Romano-Arabica
XXI

The Outsiders' Arabic:
From Peripheral to Diaspora Varieties

UNIVERSITY OF BUCHAREST
CENTER FOR ARAB STUDIES

ROMANO-ARABICA

XXI

The Outsiders' Arabic:
From Peripheral to Diaspora Varieties

Published by:
© Center for Arab Studies
7-13, Pitar Moș Street, District 1, 010451, Bucharest, Romania Website: http://araba.lls.unibuc.ro

EDITURA UNIVERSITĂȚII DIN BUCUREȘTI
BUCHAREST UNIVERSITY PRESS

B-dul Mihail Kogălniceanu 36-46, Cămin A (curtea Facultății de Drept), Corp A, Intrarea A, etajele 1-2, Sector 5, București, România; tel.: + (4) 0726 390 815 E-mail: editura@g.unibuc.ro Web: https://editura-unibuc.ro
Centru de vânzare: Bd. Regina Elisabeta nr. 4-12, 030018 București, ROMÂNIA Tel. +40213053703;
Tipografia EUB: Bd. Iuliu Maniu nr. 1-3 061071 București, ROMÂNIA Tel./Fax: +40213152510.

The official website of Romano-Arabica
https://romanoarabica.academy

ISSN 1582-6953

Romano-Arabica is an **A-class Academic Journal**, according to the Italian National Agency for the Evaluation of Universities and Research Institutes – Anvur, Italia: http://www.anvur.it/en/homepage/

Romano-Arabica is a **Category A Academic Journal**, according to the Romanian National Council for Scientific Research – CNCS, Romania: http://www.cncs-nrc.ro/publicatii-stiintifice/

Contents

THE OUTSIDERS' ARABIC
FROM PERIPHERAL TO DIASPORA VARIETIES

THE "FEATURE POOL" HYPOTHESIS: THE CASE OF PIDGIN ARABIC

ANDREI A. AVRAM

University of Bucharest

Abstract. The aim of the present paper is to assess the explanatory power of the "Feature Pool" hypothesis (see e.g. Mufwene 2001, Aboh & Ansaldo 2006, Aboh 2009, Mufwene 2008, 2009, Aboh 2015) and its relevance to accounts of the emergence of pidgin languages. Proponents of the hypothesis at issue contend that the structures of these languages result from a process of competition and selection of features, driven by the following factors: syntax-discourse prominence, markedness/transparency, frequency, salience, and typological similarity. Four Arabic-lexifier pidgins constitute test cases for the evaluation of these claims. The varieties considered are Pidgin Madame, Romanian Pidgin Arabic, Jordanian Pidgin Arabic and Gulf Pidgin Arabic. Developmentally, all these varieties are minimal pidgins/pre-pidgins. It is shown that their structures are not all amenable to admixture/hybridization obtaining from competition and selection of features found in the languages in the contact situation, i.e. Arabic, as the lexifier language, and the various substrate languages. Building up on criticism of the "Feature Pool" hypothesis (McWhorter 2012, Plag 2013, Lefebvre 2015), it is therefore suggested that processes of considerable simplification must have also played a part in the emergence of the structures of Arabic-lexifier pidgins. Evidence in support of this account is adduced from work on the potential role of the Arabic Foreigner Talk register in the emergence of Pidgin Arabic (Avram 2018), the so-called "Basic Variety" stage in adult second language acquisition (Klein & Perdue 1997), and the sociolinguistic correlates of simplicity (Trudgill 2011).
Keywords: lexifier, substrate languages, Arabic Foreigner Talk, simplification, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

The "Feature Pool" hypothesis is an attempt at explaining the formation of creole languages, put forth and developed by Mufwene (2001), Aboh & Ansaldo (2006), Aboh (2009), Mufwene (2008, 2009), Aboh (2015), a.o.

The feature pool is defined by Mufwene (2001: 1) as "the "arena" where features associated with the same or similar grammatical functions came to compete with each other", in a process in which "while interacting with each other, speakers contribute features to a pool". A more concise, but essentially similar definition is offered by Aboh & Ansaldo (2006: 44), for whom the feature pool is "the population of utterances OR features available to speakers in a contact environment".

The "Feature Pool" hypothesis accounts for the emergence of creoles in terms of competition and selection. The "feature pool" is the locus where linguistic features from both the substrate and the lexifier languages and representative of various domains (e.g. phonology morphology, syntax) compete. As noted by Baptista (2017: 146), "there is no

competition in the literal sense of the term", rather "variants of the same function are treated and valued differently, with some being favored over others". The "Feature Pool" hypothesis assumes that the factors driving the competition and selection of features are (i) syntax-discourse prominence; (ii) markedness/ transparency; (iii) frequency; (iv) salience; (v) typological similarity (Mufwene 2001: 57, Aboh & Ansaldo 2006: 44, Aboh 2009, 2015, Aboh 2015: 117-140). Finally, the "Feature Pool" hypothesis explicitly rules out any role of simplification. Aboh (2009: 340), for instance, writes that "the notion of simplicity is completely irrelevant to the understanding of the structure and genesis of creole languages" and concludes that "the claim that creoles are simplified versions of their sources is a fallacy".

On this view, creole languages "emerge from the recombination of linguistic features from different languages" (Aboh 2009: 317) in the contact situation. With respect to e.g. the morphology of contact languages, for instance, it is claimed that "the extent of morphological complexity (in terms of range of distinctions) retained by a 'contact language' largely reflects the morphological structures of the target language and the particular languages that it came in contact with" (Mufwene 2009: 386).

The "Feature Pool" hypothesis has been tested almost exclusively on creoles with a European language as their lexifier and its explanatory power as a mechanism accounting for the genesis of creole languages has been questioned (see e.g. McWhorter 2012, Plag 2013, Lefebvre 2015: 268-271). The aim of the present paper, then, is precisely to test the explanatory power of the "Feature Pool" hypothesis when applied to four varieties of Pidgin Arabic.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents the Arabic-lexifier pidgins considered and the corpus. Section 3 illustrates the influence exerted by the substrate languages. Section 4 focuses on features which might arguably be traced to the Foreigner Talk register of Arabic. Section 5 briefly looks at simplification in untutored, second-language acquisition by adults. Section 6 deals with incipient grammaticalization. Section 7 is concerned with the combined effect of several factors in the emergence of some specific features of Pidgin Arabic. Section 8 discusses the findings and their implications. Section 9 summarizes the conclusions.

2. Arabic-lexifier pidgins considered and the corpus

The four varieties considered in the present paper are the following: Pidgin Madam (PM), used by female domestic workers in Lebanon and their employers; Jordanian Pidgin Arabic (JPA), spoken in Jordan; Romanian Pidgin Arabic (RPA), formerly used in Iraq, on e.g. well sites; Gulf Pidgin Arabic (GPA), spoken in the countries of the Arab Gulf: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman[1].

With respect to their developmental stage, the available descriptions (e.g. Bizri 2010 on Pidgin Madam; Al-Salman 2013 on Jordanian Pidgin Arabic; Avram 2010 on Romanian Pidgin Arabic; Næss 2008, Avram 2013b, 2014, 2016b, Alghamdi 2014 on

---

[1] For recent overviews of Arabic-lexifier pidgins the reader is referred to Tosco & Manfredi (2013), Bizri (2014, 2018), Manfredi & Bizri (2019), Avram (2020) and Manfredi (2020).

Gulf Pidgin Arabic; see also Versteegh 2014b) show that the varieties at issue are in the minimal pidgin or pre-pidgin stage, in terms of the classification proposed by Mühlhäusler (1997: 6).

The corpus of data consists of both published and unpublished sources. The data on Pidgin Madam are from Bizri (2005, 2009, 2010). The source for data on Jordanian Pidgin Arabic is Al-Salman (2013). The data from Romanian Pidgin Arabic are from Avram (1997, 2007, 2010, own corpus). For Gulf Pidgin Arabic there are two types of data: from general overviews (Smart 1990, Avram 2014) as well as from descriptions of Gulf Pidgin Arabic as spoken in specific territories: Saudi Arabia – Hobrom (1992), Almoaily (2008), Al-Azraqi (2010), Albakrawi (2012), Almoaily (2012), Alghamdi (2014), Almoaily (2014), Al-Shurafa (2014), Al-Azraqi (2020), Bedairi & Al-Doubi (2020); Kuwait – Salem (2013); the United Arab Emirates – Yammahi (2008), online sources; Bahrain – online sources; Qatar – Bakir (2010, 2014); Oman – Næss (2008), Al-Mahrooqi & Dendan (2014), Almaʿašnī (2016), Næss (2018).

Throughout the paper a unitary system of transliteration is used, both for Arabic etyma and for examples in Arabic Foreigner Talk and from the four varieties under consideration. The following abbreviations are used in the examples: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; COMPL = completive; DEM = demonstrative; F = feminine; IMP = imperative; IPFV = imperfective; M = masculine; NEG = negator; POSS = possessive; PREP = preposition; SG = singular.

3. Substrate influence

The data examined in this section are from Bizri (2010) for Pidgin Madam, Al-Salman (2013) for Jordanian Pidgin Arabic, and Avram (1997, 2007, 2010) for Romanian Pidgin Arabic. As far as Gulf Pidgin Arabic is concerned, this section builds on Avram (2014, 2016a, 2016b, 2017a).

3.1. Phonology

Substrate influence is undeniably pervasive in the phonology of Pidgin Arabic (see also Avram 1993, 1995 and 2020). The following is a concise overview of the main phonological adjustments attested in the four varieties considered in this paper.

3.1.1. Vowels

Vowel length is not distinctive in three of the varieties at issue (see Al-Salman 2013: 44, for Jordanian Pidgin Arabic; Avram 2010: 21, for Romanian Pidgin Arabic; Næss 2008: 42, Salem 2013: 107, and Avram 2014: 15, for Gulf Pidgin). Consider first examples from Jordanian Pidgin Arabic (1a) and Romanian Pidgin Arabic (1b), respectively:

(1)   Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
        sayara 'car'

                                                                (Al-Salman 2013: 44)

(2)   Romanian Pidgin Arabic
        lazim 'must'

                                                                (Avram 2010: 15)

        As the following examples from Gulf Pidgin Arabic show, phonetically long vowels do occur, either in forms which are in free variation (3a, b) or inconsistently in reflexes of etymologically long vowels (compare 3c and 3d):

(3)   Gulf Pidgin Arabic
        a   *bāden* 'then'   Qatar
        b.   *baden* 'then'   Saudi Arabia
        c.   *katir* 'a lot' Saudi Arabia
        d.   *kabīr* 'big'   Saudi Arabia

                                                                (Avram 2014: 16)

3.1.2. Consonants

The replacement or loss of the Arabic marked consonant phonemes, i.e. of the velar fricatives, the voiceless uvular stop, the pharyngeal fricatives and of the pharyngealized consonants is reported for all the varieties at issue (Bizri 2010: 108-114, for Pidgin Madam; Al-Salman 2013: 38-43, for Jordanian Pidgin Arabic; Avram 2010: 21-22, for Romanian Pidgin Arabic; Almoaily 2008: 36-37, Næss 2008: 30-43 and Avram 2014: 15, 2017a: 132-133, Aljutaily 2018, for Gulf Pidgin Arabic).
        Some examples from Pidgin Madam are reproduced below:

(4)   Pidgin Madam
        a.   /ḫ/ → [k]:   *kalas* 'finished'
        b.   /ġ/ → [g]:   *sogol* 'work'
        c.   /ḥ/ → [h]:   *rūhi* 'go!'
        d.   /ʕ/ → Ø: *malūm* 'of course'
        e.   /ṣ/ → [s]:   *sabi* 'boy'

                                                                (Bizri 2010: 108-110)

        The next set of examples is from Jordanian Pidgin Arabic:

(5)   Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
        a.   /ḫ/ → [k]:   *kamsa* 'five'
        b.   /ġ/ → [k]:   *sukul* 'to work'
        c.   /ḥ/ → [h]:   *bisallih* '[I] work'
        d.   /ʕ/ → Ø: *byarap* '[I] know'

     e.   /ṣ/ → [s]:   *sadīg* 'friend'

<div align="right">(Al-Salman 2013: 39-43)</div>

Consider next Romanian Pidgin Arabic:

(6)   Romanian Pidgin Arabic
     a.   /ḫ/ → [h]:   ***h**amsa* 'five'
     b.   /ġ/ → [g]:   *šo**g**ol* 'work'
     c.   /ḥ/ → [h]:   ***h**abib* 'friend'
     d.   /ḥ/ → Ø: *rua* 'to leave'
     e.   /ʕ/ → Ø: *ašara* 'ten'
     f.   /ṣ/ → [s]:   *hala**s*** 'ready'

<div align="right">(Avram 2014: 21-22)</div>

Similar replacements or losses can be illustrated with examples from Gulf Pidgin Arabic, from various areas:

(7)   Gulf Pidgin Arabic
     a.   /ḫ/ → [k]:   ***k**ubus* 'bread'   Saudi Arabia

<div align="right">(Hobrom 1996: 43)</div>

     b.   /ġ/ → [g]:   ***g**isli* 'to wash'   Qatar

<div align="right">(Bakir 2010: 209)</div>

     c.   /ḥ/ → [h]:   *wæ**h**īd* 'one'   Saudi Arabia

<div align="right">(Almoaily 2008: 37)</div>

     d.   /ʕ/ → Ø: *araf* 'to know'   Kuwait

<div align="right">(Salem 2013: 107)</div>

     e.   /ṭ/ → [t]:   ***t**abīb* 'doctor'   Oman

<div align="right">(Næss 2008: 34)</div>

In addition to these generally attested phonological adjustments, regardless of the L1 of the users of the pidginized varieties of Arabic at issue, there is considerable inter- and intra-speaker variation. This occurs with various other consonants not found in the L1s of particular users of Pidgin Arabic. For instance, speakers of Pidgin Madam, with Sinhala as L1, may realize /f/ as [ɸ] and /w/ as [v]:

(8)   Pidgin Madam
     a.   ***ɸ**elē**ɸ**il* 'falafel'
     b.   ***v**ēn* 'where'

<div align="right">(Bizri 2010: 111)</div>

Bengali users of Jordanian Pidgin Arabic may realize /f/ as [p] (9a), /z/ as [s] (9b), and /dʒ/ as /z/ (9c):

(9)   Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
     a.   *byara**p*** '[I] know]
     b.   *tilivi**s**yōn* 'television'

<div align="center"></div>

c.   *izi* 'come'

(Al-Salman 2013: 39-40, 43)

Egyptian and Iraqi Arabic speakers of Romanian Pidgin Arabic typically realize /p/ as [b] in words of Romanian or English origin:

(10) **bib***ul* 'people'

(Avram 2010: 22)

Inter-speaker variation is particularly obvious in Gulf Pidgin Arabic, given the wide range of linguistic backgrounds of its users (Avram 2014: 15–16). Javanese, Indonesian, Sinhala, Tagalog speakers, for instance, may realize /f/ as [p], as seen in (11a); Indonesian and Javanese users may realize /z/ as [s] or [ʤ], as shown in (11b); Hindi and Urdu speakers may realize /w/ as [v], as illustrated in (11c):

(11) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
      a.   *na***p***ar* 'person'   Saudi Arabia

(Avram 2014: 17)

      b.   *sēn ~ ǧēn* 'good'   Oman

(Næss 2008: 32, 34)

      c.   *savi* 'to do' Kuwait

(Avram 2020b: 12)

Finally, geminate consonants frequently undergo degemination (see e.g. Avram 2010: 22, for Romanian Pidgin Arabic; Næss 2008: 36 and Avram 2014: 15, for Gulf Pidgin Arabic), as can be seen in the examples below:

(12) Romanian Pidgin Arabic
      sita 'six'

(Avram 2010: 22)

(13) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
      sita 'six'   Kuwait

(Salem 2013: 107)

3.2. Syntax

The substrate languages of Pidgin Madam, Jordanian Pidgin Arabic and Gulf Pidgin Arabic include many SOV languages, such as Bengali, Hindi/Urdu, Malayalam, Punjabi, Persian, Sinhala, Tamil a.o. For Gulf Pidgin Arabic several authors have looked in some detail into the frequency of the variable word order patterns attested. As shown by e.g. Almoaily (2012: 172), although his subjects were all speakers of Bengali, Malayalam and Punjabi, i.e. of SOV languages, they "use the GA [= Gulf Arabic] word order (SVO) in

more than two thirds of their GPA output"[2]. Almoaily (2012: 172) rightly considers the occurrence of verb-final word order "a minor substratal effect". Similarly, Alghamdi (2014: 122), for instance, concludes that "in the case of GPA [= Gulf Pidgin Arabic], there is a clear preference for the use of SVO over other sentence structures"[3]. However, as illustrated below, a number of correlates of SOV word order are attested in these three varieties of Pidgin Arabic.

3.2.1. Preverbal direct objects

In Pidgin Madam and Gulf Pidgin Arabic direct objects occasionally occur in pre-verbal position:

(14) Pidgin Madam
      *ana **kullu** sūɸa*
      1SG all   see
      'I saw all [of them]'

(Bizri 2010: 170)

(15) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
      *badēn **sābūn hattēti** Qatar*
      then   soap   put
      'then [I] put soap'

(Avram 2014: 25)

3.2.2. Possessor-possessee

The occurrence of the possessor-possessee order in attributive possession constructions is documented in all three varieties with SOV substrate languages. Consider first the following examples from Pidgin Madam (16) and Jordanian Pidgin Arabic (17), respectively:

(16) Pidgin Madam
      ***ana kaya** mūti*
      1SG brother die
      'My brother dies'

(Bizri 2010: 217)

(17) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
      *musnā **mudīr***
      factory manager
      'the factory's manager'

(Al-Salman 2013: 53)

---

[2] The rates are between 65.5% and 71.1%; see Table 8 in Almoaily (2012: 172).
[3] The rates are SVO 69% and SOV 23%, respectively; see Table 6 in Alghamdi (2014: 122).

In Gulf Pidgin Arabic, as shown by Avram (2014: 25), "considerable inter-speaker variation is attested in one of the structures expressing attributive possession". The examples below illustrate the occurrence of the possessor-possessee pattern:

(18)   Gulf Pidgin Arabic
       na   mama *w   aku*   Saudi Arabia
       1SG   mother   and   brother
       'my mother and my brother'

<div align="right">(Al-Ghamdi 2014: 15)</div>

3.2.3. Postpositions

As a rule, adpositions occur only rarely in the Arabic-lexifier pidgins discussed in the present paper. In two of these varieties, Pidgin Madam and Gulf Pidgin Arabic, prepositions etymologically derived from Arabic occasionally function as postpositions, as seen in (19) and (20), respectively:

(19)   Pidgin Madam
       ana ***pō***   *nēmi*
       1SG   above   sleep
       'lies on me'

<div align="right">(Bizri 2010: 227)</div>

(20)   Gulf Pidgin Arabic
       zamal ***fōk***   Oman
       camel above
       'on top of the camel'

<div align="right">(Avram 2014: 25)</div>

Note that Bizri (2014: 402) states that "it seems that the use of Arabic prepositions as postpositions is quite frequent among migrant workers", even though "researchers reporting on these varieties remain silent about this aspect". In fact, postpositions are rather rarely found, at least in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. Also, the occurrence of postpositions in this pidgin is mentioned in e.g. Avram (2014: 25), where it is explicitly specified that "adpositions, which are generally preposed, i.e. are prepositions, […] may also be postposed, i.e. function as postpositions".

4. Arabic foreigner talk

According to Ferguson (1971/1996: 121), "the foreigner talk of a speech community may serve as an incipient pidgin". Ferguson (1971/1996: 121) further writes that "the initial source of the grammatical structure of a pidgin is the more or less systematic simplification of the lexical source language which occurs in the foreigner talk register of its speakers". More recently, Mühlhäusler (1997: 102) states that "the importance of foreigner talk in Pidgin formation appears to be restricted to relatively early stages of development".

Since all the four Arabic-lexifier pidgins considered are in their early developmental stages, it is worth looking into the potential contribution of the Arabic Foreigner Talk register to their formation.

The relevance of Arabic Foreigner Talk in this respect has been mentioned. Tosco & Manfredi (2013: 510), for instance, write that "certainly the influence of foreigner talk was important in the genesis of GPA"; *mutatis mutandis*, then, the same should hold for the other varieties of Pidgin Arabic considered (see Avram 2018). Unfortunately, relatively little has been published on the Arabic Foreigner Talk register. There are general descriptions of Arabic Foreigner Talk in Al-Sharkawi (2007, 2010). Several varieties of this register have also been briefly discussed and illustrated in the literature: Egyptian Arabic Foreigner Talk in Al-Sharkawi (2007, 2010); Lebanese Arabic Foreigner Talk in Haraty & al. (2007), Bizri (2010); Saudi Arabic Foreigner Talk in Al-Ageel (2016); Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk in Wiswall (2002), Dashti (2013); Omani Arabic Foreigner Talk in Brockett (1985), Næss (2008).

What follows is an overview of a set of features which may arguably be traced to the Arabic Foreigner Talk register[4].

4.1. Omission of the definite article

The omission of the definite article is a characteristic of all four pidgins at issue:

(21) Pidgin Madam
bedeŋ   hayed   ɸi   Ø   kata   sīle
then   DEM   FI   veil   take off
'Then she took off the veil.'

(Bizri 2005: 63)

(22) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
masna   waditu   kullu   umal [...]
factory   send   all   wokers
'The factory sent all the workers […]'

(Al-Salman 2013: 63)

(23) Romanian Pidgin Arabic
Ø   Inǧiner   šuf   inte
     engineer   see   2SG
'The engineer sees you.'

(Avram 2010: 24)

(24) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
Ø   Muškil   eš? Oman
     problem   what
'What's the problem?'

(Avram 2018: 255)

---

4   These features have also been discussed in Avram (2017a, 2017b, 2018).

The omission of the definite article is documented in Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk. According to Dashti (2013: 73), "the Kuwaiti definite article /ʔil/ is always deleted".

(25) *ǧībi Ø qamīṣ Ø aḥmɛr min dāri*
bring   shirt   red   from   room-POSS.1SG
'Bring the red shirt from my room.'

(Dashti 2013: 73)

4.2. 'Two' + singular noun

In all four varieties 'two' + singular noun phrases replace the dual form of nouns:

(26) Pidgin Madam
nēn   yōm
two   day
'two days'

(Bizri 2010: 116)

(27) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
w   **itnēn   ukti**
and   two   sister
'I have one brother and two sisters.'

(Avram 2018: 253)

(28) Romanian Pidgin Arabic
itnen   dinar
two   dinar
'two dinars'

(Avram 2018: 253)

(29) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
iṯnēn   šahr   Saudi Arabia
two   month
'two weeks'

(Hobrom 1992, Appendix I The Transcript of Conversations)

The use of 'two' + singular instead of the dual is attested in the literature on Arabic Foreigner Talk. According to Al-Sharkawi (2010: 234), in Egyptian Arabic Foreigner Talk "the expression of the number two […] is consistently made possible by the use of the word […] *ʾitnēn* 'two' followed by the noun".

(30) *ʔitnēn   kitāb*
two   book
'two books'

(Al-Sharkawi 2010: 234)

Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk does not use the dual either. Dashti (2013: 78) explicitly mentions the fact that "[Kuwaitis use] the cardinal number […] followed by the singular noun […], even if a dual […] is required".

(31) *ṭalʔi*   ***aṯnēn diǧāǧa***   (Dashti 2013: 19)
     get out   two   chicken
     'prepare two chickens'

4.3 Plural marker 'all'

In the varieties of Pidgin Arabic under consideration, a plural marker etymologically from Arabic 'all' is occasionally used. In Pidgin Madam and Jordanian Pidgin Arabic this precedes the noun, as shown in (32) and (33), respectively:

(32)   Pidgin Madam
     kello *bēbi*
     all   baby
     'babies'

                                            (Bizri 2010: 116)

(33)   Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
     ana fi ***kullu*** *isi,*   *fi bandora, fi batata*
     1SG FI all   thing FI tomato   FI potato
     'I have things such as tomatoes, potatoes.'

                                         (Al-Salman 2013: 54)

In Romanian Pidgin Arabic (Avram 2010: 23), when used, the plural marker always occurs in a reduplicated form and is placed in post-nominal position:

(34)   *sayara* ***kulu-kulu***
     car   all
     'cars'

                                         (Avram 2018: 254)

A plural marker 'all' appears in Gulf Pidgin Arabic as well. Albaqrawi (2012: 129) states that Gulf Pidgin Arabic, as spoken in Saudi Arabia, "chooses different ways of indicating plurality without inflection of the noun form", which include "using the word *kullu*", but provides no examples. According to Alshammari (2018: 213), "sometimes lexical items such as *kullu* (< Arabic *kull-uh* "all of it") "all" function as pluralizers". In his only example *kullu* occurs in post-nominal position:

(35)   *mīn nafar ġasīl ṯōb   malābis* ***kullu****?* Saudi Arabia
     who person wash dress clothes   all
     'Who washes your clothes?"

                                         (Alshammari 2018: 153)

More recently, Al-Azraqi (2020) also provides one example, which is, however, ambiguous to say the least:

(36) *ʔinta **kullu** walad kabīr* Saudi Arabia
     2SG   all   child   big
     'Your children are old.'
     (Context: An Indian nurse speaks with a patient's relatives.)
                                                      (Al-Azraqi 2020)

Al-Azraqi (2020) herself writes that "*kullu* […] was used to pluralize the preceding pronoun", but tentatively adds that "though, it could pluralize the following noun as well". However, what weakens the case for *kullu* used as a plural marker in (36) is the fact that it appears in pre-nominal position, whereas in (35) it occurs postnominally. It would seem, then, that in Gulf Pidgin Arabic *kullu* is placed after a noun when optionally indicating plurality.

