteworthy of which is diphthongisation (see Lipnicka 2022). Vowels *u* and *i*, which diachronically were long, can be realised in the last open and closed syllables as diphthongs. The presence of the diphthong in pausa depends on the consonant environment. If diachronically in the Arabic word there was an emphatic consonant (including also the consonant *r*), the diphthong is opened by a vowel *o* (*u*, *a*). If, on the other hand, there was no emphatic consonant, the diphthong consists of a vowel *e* (*ə*). Naturally, there are some exceptions to this rule, e.g. *ummoy#* ‘my mother’ or *uħtoy#* ‘my sister,’ and subsequent lexical borrowings. The following are selected examples from the text:

emphatic -Cu > -Caw# / -Cow#

yəħmuraw# (SM *jiħmaru*) ‘they become red [golden],’

nonemphatic -Cu > -Cew#

parezampyew# (SM *pereżempju*) ‘for example,’

tridew# (SM *tridu*) ‘you (pl.) want,’

emphatic -Ci > -Cay# / -Coy#

lampukoy (SM *lampuki*) ‘lampuki fish,’

nonemphatic -Ci > -Cey#

yaley# (SM *jagħli*) ‘[it is] boiling,’

fursey# (SM *forsi*) ‘maybe,’

minutey# (SM *minuti*) ‘minutes,’

yəğifirey# (SM *jigifieri*) ‘therefore,’

nonemphatic -CuC > -CewC# / CəwC#

əkəwn# (SM *jkun*) ‘it is,’

ħəwt# (SM *ħut*) ‘fishes,’

mer?əwš# (SM *merqtux, mertqux*) ‘marjoram,’²⁴

ğnəwp# (SM *gñub*) ‘sides,’

emphatic -CiC > -CuyC# / -CoyC#

twuył# (SM *twil*) ‘long,’

nonemphatic -CiC > CeyC#

fteyt# (SM *ftit*) ‘a little,’ but *ftət milħ* ‘a little salt,’

tnaħħeyħ# (SM *tneħħih*) ‘you take it (m.) away,’

šulšeyn# (SM *xulxin*) ‘each other.’

A vowel *a* in pausa may be lengthened. In addition, the vowel *a* can turn into a vowel *e*, e.g:

-Ca > -Ce#

tamle:# (SM *tagħmilha*) ‘you make it (f.),’

ħafne# (SM *ħafna*) ‘many,’

kaŋke# (SM *kagħka*) ‘ring-cake,’

leste:# (SM *lesta*) ‘ready (f.).’

24 **mert?uš* > **merr?uš* > *mer?uš* ‘marjoram.’

If the word ends in a glottal stop ʔ, there is a burst of breath in pausa. An aspirated consonant ʔ^h is an allophone, occurring only as a pausal form:

-Vʔ > -Vʔ^h#
tʔeʔ^h# (SM *dqiq*) ‘flour,’
ħabaʔ^h# (SM *ħabaq*) ‘basil.’

A vowel breaking may occur in the last closed or open syllable of the word in pausa:
e > *e*^a, *o* > *o*^a, e.g.:

tʔe^aʔ# (SM *dqiq*) ‘flour,’
ʔe^a:# (SM *qiegh*) ‘bottom.’

3.3 *Išmām and imāla*

Features of Gozitan dialects include an *išmām*: *a* > *o* or *a* > *u*. For example, in the dialect of Sannat:

gbor (SM *kbar*) ‘big (pl.),’
zor (SM *zghar*) ‘small (pl.),’
nor (SM *nar*) ‘fire,’
yəħmuraw# (SM *jħmaru*) ‘they become red [golden],’
don (SM *dan*) ‘this,’
dok (SM *dak*) ‘that,’
bzor (SM *bzar*) ‘pepper,’
patuta (SM *patata*) ‘potatoes,’
fwor (SM *fwar*) ‘steam,’
ħmorut, ħmurot (SM *ħmaret*) ‘it (f.) became red [golden].’

Imāla, a term used in Semitic linguistics to describe the raising of the vowel *ā* towards *ī*, (*ā* > *ē* > *ī*), is present in both SM and its dialects. The Maltese alphabet notes the *imāla* as *ie*, and its pronunciation in the standard language corresponds to a long vowel *ī* [i:]. In the dialect of Sannat, as in the other dialects of Gozo, a rising diphthong *ʔe* or a vowel *e* (especially in context form) is preserved, e.g.:

zm^ʔen# (SM *zmien*) ‘time,’
beš (SM *biex*) ‘in order to,’
fləmk^ʔen (SM *flimkien*) ‘together,’
g^ʔeš (SM *gix*) ‘a couple of s.th.,’
basl^ʔet (SM *basliet*) ‘onions.’

3.4 Sandhi

In Maltese, two vowels are avoided in the immediate proximity. In the case of two words, where one ends in a vowel *u* or *i* and the next word begins with another vowel, a semi-vowel is inserted between both vowels, ^w or ^y respectively:

-Cu VC- > -Cu^w VC-

?at ya?bdu^w əssa (SM qed jaqbdu issa) ‘they are catching [it] now,’

neydu-lu^w aħna (SM ngħidulu aħna) ‘we say it (m.) [like that],’

yehdu^w ašar (SM jieghdu għaxar) ‘it takes ten [minutes].’

-Ci VC- > -Ci^y VC-

təgħi^y aġina (SM tiġi għaġina) ‘[until] dough comes out.’