The use of 'all' as a plural marker is attested in at least one variety of Arabic Foreigner Talk. According to Dashti (2013: 77), "Kuwaitis […] generally delete the plural morpheme and use the word /killə/, meaning 'all of it' to indicate the plural":

(37) *ǧībi   hāḏa ǧanṭə **killə**   māl   āna*
     bring-IMP DEM bag   all of it POSS 1SG
     'bring my bags'
                                                (Dashti 2013: 77)

Notice, incidentally, that *killə* occurs postnominally, which matches its position in Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

4.4. Independent pronouns

As illustrated in examples (38) through (41), in all the four Arabic-lexifier pidgins independent pronouns are generally used instead of pronominal suffixes:

(38) Pidgin Madam
     ana *bēt*
     1SG house
     'my house'
                                               (Bizri 2010: 117)

(39) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
     *ʔana bisāid **huwwa***
     1SG   help   3SG
     'I help him'
                                        (Al-Salman 2013: 66)

(40) Romanian Pidgin Arabic
      *Inǧiner šuf **inte***
      engineer see 2SG
      'The engineer sees you.'

<div align="right">(Avram 2018: 255)</div>

(41) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
      *Ɂana fi kalam minšan **huwa*** Oman
       1SG FI speak PREP   3SG
      'I told him.'

<div align="right">(Almaʿašnī 2016: 268)</div>

The same is also frequently true of the Arabic Foreigner Talk register. Consider the examples below:

(42) Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk
      *hāḏa mū māl **āna***
      DEM   NEG POSS 1SG
      'These are not mine.'

<div align="right">(Dashti 2013: 75)</div>

(43) Saudi Arabic Foreigner Talk
      *šay **ana** lī yiǧīb yigdar?*
      tea 1SG for bring can
      'Can you bring me some tea?'

<div align="right">(Al-Ageel 2016: 169)</div>

4.5. Masculine singular adjective

A feature shared by three of the varieties discussed in the present paper (for Gulf Pidgin Arabic see Hobrom 1992: 81, Almoaily 2012: 114, Albaqawi 2020: 144) is the virtually exclusive use of an invariant form of the adjective, etymologically derived from the Arabic masculine singular:

(44) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
      *hunak fulūs muš **kuwajes***
      there   money NEG good
      'The salaries there are not good.'

<div align="right">(Al-Salman 2013: 68)</div>

(45) Romanian Pidgin Arabic
      *Hada sayara **zen**?*
      DEM   car   good
      'Is this car good?'

<div align="right">(Avram, own corpus)</div>

(46)   Gulf Pidgin Arabic
yani   mumken sana kamel   Saudi Arabia
means possible year   complete
'It means I probably have one complete year.'

<div align="right">(Albaqawi 2020: 144)</div>

The use across the board of the masculine singular form of adjectives is discussed in the literature on two varieties of Arabic Foreigner Talk. Self-reports elicited by Al-Sharqawi (2010: 235), for instance, mention a "uniform masculine treatment regardless of the gender of the preceding noun or pronoun" in Egyptian Arabic Foreigner Talk. Similarly, Dashti (2013: 80) notes that "when Kuwaitis communicate with their domestic workers, they usually use the masculine singular […] only".

(47)   Egyptian Arabic Foreigner Talk
*ʔintī   **kuwayyis**   kitīr*
2SG.F good.SG.M   much
'you are really good'

<div align="right">(Al-Sharkawi 2010: 235)</div>

(48)   Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk
*šīli   hāḏa ǧiwāti   **qadīm***
take DEM shoes old.SG.M
'keep all these old shoes'

<div align="right">(Dashti 2013: 80)</div>

Moreover, as illustrated by the following example, Saudi Arabic Foreigner Talk also resorts to the masculine singular form of the adjective:

(49)   Saudi Arabic Foreigner Talk
aṣfar   *ǧubnah   wāḥid*
yellow.SG.M cheese.SG.F one
'one yellow cheese [sandwich]'

<div align="right">(Al-Ageel 2016: 176)</div>

4.6. Masculine singular demonstrative

Romanian Pidgin Arabic uses exclusively the masculine singular form of the demonstrative.

(50)   Romanian Pidgin Arabic
*giv   **hada** sikina la   ani*
give DEM knife PREP 1SG
'give me that knife.'

<div align="right">(Avram 2018: 257)</div>

For Gulf Pidgin Arabic, Hobrom (1992: 82) mentions "a tendency to use the singular masculine form [hæða]". This is confirmed by more recent studies: "all informants" (Almoaily 2012: 89) or "most of the informants" (Albaqawi 2020: 145) are reported to use the masculine singular form of the demonstrative[5].

(51) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
      inti fī sawwi hāda muškila
      you FI make this problem
      'Did you cause this problem?'

                                                                    (Bakir in press)

As can be seen in (52), the generalized use of the masculine singular form of the demonstrative appears to be a feature of Saudi Arabic Foreigner Talk as well:

(52) *Ana **hāḏa** ġurfa 147*
      1SG DEM room 147
      'I'm in room 147.'

                                                                 (Al-Ageel 2016: 180)

As for Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk, Dashti (2013: 83) is quite explicit: "[Kuwaitis] usually use *hāða* exclusively", as shown in (53) below:

(53) *ǧībi **hāḏa**   ǧanṭə   killə māl āna*
      bring DEM.SG.M bag.SG.F all POSS 1SG
      'bring my bags'

                                                                  (Dashti 2013: 77)

4.7. Invariant form of verbs

There is consensus in the literature on the four Arabic-lexifier pidgins at issue that verbs typically occur in an invariant form (for an overview see Versteegh 2014a). Pidgin Madam makes use of verbs etymologically derived from feminine forms (Bizri 2010: 74), mostly in the imperative:

(54) Pidgin Madam
      ana rūyi nēmi
      1SG go   sleep
      'I am going to sleep.'

                                                                  (Bizri 2009: 139)

In the samples of Jordanian Pidgin Arabic in Al-Salman 2013), the form of verbs is mainly derived from the 3rd person singular masculine of the imperfective (55a), but forms derived from the imperative are also recorded (55b):

---

5   The examples in Bakir (in press) illustrate the sporadic occurrence of the feminine singular forms *hādi* or *hāy*.

(55) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
    a.   *ʔana sā   tamanya **izi** hōn*
        1SG   o'clock eight   come here.
        "I come here at eight o'clock.'

                                                              (Al-Salman 2013: 63)

    b.   *ana **gūl** hāda bāba […]*
            1SG   tell DEM boss
            'I told my boss […]'

                                                                 (Al-Salman 2013: 24)

    Verbs in Romanian Pidgin Arabic are derived etymologically from imperative forms:

(56) Romanian Pidgin Arabic
    *ani **šuf** inte*
    1SG see 2SG
    'I saw you.

                                                                        (Avram, own corpus)

    As for Gulf Pidgin Arabic (Bakir 2010: 206-209, Avram 2014: 18, Alshammari 2018: 51, Næss 2018), verbs are etymologically derived mainly from either the 3rd person singular masculine imperfective (57a) or from the imperative (57b), but also from verbal nouns and passive participles[6]:

(57) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
    a.   *ʔanā **yab**i […]*
            1SG   want
            'I want […]'
    b.   *ʔanā **gūm***
            1SG   stand

                                                                 (Bakir 2010: 206-207)

    For the prevalence of the 3rd person singular masculine imperfective and imperative there is evidence showing that these are the preferred forms in Arabic Foreigner Talk as well. According to Al-Sharqawi (2007: 119), in Lebanese Arabic Foreigner Talk "the feminine imperative [is] used as a finite verb" by "native speakers when addressing the housemaids". This is corroborated by Bizri (2010: 148) who notes that "Madame opte sans hésiter pour les formes impératives".

---

[6]   As recently shown by Næss (2018), the initial work environment may account, at least in part, for the fact that invariant forms derived etymologically from imperatives are prevalent in Gulf Pidgin Arabic as spoken by female domestic workers, whereas those derived from nouns are more frequently used by migrants in the service sector.

(58) ana **rūḥe**   māma
      1SG go.IMP.SG.F mother
      'I went to my mother's'

<div align="right">(Bizri 2010: 148)</div>

Dashti (2013: 71) writes about Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk that "Kuwaitis […] use the present tense whenever the past is required", as in the following example:

(59) leš mā   **yǧīb?**
      why NEG bring.IPFV.3SG.M
      'why didn't you bring [it]?'

<div align="right">(Dashti 2013: 77)</div>

As for Saudi Arabic Foreigner Talk, "the use of verbs […] is unstable" and "two forms of a verb can be used alternatively within the same conversation by the same speaker" (Al-Ageel 2016: 167). Example (60) shows that different forms of the same verb – the imperative and the imperfective – may occur even in the same sentence:

(60) kīs **ǧīb**   ba'deen zabadii **yiǧīb**   enti
      bag bring.IMP.2SG.M then   yogurt   bring.IPFV.2SG.M 2SG
      'Bring [me] the bag and then the yogurt'

<div align="right">(Al-Ageel 2016: 167)</div>

Finally, the use of the 3rd person singular masculine form of the verb is also attested in Omani Arabic Foreigner Talk:

(61) mā fī **yaʕraf**
      NEG FI 3SG.M-know
      'I don't know.'

<div align="right">(Brockett 1985: 25)</div>

4.8. Time adverbials to indicate tense and aspect

Given the absence of verbal inflections, all the varieties at issue rely on contextual clues or use time adverbials to indicate tense and aspect (see also Avram 1994, 1995, Versteegh 2014b). For instance, Gulf Pidgin Arabic resorts to time adverbials such as *alhin* 'now', *am(i)s* 'yesterday', *awwal* 'before', *bādēn* 'later', *bāčir* 'tomorrow' (Avram 2014: 27). As shown below, the same holds for the other Arabic-lexifier pidgins.

(62) Pidgin Madam
      abel ma ɸi si.
      before NEG FI thing
      'There was nothing before.'

<div align="right">(Bizri 2010: 122)</div>

(63) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
  *abu   ʔana   mūt   **gabul**   tamantās   sana*
  father 1SG   die   before   eighteen   year
  'My father died eighteen years ago.'

<div align="right">(Al-Salman 2013: 62)</div>

(64) Romanian Pidgin Arabic
  *Leš   rua   **dilwati**?*
  why   go   now
  'Why are you leaving?'

<div align="right">(Avram 2010: 26)</div>

(65) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
  *huwwa   fī   ʔizī   **ʔamis**   Saudi Arabia*
  3SG   FI   come   yesterday
  'He came yesterday.'

<div align="right">(Al-Azraqi 2020)</div>

The same strategy for indicating tense and aspect is used in the Arabic Foreigner Talk register. Consider the examples below from Lebanese Arabic Foreigner Talk (66) and Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk (67), respectively

(66) Lebanese Arabic Foreigner Talk
  bokra   *bēt   kello rūḥe   Ø   Bayrūt*
  tomorrow   house all   go   Beirut
  'Tomorrow, we'll all go to Beirut'

<div align="right">(Bizri 2010: 154)</div>

(67) Kuwaiti Arabic FT
  *āna   yisawwi   talifūn   **ams***
  1SG   make   telephone   yesterday
  'I phoned yesterday.'

<div align="right">(Dashti 2013: 72)</div>

4.9. Omission of prepositions

As expected of pre-pidgins or minimal pidgins, prepositions are typically omitted. With respect to Pidgin Madam, for instance, Bizri (2010: 130) states that it is characterized "par une absence de morphèmes marquant le directif, l'ablatif, le locative, ou l'attributif". An illustrative example is reproduced below:

(68) *kullu   Ø   sirlanka   ǧīp*
  all   Sri Lanka   bring
  'I had brought everything from Sri Lanka.'

<div align="right">(Bizri 2010: 130)</div>

Similar examples can be found in Jordanian Pidgin Arabic:

(69) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
nafarat bengāli kullu bizi Ø tyarah
people Bengali all come plane
'Bengali people come by plane'

<div align="right">(Al-Salman 2013: 43)</div>

With respect to Gulf Pidgin Arabic, Hobrom (1992: 83) writes that "prepositions are rarely used […] and are usually deleted". Consider the following example:

(70) *ruh Ø mahata* Saudi Arabia
go station
'[I] went to the petrol station.'

<div align="right">(Badairi & Al-Doubi 2020: 131)</div>

Here again there is evidence that prepositions are frequently left out in the Arabic Foreigner Talk register as well:

(71) Lebanese Arabic Foreigner Talk
bokra bēt kello rūḥe Ø Bayrūt
tomorrow house all go Beirut
'Tomorrow, we'll all go to Beirut'

<div align="right">(Bizri 2010: 154)</div>

(72) Saudi Arabic Foreigner Talk
ana Ø haḏa ġurfa 147
1SG DEM room 147
'I am in room 147'

<div align="right">(Al-Ageel 2016: 180)</div>

5. Simplification: A brief excursus

As already seen, the morphology and syntax of the four varieties of Pidgin Arabic under examination are characterized by considerable simplification, in comparison to that of Arabic, their lexifer language.

Since the four varieties at issue emerged in the context of large-scale migration, it is instructive to compare their simplification of the morphology and syntax with that attested in so-called "Basic Variety" of immigrant languages in Europe. Klein & Perdue (1997) report on the findings of a longitudinal study of 40 adult immigrants with Arabic, Finnish, Italian, Spanish, Turkish as L1 acquiring Dutch, English, French, German, Swedish. As far as the morphology and syntax of the L1s acquired are concerned, Klein & Perdue (1997) conclude that all the learners went through the so-called "Basic Variety" stage and that approximately one third did not progress beyond this stage. According to

Klein & Perdue (1997), the morpho-syntactic features of the "Basic Variety" include the following:
(i)   no inflections;
(ii)   categorial multifunctionality;
(iii)   invariant forms (but also some inflected forms);
(iv)   only a few quantifiers;
(v)   use of time adverbials to indicate tense and aspect;
(vi)   a single negator;
(vii)   a few prepositions;
(vii)   no complementizers;
(viii) no L1 influence except occasionally for word order.

Presumably, simplificatory processes should *a fortiori* characterize untutored second language acquisition of Arabic as well, but no such large-scale studies (involving acquirers of various L1 backgrounds) exist to date. However, the morpho-syntactic features identified by Klein & Perdue (1997) are also documented in the Arabic-lexifier pidgins under consideration: Bizri (2005, 2009, 2010), for Pidgin Madam; Al-Salman (2013), for Jordanian Pidgin Arabic; Avram (1997, 2007, 2010), for Romanian Pidgin Arabic; Hobrom (1992), Almoaily (2008), Næss (2008), Almoaily (2012), Avram (2014, 2016), for Gulf Pidgin Arabic. This suggests that simplification may have played a part in the formation of these varieties.

6. Incipient grammaticalization

6.1. Personal pronoun + 'all'

The paradigm of personal pronouns in all the varieties of Pidgin Arabic is reduced and consists essentially of singular forms only. However, the occasional use of Arabic-derived 'all' to construct the plural forms is recorded in two of these. An example in Jordanian Pidgin Arabic is given below:

(73)   Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
       *lēs   asan   huwwa **kullu** īzi   hon*
       why   because 3SG   all   come   here
       'Because they come here.'

(Al-Salman 2013: 64)

Gulf Pidgin Arabic (see Al-Azraqi 2020) also attests to the same use of 'all':

(74)   Gulf Pidgin Arabic
       a.   *ʔinta kullu fī rūh?* Saudi Arabia
             2SG   all   FI go
             'Are you going to leave?'

(Context: A Bengali builder asks his friends if they are going to leave soon.)

b. *huwwa kulu nōm* Saudi Arabia
    3SG   all   sleep
    'They are sleeping.'

(Context: An Indian nurse stops a visitor going inside the female ward because the patients are sleeping.)

(Al-Azraqi 2020)

Note, finally, that *kullu* occurs exclusively after the pronoun, which thus constitutes circumstantial evidence that a postnominal position is to be expected with nouns as well, as claimed in section 4.3.

6.2. Demonstrative as definite article

In the first description of Gulf Pidgin Arabic, Smart (1990: 105) claims that "in GP [= Gulf Pidgin] the demonstrative is much overused" and that "this overuse is very probably connected with the use of the demonstrative pronouns in Urdu to convey the force of a definite article". A similar claim is repeated in a description of Gulf Pidgin Arabic as spoken by Indian workers in Saudi Arabia. Hobrom (1996: 82) states that "in the Saudi Pidgin demonstratives are overused", which he attributes to "the influence of the speaker's first languages which use demonstratives to convey the force of a definite article". However, there is no evidence of an overuse of demonstratives either in Smart's (1990) examples or in the transcripts of the interviews in Hobrom (1996). Moreover, when demonstratives occur, they are used as such, not as substitutes for the definite article.
Some 40 years later, Al-Azraqi (2020) notes that in the variety of Gulf Pidgin Arabic spoken in Abha, Saudi Arabia "*hada* […] can denote definiteness in specific grammatical contexts". Reproduced below are her examples, which illustrate the fact that "in particular, *hada* this' when preceding nouns sometimes denotes definiteness":

(75) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
a. **hada** *kafīl* *Ɂawwal fī zalān*   Saudi Arabia
    DEM sponsor first   FI angry
    'The former sponsor was angry.'

(Context: A Filipino housekeeper explains that her former sponsor got upset because she had to leave.)

b. *inta   lāzim sūf* **hada** *marīd fōg*   Saudi Arabia
    2SG   must   see   DEM sick   upstairs
    'You must see the patient upstairs.'

(Context: An Indian nurse reminds her colleague to check the patient who is upstairs.)

Bakir (in press) also notes that "the demonstratives *haada, haadi* or *haay* are […] used as markers of definite reference" and that these are "in free variation, regardless of the gender or number of the following head noun":

(76)   Gulf Pidgin Arabic
  a. ***hādi*** *baladiyya* *alatūl* *sakkir*
    DEM municipality directly close
    'The municipality will close it right away.'
  b. *baad inta rūh **hāy** riǧǧāāl fii muškila, inta fii hāy siǧil*
    after you go DEM man FI problem you FI DEM record
    'Then, if you go and the man makes problems, you have the record'
<div align="right">(Bakir in press)</div>

According to Bakir (in press), this use is "a new development in this system" [= Gulf Pidgin Arabic]. This confirms the observation made above that the use of demonstratives to mark definiteness is not attested in earlier stages, as documented by e.g. Smart (1990) and Hobrom (1996). As put by Bakir (in press), "demonstratives in GPA are undergoing a process of acquiring a new function as markers of definite reference – i.e. grammaticalization". However, since in most cases there is still no overt marker of definiteness, Bakir (in press) correctly concludes that "this claim cannot be substantiated until the common variability in use ceases and its new use becomes consistent".

6.3. Completive marker

What appears to function as a completive marker, etymologically derived from Arabic *ḫalāṣ*, is recorded in three of the varieties of Pidgin Arabic considered. The examples below illustrate its occurrence in Pidgin Madam (77) and Romanian Pidgin Arabic (78), respectively:

(77) Pidgin Madam
  *kullu **kalas** sēwe bil bēt*
  all COMPL do in-DEF house
  'I have done everything in the house'
<div align="right">(Bizri 2010: 127)</div>

(78) Romanian Pidgin Arabic
  *Inte **halas** it?*
  2SG COMPL eat
  'Have eaten [everything]?'
<div align="right">(Avram 2010: 26)</div>

However, the completive marker does not appear to have been fully grammaticalized as yet, given that it occurs rather inconsistently in these two varieties.
  Consider next examples from Gulf Pidgin Arabic:

(79) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
  a. *inta **kalās** waddi fulūs?* Qatar
    2SG COMPL send money
    'Have you sent the money?'

b. *atbuk* **kalās** Qatar
cook COMPL
'[I] have cooked.'

<div align="right">(Avram 2014: 27)</div>

c. *Inta fi ruh dukan ḥalas?* Oman
2SG FI go store COMPL
'Have you already gone to the store?'

<div align="right">(Al-Mahrooqi & Dendan 2014)</div>

Hobrom (1996: 84) claims that "words such as [xəlɑːsˤ] 'finished' […] are frequently used to indicate […] aspect". Actually, it is infrequently used and not by all speakers. Finally, the fact that grammaticalization has failed to run its full course in Gulf Pidgin Arabic either is also shown by the occurrence of inter-speaker variation. As can be seen, *kalās/ḥalas* is placed in preverbal position in (79a), postverbally in (79b) and in sentence-final position in (79c).

7. Multiple factors

In a few cases, it may be argued that Pidgin Arabic features obtain via the conjunction of various factors, which presumably reinforce one another (see also Avram 2017a).

7.1. Substrate influence and Arabic Foreigner talk: Light verb 'make' + noun/adjective

Two of the varieties discussed in the present paper, Jordanian Pidgin Arabic and Gulf Pidgin Arabic, are characterized by the widespread occurrence of compound verbs of the type *sawwi* + noun/adjective:

(80) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
bādu **sawwi** *zadīd hada mudīr*
then make new DEM manager
'Then the manager renews [it].'

<div align="right">(Al-Salman 2013: 42)</div>

(81) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
sawi habar *ana* United Arab Emirates
make news 1SG
'Let me know!'

<div align="right">(Al-Yammahi 2008: 56)</div>

These constructions have been traced by Bakir (2010: 221) to the first languages of Gulf Pidgin Arabic users, many of which, e.g. Bengali, Hindi, Kannada, Marathi, Persian, Telugu, use a light verb 'to make'. Consider, for instance, Bengali noun/adjective + *karā* 'to make', Hindi/Urdu noun/adjective + *karnā* 'to make', Persian "compound verbs": noun/adjective + *kardan* 'to make'. However, as shown in Avram (2018: 259-260),

constructions with a light verb 'to make' etymologically derived from the Arabic roots *ʕml* or *swy* are also found in Arabic Foreigner Talk:

(82)   Egyptian Arabic Foreigner Talk
ʕamalt sūra   *šaḫsiyya*
made   picture   personal
'I had a picture taken of myself.'

(Al-Sharqawi 2010: 234)

(83)   Lebanese Arabic Foreigner Talk
ana bellēl   **ʕamele talifon**
1SG   in the night   make   telephone
'I will phone her tonight'

(Bizri 2010: 148)

(84)   Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk
āna **yisawwi talifūn**   *ams*
1SG   make   telephone   yesterday
'I phoned yesterday.'

(Dashti 2013: 72)

7.2.   Substrate influence, Arabic Foreigner Talk and incipient grammaticalization: Predicative copula *fi/fī*

Jordanian Pidgin Arabic occasionally uses *fī* as a predicative copula, as shown below:

(85)   Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
kullu fī gāli
every   FI   expensive
'Everything is expensive.'

(Al-Salman 2013: 68)

The same holds for Gulf Pidgin Arabic, in which the predicative copula *fi/fī* is more widely attested (Al-Azraqi 2010: 169-171, Bakir 2010: 216, Avram 2013, Al-Shurafa 2014: 18, Avram 2014: 20-21, Bakir 2014: 420, Potsdam & Alanazi 2014: 16). The following example illustrates the occurrence of *fi* as a predicative copula:

(86)   Gulf Pidgin Arabic
anta **fi** *zaʔlān* Oman
2SG   FI   angry
'You got angry.'

(Almaʕašnī 2016: 8)

In both varieties the zero predicative copula is also found. One source of the overt predicative copula may be the substrate languages. In the case of Jordanian Pidgin Arabic, while Bengali has a zero copula in the equivalent of example (83), it does have an

overt copula to express existence, location and possession; moreover, in the past tense Bengali uses a predicative copula as well. As for the substrate languages of Gulf Pidgin Arabic, most of the important ones, e.g. Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Persian, Tamil, Urdu, have overt predicative copulas, which might account for the more widespread use of the predicative copula *fi/fī* in this variety (Hobrom 1992: 66, Avram 2014: 20, 2017a: 144). A second source could be the Arabic Foreigner Talk register, in which *fī* is used as a predicative copula (Avram 2018: 261). Saudi Arabic Foreigner Talk is one such variety:

(87) Saudi Arabic Foreigner Talk
      kwayes *mā* **fī** *baʕdēn*
      good   NEG FĪ   then
      'It won't be good then.'

(Al-Ageel 2016: 171)

With respect to Omani Arabic Foreigner Talk, Brockett (1985: 24) explicitly mentions the fact that *fī* is used "with adjectives".

(88) Omani Arabic Foreigner Talk
      mā **fī** **zayn** *hēde*
      NEG FĪ   good   DEM
      'This isn't good.'

(Brockett 1985: 24)

Finally, grammaticalization may have also played a role. In both Jordanian Pidgin Arabic (Al-Salman 2013) and Gulf Pidgin Arabic *fi/fī* is also used as an existential copula (Avram 2013, 2014: 21-22, Mobarki 2020). It appears, then, that *fi/fī* has acquired the additional function of predicative copula, following the grammaticalization path EXIST > COPULA attested in other languages as well. However, as already mentioned, in both varieties the overt predicative copula *fi/fī* is in free variation with the zero predicative copula. In other words, *fi* has not been fully grammaticalized, and is therefore yet another instance of incipient grammaticalization.

7.3. Arabic Foreigner Talk, incipient grammaticalization (and substrate influence): Verbal predicate marker *fi/fī*

The samples of Jordanian Pidgin Arabic in Al-Salman (2013) illustrate the use of *fi/fī* as verbal predicate marker. As can be seen in the examples under (89), *fi/fī* combines with verbal predicates expressed by what are etymologically verbs, verbal nouns and passive participles:

(89) Jordanian Pidgin Arabic
      a. *ʔana* **fi** **kaf** *bas* *hassa* *kuwayes*
          1SG   FI   fear   but   now   good
          'I did fear [them], but now it's ok.'

(Al-Salman 2013: 67)

b. *bēbi* **fi** **nōm** *hassa*
    baby FI sleep now
    'The baby is sleeping now.'

(Al-Salman 2013: 65)

c. *kullu* **fī** **mālum**
    all   FI   know
    'I know [it] all.'

(Al-Salman 2013: 67)

This use of *fi/fī* is much better documented in Gulf Pidgin Arabic (Hobrom 1992: 63-65, Bakir 2010: 217, Avram 2012, Avram 2013, Al-Shurafa 2014: 19, Bakir 2014: 422-424, Al-Mahrooqi & Denman 2014, Potsdam & Alanazi 2014: 14-16, Almaʻašnī 2016). In this variety also *fi/fī* occurs with forms which are etymologically verbs, verbal nouns or passive participles, as shown below:

(90) Gulf Pidgin Arabic
      a. *ana* **fi** **gul** *inta* *taal* *bet* Saudi Arabia
          1SG FI say 2SG come house
          'I told you to come [to my] place.'

(Avram 2014: 23)

      b. **Fi** **kalam** *arabi?* Bahrain
          FI speak Arabic
          'Do you speak Arabic?'

(Online 2016)

      c. *Ana* *ma* **fi** **malum** Oman
          1SG NEG FI know
          'I don't know.'

(Al-Mahrooqi & Denman 2014)

One very likely source of this feature is the Arabic Foreigner Talk register. According to Wiswall (2002), Kuwaiti Arabic Foreigner Talk exhibits overuse of *fi/fī*, which occurs more frequently than in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. One of Wiswall's (2002) examples is reproduced below:

(91) *anta* **fi** *fakkar*
      2SG FI think
      'you think'

(Wiswall 2002)

Similarly, Brockett (1985: 24) notes the use in Omani Arabic Foreigner Talk of *fī* "with verbs and verbal nouns".

(92) *mā* **fī** *yīgi?*
  NEG FI come
  'hasn't he come?'

<div align="right">(Brockett 1985: 25)</div>

In the case of Gulf Pidgin Arabic, two grammaticalization chains may have also contributed to the emergence of the verbal predicate marker *fi/fī*: COPULA, LOCATIVE > CONTINUOUS (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 97) and CONTINUOUS > HABITUAL (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 93). Moreover, according to Bybee et al. (1994: 158), "progressive markers may develop into presents and imperfectives" and "the result is a gram [= grammatical morpheme] of very general meaning". The use of the verbal predicate marker *fi/fī* is still optional in both Jordanian Pidgin Arabic and Gulf Pidgin Arabic. However, it appears to be on its way to becoming a grammatical morpheme of very general meaning, the result of the following extended grammaticalization chain: COPULA, LOCATIVE > CONTINUOUS > HABITUAL > PREDICATE MARKER.

Finally, in the case of Gulf Pidgin Arabic substrate influence may have been an additional source (Avram 2014: 36, 2017a: 146), given that some of the most important substrate languages of this variety, e.g. Hindi, Persian, Urdu, use the auxiliary verb 'to be' in a number of tenses and aspects.

8. Discussion

The factors which according to the "Feature Pool" hypothesis drive the competition and selection of features can indeed account for several characteristics of Pidgin Arabic illustrated in section 3.

Markedness, for instance, is a plausible explanation for the loss or substitution of the marked consonant phonemes of Arabic.

Transparency and salience may account for the non-occurrence of e.g. the Arabic definite article. As is well known, the Arabic definite article exhibits phonologically conditioned allomorphy, it is not therefore transparent, and it is not salient either.

Consider next typological similarity. While dialectal Arabic is SVO, Pidgin Madam, Jordanian Pidgin Arabic and Gulf Pidgin Arabic exhibit word order patterns typical both of SVO and of SOV languages. The ensuing variation in word order thus reflects the contribution of such languages to the feature pool.

The factors said to drive competition and selection cannot explain, however, the absence in the four Arabic-lexifier pidgins considered of features such as plural endings, grammatical gender, inflections on verbs. Their absence remains unaccounted for, given that either all or at least a majority of the languages in the contact situation, have these features. The factors at issue cannot explain why all the Arabic-lexifier pidgins examined exhibit radical analyticity, defined by McWhorter (2020: 267) as "absence (or all but absence) of inflectional marking indicated by affixation, tone, or vowel changes in quality or length".

As shown in section 1, for the proponents of the "Feature Pool" hypothesis simplification plays no role. By way of consequence, the "Feature Pool" hypothesis does not take into consideration the simplification typical of the Arabic Foreigner Talk

register, in which, as seen in section 4, contextual morphology is not retained, while inherent morphology is replaced with analytic means, being therefore conducive to radical analyticity in the sense of McWhorter (2020). Arabic Foreigner Talk thus further reinforces the radical analyticity of the Arabic-lexifier pidgins examined.

Simplificatory processes typical of untutored adult second language acquisition are also relevant to the emergence of pidgins (see e.g. McWhorter 2001, Siegel 2008: 28-30, McWhorter 2012). As shown by Trudgill (2011: 40), "simplification will occur in sociolinguistic contact situations only to the extent that untutored, especially short-term, *adult* second language learning […] dominates". These are precisely the conditions under which the varieties of Pidgin Arabic at issue have come into being. Simplification is *a fortiori* expected in Gulf Pidgin Arabic since, as put by Trudgill (2011: 101), "simplification is most likely to be found in communities which demonstrate *high contact* (of the post-critical threshold type), *social instability*, and *large size*".

Consider also, from the perspective of untutored adult second language acquisition, the distinction operated by Booij (2005: 103-104) between contextual and inherent inflection. The former "is obviously determined by the syntactic contexts" and indicates case and concord, whereas the latter "is determined by what information the speaker wants to convey" and indicates number, tense and aspect. In other words, "contextual inflection *does* something", whereas "inherent inflection *means* something" (McWhorter 2020: 272). According to McWhorter (2020: 272), pidgins are generally characterized by the rarity of contextual morphology. As for the varieties of Pidgin Arabic at issue, none of them has retained the Arabic system of concord within the noun phrase. All varieties have replaced the Arabic inherent morphology marking number in nouns and pronouns – with the use of numerals or of 'all' – and that of the verb indicating tense and aspect – with time adverbials. This tallies with the fact that in adult second language acquisition contextual morphology is typically lost, whereas inherent morphology is more accessible (Plag 2008, McWhorter 2020). Note also that the combined effect of the non-retention of contextual morphology and the replacement of inherent morphology is radical analyticity, whose "origin […] in acquisition by adults is richly observed and thoroughly predictable" (McWhorter 2020: 279).

It has been suggested that the feature pool should be extended. Plag (2013: 143-144), for instance, states that the feature pool "may contain variants from all language varieties involved, i.e. from all first languages (superstrate, substrate, adstrate, etc.), all interlanguages (at all levels), and all L1 learner varieties (at all levels)". In light of the data analyzed in section 3, it appears that, except for L1 learner varieties, all other types of variant appear to have contributed to Pidgin Arabic features. Note, in particular, that "all interlanguages (at all levels)" presuppose the occurrence of simplification, a characteristic of untutored, adult second language acquisition.

Finally, as shown in section 6, grammaticalization may have contributed or reinforced some features found in the Arabic-lexifier pidgins considered. This accords with the widely held that grammaticalization proceeds at a more rapid pace in pidgin and creole languages.

5. Conclusions

The structural features of the four Arabic-lexifier pidgins examined are not all amenable to admixture/hybridization obtaining from competition and selection of features found in the languages in the contact situation, i.e. dialectal Arabic, as the lexifier, and the substrate languages, as posited by the "Feature Pool" hypothesis.

The structural features of Pidgin Arabic also reflect the contribution of the Arabic Foreigner Talk register, simplification typical of untutored adult second language acquisition and incipient grammaticalization. Evidence from the varieties of pidginized Arabic considered in this paper thus points to the necessity of going beyond the components and factors assumed by the proponents of the "Feature Pool" hypothesis, so as to fully account for the structural features of pidgin languages.

References

Aboh, Enoch O. 2009. "Competition and selection: That's all!", Aboh, Enoch O. & Smith, Norval (eds.), *Complex Processes in New Languages*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 317-344.

Aboh, Enoch O. 2015. *The Emergence of Hybrid Grammars. Language Contact and Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aboh, Enoch O. & Ansaldo, Umberto. 2006. "The role of typology in language creation: A descriptive take", Ansaldo, Umberto, Mattews, Stephen & Lim, Lisa (eds.), *Deconstructing Creole*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 39-66

Al-Ageel, Hessah. 2016. Requesting Behaviour of Saudi Arabian Women in Contemporary Arabic-Speaking Situations. PhD dissertation, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology.

Al-Azraqi, Munira. 2010. "Pidginization in the Eastern region of Saudi Arabia: Media presentation", Bassiouney, Reem (ed.), *Arabic and the Media. Linguistic Analyses and Applications*. Leiden: Brill. 159-174.

Al-Azraqi, Munira. 2020. "Pidginization in Abha, Saudi Arabia. Pathways to multifunctionality, *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 35 (1). 37-61.

Albaqawi, Najah, 2020. Gender Variation in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. PhD dissertation, University of Wolwerhampton.

Albakrawi, Hussien. 2012. "The linguistic effect of foreign Asian workers on the Arabic Pidgin in Saudi Arabia", *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 2 (9). 127-133.

Alghamdi, Emad A. 2014. "Gulf Pidgin Arabic: A descriptive and statistical analysis of stability", *International Journal of Linguistics* 6 (6). 110-127.

Aljutaily, Mohammad F. 2018. The Influence of Linguistic and Non-Linguistic Factors on the Variation of Arabic Marked Consonants in the Speech of Gulf Pidgin Arabic: Acoustic Analysis. PhD dissertation, The University of Georgia, Athens.

Al-Mahrooqi, Rahma & Denman, Christopher. 2014. "Societal changes in the Arabian Gulf: The case of language change and identity in Oman", paper presented at the Third Symposium of Sultan Qaboos Academic Chairs, 2–3 October 2014, The University of Tokyo Centre for Middle Eastern Studies.

Almaʿašnī, Muḥammad Sālim. 2016. "Dirāsatu fī al-ḥaṣāʿiṣ wa al-ṣarfiyyati wa al-tarkībiyyati li-l-luġati al-haǧīn fī ʿumān", *Maǧallatu al-ʿulūm al-insāniyyati*, 17 (1). 260-276.

Almoaily, Mohammad. 2008. A Data-Based Description of Urdu Pidgin Arabic. MA thesis, Newcastle University.

Almoaily, Mohammad. 2012. *Language Variation in Gulf Pidgin Arabic*. PhD dissertation, Newcastle University.

Al-Salman, Ibrahim A. K. 2013. Jordanian Pidgin Arabic. MA thesis, Yarmouk University, Irbid.

Alshammari, Wafi F. B. 2018. The Development of and Accommodation in Gulf Pidgin Arabic: Verbal and Pronominal Form Selection. PhD dissertation, Indiana University.

Al-Sharkawi, Muhammad. 2007. "Arabic Foreigner Talk", Versteegh, Kees (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Arabic Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2. Leiden: Brill. 116-122.

Al-Sharkawi, Muhammad. 2010. *The Ecology of Arabic. A Study of Arabicization*. Leiden: Brill.

Al-Shurafa, Nuha S. 2014. "Linguistic functions of *fii/maafii* in Hejaz Gulf Pidgin Arabic", *King Khalid University Journal for Humanities* 21 (1). 11-27.

Al-Yammahi, Ghaneimah S. A. 2008. "Al-'arabiyyatu al-'urdiyyatu al-haǧīn fī al-'imārāti al-'arabiyyati al-muttaḥidati. Maṯalun min madīnati Dubayy". MA thesis, University of Jordan.

Avram, Andrei A. 1993. "On the phonology of Arabic pidgins and creoles", *Revue roumaine de linguistique* XXXVIII (5). 403-412.

Avram, Andrei A. 1994. "On the morphology of Arabic pidgins and creoles", *Revue roumaine de lingistique* XXXIX (2). 121-129.

Avram, Andrei A. 1995. "Some structural characteristics of Arabic pidgins and creoles", Anghelescu, Nadia & Avram, Andrei A. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Linguistics*. Bucharest: Center for Arab Studies. 73-83.

Avram, Andrei A. 1997. "Un jargon arab", *Studii şi cercetări lingvistice* XLVIII (1-4). 27-38.

Avram, Andrei A. 2007. "Romanian Pidgin Arabic", *Romano-Arabica* VI-VII. 13-27.

Avram, Andrei A. 2010. "An outline of Romanian Pidgin Arabic", *Journal of Language Contact* 3. 19-37.

Avram, Andrei A. 2012. "On the functions of *fi* in the verbal system of Arabic Pidgins", *Romano-Arabica*, XII. 35-58.

Avram, Andrei A. 2013. "Multifunctionality in Gulf Pidgin Arabic: The case of *fi*", paper presented at Linguistics in the Gulf 4, 17–18 March 2013, Qatar University, Doha.

Avram, Andrei A. 2014. "Immigrant workers and language formation: Gulf Pidgin Arabic", *Lengua y Migración*, 6 (2). 7-40.

Avram, Andrei A. 2016a. "On the periphery of the periphery: Gulf Pidgin Arabic", Al Hamad, Muntasir F., Ahmad, Rizwan & Alaoui, Hamid I. (eds.), *Lisān al-Arab: Studies in Contemporary Arabic Dialects. Proceedings of the 10th International Conference of AIDA, Qatar University, 2013*. Viena: LIT Verlag. 61-74.

Avram, Andrei A. 2016b. "On the developmental stage of Gulf Pidgin Arabic", Grigore, George & Biţună, Gabriel (eds.), *Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide. Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of AIDA, Bucharest, 2015*. Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti. 87-97.

Avram, Andrei A. 2017a. "Sources of Gulf Pidgin Arabic features", Bettega, Simone & Gasparini, Fabio (eds.), *Linguistic Studies in the Arabian Gulf*. Turin: Università degli Studi di Torino. 131-151.

Avram, Andrei A. 2017b. "Superdiversity in the Gulf: Gulf Pidgin Arabic and Arabic Foreigner Talk", *Philologica Jassyensia* XIII 2 (26). 175-190.

Avram, Andrei A. 2018. "On the relationship between Arabic Foreigner Talk and Pidgin Arabic", Manfredi, Stefano & Tosco, Mauro (eds.), *Arabic in Contact*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 251-273.

Avram, Andrei A. 2020a. "Arabic pidgins and creoles", Lucas, Christopher & Manfredi, Stefano (eds.), *Arabic and Contact-Induced Change*. Berlin: Language Science Press. 321-347.

Avram, Andrei A. 2020b. ""Spreading the word": On the diffusion of Gulf Pidgin Arabic", Farkas, Imola-Ágnes & Todea, Adriana (eds.), *The Science of Linguistics: Papers in Honour of Ştefan Oltean*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană. 11-22.

Bakir, Murtadha J. 2010. "Notes on the verbal system of Gulf Pidgin Arabic", *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 25 (2). 201-228.

Bakir, Murtadha J. 2014. "The multifunctionality of fii in Gulf Pidgin Arabic", *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 29 (2). 410-436.

Bakir, Murtadha J. 2020. "The noun phrase in Gulf Pidgin Arabic". www.academia.edu/The_Noun_Phrase_in_Gulf_Pidgin_Arabic.

Baptista, Marlyse. 2017. "Competition and selection in creole genesis: How 'minimalist' languages yield maximal input", *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 32 (1). 138-158.

Bedairi, Layal T. & Al-Doubi, Suzan. 2020. "Usage of Arabic Pidgin language among Saudi Arabic speakers and foreign workers in Yanbu", *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Language Research* 7 (3). 121-141.

Bizri, Fida. 2005. "Le Pidgin Madam un nouveau pidgin arabe", *La Linguistique* 41 (2). 54-66.

Bizri, Fida. 2009. "Sinhala in contact with Arabic: The birth of a new pidgin in the Middle East", Singh, Rajendra (ed.), *Annual Review of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*. 135-148.

Bizri, Fida. 2010. *Pidgin Madame. Une grammaire de la servitude*. Paris: Geuthner.

Bizri, Fida. 2014. "Unity and diversity across Asian Migrant Arabic Pidgins in the Middle East", *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 29 (2). 385-409.

Bizri, Fida. 2018. "Contemporary Arabic-based pidgins and creoles in the Middle East." *The Routledge Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*, Benmamoun, Elabbas & Bassiouney, Reem (eds.). London and New York: Routledge. 421-438.

Booij, Geert. 2005. *The Grammar of Words. An Introduction to Linguistic Morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brockett, Adrian A. 1985. *The Spoken Arabic of Khabūra on the Batina of Oman*. Manchester: University of Manchester.

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

Dashti, Abdulmohsen A. 2013. "Interacting with domestic workers in Kuwait: Grammatical features of Foreigner Talk. A case study", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 224. 63-84.

Ferguson, Charles A. 1971/1996. "Absence of copula and the notion of simplicity: A study of normal speech, Baby Talk, Foreigner Talk and pidgins", Huebner, Thom (ed.), *Charles A. Ferguson, Sociolinguistic Perspectives. Papers on Language in Society, 1959 – 1994*. New York: Oxford University Press. 115-123.

Haraty, Nabelah, Oueini, Ahmad & Bahous, Rima 2007. "Speaking to domestics in Lebanon: Power issues or misguided communication?", *Journal of Intercultural Communication* 14. http://www.imoni.se/nr14/haraty.htm.

Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, T. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobrom, Anwar. 1992. An Analysis of the Arabic Pidgin Spoken by Indian Workers in Saudi Arabia. MA thesis, Kansas University.

Klein, Wolfgang. & Perdue, Clive. 1997. "The Basic Variety (or: Couldn't natural languages be much simpler?)", *Second Language Research* 13. 301-347.

Levebvre, Claire. 2015. *Relabeling in Language Genesis*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Manfredi, Stefano. 2020. "The Arab world", Ansaldo, Umberto & Meyerhoff, Miriam (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Languages*. London and New York: Routledge. 33-50.

Manfredi, Stefano & Bizri, Fida. 2019. "Arabic-based pidgins and creoles", Al-Wer, Enam & Horesh, Uri (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Arabic Sociolinguistics*. London and New York: Routledge. 134-147.

McWhorter, John. 2001. The rest of the story: Restoring pidginization to creole genesis theory. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 17 (1). 1-48.

McWhorter, John. 2012. "Case closed? Testing the feature pool hypothesis", *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 27 (1). 171-182.

McWhorter, John. 2020. "Radical analyticity as a diagnostic of adult acquisition", Arkadiev, Peter & Gardiani, Francesco (eds.), *The Complexities of Morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 267-282.

Mobarki, Yahya A. A. 2020. "From locative existential construction *fi(ih)* to a TMA/progressive marker", *Journal of Historical Liunguistics* 10 (1). 111-135.

Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2001. *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mufwene, Salikok S. 2008. *Language Evolution: Contact, Competition and Change*. London & New York: Continuum.

Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2009. "Restructuring, hybridization, and complexity in language evolution", Aboh, Enoch O. & Smith, Norval (eds.), *Complex Processes in New Languages*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 367-400.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1997. *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*, expanded and revised edition. London: University of Westminster Press.

Næss, Unna G. 2008. "Gulf Pidgin Arabic": Individual Strategies or a Structured Variety? A Study of Some Features of the Linguistic Behaviour of Asian Migrants in the Gulf Countries. MA thesis, University of Oslo.

Næss, Unna G. 2018. "The impact of work environment on verbs in Gulf Pidgin Arabic", *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 33 (2). 362-385.

Plag, I. 2008. "Creoles as interlanguages: Inflectional morphology", *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 23 (1). 114-135.

Plag. Ingo. 2013. "Creolization and admixture: Typology, feature pools, and second language acquisition", Bhatt, Parth & Veenstra, Tonjes (eds.), *Creole Languages and Linguistic Typology*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 141-161.

Potsdam, Eric & Alanazi, Muhammad. 2014. "*Fi* in Gulf Pidgin Arabic", *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* 35. 9-29.

Salem, Ashraf A. M. S. 2013. "Linguistic features of Pidgin Arabic in Kuwait", *English Language Teaching* 6 (5). 105-110.

Siegel, Jeff. 2008. *The Emergence of Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smart, Jack R. 1990. "Pidginization in Gulf Arabic: A first report", *Anthropological Linguistics* 32 (1-2). 83-119.

Tosco, Mauro & Manfredi, Stefano. 2013. "Pidgins and creoles", Owens, Jonathan (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 495-519.

Trudgill, Peter. 2011. *Sociolinguistic Typology. Social Determinants of Linguistic Complexity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Versteegh, Kees. 2014a. "Pidgin verbs: Infinitives or imperatives?", Buchstaller, Irene, Holmberg, Anders & Almoailly, Mohammad (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles beyond Africa-Europe Encounters*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 141-170.

Versteegh, Kees. 2014b. "Speaking of the past. The development of past time reference in Arabic pidgins", *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 29 (2). 211-231.

Wiswall, Abdul-Qadir. 2002. Gulf Pidgin: An expanded analysis. http://oak.cats.ohiou.edu/~aw 321500.

RESEARCH INTO KHORASAN ARABIC:
A PRELIMINARY REPORT AND TEXTS FROM ARABKHANE AND KHALAF

VOLKAN BOZKURT

Heidelberg University, Germany
Allameh Tabataba'i University, Iran

Abstract. My PhD thesis project aims to describe the Bedouin-type Arabic dialect of Arabkhane in Iran's South Khorasan Province. For that purpose, I enrolled as a visiting researcher at Tehran's Allameh Tabataba'i University in late summer of 2019. Khorasan Arabic's closest affiliates are the dialects of the Arabic-speaking exclaves of Afghanistan (Mazar-e Sharif, Balkh, Jowzjan) and the varieties of the Uzbekistan group (Bukhara, Qashqadarya). Together they constitute the peripheral branch of so-called Central Asian Arabic. Unlike the dialects of Uzbekistan Arabic which are fairly well documented, we have only little knowledge of Afghanistan Arabic and, until recently, knew not much about the Arabic dialects of Iranian Khorasan. No full monograph has been published on either of these languages. Apart from a few hints, especially Arabkhane due to being dialectologically uncharted, seemed to be an almost mystified place in western academic discourse. This paper gives information about the type and scope of my research in Khorasan, the localization of Arabkhane's 30+ Arabic villages as well as annotated sample texts from Arabkhane and Khalaf. Notably, the texts from my Arabkhane corpus are among the first material ever to be published from this region. Halted fieldwork in the Islamic Republic of Iran will hopefully resume when the COVID-19 pandemic allows. This will include further research on the undocumented dialect of the so-called Khamse Arabs of Fars Province, to which I only briefly refer in the present paper.
Keywords: Khorasan Arabic, Central Asian Arabic, Arabkhane, Khalaf, Iran, field research, Khamse Arabs

1. Research Objective

Our insights into the Arabic dialects spoken in Iran's eastern province of South Khorasan are scarce. Ever since Ulrich Seeger's short trip to Sarab, Khalaf and Sarakhs in September 1996 and Sven-Olof Dahlgren's two visits to the Islamic Republic of Iran in the years 2000 and 2001, no western dialectologist has worked on these peripheral Arabic varieties.

While Seeger published his findings on Khalaf Arabic sparingly at intervals over the last twenty years, Dahlgren provides us with a well-informed report about speakers of Arabic in Iran in general and with another contribution – albeit with shortcomings – which is dedicated to the linguistic features of Arabkhane Arabic.

Dahlgren's data is mainly "based on elicited speech, through questionnaires and stories from the book of Genesis" which he "asked the informants to translate into the Arabic dialect" (Dahlgren 2005: 162). Only at the end of his article Dahlgren presents five very brief sample texts of transcribed live speech including interlinear glossing.

During my own first fieldwork in Iran from August to November 2019, I became aware of scientific research published on Khorasan Arabic by Iranian authors (see references). These are mostly papers dealing with phenomena of language contact between Persian and Arabic. Some are short monographs which represent qualification theses at departments of Persian Language and Literature. Others constitute journal articles submitted by experts in Classical Arabic.

Hardly any of these publications, however, meet the standards of an extensive research as we have grown accustomed to in modern Semitic dialectology. Apart from a few phrases, wordlists and single lexical items that are supposed to show linguistic interference, they give little or no authentic text material in the Arabic vernacular of Arabkhane. In the majority of cases the rendered method of transcription seems rather unreliable. At times, it is not clear how the data was gathered. Accordingly, a comprehensive grammar describing phonology, morphology and syntax of the Arabic dialect of Arabkhane has become a desideratum.

One need not be familiar with Khorasan Arabic to detect some obvious flaws in a number of papers e.g. Noruzi & Salehi (2018: 235–241) claim that the Arabic verb *ista* / *yisti* "to become" was borrowed from Persian *-ast* or *hast* (3. sing. of *budan* "to be"). This includes all verbal forms and flexional paradigms like the participle *misti*, *-ayye*, *-īn*, *-ayyāt*. They use the following transcription to convey their point: *est-ēt* "I became", *y-est-i* "he becomes", *m-est-i* "he has become".

This is preposterous from a linguistic point of view and the authors should have also researched the Arabic etymology. Seeger (2002: 639) rightly explained *itte ~ ittâ* / *yitti* as form VIII of *s-w-y* already in his first article on Khalaf Arabic which has long been easily accessible through the Internet.