If there are two vowels *a* on the word boundary (-Ca aC-) then one of them is elided:

-Ca aC- > -Ca C-

tħalliya šar (SM tħaliha għaxar) ‘you leave it (f.) for ten minutes,’

neydu-la ħna (SM ngħidulha aħna) we say it [like that].’

If there are two identical consonants on the word boundary, there is also an elision of one of them. The elision of one of the consonants is also noted between the words, the first of which ends in the consonant *t*, e.g.:

tət əštrey# (SM trid tixtri) ‘you have to buy,’

u mbat ħalliya (SM imbagħad tħalliha) ‘and then you leave it (f.),’

bbat əgħbor (SM imbagħad tiġbor) ‘then you collect [it],’

bbat aməla (SM imbagħad tagħmilha) ‘then we do it (f.),’

bbat ətfa-la (SM imbagħad titfagħlha) ‘then you pour [water] into it (f.),’

u mbat əbda (SM imbagħad tibda) ‘then you start,’

?at əstr^ye^a:# (SM qed tistrieħ) ‘[the dough] is resting,’

ħmurot ħalliya (SM ħmaret tħalliha) ‘it is [not] golden you leave it,’

nufs iya (SM nofs siegħa) ‘half an hour,’

*ftət bzor > *ftəb bzor (?) > ftə bzor* (SM ftit bżar) ‘a little pepper,’

*tħallat kəlliš > *tħallak kəlliš (?) > tħalla kəlliš* (SM tħallat kollox) ‘you mix everything.’

3.5 Other features

The modal verb *treyt#* (SM trid) ‘you must’ in 2 sg. has the following three forms: *tæt*, *tə* and *t*, e.g.:

tæt əštrey# (SM trid tixtri) ‘you have to buy,’
tæt taməl (SM trid tagħmel) ‘you have to make,’
turta t taməl (SM torta trid tagħmel) ‘[to make] a pie, you have to make.’

The double consonant ($*C_1-C_1$) resulting from the assimilation of an article (*əl-*) to a word starting with two consonants (C_1C_2V-) is shortened:

$əl- + C_1C_2V- > *əC_1-C_1C_2V- > ə-C_1C_2V-$
 $əl- + tʔeʔ > *ət-tʔeʔ > ə-tʔeʔ$ (SM id-dqiq) ‘the flour,’
 $əl- + tʃol > *ət-tʃol > ə-tʃol$ (SM it-tfal) ‘the children,’
ə-zmʔen (SM iż-żmien) ‘the time’ and *da-zmʔen* (SM daż-żmien) ‘this time, nowadays.’

The vowel *e* occurring in the last closed syllable in SM turns into the vowel *i* in the dialect of Sannat, e.g.:

SM -CeC > -CiC
l-awwil (SM l-ewwel) ‘first,’
ħabil (SM ħabel) ‘rope,’
deyyim (SM dejjem) ‘always,’
ħamis (SM ħames) ‘five.’

The vowel *o* occurring in the last closed syllable in SM turns into the vowel *i* or *u* in the dialect of Sannat, e.g.:

ʔeħur (SM ieħor) ‘another,’
kəlliš (SM kollox) ‘everything,’
ukil or *ukill* (SM ukoll) ‘also.’

This also applies to the 3 pl. pronominal suffix, which appears in the text as *-im* < SM *-hom*, e.g.:

tʔattaħħim (SM tqattagħhom) ‘you cut them,’
taməlim (SM tagħmilhom) ‘you make them.’

SM nouns with the pattern CaCeC have in the dialect of Sannat the pattern CuCoC:

SM CaCec > CuCoc
tuġon (SM taġen) ‘pan,’
ruġol (SM raġel) ‘man.’

The particle SM *qed* used together with verbs to express continuous or progressive aspects is pronounced more often as *?at* than *?et*.

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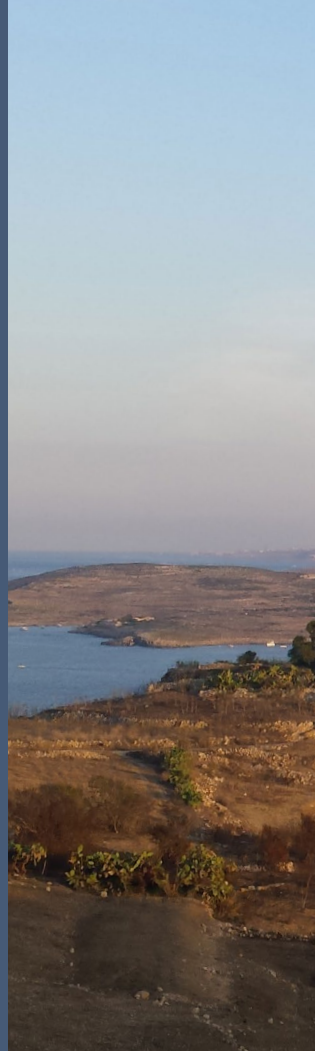
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Characterised by the multiplicity and diversity of research and methodology, the European tradition of Semitic linguistics has always supported fieldwork and highly valued the data obtained in this way as it allows to create an interesting dynamic for linguistic studies itself. In the spirit of this tradition and to uphold it, the present book is a collection of articles based on data gathered primarily during field research expeditions. The volume is divided into two parts—Studies on various specific linguistic issues and Texts containing previously unpublished transcriptions of audio recordings in Arabic dialects, Maltese and Jibbali/Shehret.



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