Another assertion made by Noruzi & Ghorbani Juybari (2015: 171) appears unreliable. While negation in all of Arabkhane is expressed by Arabic *mā̄* and *lā̄*, according to them in its southern village of Khosrowabad the negating particle has been partially replaced by Persian *nē-* except for the 1. sing., thus yielding verbal forms like 1. sing. *mā-qâd-ē* "I do not go", but 3. masc. sing. *nē-yâ-qâd-ē*, 2. fem. sing. *nē-tâ-qâd-ēn* and so forth.

During my field research I made several several audio recordings from the relatively nearby village of Burgan. In fact, neither in Burgan nor any other place in Arabkhane did I have the chance to gather linguistic data which shows a similar negation pattern.

2. Locating South-Khorasan Arabic

Similar to the situation of Uzbekistan and Afghanistan Arabic, the Arabic-speaking areas of eastern Iran constitute language islands. The two regions of South Khorasan where Arabic is primarily spoken – Arabkhane and Darmiyan County – are separated by a distance of 150 km. Both are best reached via Birjand, the capital city of Iran's South Khorasan Province.

2.1 Arabkhane

Historical "Arabkhane" as a denomination for the region where Arabs live spreads across four modernday South Khorasan rural districts: Shusf, Arabkhane, Naharjan and Momenabad. Its heartland undoubtedly is the *dehestân* of Arabkhane which is located some 100 km south of Birjand. Here we find the highest number and density of ethnically Arab settlements. The few villages with Arab population in the adjacent rural districts of Shusf, Naharjan, and Momenabad are to be regarded extensions of Arabkhane.

A geographical subdivision of the entire region of historical Arabkhane can be realized along South Khorasan's administrative entities:

County	District	Rural District
šahrestân	*baxš*	*dehestân*
Nehbandan [نهبندان]	Shusf [شوسف]	Shusf
Nehbandan	Shusf	Arabkhane [عربخانه]
Sarbishe [سربیشه]	Mud [مود]	Naharjan [نهارجان]
Sarbishe	Central District [بخش مرکزی]	Momenabad [مومن آباد]

The most up to date information about the population of the *dehestân* of Arabkhane is to be found in the census of the Islamic Republic of Iran of the year 2006. According to the figures published the documents showing the outcome of the census, this rural district comprises 84 villages (*âbâdi*), a population of 5,738 and covers a territory of 2,811 square km (Nasseh 2008: 50).

Unlike its name suggests, not all of the villages and hamlets of Arabkhane are Arabic-speaking. One group of my informants identified 33 places out of the census's list as originally and still Arabic. Another one named 38 villages as Arabic-speaking adding that some names were missing on the census's list. Of course, none of these rural areas is exclusively monolingual nowadays.

On the other hand, 43 villages of Arabkhane rural district were identified as Persian-speaking. The Arabs I asked characterized the rest of the localities as abandoned places or they had no information on them.

The number of inhabitants of Arabkhane's villages range from as few as 10 people in 4 families in Kalateh-ye Aliabad to 799 people in 205 families in Dehek, called *iDhič* in the local Khorasan Arabic dialect. Neither are Arabic settlements.

In fact, according to repeated reassurances of the Arabs I met, Dehek's native population speaks neither Arabic, nor Persian. An informant from Tighdar put it this way: *gutt vâḥud ilsānhum mā yúfutneh* "nobody understands their language". That, of course, and the exact number of Arabic settlements in all of the rural districts of South Khorasan still remain to be verified by further exploration.

The Iranian General Ali Razmara (1901-1951)'s geographical encyclopedia from 1950 contains a large-format map of the "Shahrestan of Birjand". The area of Arabkhane appears on it in big red letters. Yet the Arabic script designating the names of the villages is so densely written that some are partly illegible. For this reason, I am also revising and updating the site plan of Arabkhane.

2.2   Darmiyan County

Ample historical and geographical information on Khalaf and its neighbouring Arabic villages in Darmiyan County has been outlined by Seeger (2002: 629-631). Unlike the settlements of Arabkhane, at least Khalaf is locatable on any given map of the region. It lies 90 km north-east of Birjand.

Khalaf is an entirely Arabic village with a population of 387 numbering in 105 families according to the latest official Iranian census from 2006. Its nearest Arabic neighbour village is Darreh-ye Charm, which is situated 4 km south-east of Khalaf. A smaller village named Mohammadiyeh is situated 11 km south-west of Khalaf. Before the 1979 Revolution apparently it was known as Cheshm-e Shah, later renamed as Cheshm-e Shad.

While these three settlements are purely Arabic-speaking located in Miyandasht rural district, Sarab, which lies about 20 km north-east of Khalaf, is half Arabic, half Persian. Administratively it belongs to the *baxš* of Qohestan. Villagers from Rud-e Robat [رودرباط] in Darmiyan County, originally from Sarab, have preserved their Arabic language. A number of Arabic families are also to be found in Nakhab [نخاب], 3 km south of Darreh-ye Charm.

Tune [تونه], a village 70 km south of the city of Torbat-e Jam, an ancient centre of Sunni Islam, has seen some migration of Arabs from Khalaf and Sarab. Today only few of their inhabitants still speak Arabic. Other formerly Arabic villages are Khorshidan [خورشیدان], 4 km west of Nakhab in Qohestan district, and Surand [سورند] in Zirkuh rural district, 20 km north-east of Sarab.

3. Text corpus

During the course of my first academic stay in Iran, I had the opportunity to conduct a total of 16 hours and 33 minutes of interviews in 124 recordings, 87 of which are from Arabkhane and 37 from Darmiyan County. Their length ranges from short audios of a few minutes to long recordings of up to 35 minutes.

I have prepared a first-draft transcription of roughly 55 of them and elicited some inflectional paradigms of Khorasan Arabic verbs and nouns. It is only natural that a continued study of the data will bring to light more linguistic questions that need to be addressed and corroborated in further working sessions with competent native speakers.

3.1 Itinerary in Arabkhane

Linguistic data was acquired by travelling to 17 of the Arabic-speaking villages located in three of the four rural districts constituting historical Arabkhane.

As many Arabs live in Birjand, where I was based during my fieldwork, I found speakers from additional Arabkhane villages there. Travels to Mud, Mashhad, and Shandiz enabled me to conduct further interviews.

On the way back from Mashhad, I jumped at the unexpected chance to talk to an Arab from Fariman on a motorway breakdown lane near Torbat-e Heydarieh. We arranged a meeting and he shared with me some information on the Arabic population

residing in and around Sarakhs, a city in Khorasan-e Razavi Province at the border to Turkmenistan. Generations ago some families from Arabkhane migrated there.

Among my sources were people who were born and had always lived in Arabkhane. Another group grew up there and left to live and work in the urban centres of Iran.

I include a few recordings from second generation speakers of Arabic who are natives of Tehran and Mashhad. Most of these Arabs who do not live in Arabkhane visit their homeland on special occasions. Some of them hold very close ties to Arabkhane, especially those who live in nearby Birjand. They usually have family or a house there and visit on the weekends. Summer is the time when Arabkhane really comes to life.

In chronological order and separated according to county, district and rural district of my travelling, the schedule included the villages mentioned below. Numbers providing information on total population and family count are included after the census list number. As before, toponyms are presented the way one would find them Romanized on road signs, in publications from Iran or the Internet along with their original spelling. The transcribed names in brackets refer to the Arabic place name as far as I was able to confirm them.

Nehbandan – Shusf – Shusf

| Seyyed Morad | [سیدمراد] | [Sayyd iMrā́d] | Census 1302:104; 31 |

Nehbandan – Shusf – Arabkhane

Tighdar(-e olya)	[تیغدر علیا]	[Tīġdar]	Census 1391:134; 35
Abdolabad	[عبدل آباد]		not listed
Naemeh	[نایمه]	[Nā́yme]	Census 1404:51; 17
Duzangan	[دوزنگان]	[Dūzingân]	Census 1378:23; 6
Tutesk	[توتسک]	[Tūtisk, Tūtisč]	Census 1390:148; 43
Hasanabad(-e Jamali)	[حسن آباد جمالی]	[Ḥisnâve, Ḥusnâve]	Census 1394:45; 14
(Kalateh-ye) Sarvar	[کلاته سرور]	[(Kalā́t as-)Sarvar]	Census 1399:82; 23
Kondor	[کندر]	[Kundir, Kundur]	Census 1402:67; 21
Fereydun	[فریدون]	[Fireydūn, iFreydūn][1]	Census 1398:no data
Burgan(-e bala)	[بورگان بالا]	[Būrgân][2]	Census 1370:89; 19

Sarbishe – Mud – Naharjan

Jik(-e sofla)	[جیک سفلی]	[Ǧī́g]	Census 882:70; 21
Golnam(-e olya)	[گلنام علیا]	[Gullâm, Gulnâm]	Census 887:129; 40
Cheshme Gav	[چشمه گاو]	[Čišmigâv]	Census 883:47; 15
Nowzad	[نوزاد]	[Nawzā́d, Nowzā́d]	Census 889:27; 8
Ramangan	[رامنگان]	[Râmungân]	Census 885:27; 5
Zeydar	[زیدر]	[Zeydar, Zḗdar]	Census 886:373; 90

---

[1] Fereydun is also known as کلاته پوزه [Kalā́t ap-Pūze] among Arabs.
[2] A place name sign positioned at the entry to the village erroneously reads "Porgan" [پورگان].

Arabic-speakers from the following villages were interviewed *ex situ*:
Nehbandan – Shusf – Arabkhane

Soreykhan(-e sofla)	[سریخان سفلی]	[Sirīxā̃n, iSrīxā̃n]	Census 1395:134; 43
Chah Kord	[چاه کرد]	[Čâhkurd]	Census 1392:58; 14
Kushe(-ye olya)	[کوشه علیا]	[Kūše]	Census 1403:no data
Darreh-ye Kuran	[دره کوران]	[Darey Kūrā̃n]	Census 1377:91; 23

Sarbishe – Mud – Naharjan
Bimorz   [بیمرز]   [Bīmurz]   Census 917:no data

My recordings include two interviews with migrants from Arabkhane to Sarakhs, one of whom I met in Mashhad, the other in Tutesk where he was visiting.

The village "*Očâní* (اوچانی)" mentioned to Seeger (2002: 631) by Khalaf Arabs is most probably to be identified as Achuni (اچونی) in Qaen County, north of Mohammadabad-e Alam. According to reports from my Arabkhane sources, the few Arabic families residing in the village originate from Soreykhan and no longer speak Arabic.

3.2 Itinerary in Darmiyan County

Since the main subject of my research is the description of Arabkhane Arabic, I devoted much of my time and resources to delve into this region during my visit to Iran.

However, no less effort was put into pursuing the closely affiliated Arabic dialect of Darmiyan County. I frequented all four main villages where Khalaf Arabic is spoken and collected linguistic data from their natives. Additional interviews were conducted in Birjand and Asadiyeh (formerly named Asadabad).

Taking this variety into account has proven to be helpful to highlight the linguistic features of Arabkhane Arabic. Some comparative remarks can be found in my forthcoming paper on preliminary linguistic findings regarding Khorasan Arabic. A more detailed picture is reserved for my PhD thesis.

Darmiyan [درمیان] – Central District [بخش مرکزی] – Miyandasht [میاندشت]

Khalaf	[خلف]	[Xalaf]	Census 646: 387; 105
Mohammadiyeh	[محمدیه]	[Muḥammadiyye]	Census 650: 171; 34
Darreh-ye Charm	[دره چرم]	[Darey Čarm]	Census 647: 581; 123

Darmiyan – Qohestan [قهستان] – Qohestan
Sarab(-e sofla)   [سراب]   [Ṯarow]   Census 561: 276; 87

4. Fars Province

Towards the end of my fieldwork, I spent four days in Shiraz to meet Arabs from the Khamse tribal confederation of Fars Province in Iran's south-west. The province's capital city of Shiraz lies within a 1,100 km travelling distance from Arabkhane.

As its name suggests, the Khamse (*ilât-e xamse*) comprise a confederation of five nomadic and pastoral tribes which was once formed for political reasons under Nasereddin Shah in the mid 19th century. It consists of one Persian tribe (Basseri), three Qashqai Turkic tribes (Inanlu, Baharlu, Nafar) and an Arabic tribe, the so-called Khamse Arabs.

The Arabic tribe (*il-e ʿarab*) is made up of two branches: the Shaybani and the Jabbare. Further subdivisions of affiliation are indicated through the Persian terms *tâyefe* ("faction"), *tire* ("family") and *owlâd* ("descendants").

The Khamse Arabs believe that the Shaybani originate from the Arabian Peninsula's Gulf region and first migrated to Khorasan before settling in Fars. Apparently, the Jabbare joined them at a later stage.

The Arabic dialect of the Khamse Arabs is most likely genetically affiliated with the Central Asian Arabic branch. Despite its geographical proximity to Ahvaz, it does not resemble the Khuzestan *gilit*-type Arabic of Ahvazi Arabs.

Based on the report given to me by the Khamse Arabs, there are currently at least 16 villages in Fars Province with Arabic population. A part of these Arabs have long become urbanite and reside in the metropolis of Shiraz. Yet most of them maintain their maternal language.

Our hosts were very cordial and I was lucky enough to record a good dozen audio interviews with distinguished Arabic gentlemen during a soiree held in a private home in Shiraz. Among them was Ali Mohammad Najafi, the author of a number of books about the history of the Khamse Arabs, evidently an authority in this field. Other speakers included teachers, poets, a retired military officer, a university counsellor and a retired judge. On a regular basis they gather to cultivate their Arabic culture and language.

Another occasion gave me the opportunity to conduct several more interviews in a less intellectual and formal setting. Like in my Khorasan corpus, the interviewed included both men and women.

I was told that the number of the Khamse Arabs who still lead a semi-nomadic lifestyle like some of the Turkic tribes of the Qashqai decreases.

There will be an opportunity to share qualified insights into the linguistic features of this hitherto undocumented Arabic dialect when my research has advanced.

Dahlgren's assessment that their "dialect proved to be quite different from that of Arabkhane" is indeed true (Dahlgren 2002–2003: 91). While true, I observed that Khorasan Arabic and Khamse Arabic are mutually intelligible to a considerable degree. Certainly, loans from Persian shared by both languages facilitate and enhance this intelligibility.

Taking into account Seeger's compilation of Central Asian Arabic (2013: 313–317), some fundamental features of Khamse Arabic clearly resemble those of Afghanistan and Bukhara Arabic rather than Khorasan Arabic. Others seem to be unique to it.

It cannot be confirmed that "their verbal and pronominal morphology is very reduced". Khamse Arabs do not "have identical forms for masculine and feminine" for

the third person singular (both assertions by Dahlgren 2002–2003: 91). That is the case for the second and third person plural.

5. Texts

The following texts are all from South Khorasan. The underlying audio recordings will eventually be published in Heidelberg University's archive of Semitic Languages.[3]

5.1 Arabkhane

Texts I and II are among the first to be published from Arabkhane. They represent closely the actual sociolinguistic situation of Arabkhane Arabic.

The first text was recorded in the village of Būrgân with an elderly woman who has lived in Arabkhane all her life. The second one originates from a gathering in Mashhad following a funeral at the Behesht-e Reza cemetery. Its speaker left Arabkhane's Kūše to live in Tehran and Mashhad.

Text I (Arabxâne): Things that were better in the old days

Fâtime ʿAli ʿAbbās, 76 years old from Būrgân
recorded on 19 September 2019 in Būrgân

1. *ana xâltok[4] ač-čibīre, sinni haftâd-o šiš[5] sâl[6], tavallud bīs[7] hast, durus[8]-hu?* 2. *baʿdán, ēš… če[9] masalan… zamân avval al iḥna zindigiyye imsīn[10] fi gbab[11] čūbiyye[12].* 3. *fas[13]-sūlâx[14] čān ʿinhín, zaww[15] čīn[16] insayy. yā[17] zaww ġuza[18] čān nusḥub[19], čāhi[20] čān*

---

[3]   Semitisches Tonarchiv (SemArch): http://semarch.uni-hd.de.

[4]   In Būrgân the suffix for 2. masc. sing. is a characteristic *-ok* [ɔk] while Arabkhane largely has *-ak*.

[5]   Pers. هفتاد و شش (*haftâd-o šeš*) "seventy-six". With a few exceptions, numerals in Khorasan Arabic are expressed by borrowings from Persian.

[6]   Pers. سال (*sâl*) "year", after numerals usually Pers. روز (*ruuz*) "day" and *sâl* are used instead of Arab. *yūm* and *sane ~ sine*.

[7]   Pers. بیست (*bist*) "twenty", referring to the year 1320 of the Iranian calendar which corresponds to Gregorian 1941.

[8]   Pers. درست (*dorost*) "true, correct".

[9]   Khorasan Arabic "how, what sort of" from Pers. چه (*če*) "id.".

[10] Pers. زندگی کردن (*zendegi kardan*) "to live one's life".

[11] Khorasan Arabic *gubbe* "house", pl. Arabkhane: *igbab*, Khalaf: *gubab*.

[12] Pers. چوبی (*čubi*) "wooden, log-built".

[13] Like the definite article *al-*, the indeterminate article *fal-* assimilates to every consonant.

[14] Pers. سوراخ (*surâx*), dialectal سولاخ (*sulâx*) "hole, cavity".

[15] Khorasan and Khamse Arabic *zaww ~ zoww* (fem.) is "fire".

[16] *čīn* is used in the Būrgân region alongside *čān* (perfect) and *čāyin* (participle).

[17] "with", compare Old Arabic *ʾiyyā*. Khamse Arabs have *viya ~ fiya ~ vayy* for "with".

[18] Also *ġida ~ ġiḏa* "food, meal, aliment", Khalaf *ġuḏe* (text IV, 1). Pers. form is غذا (*ġazâ*).

nushub, [P]*gâv*[21]*, gūsfand*[22] *īn īn*[P]*. 4. yavâš*[23] *yavâš yavâš taġaddum* [P]*bâlâ raft*[P 24]*, čirâġ girsūzi*[25] *bayyan, tūr*[26] *bayyan. 5. ba ʿd at-tūr, alḥamdulillâhi rabb al-ʿizzati, ab-barġ*[27] *ġāy. ba ʿdán-hom xattit ag-gâz ġāye, zād an-naft ifrâvân*[28] *ista, zindigiyye kam*[29] *kam kam kam rawnaġ*[30] *sayyat. 6. ag-gbab sūd čānán, gač*[31] *gumn insīhin, nushubhín. al-ʿân zī zād rang*[32] *vâz irad*[33] *tâkul. 7. al-ʿân a ʿ-ʿyālāt agar*[34] *masalan hān*[35] *čān yikūnūn-vo i ʿyāli ġamḥ čān yikūnūn, fî Tihrān lā čān yikūnūn, zindigiyatna min zā ixīr*[36] *čānt. 8. al-ân zindigiyat fap-pīrzâle*[37] *min zā ixīr māhi. zā-hom a ʿ-ʿyālāt aha*[38] *yiġūn-o yavâš yavâš nigdir zindigiyye insayy. 9. min ġihat*[39] *aġ-ġuza-hom-xo, xudok*[40] *tidri ēš kun insayy avval, kišk kunna nufruk, ē, īdām*[41] *xanġak*[42] *kun insayy. 10. bâri*[43]*, min ak-*[P]*kare*[P 44] *vaz ʿna*[45] *ʿayn*[46] *čān, min dihn al-asfar ʿayn čān, alḥamdulillâh. 11. in zād, išvâna*[47] *min xudna čān tāze, bēzna min xudna čān tāze, xubúzna xudna kunna náḥasdah*[48]*, nizra ʿ, náḥasud. 12. a ʿ-ʿâsyâb*[49] *hamān čānt, de*[50] *tâ ʿâsyâ čānán, vaḥde xâlok, vaḥde ʿAli Barāt. 13. diġīġ*[51]

---

[19] *suḥab / yushub* "prepare, make, craft, manufacture, produce; restore, overhaul". Not used in Khalaf Arabic, where they say *čamčam ~ čamčamâ ~ čamčimâ / yičamčum*, which is somewhat funny to Arabkhane ears.

[20] "tea".

[21] Pers. گاو (*gâv*) "cow, cattle", Arab. *bugar*.

[22] Pers. گوسفند (*gusfand*) "sheep, mutton", Arab. *ašâvīh*.

[23] Pers. يواش (*yavâš*) Adv. "slowly, gently".

[24] "went up".

[25] Pers. چراغ گردسوز (*čerâġ gerdsuz*) "*gerdsūz* lantern, oil lamp".

[26] Pers. چراغ تور (*čerâġ tur*) "*tūr* lantern, gas mantle lantern".

[27] Pers. برق (*barġ*) "electricity".

[28] Pers. فراوان (*farâvân*) "abundant, ample".

[29] Pers. کم (*kam*) "a little, a bit".

[30] Pers. رونق (*rownaġ*) "splendour, liveliness, boom".

[31] Pers. گچ (*gač*) "chalk, daub, gypsum".

[32] Pers. رنگ (*rang*) "paint, colour".

[33] Invariable modal particle, also pronounced *irâd* and *rād* in Arabkhane. Compare use of Persian impersonal باید (*bâyad*) "it is necessary, must, have to, should". See also sentence 15, and text IV, 10.

[34] Pers. اگر (*agar*) "if".

[35] Adverb "here", also *hamān ~ himān* (I, 12) and *hamānāt ~ himānāt* (II, 10). Compare Persian انجا (*inġâ*) and with plural suffix اينجاها (*inġâhâ*) to express a less specific "here".

[36] Arab. *x-y-r.* Elative "better".

[37] Pers. پيرزاله (*pirzâle*) "old woman".

[38] A presentative particle "so, like this".

[39] Compare Pers. از جهت (*az ġehat*) "regarding, in this regard".

[40] Pers. خود (*xod*) "self", Arabic *xudok* "yourself".

[41] Compare Bahraini Arabic *īdām* and *ūdām* "meat, fish, food" (ZAL 10, 1983, p. 34). Also Pers. ادام (*edâm*) "spread; stew".

[42] A dish made from Pistacia khinjuk or Pistacia atlantica, called بنه (*bane*) in Persian.

[43] An affirmative expression in Khorasan Arabic, rom Pers. بارى (*bâri*) meaning "yes".".

[44] Pers. کره (*kare*) "butter", Arab. *zíbid*.

[45] Pers. وضع (*vaz ʿ*) "situation, circumstances".

[46] Arabkhane Arabic "nice, good", mostly *ḏēn* in Khalaf. Another similar expression is *ʿadl* or *ʿald* (IV, 4).

[47] Arab. *š-w-y.* *išvâ* (Khalaf *šuvâ*; Seeger 2002: 642 *šavâ*) denominates any kind of meat (goat meat, chicken, beef, camel meat) and human flesh. Small livestock is most common in this region. Khamse Arabs say *láḥim*, a lexeme entirely absent in Khorasan.

[48] Pronominal suffix for 3. masc. sing. is *-ah* in Būrgân (like in Khalaf Arabic), while most of Arabkhane has *-eh*.

[49] Pers. آسياب (*âsyâb*), also *âsyâ* in Khorasan Persian "mill, watermill". Feminine gender analogically to the Arabic equivalent *raḥḥa* (I, 21; plural *irḥiyy ~ raḥḥāt*). Note the sporadic shift from *-b* to *-v* (*ʿâsyâv, šab ~*

gumn insayy, náxabiz xubzin tāze, kullah tibīʿi, īdāmna tibīʿi. vali[52] kamtar[53]-hom mirīz kunna. 14. al-ʿân al kullah sánʿiti misti. an-nānva[54] táxabiz, yā futīr[55] yā masalan ğūš-e šīrīn[56] yiḥutt, yā īnvar īnvar[57] yiḥutt. 15. al-ân xúbuz ğăybīn ʿayn[58] ağ-ğīr[59]-hu, mā yínničil. ēš insayy? zād iḥna xudna min ʿiğīn-o xábiz vâğʿīn[60], mağbūr hastīn[61]. yirad yā hamzâk idâme ninti[62]. 16. al-ʿân lā, harče[63] in nâkul, kullah, maʿlūm māhu če[64] mavâdd-hu. 17. am-mirīziyye zāyde, ak-kisāla[65] zāyde, vali zamân avval lā. ʿad dar-o dīvâl[66] ap-pīr-o ğuvân[67] čān yáʿadi[68]. 18. ilēš? čūn[69] ğuzāna tibīʿi čān, ğuzāna min īd xudna tawlīd kun insīh, tāze čān, itmīnâni[70] čān, xâla ğân[71], kullah itmīnâni čān. 19. dihínna itmīnâni, īdāmna itmīnâni, xubúzna itmīnâni, bēzna itmīnâni. kullah min zâk al-laḥâz[72] ... 20. al-ʿân al kullah sánʿiti misti, âmâde[73] misti, ak-kisāla, va ğ-ğurs[74]-o dâru[75] ziyād misti. fī kull gubbe šâyad[76] panğ[77] kīlu ğurs-o kafsūl-o dāru hast [...] kullah-hom masalan zahab[78] yâkul, muft[79] māhu. [...] 21. tağrībán min sanat sī-yo haft[80] zād raḥat âtšiyye

šav "evening") and reinforcement of the glottal stop to /ʿ/, known as *ʿanʿana* in grammars of Arabic. This phenomenon can also be observed in *al-ʿân* "now".

[50] *de* "two" is probably formed analogically to *se* "three" (II, 13) in Arabkhane. Khalaf Arabic has *dū* "two" (III, 17) and *ṯū* "three" (III, 14), both from Pers. cardinals دو (*do*) "two" and سه (*se*) "three".

[51] Arab. *d-q-q*, "flour". The morpheme type *faʿīl* usually becomes *fiʿīl* in Arabkhane (*diğīğ, digīg*). Khamse Arabs have *didīg* (sic).

[52] Pers. ولی (*vali*) "but".

[53] "less", Pers. comparative morpheme *-tar*, which is always stressed. Also Arab. *angas* is used.

[54] Pers. نانوا (*nânvâ*) "baker".

[55] Pers. فتیر or فطیر (*fatir*) "underproofed bread".

[56] Pers. جوش شیرین (*ğuš-e širin*) "sodium bicarbonate, baking soda".

[57] Pers. این ور (*in-var*) "this way, this side", often combined with آن ور (*ân-var, un-var*) "that way" (compare II, 18 and 33).

[58] Pers. عین (*eyn*) "like, just like".

[59] Pers. جیر (*ğir*) "leather".

[60] Arab. *w-q-ʿ* I: *vugaʿ / yugaʿ* "to fall".

[61] Copula "we are", from sing. *hast* < Pers.

[62] Calque of Pers. ادامه دادن (*edâme dâdan*) "to carry on".

[63] Pers. هر چه (*har če*) "all that".

[64] Pers. چه (*če*) and چی (*či*) interrogative "what, what kind of" (II, 19).

[65] Arabization of Pers. کسالت (*kesâlat, kasâlat*) "malaise, unease, discomfort".

[66] Alliteration of Pers. در (*dar*) "door" and دیوار (*divâr*) "wall".

[67] A merism of Pers. پیر (*pir*) "old" and جوان (*ğavân*) "young, youthful" > *ğuvân, iğvân* in Arabkhane Arabic.

[68] I tert. inf. *ʿida / yáʿadi* "to run". Note the first stage *gahawa* syndrome.

[69] Pers. چون (*čon, čun*) and چونکه (*čonke, čunke*) "because, since".

[70] Pers. اطمینانی (*etminâni*) "reliable, trustable".

[71] Pers. خاله (*xâle*) or Arabic *xāla* "maternal aunt", جان (*ğân*) "soul, life", postponed in intimate addressings meaning "dear, darling".

[72] Pers. لحاظ (*lehâz, lahâz*) "aspect, consideration".

[73] Pers. آماده (*âmâde*) "ready".

[74] Pers. قرص (*ğors*) "tablet, pill".

[75] Pers. دارو (*dâru*) "medicine, drug, remedy".

[76] Pers. شاید (*šâyad*) "possibly, maybe", followed usually by subjunctive.

[77] Pers. پنج (*panğ*) "five".

[78] Khorasan Arabic *zahab* is solely "money".

[79] Pers. مفت (*moft*) "free, gratuitous".

[80] Pers. سی و هفت (*si-yo haft*) "thirty-seven". The Iranian year 1337 corresponds to Gregorian 1958.

ǧāye il hav-vutan[81]. sanat čel[82] sanat čel-hom xâlok ǧāybin ar-raḥḥa [...], xâlok iMḥimmad sanat čel ǧābha[83], zād kârna[84] āsān[85] ista. 22. aḥa hūn kunna noġo[86] diǧīǧ insayy, vâz yā čârpâyāt[87] ad-diǧīǧ inǧībah-o bilâxare[88] kârna rāḥa[89] ista. [...] 23. vali zâk ax-xubz at-tibī'i-vo zâk al-īdām at-tibī'i-vo zibd at-tibī'i-vo ab-bēz tibī'i-vo, kullah zâk ...

Text I: Translation

1. I am your great-aunt. I am seventy-six years old. I was born in (the year) twenty, right?
2. Then, what… how was life in former times when we used to live in wooden houses? 3. They had a fire pit and we made fire. We prepared meal with fire, we prepared tea, cattle and goats, this and that. 4. Slowly progress went up, *gerdsūz* lamps emerged, *tūr* lamps emerged. 5. After the *tūr* lamps, praise be to Allah the Lord of Might, electricity came. Then the gas pipeline came, also petroleum became copious, life got a boost. 6. The houses were black (from the smoke), we began to chalk them, we overhauled them. This one needs some painting again. 7. If the children were here now, if my children were gathered, if they were not in Tehran, our life would be better than this. 8. (I am living) the life of an aged woman, it cannot be better than this. When the children come we can slowly resume life again. 9. As for nourishment, you yourself know what we used to do in former times, we used to grind *kišk*, yes, and we prepared the dish *xanǧak*. 10. Yes, with regard to butter our situation was good, with regard to tallow it was good, praise be to Allah. 11. Also, our meat came from us and was fresh, our eggs came from us and were fresh, our bread we harvested it ourselves, we sowed and harvested. 12. The mill was here, they were two mills, one your uncle's, one ʿAli Barāt's. 13. We used to make flour, baked fresh bread, all natural, our dishes were natural. We were less sick. 14. Now that it has become all factory-made… the bakery bakes, the bread is either underbaked or (the baker) puts baking soda into it, or he puts this and that in the bread. 15. Now they have come up with bread which is like leather, it cannot be eaten. What are we supposed to do? Besides, we ourselves have fallen away from (kneading) dough and baking, we are forced to (buy bread). We have to resume that. 16. But now, no, anything that we eat, it is not known what it's all made of. 17. Diseases have increased, discomfort has increased, but not in former times. The old and the young used to climb the doors and walls. 18. Why? Because our food was natural, we produced our food by our own hand, it was fresh, it was trustable, my dear nephew, it was all trustable. 19. Our tallow was trustable,

---

[81] Arab. *w-ṭ-n*, "region" in Khorasan Arabic.
[82] Pers. چهل (*čehel*) "forty" > *čel* in allegro speech.
[83] Note the difference between *ǧāb* (past tense) and *ǧāyib*, active participle functioning as perfect tense (taking the infix *-in-* before personal suffixes and definite direct objects in Khorasan Arabic).
[84] Pers. کار (*kâr*) "work, business".
[85] Pers. آسان (*âsân*) "easy".
[86] I tert. inf. *ǧida / yóǧodi, yáǧadi* (short forms in Arabkhane: *yoǧo, yaǧa*) "to go". At times also *yoǧdi* is an appropriate transcription (see III, 6), further abbreviation exists in Khalaf (III, 5 and 12).
[87] Pers. چاریایه (*čârpâye*) "tetrapod", like cattle, donkeys or camels, the latter in former times.
[88] Pers. بالا خره (*be-l-âxare*) "finally, eventually".
[89] Pers. راحت (*râhat*) "easy, comfortable".

our food was trustable, our bread was trustable, our eggs were trustable, it was all trustable. Everything from that perspective … 20. Now that all has become factory-made, ready-made, discomfort, pills and medicine have become copious. In every home there are maybe five kilos of pills and medicine, it all costs money, it's not for free. 21. Approximately since the year thirty-seven a motor-operated mill came to this region. In the year forty your (maternal) uncle brought it, your uncle Muḥammad brought it in the year forty, and our work became easy. 22. So we used to go there and make flour, brought it with pack animals, and eventually our work became easy. 23. But that natural bread and natural food and the natural butter and the natural eggs, all of that (has vanished).

Text II (Arabxâne): How we tried to evade circumcision

Yaḥya Allahdād Ǧamâli, 48 years old from Kūše
recorded on 21 September 2019 in Mashhad

1. *lā tizuḥkūn-hom in ana tind*[90] *azḥak!* 2. *bismillâhirraḥmânirraḥīm,* [P]*īnǧâneb*[P][91] *Allahd…, ḥuzuriyye*[92] *yā ʿuru…? ana Allahdād vuld Ibrāhīm ak-kūšigey*[93]. 3. *mutavallid hazâr-o sīsad-o panǧâh-o čâr*[94], *sâdir min Kūše-vo ahl-o ilsāni ʿurubi, min… asl-o nasabi min ʿarab.* 4. *šiǧiratnâmatna, ʿarabatna*[95] *… ʿurubiyatna min asl al-ʿirāǧ, min ʿirāǧ hastīn, asl-o nasabna, ǧadd-o abǧaddna*[96] *albatte.* 5. *xudna min Bīrǧand-o šīʿa hastīn, šīʿat ḥazrat ʿIli hastīn-o, ummi ubūy, ubūy min Kūše-how, ummi min Kundir-hey.* 6. *xudi-hom tā sinn al-haštsâligiyye*[97] *dahsâligiyye*[98] *taġrīban fi Kūše kāyin*[99]. 7. *vâz min Kūše ǧēt fi garyat Ḥisnâve, fi garyat ummi, ǧēt hūnikât-hom igbab kun ʿinna-vo istēt… fam-midrise… ġidēt il am-midrise-vo tā kilâs panǧ fi Ḥisnâve dars girēt*[100]. 8. *baʿd ʿarzin yisti xidmatkum*[101], *min hūnikât-hom-xo vâz dobâre*[102] *ġidēt it*[103] *Tihrān, fam-muddāye fi Tihrān kunt-o vâz min Tihrān-hom fal-… dah pūnzdah*[104] *sâle fi Tihrān kunt.* 9. *vâz min*

---

[90] Pers. تند (*tond*) "fast, quickly".

[91] Pers. اینجانب (*in-ǧâneb*) "I, the undersigned".

[92] Arab. *ḥaḍarī* > *ḥuzuri* "non-Bedouin, sedentary", used for "Persian" in Khorasan Arabic as opposed to *ʿurubi* "Arab". In Khamse-Arabic the respective forms are *ḥâziri* and *ʿáribi*. The terms *fârṭiyye* and *ʿarabiyye* also exist to denominate the language, more frequent in Khalaf (see III, 1 and IV, 2).

[93] *kūšigi* "from Kūše", diphthongization in pausa. Also II, 15 copula *-hu* > *-how*, *-hi* > *-hey*.

[94] Pers. numeral "1354", corresponding to the year 1975 (which contradicts the age he later states).

[95] This is not a correct form.

[96] Also compare Pers. جد اندر جد (*ǧadd andar ǧadd*) "for generations".

[97] Pers. هشت سالگی (*hašt-sâlegi*) "the age of eight".

[98] Pers. ده سالگی (*dah-sâlegi*) "the age of ten".

[99] In Khorasan Arabic original **q/k* are split into *g/k* (with back vowels) and *ǧ/č* (with front vowels, including *a*). In Kūše and some other villages of Arabkhane, however, alongside *čān* "he was", *čāyin* "he was, has been", *ǧarye* "village", *hamāč* "so, like this" and *ičal* "he ate" forms like *kān*, *kāyin*, *garye* and *hamāk* occur. Occasionally an intermediate state of palatalization [kʲ] and [gʲ] is to be heard.

[100] Pers. درس خواندن (*dars xândan*) "to study".

[101] Pers. عرض شدن (*arz šodan*) "to be explained, presented, reported" and rendering of Pers. خدمت شما (*xedmat-e šomâ*) for formal addressing (also II, 12).

[102] Pers. دوباره (*dobâre*) "again, once again".

[103] Preposition *il* "to".

[104] Pers. پانزده (*pânzdah*), widely pronounced *punzdah* "fifteen".

Tihrān ġidēt iš šumâl, min šumâl-hom-xo fam-... taġrīban dowrobare[105] dah sâl-hom fi šumâl zindigiyye sēt[106] yā rufgân, yā [P]dūstân[P 107], yā ham aʿ-ʿarab xudna. 10. kissāb kunna. min hūnikât-hom ğēna-vo xulâse[108] sarguzaštna ičal[109] ʿal Imâm Riza-vo, fi am-Mišhad. misti bīst sâl-hom ḥudūdan fi am-Mišhad ğaʿad zindigiyye insayy-o hamānāt nâfig[110]-o. 11. sinni-hom al-ân... čehel-o haftsâle hast, čehel-o haft čehel-o haštsâle hast. 12. baʿd asl-o nasabna-hom-xo ʿarz sēt fi xidmatkum min Kūše hastīn, ubūy min Kūše-how. 13. panğ tât[111] uxve hast[īn]... panğ nafar hastīn, de tât uxve hastīn, se tâ uxve hastīn-o ğift axavât. [...]

14. dâstân[112] ēš agūllak vallâ? dâstânāt xayli ʿinni, dâstân min min[113] agūllak? 15. bale[114], iḥna yā vuld ʿammi kunna, de nafar kunna fi Kūše faz-zamânin ... 16. fi Kūše kunna, ğift iʿyālâtin isġâr kunna, kun naġa awbâziyye[115] kun nilʿab fi ta[l]...ʿin as-stalx[116]. 17. ʿind as-stalx fi táḥat fab-bâġ[117], táḥat fad-dīvâl[118] kun ʿinna, awbâziyye kun nilʿab-o dū-be-dū[119] kun ninsayy[120], xânebâziyye-vo iʿyālin isġâr kunna. 18. kun ʿinna âġâ[121] humūnikât, kun nilʿab īvar ūvar[122], čān yidawwrūn ʿar raddna in yivaddūnna[123] be-ḥesâb xatna yisūnna. 19. min dawrān[124] al... [P]az zamân-e ke či migin[P] ... kun ġādīn, čān yidawwrūn ʿar raddna, ūy Allahdād, Allahdād! Mammad, Mammad! in yičukkūn[125] īdna, in yivaddīnna, ēy, vēn hastīn? taʿālu tā nágadi xatna insīkum-o filân-o. 20. baʿd far-Raxšāni čān, ar-rabb túruḥmeh[126], al-ân māyit, ar-rabb túruḥmeh, ğā-vo in... čān ğāy

---

[105] Pers. دوروبر (*dowrobar*) and دوروور (*dowrovar*) "vicinity; around, near to, roughly".

[106] = *sayyēt* "I did".

[107] Pers. دوست (*dust*) "friend", pl. -*ân*.

[108] Pers. خلاصه (*xolâse*) "in short, all in all".

[109] Pers. سرگذشت (*sargozašt*) "adventure, event, incident", used in Persian with خوردن (*xordan*) lit. "to eat" to form an idiomatic expression, meaning here "events led us to".

[110] Arab. *n-f-q* I: *nufag / yunfug* "to marry". Northern parts of Arabkhane say *nâfig*, my informant from Tighdar consistently prefers forms with /u/ *nâfug*. Also *nāfig* and *nāfiğ* are masc. participle forms. According to my sources possible feminine participles are *nâfge*, *nâfğe* and *nāfge*, *nāfğe* (compare Khalaf *nāfğe*, Seeger 2002: 634).

[111] Pers. تا (*tâ*), a classifier used with numbers, is often augmented by an Arabic (fem.?) -*t*. Other examples are *dârât* "having" (from Pers. دارا بودن (*dârâ budan*) "to possess, have") or *âġâti* "my husband" (from Pers. *âġâ* "mister, sir").

[112] Pers. داستان (*dâstân*) "story, tale".

[113] *min* "who".

[114] Pers. بله (*bale*) "yes".

[115] Pers. آب بازى (*âbbâzi*) "swimming; playing in the water".

[116] < *ʿind al-istalx*; from Pers. استخر (*estaxr*) "basin, pool".

[117] Pers. باغ (*bâġ*) "garden, orchard".

[118] = Pers. *divâr* "wall", compare text I, 17.

[119] Pers. دوبه دو (*dobedo*) "à deux, two by two".

[120] < *kun insayy*, also II, 22 *kun ninxâ* and II, 33 *kun ninsīr*.

[121] Pers. آقا (*âġâ*) "mister, sir, gentleman".

[122] Compare I, 14.

[123] II tert. inf. *vadda / yivaddi* "to bring, lead" (Khalaf: *vadde ~ vaddâ / yivaddi*). Its imperfect is never *yivadd* (Seeger 2002: 636 and 2013: 315).

[124] Pers. دوران (*dowrân*) "era, time, epoch".

[125] I med. gem. *čakka / yičukk* "to grab, seize". It is used to render the many Persian phrasal verbs formed by گرفتن (*gereftan*) "to grab, take, seize".

[126] This phrase is widely added as an honorific in Arabkhane and Khalaf when mentioning the dead. The verbal form seems to be either feminine or 2. sg. masc. Also note the personal suffix -*eh* as opposed to -*ah* in Būrgân.

il Kūše in xatna yisūnna. 21. baʿd iḥna kun ninxâ[127], gulna yugutʿūn rās čulna[128]-vo filân-o damm yiği-o filân yiği-o kun sām̄ʿīn faš-šītnin. 22. iḥna-hom ḥaǧīǧatán kun ninxâ-vo xaff[129] kun minsīn[130] fi táḥat ad-dīvâl in guttiš[131] lā ingūl. 23. Mammad-hom, Mammad ad-dağme[132] čān, vuld ʿammi iĠlâm, ham[133] sinn-o sâl kunna hamǵâtâriyye[134], ham ēš? fâmīl-o ǵawm-o xīš[135] kunna, vuld ʿammi kān. 24. baʿdán min táḥat ad-dīvâl mā... sēna[136] fak-kârin lā yišūfūnna. 25. fap-pīrmard[137] ar-rabb túruḥmeh, al-ân māyit, ar-rabb ᴾxodâ biyâmorzad, xodâ biyâmorze[P], ğā čakka ğift īdēnna-vo, vaddānna. 26. vaddānna, rās az-zúhur čān, vaddānna-vo ar-Raxšāni-hom ğā, ğā, šufna lugat[138] ağ-ğalam-o, lugat ab-band-o basât[139]-o. 27. ğā-vo be-ʿunvân[140] duktur-o be-ʿunvân masalan ēš-o in xatna yisūnna. 28. ğā-vo zād be-salāmatiyatkum, xayli[141] maʿzira arīd xayli ʿuzr arīd min kullkum, ğaw-vo navvumūnna-vo, fal-âḥid hal-īdi ūsiğāha[142], fal-âḥid hal-īdi ūsiğāha. 29. o-zād gutiʿaw kallat al-ēš-o ... ē, ē, [Sepehr: ismeh gūleh!] zād ğaw-vo gutiʿaw kallat čūlna-vo xulâse, ē, ē, gutiʿūha-vo zād vâz nūbat[143] vuld ʿammi istat. 30. vâz īdēn vuld ʿammi ūsiğūhinna-vo, dâk-hom hamāk be-ham at-tirīǧ. 31. bilâxare navvumūh-o šilixūh[144]-o, īdēneh-vo gutiʿaw kallat čūleh-o. 32. šaddaw fap-pambe[145] ʿal ham ar-rās čūlna-vo, baʿd, [Sepehr: ismeh ʿurubiyye gūleh!] ē, ē. šaddaw fap-pambe ʿar rās zibbna-vo, gâl uǧdu! 33. zād fah-haftāye[146] kunna dah rūze taǵrīban fi tal[147] ağ-ğarye kun ninsīr-o filân-o īvar-o ūvar-o. 34. ğaw dâman[148] ḥattaw ʿal... ʿalēna-vo, ē... ē, ē, zād čūl čāyin, dâk[149] sāyal, gâl, farman[150], gâl gūl ismeh, ana-hom gult. 35. aḥa hāč zād handā, ʿarz uxra mā ʿinni.

---

[127] *xâf ~ xāf / yixâ ~ yixâf* (Khalaf: *xāf ~ xāfâ / yixâf*) "to fear".

[128] Pers. چول (*čul*), جل (*čol*) "penis, willie".

[129] Infinitive form of Arab. *x-f-y* "to be hidden" or Pers. خفت کردن (*xeft kardan*).

[130] Note the difference between Būrgân's *imsīn* (text I, 2) and Kūše's *minsīn*, participle masc. plural in form II pattern of *s-w-y* "to do". Khalaf has *miṯīn* (III, 21).

[131] *guttiš* and similar forms for "nothing" are to be found in all of Central Asian Arabic (Seeger 2013: 314), deriving from Old Arab. *Qaṭṭu + šayʾ* "never; ever, at all". Khamse Arabs have *gattiš*.

[132] The meaning of this *laqab* is unclear to my informants, possibly "dark-skinned".

[133] Arab. *ham ... ham* "both … and" from Pers. هم (*ham*) "also, too, as well as; both … and".

[134] Pers. همقطار (*hamǵetâr, hamǵatâr*)) "companion, colleague, combatant, comrade in arms".

[135] Pers. قوم و خویش (*ǵowm-o xiš*) "relatives, kinfolk".

[136] = *sayyēna* "we did".

[137] Pers. پیرمرد (*pirmard*) "old man".

[138] *lugat / yulgut* "to take, pick up, gather".

[139] Pers. بند (*band*) "bandage, lace", بساط (*besat*) "cloth; goods, wares".

[140] Pers. به عنوان (*be onvân*) "qua, ex officio".

[141] Pers. خیلی (*xayli, xeyli*) "very, much".

[142] Arab. *w-ṯ-q* IV: *ūsağ ~ ūsag / yūsiğ ~ yūsig* "to hold, retain, keep; preserve, protect; observe, abide".

[143] Pers. نوبت (*nowbat*) "turn, shift, round".

[144] *šilax / yišlix* "to put down, lay down".

[145] Pers. پنبه (*panbe*) "cutton" < Middle Pers. *pambag*.

[146] Pers. هفته (*hafte*) "week".

[147] Khorasan Arabic preposition *tal* and *fi tal* "inside; in, within".

[148] Pers. دامن (*dâman*) "skirt".

[149] Demonstratives in Kūše have initial *d-*, while Būrgân features forms with *z-*.

[150] Arab. *farman / yifarmin* "to order" is derived from Pers. فرمان (*farmân*) "command, order".

Text II: Translation

1. [To bystanders] Also don't laugh, for I laugh easily! 2. Bismillâhirraḥmânirraḥīm, this is Allahdǟd… Persian or Arabic? I am Allahdād, son of Ibrǟhīm from Kūše. 3. I was born in thirteen hundred fifty-four, I come from Kūše, my family and language are Arabic, my origin and ancestry originate from the Arabs. 4. Our family tree, our Arabs … our Arabic language originates from Iraq, we are from Iraq, our origin and ancestry, the forefathers of our forefathers of course. 5. We ourselves are from Birjand and we are Shiite, followers of ʿAli. My parents, my father is from Kūše, my mother is from Kundir. 6. I myself was in Kundir until the age of eight or ten approximately. 7. Then I came from Kūše to the village of Ḥisnâve (Hasanabad), my mother's village, I came and we had houses there and I became… in the school… I went to school. I attended school until fifth grade. 8. Then, let it be told to you, from there again I went to Tehran, and I was in Tehran for a while, then from Tehran… I was in Tehran for fifteen years. 9. Then, from Tehran, I went to the north, and from the north approximately – about ten years – I lived in the north, with friends and companions, with our own Arabs. 10. We worked in trade. From there we came and eventually events led us to Imam Reza, in Mashhad. It has been around twenty years that I have been living in Mashhad, and I got married here. 11. I am forty-seven years of age now, I am forty-seven, forty-eight. 12. Our origin and ancestry, I told you, we are from Kūše, my father is from Kūše. 13. We are five siblings… five people, we are two brothers, three brothers and two sisters.
14. What story should I tell you by God? I have many stories, about whom should I tell you a story? 15. Yes, we, my cousin and I were two people in Kūše at a time … 16. We were in Kūše, we were two little boys, we used to go and play waterfights in… at the pool. 17. At the pool under a garden, under a wall that we had, we played waterfights, two by two, building sand houses, we were little children. 18. There we had… we were playing this and that, and they were looking for us in order to bring us and circumcise us. 19. At a time… at a time when – what do you say – we had gone and they were looking for us, (they were calling) Allahdād, Allahdād, Mammad, Mammad, to grab us by the arms, to lead us[151], (saying) Where are you? Come here, let's go and circumcise the two of you and the like. 20. Then, there was (someone called) Raxšǟni, God bless him, he is dead now, God bless him, he came to… he had come to Kūše so that they could circumcise us. 21. We were afraid, we said they will cut the head of our penis and so on, blood will come and so on. We had heard some (bad) things (about circumcision). 22. We were really frightened and we were hidden under the wall not to make a sound. 23. Mammad, (he was called) Mammad *ad-daǧme*, he was the son of my uncle iĠlâm (Gholam), we were the same age and companions, and we were family and relatives, he was my cousin. 24. Under the wall we didn't ... we managed (to hide) in a way so that they wouldn't see us. 25. Then an old man came, God bless him, he is dead now, God bless him, and grabbed the two of us by our hands and dragged us. 26. He dragged us, it was noon time, he dragged us and Raxšǟni came, he came, we saw he picked up the shears, picked up his bandage and equipment. 27. He came, (he was) like a doctor, like whatsit… so that they could circumcise us. 28. He came and – wellbeing to you, I really

---

[151] Singular form.

apologize to you and beg your pardon –, they came and laid us down, one held this arm, one my other arm. 29. And then they cut the head of whatsit yes, yes [Sepehr: say its name!], they came and cut the head of our penis and well, yes, yes, they cut it and then came my cousin's turn. 30. They held on the hands of my cousin, and that one (they circumcised) the same way. 31. Eventually they laid him down, they put his arms on the ground and cut his penis's head. 32. They tied some cotton on our penis's head, and [Sepehr: say its name in Arabic!], yes, yes. They tied some cotton on our dick's head, and he said: go! 33. So about one week, ten days nearly we walked around in the village here and there. 34. They came and put a skirt on us, and, yes, it was a penis, that one asked and gave me an order to say its name and I did. 35. So this is it, I don't have anything else to tell.

5.2 Khalaf

The two texts from Khalaf have been chosen with equal deliberation. Publications from Sarab have so far outnumbered the texts originating from Khalaf, Darmiyan's Arabic-speaking centre. Until my research, no audio recordings had been realized with women from this region. The texts presented here as well as future publications will hopefully help rectify this disparity.

Text III (Xalaf): My first day at school

Ḥâmed Ğâni, 31 years old from Xalaf
recorded on 26 September 2019 in Birjand

1. *bismillâhirraḥmânirraḥīm, ane Ḥâmed, Ḥâmed, fi aǧ-ǧarye ili yigūlūn Ḥâmed ḫāǧi ʿAliǧân, vo-lākin fi fârṭiyye mašhūr Ḥâmed Ğâni, min ǧaryat Xalaf.* 2. *va ane ṯinīn ad-dabiṯṯân[152] fi aǧ-ǧarye gurēthínne.* 3. *kilâṯ avval ʿal hūši[153]-hu in vaxt al ummi-o ibūy rowwunūni[154] il al-madrase.* 4. *kunt axâf min al-madrase, min al-muʿallim, mā kunt óǧodi il am-madrase.* 5. *kunt óǧodi vâḏ kunt aǧi ačbi[155] fi ag-gubbe in ane marīd[156] al-madraṯe, mā kunt o[157] il al-madraṯe.* 6. *baʿd ummi kull yūm púgah[158] čān tugbuḏ īdi-vo tigūl taʿāl tâ noǧdi il al-madrase-vo īdi čān tugbuḏhe tivaddīni il ǧirīb am-madraṯe čān tisayyibni[159].* 7. *vâḏ čān tigūl in ane óǧodi, inte úǧud il rāṯ kilâṯak[160].* 8. *fal-yūmin min al-*

---

[152] Pers. دبستان (*dabestân*) "elementary school".

[153] Pers. هوش (*huš*) "memory, mind".

[154] II. form verb ("to make go, send") derived from Pers. رفتن (*raftan*) "to go, depart, leave", present stem رو (*rav-*). Note that *rowwonâni* "he sent me" (Seeger 2013: 317 fn. 4) is not a participle form.

[155] Common metathesis of *b-k-y*.

[156] < *mā arīd* "I do not want, I do not like".

[157] Shortened from 1. sg. *óǧodi* in Khalaf, also III, 12.

[158] Pers. پگاه (*pagâh*) "dawn, aurora; early in the morning".

[159] *ṯayyab ~ ṯayyabâ ~ ṯayyibâ / yiṯayyib* "to let go, release". This text contains several cultisms. *s* and *ṣ* should be fronted to interdental *ṯ* like all sibilants in Khalaf Arabic, also *z > ḏ*.

[160] Arab. *rāṯ* in this sense is a calque of Persian expressions with سر (*sar*) "head": *sar-e kâr raftan* "to go to work". Arabkhane *rās* (II, 21).

ayyām fî darb al-madraṯe kunne, baʿad riʾīs al-madraṯe šâfne yā ummi in ummi yāy[161] tiǧi. 9. baʿd ǧe[162] il am-madraṯe, ane ʿind ixūy ač-čibīr kun ǧāʾid, ṯuraxni in Ǧâni taʿāl! 10. ixūy akbar minni čān, futan[163] in ēš-hu, gâm ǧide, gâl lā, ixūk aṯ-ṯiǧīr tâ yiǧi. 11. ane ġidēt, gâl ilēš ummak yāk tiǧi? inte mā tíxtiḏi? ilēš min am-madrase tixâf, ilēš váḥadak mā tiǧi? 12. xift. hâ[164]xūf ar-riʾīṯ ḏād bâʿiṯ iṯṯe[165] in kull yūm ṯuḥūr ṯā ʿat šiš ǧilâvtar[166] in al-madraṯe šurūḥ tiṯti[167], ane kunt o il am-madraṯe. 13. va hâ ṯ-ṯane fi ak-kilâṯ-ham šâgird[168] avval iṯṯēt, ʿalâxti[169] il af-fâṟṯiyye aḏyad iṯṯat, va taġrīban ʿāde ṯēt[170], ili axīr iṯṯe. 14. alḥamdulillâh, va min hâ ṯ-ṯane ane idâme intēt[171], idâme minti darṯi, ṯalāṯ ṯinīn yaʿni ṯū[172] ṯâl vâḏ ane fi aṯ-Ṯadâve[173] darṯ gurēt, fi madraṯat… šabânerūḏiyye[174] čâyne-hi, ᴾmadrase-ye Bâhunarᴾ. 15. hânak[175] kunt, vâḏ min ar-radd ane fi madraṯat nimūnat[176] Bīrǧand ġubūl iṯṯēt, baʿd ġidēt il madraṯat Bīrǧand. 16. min radd Bīrǧand, vâḏ be-xâtir ad-dânešgâh[177] ane fi Mišhad inǧibalt, ġidēt il tarbiyat muʿallim Mišhad. 17. dū ṯâl yâ iṯnēn ṯinīn hânak kunt, min ar-radd vâḏ ane ǧēt il Bīrǧand, va al-ân-ham muʿallim haṯṯ. 18. ǧirīb dah ṯâl yâḏḏah[178] ṯâl miṯti in muʿallim haṯṯ, al-ʿân-ham fi ǧaryat Hendevâlān mašġūl be-kâr haṯṯ. 19. va farḥân haṯṯ min ḏindigīti, min riḏʿâni[179], min šâgirdīti-vo al-yūm-ham xayli farḥân haṯṯ in vâḏ far-rifīǧ ḥāvi[180]. 20. albatte rifīǧin ʿiḏīḏ dēnin ilēšin vâḏ min âlmân ǧây-hu. 21. va vâḏ duktur Ulrīš ṯefâreš[181] miṯīn[182], vâḏ il himâḏak[183] farḥântar haṯṯīn vâḏ rifīǧi šiftah âġâ Ḥuṯeyni va al-ân ane fi xidmathum haṯṯ.

Text III: Translation

1. Bismillâhirraḥmânirraḥīm, I am Ḥâmed. In the village they call me Ḥâmed, (son) of the ḥāǧi ʿAliǧân, but in Persian I am known as Ḥâmed Ǧâni, from the village of Khalaf. 2. I

---

[161] "with me". In Khalaf *yā* is "with", while *yâ* is "or" (III, 17). Both correspond to *yā* in Arabkhane Arabic.

[162] Also *ǧē* "he came" (Seeger 2013: 316).

[163] *futan ~ futanâ ~ futinâ / yuftun* "to understand, comprehend".

[164] Distal form of the demonstrative in Khalaf Arabic is usually *hū-* and more seldom *hâ-*, proximal form *ha-*.

[165] Pers. باعث شدن (*bâʿes šodan*) "to cause, result in". Arabkhane *ista / yisti* "to become" is *iṯṯe ~ iṯṯâ / yiṯti* in Khalaf Arabic.

[166] Pers. جلو (*ǧelow*) "front; before, ahead".

[167] Pers. شروع شدن (*šoruʿ šodan*) "to begin, start".

[168] Pers. شاگرد (*šâgerd*) "pupil, student", pl. *-iyye* (III, 19).

[169] Pers. علاقه (*alâǧe*) "interest, concern".

[170] = *ṯavēt*.

[171] Compare I, 15 "to carry on, continue".

[172] "three".

[173] "Asadabad", today called Asadiye, 40 km south of Khalaf.

[174] Pers. شبانه روز (*šabâne-ruz*) "twenty-four hours, day and night".

[175] *hūnak* "there" is more common in Khalaf.

[176] Pers. نمونه (*nemune*) "model, exemplary", *madrase-ye nemune* "top school".

[177] Pers. دانشگاه (*dânešgâh*) "university".

[178] Pers. یازده (*yâzdah*) "eleven".

[179] Arab. r-ḍ-ʿ: "infant, child".

[180] I tert. inf. *ḥive ~ ḥivâ / yáḥavi* "to find".

[181] Pers. سفارش (*sefâreš*) "commendation, assignment, order".

[182] Pluralis maiestatis.

[183] Also *himūḏak*.

attended the years of elementary school in the village. 3. The first grade, I remember, that my parents made me go to school. 4. I was frightened of school, of the teacher, I did not go to school. 5. Whenever I went, I came back and cried at home (saying): "I do not like school, I won't go to school." 6. So my mother took my hand every day in the morning and used to say: "Come, let's go to school!" And she took my hand and led me close to school and let me loose. 7. Then she said: "I will go, you go to your class." 8. So one day, we were on our way to school, the school's principal saw us with my mother, that she was coming with me. 9. He came to school, I was seated beside my older brother, he called me saying: "Ğâni come here!" 10. My older brother knew what it was all about, he stood up and went, (the principal) said: "No, your younger brother should come." 11. I went, he said: "Why does your mother come with you? Aren't you ashamed? Why are you afraid of school, why don't you come yourself?" 12. I was terrified. That fear of the principal was the reason that every day at six in the early morning (long) before school started, I went to school. 13. And that year I became valedictorian in the class, my interest in the Persian language increased, and I made it a habit for me (to go early), and everything got better. 14. Praise God, and from that year on I continued, I continued my school education, three years I attended school in Asadabad, it was a boarding school, "Madrase-ye Bâhunar". 15. There, after that, I was accepted to Birjand's exemplary school, so I went to Birjand's school. 16. After Birjand, as for university, I was accepted in Mashhad, I went to Mashhad's teacher training. 17. For two years I was there, after that I came to Birjand, and now I am a teacher. 18. It has been almost ten, eleven years that I have been a teacher. Currently I am employed with work in the village of Hendevalan. 19. And I am happy with my life, my children, my students and today I am very delighted that I have found a friend. 20. A very dear and nice friend, of course, because he came from Germany. 21. And doctor Ulrich (Seeger) has commended (him to me), and therefore I am more delighted to also see my friend, Mr Hosseini, and now I am at their service.

Text IV (Xalaf): Preparation of *ḥalve*

Mâhganğ Niʿmati Ğâni, 60 years old from Xalaf
recorded on 27 September 2019 in Xalaf

1. *ġuḏit al-âxar ḥalve čān.* 2. *il ādim faġ-ğimiḥ[184] čān yigūlūn faġ-ğīr[185], be-ʿarabiyye faġ-ğīr, faġ-ğīr čān diğīğ yiṯūn.* 3. *ḏâk am-muḥall fag-gulnam[186] čān yiṯūnah.* 4. *ʿaːdl[187] fi kaff īdhum dahamḏad[188] čān yiṯūnah, min am-mūxul[189] čān yitulʿūnah in hāč martūb[190] čān.* 5. *ḏâk am-muḥall ad-díhin čān yiṯūnah fi aġ-ġâblime[191].* 6. *aġ-ġâblime vaġğ ag-gâḏ*

---

[184] Arab. *q-m-ḥ* "take a mouthful; to give a portion" or *ğ-m-ʿ* ?, glossed by informant as "handful".
[185] Arab. ?, also "handful".
[186] Pers. گل نم زدن (*gol nam zadan*) "to sprinkle a little water".
[187] *ʿadl* and *ʿald* "right, correct; nice, good", compare I, 10.
[188] Pers. در هم زدن (*dar ham zadan*) "to mix, stir".
[189] Arab. *n-x-l*: *mūxul* pl. *mūxulāt* "sieve".
[190] Pers. مرطوب (*martub*) "moist, wetted".
[191] Pers. قابلمه (*ġâbleme*, *ġâblame*) "casserole, pot".

yixallūnhe in čān yinḥall. 7. *ad-diğīğ čān yiriššūnah, taft[192] čān yintūnah in ḏād xayli taft čān yintūnah, min īdhum al čān yilugtūnah in hāč duruštūk[193] dam[194] īdhum čān.* 8. *čān ummā yiriššūn.* 9. *fīh ḏâk am-muḥallāt šamlīdah[195] čān yiṯūn-o ṯiyahdāne[196] čān yiṯūn-o, filfil čān yiṯūn-o, dālčīni[197] čān yiṯūn, ḍarčūbe[198] čān yiṯūn, yâ ḏahfarān[199] čān yiṯūn.* 10. *ḏâk am-muḥallāt díhinah ham yirad min haḥ-ḥiṯāb ġuḏâyāt al-uxre ḍaydtar čān.* 11. *ḏâk am-muḥallāt ḍe-ham hamāč šuˁlit ač-čirâġ kam yiṯūnhe.* 12. *čān yixallūnhe in xayli hamāč kam be-kam* ᴾ*beğūše*ᴾ[200]. 13. *ab* ᴾ*beğūše*ᴾ *ḏâk am-muḥallāt ḍād tīre[201] čān yiṯti, čān yâklūnah-ham.* 14. *xayli ḏâk-ham liḏḏatbaxšin[202] ḏēnin čān* [Ḥâmed: *mamnūn[203]*], *tire hāč.*

Text IV: Translation

1. Another dish was *ḥalve.* 2. Per person one handful, one handful they used to say, one handful in Arabic. They made it with one handful of flour. 3. Then they spattered (the flour) with a little water. 4. They blended it well in the palm of their hand, they got it out of the sieve. So it was moist. 5. Then they put animal tallow into the casserole. 6. They put the casserole on the gas (burner) so that (the solid tallow) would diffuse. 7. They added the flour and fried it. They gave it a lot of heat, so that when they took (some of) it (out of the casserole they could feel) the flour had become a little coarse-grained at their fingertips. 8. They poured water (into the casserole). 9. In it then they put its fenugreek, nigella seed, pepper, cinnamon, curcuma, or saffron. 10. The amount of tallow (put in this meal) was supposed to be higher than that in other ones. 11. Then they turn down low the flame of the gas burner like this. 12. They let (the flame low), so that the dish simmers slowly. 13. When it is cooked, it then became viscous, and they consumed it. 14. That was very delicious and nice, [Hamed: Thank you], see, like this.

References[204]

توصیف ساختواژه اسم و فعل ثلاثی در زبانه عربی منطقه .[2010] 1388. [مرجان امیرآبادی زاده] Amirabadi Zadeh, Marjan عربخانه بیرجند [Description of triliteral noun and verb morphology of the Arabic Language in Birjand's Arabkhane region]. Zahedan: University of Sistan and Baluchestan. [Master's thesis].

---

192 Pers. تفت (*taft*) "heat, warmth".
193 Pers. درشت (*dorošt*) "coarse, rough", diminutive suffix *-ūk*.
194 Pers. دم (*dam*) "at, by".
195 Pers. شنبلید (*šanbalid, šamblid*) and شنبلیله (*šanbalile*) "fenugreek".
196 Pers. سیاه دانه (*siyâh-dane*) and سیه دانه (*siyah-dâne*) "nigella, black caraway".
197 Pers. دارچینی (*dârčini*) "cinnamon".
198 Pers. زردچوبه (*zardčube*) and زرچوبه (*zarčube*) "curcuma, turmeric".
199 Pers. زعفران (*zaˈfarân*) "saffron", Khalaf also *ḏaˈfarān*.
200 Khalaf Arabic also *ğūš yâkul*, from Pers. جوش خوردن (*ğuš xordan*).
201 Pers. تیره (*tire*) "viscous, boiled down" (according to my informants)..
202 Pers. لذت بخش (*lezzat-baxš*) "delightful, delicious, tasty".
203 Pers. ممنون (*mamnun*) "greatful; thanks, thank you".
204 Persian names are rendered the way chosen by the respective authors on the title pages of their publications or in email addresses and the like.

Amoozegar, Yusuf [یوسف آموزگار]. [2001] 1380. [بررسی گویش عربی منطقهٔ عربخانه و مقایسهٔ آن با عربی کلاسیک] [Study on the Arabic dialect of the region of Arabkhane and its comparison with Classical Arabic]. Tehran: Islamic Azad University, Central Tehran Branch. [Master's thesis].

—. [2008] 1387. [تاریخچهٔ مختصر اعراب جنوب خراسان (منطقهٔ عربخانه)] [A brief and compendious history of the Arabs in southern Khorasan (Arabkhane region)], [دو فصلنامه پژوهشنامهٔ فرهنگ و ادب] [Semiannual Bulletin of Culture and Literature, Islamic Azad University, Roudehen Branch, Tehran] 4 (6). 17–49.

Bozkurt, Volkan. forthcoming. "Arabische Texte aus Südkhorasan (Iran): Arabkhane und Khalaf" [Arabic texts from South Khorasan (Iran): Arabkhane and Khalaf], Klimiuk, Maciej (ed.), *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology: Fieldwork—Community—Change*. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing.

Census 2006. [1385] [2006]. مرکز آمار ایران. سرشماری عمومی نفوس و مسکن. Census of the Islamic Republic of Iran. accessed 21 September 2020, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110920092820/http://www.amar.org.ir/DesktopModules/FTPManager/upload/upload2360/newjkh/newjkh/29.xls>.

Dahlgren, Sven-Olof. 2002–2003. "Arabs in Central and Eastern Iran", *Orientalia Suecana* 51–52. 89–94.

—. 2005. "On the Arabic of Arabkhane in Eastern Iran", Csató, Éva Ágnes, & Isaksson, Bo, & Jahani, Carina (eds.), *Linguistic Convergence and Areal Diffusion: Case Studies from Iranian, Semitic and Turkic*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon. 161–171.

Jani, Esmaeel [اسماعیل جانی]. [n.d.]. [بررسی و توصیف گویش عربی شهرستان درمیان] [Study and description of the Arabic dialect of Darmiyan County]. Mashhad: Ferdowsi University of Mashhad. [Master's thesis, c. 2006].

Kazemi, Mohammad Ayyub [محمد ایوب کاظمی]. [2014] 1393. [تاریخ عربخانه] [History of Arabkhane]. n.p.: Sima-ye Dust [سیمای دوست].

Nasseh, Mohammad Amin [محمد امین ناصح]. [2008] 1387. [تعامل دو زبان فارسی و عربی در جزیره زبانی] [Interaction of two Languages, Persian and Arabic in a language island]. Tehran: Allameh Tabataba'i University. [unpublished PhD thesis].

Noruzi, Hamed, & Ghorbani Juybari, Kolsoom [حامد نوروزی، کلثوم قربانی جویباری]. [2015] 1394. [تأثیر فعل اسنادی فارسی بر ساختمان فعل در گویش عربی عربخانه] [The influence of the Persian copulative verb on the verb formation of the Arabic dialect of Arabkhane], [فصلنامه پژوهشهای ادبی] [Quarterly Journal of Literary Studies] 12 (50). 145–193.

—. [2016] 1395. [قرض گیریهای گویش عربی عربخانه از زبان فارسی] [Borrowings of the Arabic dialect of Arabkhane from the Persian language], [فصلنامه مطالعات تطبیقی فارسی – عربی] [Quarterly Journal of Comparative Studies Persian – Arabic] 1 (1). 169–191.

Noruzi, Hamed, & Salehi, Zeinab [حامد نوروزی، زینب صالحی]. [2018] 1397. [قرض گیری فعل «است» و گونه های آن در گویش عرب سرآب] [Borrowing of the verb "ast" and its forms in the Arabic dialect of Sarâb], دوفصلنامهٔ [زبان و ادبیات فارسی] [Half-yearly Persian Language and Literature] 26 (85). 231–252.

Razmara, Haj Ali (ed.) [سرتیپ حاجعلی رزم آرا]. 1329 [1950]. [فرهنگ جغرافیائی ایران (آبادیها)] [Geographical Encyclopedia of Iran (villages)]. Volume 9. [استان نهم – شهرستانهای بجنورد – بیرجند – تربت حیدریه – درگز – سبزوار – فردوس – قوچان – کاشمر – گناباد – مشهد – نیشابور] [9th Province – Counties of Bojnord, Birjand, Torbat-e Heydarieh, Dargaz, Sabzevar, Ferdows, Quchan, Kashmar, Gonabad, Mashhad, Nishabur]. Tehran.

Seyyedi, Seyyed Hosein, & Jani, Esmaeel [سید حسین سیدی، اسماعیل جانی]. 1387 [2008]. [بررسی گویش جنوب خراسان] [Study on the Arabic dialect of South Khorasan], [مجلهٔ تخصّصی زبان و ادبیّات دانشکدهٔ ادبیّات و علوم انسانی مشهد] [Specialist Journal of Language and Literature of the Faculty of Liberal Arts of Mashhad] 163. 141–154.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2002. "Zwei Texte im Dialekt der Araber von Chorasan" [Two texts in the dialect of the Arabs of Khorasan], Arnold, Werner, & Bobzin, Hartmut (eds.), *„Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik. Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 629–649. [English version, including updated bibliography upto 2011: "Two texts in the Arabic dialect of Khorasan", translated by Sarah Dickins & Janet Watson; <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/semitistik/seeger-khorasan1.pdf>]

—. 2009. "Khalaf – Ein arabisches Dorf in Khorasan" [Khalaf – An Arabic village in Khorasan], Arnold, Werner, & Jursa, Michael, & Müller, Walter W., & Procházka, Stephan (eds.), *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra. Analecta Semitica in Memoriam Alexander Sima*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 303–317.

—. 2013. "Zum Verhältnis der zentralasiatischen arabischen Dialekte – mit einem bisher unveröffentlichten Text aus Südchorasan" [Regarding the relations of the Central Asian Arabic dialects – including a hitherto unpublished text from South Khorasan], Kuty, Renaud, & Seeger, Ulrich, & Talay, Shabo (eds.), *Nicht nur mit Engelszungen. Beiträge zur semitischen Dialektologie. Festschrift für Werner Arnold zum 60. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 313–322.

—. 2019. "Central Asian Arabic: A Bibliography". 7 pages. accessed 24 September 2020, <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/semitistik/lit_za-arabisch.pdf>.

—. forthcoming. "Zwei Texte aus Sarâb (Südchorasan)" [Two texts from Sarâb (South Khorasan)], Klimiuk, Maciej (ed.), *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology: Fieldwork—Community—Change*. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing.

MORPHOSYNTACTIC STRUCTURES OF FISH NAMES IN TUNISIAN ARABIC: A CASE STUDY

ALESSIA D'ACCARDIO BERLINGUER

University of Naples "L'Orientale" / INALCO - LACNAD

Abstract: The topic of morphological structures of fish names in Arabic dialects remains dramatically understudied. However, one of the most relevant studies on fish names in Arabic dialects was carried out by Giovanni Oman. His work *L'ittionimia nei Paesi Arabi del Mediterraneo* (1966) is the richest collection of data that we have on the subject, covering an area stretching from Morocco to Lebanon. While devoting a small number of articles to their etymology, Oman did not attempt a study of the morphological structures of fish names. This paper analyzes the four most common morphosyntactic structures of fish names in Tunisian dialects. Where possible, the etymology of the names, whether certain or hypothetical, will be provided. The data used in this study are taken from Oman's work (1966) in Tunisia and from the author's personal research, conducted in October 2018.
Keywords: Linguistics, Dialectology, Tunisian Arabic, Fish Names, Morphology, Morphosyntax, Etymology.

Introduction

The study of fish names and, more generally, of the lexicon pertaining to sea and seafaring, has aroused, in the last few years, a renewed interest, especially after the revival of the *Atlante Linguistico Mediterraneo* (*ALM*) project. This project, launched in 1956, aims to collect and analyze the maritime lexicon of the Mediterranean coasts. Scholars who took part in *ALM*, additionally continued their research independently, often publishing works of great interest for the field of lexicography. One of such scholars was Giovanni Oman, who carried out 22 fieldwork campaigns as part of the *ALM* committee and published *L'ittionimia nei Paesi Arabi del Mediterraneo* in 1966. He later continued his research beyond the *ALM* project, whose results have been published in *L'ittionimia nei Paesi Arabi dei Mari Rosso, Arabico e del Golfo Persico (o Arabico)* in 1992. Although precious for our understanding of fish names in the Arabic language, Oman's work would greatly benefit from a detailed linguistic analysis, shedding light on the morphological aspects and the etymologies of the fish names collected.

This case study will focus on Tunisian fish names contained in Oman's *L'ittionimia nei Paesi Arabi del Mediterraneo*, carrying out an in-depth formal analysis of the corpus collected, based on the greater amount of dialectological information

concerning the dialects of Tunis[1], Mahdia, Djerba and Kerkennah Islands where Oman conducted his research. This study, moreover, tries to partially fill the lacuna represented by the lack of any linguistic analysis in Oman's work, focusing on the common and recurring morphosyntactic structures used in Tunisian Arabic to name marine species. The analysis of Oman's corpus has been integrated by the fish names recorded by Fathi Talmoudi (1981) in the city of Susa and by an interview, conducted by the author with a native speaker of Chebba who resides in Italy and is stably employed in the fishing industry. Therefore, our final corpus collects more than 300 fish names registered on the Tunisian coasts of Tunis, Susa, Mahdia, Chebba, Sfax, Kerkennah Islands and Djerba.

Without the pretension of being exhaustive, this works aims at shedding light on a still understudied area of research, contributing to the knowledge of fish names in Tunisian Arabic dialects.

The synthetic genitive structure

According to anthropological linguistics studies (Cardona 1976, 1985; Foley 1997), it is well accepted that naming practices provide valuable insights into the social and linguistic perceptions of people. Particularly, studies on fish names provide details about the social and historical circumstances of their emergence, and their users.

In naming conventions, it is common that speakers reuse names of objects or animals already known to designate new ones (Cardona 1985: 51-52). Indeed, in naming marine species, fishermen often denominate them using the names of similar terrestrial animals. Because speakers are probably more accustomed to terrestrial animals, which they have known for longer, it is likely easier for them to associate newly discovered marine species to animals with which they are familiar. Starting from this assumption, we can explain the first two morphosyntactic structures analyzed.

The first one is the synthetic genitive structure, or construct state, formed by the juxtaposition of two terms. The first of the two terms is the defined noun and it always corresponds to an already known terrestrial animal's name. The second one is the determiner and it is always *əl-bḥar* "of the sea". There are 12 fish names in our corpus which constitute the following internal structure:

[*terrestrial animal's name* DEFINED NOUN + *əl-bḥar* DETERMINER] FISH NAME

1.   *babbūš əl-bḥar*, "sea snail", is the most common name of mollusks having a shell[2] throughout Tunisia. Aquilina (1969: 101) considers *babbūš* as a collective noun from the berber *bellelūš*. Nevertheless, the romance origin (< lat. *babōsus*) is more plausible (Brunot 1920: 3; Prémare 1993: 136; Behnstedt-Woidich 2011: 375; Aguadé 2018: 35).

---

[1]   The fish names collected by Michel Bariche (2012) in Tunisian Arabic of the capital, Tunis, were integrated in the present work.

[2]   The noun is also used in Rabat. According to Brunot, *babbūš əl-bḥar* is a «terme général pour désigner les coquillages en hélice, peu usité à Rabat. Appartient plutôt au vocabulaire algérien» (1920:3).

2. *bhīm (əl-)bḥar*, "sea donkey", defines the thresher (Alopiidae *Alopias vulpinus*)[3] in Mahdia. In Maghrebi Arabic (Beaussier 2006: 80) *bhīm* means «âne, baudet» and *bhīma* means «ânesse» or «animal irraitonnable, bête». According to Prémare (1993: 330), in Moroccan Arabic *bhīma* is the name of the ocean sunfish (Molidae *Mola mola*) and it is a calque from the spanish *mula*.

3. *tmar (əl-)bḥar* [<Ar. *tamr* (sing.), *tamra* (coll.) "date"], "sea date", is the common name of the date mussel (Mytilidae *Lithophaga lithophaga*) in Chebba. Aquilina (1969: 95) proposes the etymology < Ar. *tamra* "fruits" for the Maltese equivalent fish name *tamla*. Nevertheless, "fruits" seems to be a too generic semantic referent for this specific marine species. Above all, it is not convincing since the shell of this mollusk is similar to the color and the shape of a date.

4. *ḥžar (əl-)bḥar* [< Ar. *ḥağar* (sing.), *'aḥğār* (pl.) "stone, rock"], "sea stone", is the common oyster (Ostreidae *Ostrea edulis*) in Chebba. The colors and the texture of the shell remind those of a rock or a reef.

5. *ḥnəš (əl-)bḥar* (< Ar. *ḥanaš* "snake"), "sea snake", denominates the painted eel (Ophichthidae *Echelus myrus*) in Chebba. Nevertheless, several marine species, characterized by an eel-like body, are generally called *ḥnəš* in Tunisian Arabic.

6. *ḥṣān əl-bḥar*: (<Ar. *ḥiṣān al-baḥr*), "sea horse", is the name of the long-snouted seahorse (Syngnathidae *Hippocampus guttulatus*) in Tunisia. The name clearly originates from its shape, since it resembles a horse.

7. *zəbb əl-bḥar* (< Ar. *zubb* "penis"), "sea penis", is the holothurian's name (*Holothuriidae Holothuria*). This species is soft bodied, invertebrate and more or less lengthened. Consequently, the holothurian is named *zəbb əl-bḥar* in Mahdia and Chebba for his resemblance to the penis. Nevertheless, *zəbb* is a word taboo in Arabic language and our informant avoided using it, out of respect.

8. *zīz əl-bḥar* (< Ar. *zīz* "cicada"), "sea cicada", defines the lesser slipper lobster (Scyllaridae *Scyllarus arctus*) and the Mediterranean slipper lobster (Scyllaridae *Scyllarides latus*), since the sharp sound resembles that of a cicada. This name is widely used in Tunis and Chebba.

9. *fīl əl-bḥar* (< Ar. *fīl* "elephant"), "sea elephant", is the name of the lobster (Nephropidae *Homarus gammarus*) and the monk-seal (Phocidae *Monachus monachus*) in Chebba. Concerning the lobster, it is pointed out that the etymology of the fish name "sea elephant" is shared in the Italian name *elefante di mare* and in the Maltese one *iljunfant*. Regarding the monk-seal, *fīl* is probably used as a hyperbole to denominate his powerful body.

10. *qṭaṭ əl-bḥar* [< Ar. *qiṭṭ* (sing.), *qiṭaṭ* (coll.) "cat"], "sea cat", names the smooth hound (Triakidae *Mustelus mustelus*) in Tunis, Mahdia and Kerkennah. The fish names *qaṭṭūs (əl-bḥar)* in Tunis and Mahdia or *gaṭṭūs əl-bḥar* in Chebba indicate the lesser spotted dogfish (Scyliorhinidae *Scyliorhinus canicula*) and the nursehound (Scyliorhinidae *Scyliorhinus stellaris*). Regarding *qaṭṭūs/gaṭṭūs əl-bḥar*, we suppose a hybrid etymology from the Latin *cattus* "cat" and the Arabic *qiṭṭ* "cat". According to Gibson (2009: 570), *qaṭṭūs* is a Latin loan-word coming

---

[3]   English and scientific names of species are extracted from the *World Register of Marine Species* (*WoRMS*), <http://www.marinespecies.org/index.php>, last accessed 30 September 2018.

into Tunisian Arabic from Berber. These fish names probably spread in Tunisian Arabic in two different periods and both denominate two different marine species both characterized by sharp teeth and long whiskers.

11. *qənfūd əl-bḥar* in Tunis or *gənfūd əl-bḥar* (< Ar. **qunfuḏ al-baḥar*) in Chebba, Sfax, Mahdia and Kerkennah literally means "sea hedgehog". The equivalent species, sea-urchin (Parechinidae *Paracentrotus lividus*), are typically spiny and globular echinoderms. The name "urchin" is an old world for hedgehog, which sea urchins resemble.

12. *kəlb əl-bḥar* (< Ar. **kalb al-baḥr*), "sea dog", is a common name for sharks, smalltooth sand tigers (Odontaspidae *Odontaspis ferox*) and gulper sharks (Centrophoridae *Centrophorus granulosus*) throughout Tunisia, because of their sharp teeth similar to those of dogs.

The analytic genitive structure

The second morphosyntactic structure identified is expressed by means of a particular genitive exponent placed between the defined noun (terrestrial animal or item's name) and the determiner (*əl-bḥar* "of the sea"). This genitive exponent in Tunisian dialect is *mtāʿ*.

[*terrestrial item/animal's name* ᴅᴇꜰɪɴᴇᴅ ɴᴏᴜɴ + *mtāʿ* ɢᴇɴɪᴛɪᴠᴇ ᴇxᴘᴏɴᴇɴᴛ + *əl-bḥar* ᴅᴇᴛᴇʀᴍɪɴᴇʀ] ꜰɪsʜ ɴᴀᴍᴇ

Our corpus includes the following examples:

13. *ʿarūsa mtāʿ lə-bḥar* (< Ar. **ʿarūsa* "young girl, bride") literally means "bride of the sea". This noun widespread in Mahdia corresponds to the star-fish (Asteriidae *Asterias*).

14. *šəžra mtāʿ lə-bḥar*[4] (< Ar. **šaǧara* "tree"), "sea tree", names the sea-fan (Gorgoniidae *Eunicella verrucosa*) in Chebba and Mahdia from its external shape remembering that of a tree and of its branches. Regarding this marine species, Oman (1966: 204) also noticed the name *žerr mtāʿ lə-bḥar*. Nevertheless, the meaning of the defined noun *žerr* is «action de tirer» (Beaussier 2006: 135) and it is not related to any characteristics of this species. We consequently suppose that *žerr* comes from *šžər* and it is the collective noun of *šəžra*. Indeed, the linguistic phenomenon of anticipatory assimilation can often occur in Tunisian dialects. Consequently, the voiceless postalveolar fricative /š/ could have changed the voiced postalveolar fricative /ž/ (*šžər* < *žər*). Therefore, Oman probably did not distinguish the collective noun *šžər*, transcribing the more similar phonetic Tunisinian word *žərr*.

15. *mtāʿ ər-rmal* (< Ar. **raml* "sand"), "the one of the sand", is the name of the turbot (Scophthalmidae *Scophthalmus maximus*), the brill (Scophthalmidae *Scophthalmus rhombus*) and the wide-eyed flounder (Bothidae *Bothus podas*). This name derives from their ability to hide under the sandy seabed. This structure is widespread in Chebba and omits the defined noun.

---

4 The definite article *əl-* in the present analysis is transcribed also *lə-* depending on the linguistics production provided by our informant.

Kunya

The third morphosyntactic structure analyzed corresponds to the Arabic paedonomic, the so called *kunya*. This is a component of the Arabic name, a kind of epithet, referring to the bearer's first-born son or daughter. It is expressed by the use of *'abū* "father" or *'umm* "mother" in a genitive construction. Nevertheless, a *kunya* may metaphorically also be used as a nickname expressing a physical characteristic of an individual or his attachment to a certain thing. In his metaphoric use, the epithet exponent *'abū* (in Tunisian Arabic > *bū*) means "the one of", rather than "father". Some structures of fish names collected in our corpus are related to this latter use, referring to certain details or body parts of the fish. This group of fish names analyzed could be considered as synecdoches, in which a term for a part of the marine species refers to their whole.

[*bū* ₑₚ EPITHET EXPONENT + *quality/body part* NUON] FISH NAME

16. *bū rās* [< Ar. * *'abū ra's* «à la grosse tête» (Beaussier 2006: 82)[5]], "the one of the head", is the name of the blackspot sea bream (Sparidae *Pagellus bogaraveo*) in Mahdia. The denomination probably refers to the big eyes and head of this marine species.

17. *bū sīf* (< Ar. * *'abū sayf* "the one of the sword") denotes the swordfish (Xiphiidae *Xiphias gladius*) throughout Tunisia. This species is characterized by a long, flat, pointed bill. The Mediterranean spearfish (Istiophoridae *Tetrapturus belone*) is also called *bū sīf* in Chebba, though it has a shorter bill than the swordfish.

18. *bū sinna* (< Ar. * *'abū 'asinna*), "the one of the teeth", is the name of the Atlantic bonito (Scombridae *Sarda sarda*) and the skipjack tuna (Scombridae *Katsuwonus pelamis*) in Tunisia. These species are distinguished from their relatives by a large mouth with several visible teeth[6].

19. *bū škāra* (in Maghrebi Ar. * *'abū šikāra* "the one of the bag") this fish names denominates both the angler (Lophiidae *Lophius piscatorius*) and the blackbellied angler (Lophiidae *Lophius budegassa*) in Tunis and in Chebba because of their large heads and their enormous crescent-shaped mouths, resembling a big curved sack.

20. *bū ḏlāma* (<Ar. * *'abū ḏulma*), "the one of the darkness", is the name of the Mediterranean limpet (Patellidae *Patella caerulea*) and the common cockle (Cardiidae *Cerastoderma edule*) in Mahdia. According to Brunot (1920: 5), the Moroccan fish name *bū dlāna* recorded for the Mediterranean limpet is an ancient loan from the Italian *patella*. Nevertheless, this hypothetic etymology does not seem convincing. Regarding the dark color of these mollusk shells, Gâteau (1966: 187) also adds the fish name *kūk* "coke" for the common cockle.

21. *bū misḥa* (in Maghrebi Ar. *məsḥa* means "hoe"[7]), "the one of the hoe", names the spottail mantis squillid (Squillide *Squilla mantis*) in Chebba. As our informant

---

[5] Beaussier also adds the meaning «piè-grieche» (Beaussier 2006: 82) which is a genus of passerine birds know throughout Tunisia.

[6] Our informant also explained us that fishermen usually call this species *bū sinna* because of its big teeth.

[7] In Moroccan Arabic (Prémare 1999: 193) as in Libyan Arabic (Pereira 2010: 188) *misḥa* means "hoe".

explained during the interview, this marine species is able to dig deep lairs in mud and sand in which it lives and from which it ambushes its prey.

22. *bū məngār* (< Ar. **'abū minqār*), "the one of the beak", is the common name of the tope shark (Triakidae *Galeorhinus galeus*) in Mahdia. It is distinguished by its elongated snout reminding the beak of a bird.

The nominal pattern *C1aC2C2āC3(a)*

Among the Arabic patterns used to express the active participle, the intensive action form *C1aC2C2āC3(a)* is one of the most widespread in naming animals and, consequently, fish as well.

[*C1aC2C2āC3(a)*] FISH NAME

23. *ḥarrēga* (< Ar. **ḥurrāqa* "burning, stinging") is the name of the jellyfish (*Medusa*) and it refers to the distinctive stinging ability of this species. The noun *ḥarrēga* actually derives from the Arabic root **Ḥ-R-Q* "to burn". This fish name was recorded as *ḥurrīqa* in Susa, *ḥarrēga* in Chebba, *ḥorrēga* in Sfax, *ḥarrīga* in Djerba and Kerkennah (Oman 1966: 202).

24. *gərrāḏ* (< Ar. root **Q-R-Ḍ* "to cut" or "to gnaw") and his variants recorded in Tunisia denote the bluefish (Pomatomidae *Pomatomus saltatrix*) which boasts a single row of teeth, in each jaw, that are knife-edged and sharp.

25. *kəššāš/qəššēš* (realized also as *gəššēš* in Chebba < Ar. **qaššāš* "small brush, rake, comb") is the common name of the scorpionfish family (Scopaenidae) in Tunisia. These species are covered with sharp spines on their head and on its dorsal fin, resembling the bristles of a brush.

26. *məḥḥār* (< Maghrebi Ar. **maḥḥār* «coquillage marin bivalve, ou coquille de bivalve ; peut désigner aussi tout l'animal» (Prémare (1999: 146) < Maghrebi Ar. *maḥḥara* «lisser, satiner le papier» (Beaussier 2006: 921)] refers to golden carpet shell (Veneridae *Polititapes aureus*) in Kerkennah and to dog-cockle (Glycymeridae *Glycymeris glycymeris*) in Mahdia.

27. *mərrāḏ* denotes the transparent goby (Gobiidae *Aphia minuta*). In Beaussier, *mərrāḏ* means «qui se traîne, jeunes sauterelles qui n'ont pas encore d'ailes» (2006: 927). Although the transparent goby has a small elongated body with short wings, it should be remembered that this species is fished by trawling. This method involves pulling a fishing net through the water behind one or more boats to catch the fishes. Nevertheless, the latter meaning is not reflected in the meaning of the formal structure of the active participle.

28. *nəššāfa* (< Ar. **naššāfa* "sponge" < Ar. **našafa* "to absorb, to dry") is the name of the sea sponge (Spongiidae *Spongia officinalis*) in Mahdia, Kerkennah and Sfax. The variant *nəššēfa* (with the internal *imāla* variation *ā > ē*) was recorded in Chebba.

Concluding remarks

Starting from the analysis on our new corpus of more than 300 fish names collected in Tunisian Arabic, the present work sheds light on linguistic and etymological aspects in the field of fish names. This paper particularly pointed out four main morphosyntactic structures widespread throughout Tunisia:

1. The synthetic genitive structure, formed by the juxtaposition of a defined noun, corresponding to a known terrestrial animal's name, and the determiner *əl-bḥar* "of the sea": *babbūš əl-bḥar*, *bhīm (əl-)bḥar*, *tmar (əl-)bḥar*, *ḥžar (əl-)bḥar*, *ḥnəš (əl-)bḥar*, *ḥṣān əl-bḥar*, *zəbb əl-bḥar*, *zīz əl-bḥa*r, *fīl əl-bḥar*, *qṭaṭ əl-bḥar*, *qaṭṭūs/gaṭṭūs (əl-bḥar)*, *qənfūd/gənfūd əl-bḥar*, *kəlb əl-bḥar*.
2. The analytic genitive structure expressed by means of the Tunisian genitive exponent *mtāʿ* placed between the defined noun (terrestrial animal or item's name) and the determiner (*əl-bḥar* "of the sea"): *mtāʿ ər-rmal*, *šəžra mtāʿ lə-bḥar/žerr mtāʿ lə-bḥar*, *ʿarūsa mtāʿ lə-bḥar*.
3. Thee *kunya* structure expressed by the use of *bū* ("the one of") in a genitive construction with a noun, referring to certain details or body parts of the fish: *bū rās*, *bū sīf*, *bū sinna*, *bū škāra*, *bū ḍlāma*, *bū məngār*, *bū misḥa*.
4. The intensive active participle pattern *C1aC2C2āC3(a)* which is the most widespread in naming animals: *gərrāḏ* (and his variants), *ḥarrēga* (and his variants), *kəššāš/qəššēš*, *məḥḥār*, *mərrād*, *nəššāfa/nəššēfa*.

As this case study has shown, anthropological linguistics studies are strongly related to the growth of knowledge and provides insights to the social, cultural and linguistic perceptions of native speakers. Nevertheless, the subject of zoonomy and the topic of their morphological structures in Arabic dialects remains dramatically understudied. Therefore, we hope that further comparative studies concerning other Arabic dialects will be carried out to examine this subject in-depth and to acquire, consequently, even more information on cultural and linguistic perceptions of Arabic native speakers.

References

***. *World Register of Marine Species* (*WoRMS*), < http://www.marinespecies.org/index.php >, last accessed 30 September 2018.

Aguadé, Jorge. 2018. "The Maghrebi Dialects of Arabic", Holes, Clive (eds.), *Arabic Historical Dialectology. Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 29-63.

Aquilina, Joseph. 1969. *Nomi maltesi di pesci, molluschi e crostacei del Mediterraneo*. Malta: University Press.

Bariche, Michel. 2012. *Field Identification Guide to the Living Marine Resources of the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean*. Rome: FAO.

Beaussier, Marcelin, & Ben Cheneb, Mohamed, & Lentin, Albert. 2006. *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français (Arabe Maghrébin)*. Paris: Ibis Press.

Behnstedt, Peter, & Woidich, Manfred. 2011. *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte - Band I. Mensch, Natur, Fauna und Flora*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

Brunot, Louis. 1920. *Notes lexicologiques sur le vocabulaire maritime de Rabat et Salé*. Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux.

Cardona, Giorgio Raimondo. 1976. *Introduzione all'etnolinguistica*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Cardona, Giorgio Raimondo. 1985. *La foresta di piume. Manuale di etnoscienza*. Bari: Laterza.

Foley, William Auguste. 1997. *Anthropological Linguistics. An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gâteau, Albert. 1966. *Atlas et Glossaire nautiques tunisiens*, 2 vols. Beyrouth: Dar El-Machreq Editeurs.

Gibson, Maik. 2009. "Tunis Arabic", Versteegh, Kees (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics,* vol. 4. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 563-571.

Oman, Giovanni. 1966. *L'ittionimia nei Paesi Arabi del Mediterraneo*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Oman, Giovanni. 1992. *L'ittionimia nei Paesi Arabi dei Mari Rosso, Arabico e del Golfo Persico (o Arabico)*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Pereira, Christophe. 2010. *Le parler arabe de Tripoli (Libye)*. Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo.

Prémare, Alfred-Louis de. 1993-1999. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, 12 vol. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Talmoudi, Fathi. 1981. *Texts in the Arabic Dialect of Sūsa (Tunisia), Transcription, Translation, Notes and Glossary*. Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

ANALYSIS OF ARABIC VARIETY IN ITALY: THE CASE OF IMMIGRANT RAPPERS

EMANUELA DE BLASIO[1]
University of Tuscia, Viterbo, Italy

LUDOVICA MARTINI[2]
University of Tuscia, Viterbo, Italy

Abstract: There are varieties of Arabic spoken by Arab immigrants, whose language has witnessed various changes. In particular, the sons of immigrants are marked by a dual component in their language: the native language and the target language. Many young second-generation rappers express themselves in their lyrics in the dialectal variant, the language of oral communication, sometimes marked by the influence of the target language. The texts are characterized by interfrastic and intrafrastic transglossia, a phenomenon typical of contact languages. One of the main characteristics of rap, which is based on lived experiences and reflects the surrounding reality, is that of spontaneity and this is also manifested in language.

In Italy, pioneer of a rap characterized by a multilingualism is Zanko El-Arabe Blanco, of Syrian origin, who sings in Italian, Arabic and French. Other artists, mostly from North Africa, sing in different languages or alternate them within the same piece, through bilingual statements such as the Italian-Egyptian Amir Issaa, the Moroccan Maruego, the Maghrebizz group (whose Italian is marked by a strong Milanese accent) and the controversial Tunisian rapper Karkadan.

Through the analysis of the texts of some rappers of Arab origin, mostly second-generation immigrants in Italy, it is possible to make considerations of a linguistic and socio-linguistic nature. These texts can represent sources that reveal a tendency in the language of youth and therefore can provide us with data on the evolution of the Arabic language in the specific context of immigration examined.

Keywords: Italo-Arab rappers, youth language, linguistics, sociolinguistics, Arabic dialectology

Introduction

Among the peripheral varieties of Arabic we can include the Arabic spoken by first or second generation immigrants which testifies to the fluidity of the language in time and space.

In particular, the sons of immigrants are affected in their language by a double component: the language of their parents and the target language. Linguistic variation is sometimes connected to certain social factors: the characteristics of the speaker and the situations of use (Berruto 2011).

---

[1] The author has dealt with the following paragraphs: the introducion, the structure of the work, the rap and immigration: the Italian case and the bibliography. She has carried out the analysis of the corpus.

[2] The author has researched and collaborated in the study of the texts and has dealt with the sitographic sources..

Literature on source language and the language of the country of immigration, on linguistic variation and the passage from one code to another is quite extensive.[3] Italy in the last twenty years is characterized by a neoplurilingualism[4], but it took many years for the first results of sociolinguistic research[5]: in these studies various factors are taken into consideration, such as the recognition of the dynamics between language of origin and language of the country of immigration and the typological profile of immigrant languages (Gualdo, Clemenzi 2016).

Despite the phenomenon of Arab immigration in Italy is on the rise (we remember that the Moroccan community is currently the third largest in Italy[6]), studies on the interaction between Arabic and Italian and on the language of first and second generation Arab immigrants are small and mainly focused on learning Italian from Arabic speakers.

Specifically, linguistic analyzes on the texts of Italian rappers of Arab origin are almost non-existent. The lyrics of the songs can represent sources for investigating the changes inherent in the language that does not represent a uniform, immutable block but varies in diachrony, therefore it changes in the lexicon and its structures in relation to the passage of time and in relation to the changes in culture and society. About the Italian context, in the lyrics of rappers of Arab origin we witness the linguistic phenomenon of *transglossia* (Durand 2009): rappers share two languages Arabic/Italian and intertwine the use of the two languages regardless of the situation. In the texts we observe interphrastic transglossia in which the singer alternates utterances in the two languages, intraphrastic in which the alternation takes place in the single utterance and sometimes also translational; in the latter case, what is expressed in the original language, it is repeated and translated into the target language and vice versa.

One of the main features of rap[7] is to reproduce the lived experiences and the surrounding reality (its motto is: "keep it real"[8]) and this spontaneity is also manifested in the language. This musical genre[9] is based on the profusion of words, sometimes on improvisation, so it is possible to speak of a switching of linguistic registers, similar to what happens in spontaneous speech.

Structure of the work

This research focuses on preliminary reflections about the linguistic behavior of Arab immigrants in Italy, through the collection of linguistic productions deriving from musical texts realized by immigrant rappers of Arab origin. The singers taken into consideration for

---

[3] Among the many studies see: Dabène, L. & Billiez, J. 1986.

[4] Bagna, Barni, Vedovelli, 2007.

[5] Among the first contributions on multilingualism in Italy we remember Favaro, 2000.

[6] www.istat.it.

[7] Here we will deal in particular with reality rap. For more information for reality rap see Krims 2000.

[8] The interest in reality is often summed up by the hip hop language with the motto "keep it real".

[9] The studies on hip hop and rap are international and transdisciplinary, they include not only the analysis of aesthetics, but also embrace aspects of linguistics (Alim, Awad, Pennycook 2009; Terkhourafi 2010). Furthermore, research is not limited to the phenomenon in the United States (Forman, Neal 2004), but they address its different aspects in many different contexts.

the present study are Ghali, Zanko, Master Sina[10]. The selected *corpus* is composed of the most representative lyrics of the authors mentioned. We mainly analyzed the verses in which there are significant examples of alternating code and mixed languages[11].

The titles and Arabic parts of the songs are reported as they appear in the original text, that is in the Latin alphabet with no graphic normalization. In fact, for transliteration the authors make use of the so-called *3arabizi* or *Arabizi* (Yaghan, 2008), the Arabic language of the chats which relies on the most common European spelling in the country, English or French, and which uses the Latin alphabet for "common" phonemes while for all the other phonemes it uses numerical graphemes (Mion, 2016). The scientific transcription of the verses in Arabic is reported in the note together with the explanation of some words and the analysis of idioms and colloquial expressions. Only in the case of the singer Master Sina the lyrics appear on the sites in the Arabic alphabet.

The *corpus* is the subject of a linguistic and socio-linguistic considerations. The linguistic analysis of the texts is preceded by some information regarding the authors, useful for understanding the themes of their texts, as well as their linguistic and stylistic choices.

Rap and immigration: The Italian case

The real turning point in the recent history of immigration in Italy is the period 1990-1992[12].

The big picture is made very complex by various socio-economic and linguistic factors: the diversity of the migratory project between immigrants accompanied or not by a family and children; the economic and cultural level of the families (the case of parents who are completely illiterate in the native language is not uncommon) and the greater or lesser degree of integration into the local workplace; the different territorial distribution of immigrant communities, more numerous in the Center-North and in the large urban centers and the different impact of immigration on the pre-existing demographic framework; the greater or lesser typological distance between the language of origin and Italian.

Music has always recorded and preserved the traces of migratory flows (Gnisci 2006): in a globalized world we are witnessing the passage of genres such as salsa, raï, reggae and the so-called world music that contribute to mutual knowledge between different cultures. In England in the nineties, musicians of Indian origin made known bhangra-rap; in France the raï[13] became an instrument for the affirmation of the cultural

---

[10]   The names of the singers are kept in the Anglo / Francographic version. Although in rendering a personal name with the Latin alphabet there is the possibility of resorting to scientific transcription, the Latin rendering of Arabic names and surnames must be based by convention on their dialect and non-classical pronunciation and adapts to the spelling of European languages of the colonial period, that is English and French.

[11]   The full lyrics are available online at https://genius.com/.

[12]   The Law of 28 February 1990 no. 39 (better known as the Martelli Law) which introduces for the first time a programming of entry flows, followed by an initial regularization of over 200,000 migrants coming mostly from North Africa. Other amnesties, of a more or less emergency nature, will follow one another in the following years and continue today.

[13]   This musical style, characterized by a strong vocal expressiveness with a ethnic value, was born in the 1920s, in the period of the great migration from the countryside to the city and has the port city of Oran as

identity of Maghrebi immigrants and since the nineties hip hop and in particular rap tells the social tensions of young immigrants from the French suburbs. Caubet (2007) conducted an analysis on the situation of music in France from the 1980s onwards, also in relation to the introduction of different languages, first of all Maghreb Arabic.

In Italy since the 1980s there has been the presence of musicians from different geographical areas[14]. Rap movement made by the children of immigrants in Italy has grown exponentially, but during the 1990s, no name of immigrant rapper or son of immigrants is present in the anthologies (Pacoda, 1996).

In our day among the languages of rappers of non-Italian origin, the most representative is certainly Arabic (Ferrari, 2018). At the beginning of the 2000s Issam Mrini, known as Lamaislam, born in Morocco and arrived in Bologna at a very young age, is apparently the first immigrant to rap in Italy and the first to mix Italian and Arabic in his songs. In the same years two second generation immigrant singers appeared on the music scene: Amir Issaa of Egyptian origin, born in Rome and Zanko, known as El Arabe Blanco, born in Milan of Syrian parents. Nowadays also other Italian-Arab artists make themselves known and have success as Maruego, Master Sina, Ghali, the controversial rapper of Tunisian origin Karkadan who praises the criminal life[15] and Mahmood, born in Milan from a Sardinian mother and Egyptian father, who won in 2019 the Sanremo Festival, the most important Italian singing competition with the song *Soldi* ("Money")[16] and represented Italy at the Eurovision Song Contest in Tel Aviv[17].

A linguistically interesting aspect that is found in first and second generation immigrant rappers and what makes their lyrics innovative is the use of "the immigrant language"[18], in our case Arabic (in particular the dialectal variety), of Italian (sometimes even of an Italian dialect) and of the traditional foreign languages of rap, especially Anglo-American, expression of a marked pluringuism.

In general, rappers of Arab origin use mainly the Italian language for their lyrics (even the titles of the songs are almost always in Italian), but they introduce some expressions or entire verses in Arabic in order to emphasize their original belonging, but also to reproduce the linguistic reality in which they live.

---

its main creative place. Among the themes of this kind, in addition to the narration of the hard life of migrants in the cities and the fight against colonialism, there are also loving suffering or the pleasure of the party. The invocation "*Ya rāy*" has a complex semantic value. With this expression, which means "opinion", the subjective vision is highlighted, also through the use of the singular personal pronoun. The messages of the song are enunciated with a rapid and incisive rhythm, following the style of a daily communication.

[14] For further information see Sabelli 2006.

[15] Karkadan is representative of the so-called "gangsta rap": this sub-genre of rap often describes the life of the ghetto from the point of view of a criminal figure.

[16] The song is entirely in Italian except for a single verse: *walad-ī walad-ī ḥabīb-ī taʿāl henā* "my son, my son, my dear, come here".

[17] All the biographical references of the authors can be found on the singers' Facebook pages.

[18] A language belonging to one of the groups of foreign immigrants in Italy that responds to parameters of low social fluctuation, high roots in local social territories, vitality of intra-community use, visibility in linguistic landscapes (Vedovelli 2015: 97).

Corpus analysis
Ghali

Ghali Amdouni, better known as Ghali, is an Italian-Tunisian rapper. Son of two Tunisian immigrants, he was born in Milan in 1993. His personal experience often emerges within his songs: his childhood was deeply shaken by problems with his father, who ended up in jail in Italy and then returned to Tunisia; on the contrary, the relationship with his mother is the source of inspiration for many of his songs. In general, his texts deal with issues such as friendship, family relationships, the use of drugs, but also migration and racism.

The multilingualism of his songs gives the possibility even to those who don't know the Arabic language and culture to familiarize with words and concepts that are unusual in Italy. His songs go beyond the linguistic canons of Italian rap: Ghali, as he stated in some interviews[19], sings in Italian with a Milanese accent, in French with a Maghrebian accent and in Tunisian with an Italian accent. Five different languages appear in his tracklist: French, Spanish and English, as well as Italian and Tunisian Arabic.

The songs examined are: *Wily Wily*[20] ("Oh my God") 2016, *Ninna Nanna* ("Lullaby") 2017, *Habibi*[21] ("My love") 2017 and *Jennifer*[22], 2020. We have chosen to highlight and to analyze the passages in which there are significant examples of the contact between the Arabic and Italian languages and remarkable examples of mixtilingualism.

In the Arabic parts of the lyrics, the singer uses the Tunisian dialect. We find some typical features, for example: the phoneme / ǧ / is rendered ž [ʒ]; the phoneme / q / is sometimes rendered q [q], but the rendering g [g][23] is also noted; there is the presence of the *imāla*; first persons of the imperfect have the prefix n- (sg. nəfʿəl and pl. nəfʿlū); we find the typical Tunisian Arabic negation of the verb (mā-fʿəl-š).

From the analysis of the texts, the passages in which Italian is completely absent appear to be rare. In fact, in Ghali's pieces, Arabic is always alternating or mixed with Italian, which remains the main language of his texts. The only cases in which Arabic prevails over Italian are the refrains of the songs *Habibi* (composed entirely of the repetition of the word *Ḥabīb-ī*), *Wily Wily* and *Jennifer*:

- *Baba menchoufuch / Wily Wily, Nari Nari / 3andi dra 9addech / 3andi dra 9addesh / 3andi dra 9addech / Nari Nari, Wily Wily / W y golouly kifech / W y golouly kifech / W y golouly kifech / Wily Wily, Nari Nari*[24] *(Wily Wily)* ("I don't see my father / Oh my God, oh my goodness / For a long time / For a long time / For a long time / Oh my God, oh my

---

[19] For interviews with Ghali see:
https://www.repubblica.it/spettacoli/musica/2017/06/04/news/ghali_il_ragazzo_della_via_rap_che_canta_l_islam_l_isis_e_i_migranti-167196276/ ; https://www.youtube.com/c/radio105/search?query=GHALI .
[20] *Wil-ī Wil-ī.*
[21] *Ḥabīb-ī.*
[22] It is a featuring with the Algerian rapper Soolking, who sings the first verse in French and then repeats the verses of the refrain together with Ghali.
[23] This phonological aspect is found in various areas of Tunisia; it can also be considered a typical variation of young Tunisian rappers slang: it is in fact also found in other rappers of Tunisian origin, for example Master Sina as we will see later.
[24] *Bāba mā-nšūf-ū-š / Wil-ī Wil-ī, Nēr-ī Nēr-ī / ʿand-ī draʿ qaddēš / W-igūlū-lī kif āš.*

goodness / And they ask me why / And they ask me why / And they ask me why / Oh my God, oh my goodness").
- *Gouloulou-loulou-loulou sel3a zulu. Wa3lach? / 7attou lek elvoodoo fel bokhoukhou. Hachak!*[25] *(Jennifer)* ("They told him it's rubbish. And why? / They gave you a voodoo ritual in the incense. For pity's sake!").

The language used by the rapper is therefore a hybrid language, in which Tunisian Arabic and Italian come into contact, alternating and mixing. This gives rise to sudden code-switches, in which the Italian sentence often acts as a descriptive paraphrase of the Arabic and vice versa, as in the following cases:

- *Salam alykom salam alykom / Son venuto in pace (Wily Wily)*. *Selǟm ꞌaley-kom* ("Peace be upon you") is followed by *son venuto in pace* ("I come in peace"), here through the translation, the concept of the previous Arabic expression is explained.
- *Sto sopra i tetti: 9attous / Vengo dal niente: cactus (Ninna Nanna)* ("I'm on the roofs: cat / I come from nowhere: cactus"). In this case the word in Tunisian Arabic *qattūs* ("cat"), as well as creating the rhyme with the word *cactus*, is used to explain what is said in Italian: *Sto sopra i tetti* ("I'm on the roofs") so "I'm like a cat".

The phenomenon of transglossia is used to create alliterations or rhymes and assonances with Italian, as in the following examples:

- *Scusa bras la3jouza*[26] *(Habibi)*. We observe the assonance between *scusa* and *ꞌağūza.* Literally the phrase means "Sorry for the old lady's head", in the sense of "Forgive me, do it for the old woman, for my mother". It's a colloquial expression of the Tunisian mixed in this case with Italian.

- *Sa7by lascia stare / Non voglio più stress / Khoya, come sto? / Hamdoullah lebes*[27] *(Wily Wily)* ("My friend, forget about it / I don't want to feel stressed anymore / My brother, how am I? / Thank God all right"). Here the Tunisian Arabic expression *lǟ bǟs* generates the rhyme with the word *stress*.

- *Nuba, nuba, nuba,*[28] *vedo jnoun*[29] */ E la mia bolla che diventa igloo (Ninna Nanna)* ("Nuba, nuba, nuba, I see spirits / And my bubble that becomes an igloo"). In this verse the rapper employs allitteration in *ū* using the words *Nūba, žnūn, igloo.*

---

[25] *Gūlū-lū(-lū-lū) selꞌa zūlū. W-ꞌalǟš?/ Ḥaṭṭū-lek əl-voodoo fī-l-būḫūḫū. Hašēk!* It refers to a witchcraft practiced in Tunisia. Ghali here uses the term *būḫūḫū* to indicate the word *buḫūr*: incense, used in many Tunisian homes, which is thought to drive away evil spirits. The rapper therefore means "they put a voodoo rite in the incense" then "they made you a witchcraft".

[26] Although in the text it is written *bras la3jouza* the singer pronounces *b-rās l-ꞌazūza*: the word *ꞌağūza* is rendered as *ꞌazūza*, assimilating *ğ* and *z*, as it often happens in Tunisian Arabic.

[27] *Ṣāḥb-ī lascia stare / Ḫū-yā, come sto? / Ḥamdu-ḷḷāh lǟ bǟs.*

[28] With *Nūba* the rapper refers to the indigenous ethnic groups who inhabit the homonymous mountains of Sudan.

[29] *Nūba / žnūn.*

- *Mamma weldek rajel*[30] */ Prendimi il cuore in bagher*[31] *(Ninna Nanna)* ("Mom, your son is a man / Hit my heart with a bump"). We can observe here the assonance *ṛāžel / bagher*. In some passages Ghali uses other languages, especially French, and in some cases even Spanish and English. Among the songs examined, the most emblematic of the rapper's multilingualism are undoubtedly *Wily Wily* and *Jennifer*.

In *Wily Wily*'s refrain we find mixed-language utterances in which Tunisian Arabic, Italian and French are mixed: *Ndiro lhala sans pitié*[32] */ Fratello ma 3la balich / En ma vie ho visto bezaf / Quindi adesso raḥma leh / Sa7bi lascia stare / Non voglio più stress / Khoya, come sto? Hamdoullah lebes* ("Let's mess around with no mercy / Brother I don't care / I've seen too much in my life / So now no mercy / My friend, forget about it / I don't want to feel stressed anymore / My brother, how am I? Thank God all right"). In an other verse of the song we also find the phrase: *Ma 3la balich on s'en bat les couilles* ("I don't care, we don't give a damn").

Ghali in these verses makes the most of the potential of multilingualism, by creating a sequence of paraphrases and equivalent expressions in the three languages. Some words and expressions in Tunisian Arabic have the same sense as the Italian and French ones; for example, *mā-ʿalà bāl-ī-š* ("I don't care") can be seen as the translation of the French *on s'en bat les couilles* ("we don't give a damn") and of the Italian *non voglio più stress* ("I don't want to feel stressed anymore"); *ḫū-yā* is the equivalent of the Italian word *fratello* "brother", epithet used to refer to a friend; *raḥma lā* ("no mercy") is the equivalent of the French *sans pitié*.

The verse that most of all shows Ghali's multilingualism is: *En ma vie ho visto bezaf*[33] ("I've seen too much in my life") wherein the sentence is composed of French, Italian and Arabic mixed, creating almost a single language.
In the lyric *Jennifer* words and expressions in French, English, Arabic and Spanish alternate continuously:

- *Piccola, sei la mia piccola / C'est ma petite / Piccola, sei la mia piccola / C'est ma petite / Oh, nari, nari, nari, ne. Baby / So many, many jalousies. Coño / Oh, nari, nari, nari, ne. Wa3lach?*[34] */ Jenni-Jenni-Jenni-Jennifer. I love you.* ("Baby, you're my baby / You're my baby / You're my baby / Oh, my goodness. Baby / So many many jealousies. Pussy / Oh, my goodness. And why? / Jennifer. I love you").

- *Bonita. Hbiba.*[35] *Yeah, on y va. Oh, la-la. / Fel 7oma, fumiamo shisha*[36]. ("Beautiful. Darling. Yeah, let's go. Oh, la-la. / In the neighborhood, we smoke the hookah").

---

[30] *weld-ek ṛāžel.*
[31] The word *bagher* in Italian refers to the return shot that is made in volleyball by hitting the ball from the bottom up by means of overlapping hands. It's the Italian word for "bump".
[32] *Ndīrō l-ḥāla.*
[33] *bə-ẓ-ẓāf.*
[34] *Nēr-ī, nēr-ī, nēr-ī, nē. W-ʿalāš?.*
[35] *Ḥbība.*
[36] *Fī-l-ḥūma / šīša.* Here Ghali refers to the Tunisian popular neighborhoods where there are the so-called "Shisha" bars, where you can smoke the hookah.

From a lexical point of view, we find some examples of linguistic loan as *igloo* from English "igloo", a voice of Eskimo origin and *voodoo* (lit. "divinity"), from a voice of the Fon language of West Africa; through English "voodoo" this word has become part of the dictionaries of many languages.

We note in Ghali's texts an evident use of the following expressions: *ḫū-yā* lit. "my brother", *w-Aḷḷāh* "I swear" and *ḥabīb-ī* "my love"[37].
Ḫū-yā is used with a vocative function, to call and greet someone as a sign of friendship:

- *Khoya, come sto?* ("My brother, how am I?") (*Wily Wily*);
- *Khoya indemoniato, 3endo jnouno*[38] / *Khoya, grrah, challet ro7o*[39] ("My demon-possessed brother has his demons / Brother, grrah, he's on fire[40]") (*Jennifer*).

Kho is a calque from *fra'* (abbreviation for *fratello*), in its turn derived from the Anglo-American "bro" (from "brother"). In Italian and American rap lyrics, *fra'* and "bro" do not indicate a real kinship, but rather the same belonging, the same aims, a sort of street consanguinity. In these texts *kho* takes on the same meaning, alternating with *fra'* which is still quite used (less frequent instead the English "bro").

The expression *W-Aḷḷāh* is used frequently and is often employed in conjunction with Italian *giuro* ("I swear"), with the effect of reinforcing the concept and the act of the oath:

-*Giuro, wallah, fra' non mi piace*[41] (*Wily Wily*) ("I swear, bro I don't like it");
-*Non è per soldi, giuro, wallah* (*Ninna Nanna*) ("It's not about money, I swear").

We find the expression *Ḥabīb-ī* as well as in the refrain of the song *Habibi* also in *Wily Wily* in the following verse: *Habibi / Ya nor l3in*[42] ("My love / Light of my eyes").

Finally, in all the texts we note the repeated use of exclamations like *Wily wily, Nari nari*; *Ah, Wily Wily / Ah, Nari Nari*. These expressions are generally used in everyday Tunisian Arabic speech to describe mostly negative situations and can be translated into English with "Oh my God", "Oh my goodness"; we also find the expression *Aman aman*[43] which is used in the Tunisian dialect with an exhortative function and it can be considered as the equivalent of the English "come on, please".

---

[37]   *Ḥabīb-ī* is an expression that Ghali made famous in 2017 with the song that has this title. This expression had great resonance first among the young audience (also because Ghali repeats it nine times in the refrain of his song) and then reached the Italian general public in 2019, when the Italian-Egyptian rapper Mahmood used it in a verse of the song *Soldi*.

[38]   *'and-ō žnūn-ō*.

[39]   *Ḫū-yā / šä''lat rōḥ-ō.*

[40]   Lit.: "his soul has been ignited", thus "he caught on fire, he ignited" figuratively.

[41]   We note in this verse the contrast given by the juxtaposition of an Arab-Tunisian expression with a religious connotation and the Italian colloquial one *fra'*.

[42]   *Ḥabīb-ī/Yā nūr əl-'ayn*. Possible reference to Amr Diab's Arabic song entitled *Nor El Ein*.

[43]   *Amān amān.*

Zanko

Zanko El Arabe Blanco, stage name of Zuhdi Fahle, is a rapper born in Milan in 1985 from Syrian parents. He is one of the pioneers of multilingual rap in Italy: Italian, Arabic, French and some expressions in Spanish and English are alternated and mixed in his lyrics. The MetroCosmoPoliTown album is the first bilingual (Italian-Arabic) album and at the same time the most multi-ethnic in the history of Italian rap, with the participation of nine artists from four continents. The lyrics examined here are: *Essere normale* ("Being normal") and *Stranieri in ogni nazione* ("Strangers in every nation"), both published in 2009[44].

In these texts, Zanko uses Italian as his main language, alternating verses in Arabic. In the lyrics, the rapper uses his native dialect, the Syrian Arabic of which we find some typical features, for example: the uvular phoneme /q/ is mostly rendered *'* [ʔ], only in some cases *k* [k], the latter phenomenon is typical of the central rural dialects of the Mashreq area, but here it has above all the purpose of favoring rhymes and alliterations; the occlusion in *t, d, ḍ* of the interdentals; the pronunciation in *ž* [ʒ] of the phoneme /ǧ/; from a morphological point of view the prefix *b-* for the present.

Sometimes Arabic is used in a realistic way to reproduce what the people of his country are saying to him when he returns to Syria: *Quando mi capita /di tornare a mon pays d'origine, mi pais, bladi / mi dicono iza ente zuhdi hada zanko min / imna an el rap / hei musiket majanin / e mi guardano strano / non è un po' largo il tuo jeans / ma sei nostrano? / E se li rispondo di sì / quasi mi mostrano la mano iamin / hlef[45], giura sul Corano* (*Stranieri in ogni nazione*) ("When I happen to / go back to my country / they tell me if you are Zuhdi this Zanko who is it / stop rap / that crazy music / and they look at me strange / your jeans are not a bit wide / but are you one of us? / And if I answer them yes / they almost show me their right hand / swear, swear by the Koran").

In these verses we see an example of a marked translational transglossia: *mon pays d'origine, mi pais*, *bladi* in which the author chooses not to use Italian, but French and Spanish to translate *blād-ī.* He resorts to translation into Italian *giura sul Corano* to explain the Arabic term *ḫlef.*

We find again the presence of mixtilingual sentences, in which Zanko uses other languages, in this case English and also the Milanese dialect; the latter is used to favor rhymes and alliterations with Arabic and other languages: *Everything is gonna be all right Allah Karim[46] / dama tra tel disi mi[47], parola di Aarabi[48] Made in Italy* (*Essere normale*) ("Everything is gonna be all right God is generous / listen to me I tell you / word of Arab, Made in Italy").

In the following verse the author chooses to use Arabic entirely (except for two words *storie arabe* "Arab stories"): *sadik / storie arabe akīd / fi min bisro' u fi min birid / ieshteghel mnih, mshan ma idallu ihasbu shakhs gharib - mn tarik / bs ktir marrat hatta*

---

44   Both texts were found on Zanko's channel: https://www.youtube.com/user/worldmusix1.

45   *Blad-ī / iza ənte Zuhdi hada Zanko mīn / əmna' 'an əl-rap / hey musīket maǧānīn / yamīn / ḫlef.*

46   *Allāh Karīm.*

47   Typical expression of the Milanese dialect used to create alliteration with Arabic *karīm* and *'arabī.*

48   *'arabī.*

iza shakhsito hadid el tekel aa dahro t2il / laanno bidallu ihasbu shaks / gharib mn ba3id[49] (*Essere normale*) ("Friend / Arab stories sure / there are those who steal and those who would like / work clean / in order not to be judged as a strange one - a street person / but often even if he is a strong person[50] / the weight on the shoulders is too much / because he is always pointed out as a stranger, who comes from afar").

We can observe: *ṣadīk, tarīk* and *təkᵊl* (*sadīq*, *ṭarīq*, *təqᵊl*) in these words the phoneme /q/ is rendered as *k* [k], probably to favor rhymes and alliterations.

We can observe in the lyric *Stranieri in ogni nazione* the use of Arabic colloquial expressions with religious connotations inserted within sentences in Italian:

- *noi Siriani mashallah*[51] / *i visi pallidi dell'Islam* ("we Syrians how beautiful / the pale faces of Islam").
- *ringrazio Dio, alhamdulillah*[52] / *perché m'ha dato questa possibilità* ("I thank God, praise God / because he gave me this chance").
- *poi li saluto con Assalamu Alaikom*[53] / *e lì capiscono che sono il compaesano cresciuto un po' lontano* ("then I greet them with Peace be with you / and there they understand that I am the compatriot who grew up a bit far away").

Master Sina

Master Sina, stage name of Anis Barka, is a Tunisian rapper born in 1988 who immigrated to Italy at the age of thirteen and now lives in northern Italy. He has become very popular in Tunisia and throughout North Africa, thanks above all to his bilingual texts. In his lyrics Italian alternates and mixes with Tunisian Arabic. In most of his pieces there is a notable presence of sentences in Italian, which in some cases becomes the main language, despite the fact that his fans come in a clear majority from the Maghreb and that only a small part of them are immigrants in Italy or in any case people who actually speak Italian. The use of the Italian language alongside Arabic, as well as other European languages, has a symbolic role: Italian represents the dream of those who want to leave their country and move to Europe[54]. The central themes of Master Sina's songs are in fact the desire for redemption and the sensations experienced by the young North African generations who hope to cross the Mediterranean.

In this work we have chosen to examine two of Master Sina's most popular lyrics: *Clandestino* ("Clandestine Immigrant") (ft. Balti[55]) and *Bye Bye* (ft. Reda Taliani[56]), both published in 2016[57].

---

[49] *ṣadīk / akīd / fī mīn b-yəsro' w-fī mīn b-irīd / yəštəgel mnīḥ / mənšān mā iḍallū yəḥsbū šaḫᵊṣ ġarīb mən tarīk, / bass ktīr marrāt ḥattà iza šaḫṣit-o ḥadīd / əl-təkᵊl 'a-ẓəhr-o tə'əl / li-ann-o b-iḍallū yəḥsbū šaḫᵊṣ ġarīb mən ba'īd.*

[50] Lit.: "even if he has an iron personality ".

[51] *Mā šā'Allāh.*

[52] *Al-ḥamdu li-llāh.*

[53] *As-salāmu 'alay-kom.*

[54] https://www.vice.com/it/article/3dy7ny/master-sina-i-sogni-degli-immigrati-e-il-rap-di-seconda-generazione.

[55] He is a famous Tunisian rapper. In the piece *Clandestino* he sings the entire first verse in Arabic.

From the phono-morphological point of view, in the Arabic parts sung by Master Sina we observe the features of the Tunisian Arabic. Also in these texts we sometimes note the pronunciation *g* [g] of the phoneme */ q /*.

In this case the texts were produced in the Arabic alphabet and not in Latin characters, so the passages are reproduced here directly in scientific transcription.

In the following stanzas Italian is the main language with insertions of some verses in Tunisian Arabic, which create assonances and rhymes with Italian:

- *Sono venuto in Italia, venuto da piccolo / arabo in Italia, quello che dicono / scappato dal paese, su una barca / šuft ʿalà ʿaynā-yā wlād blād-ī kifāš ġarga (Clandestino)* ("I came to Italy, came as a child / Arab in Italy, it's what they say / ran away from the country, on a boat / I saw with my own eyes how the people of my country drown").
- *Buongiorno l'Italia, ciao la Tunisia / hārəb mən l-blād w mən mā trā-k əl-būlīsiya (Clandestino)* ("Good morning Italy, hello Tunisia / I run away from my country and from the police"). In this verse we observe the loanword *būlīsiya* from Italian *polizia* "police". As we can see from the above examples, on a lexical level the singer makes extensive use of the noun *blād* "country, homeland", in reference to Tunisia, term employed to emphasize his identity and origin.

We also find the expression *w-Aḷḷāh*; it is used here to reinforce the concept of truth, as a synonym for "really", "I swear": *ʿāyšīnā kīmā yaǧī simplement w-Aḷḷāh (Bye Bye)* ("We live as it comes, in a simple way, I swear, really").

The rapper, within his verses, in addition to slipping from Italian to Tunisian Arabic, resort to the use of French or English terms, giving rise to multilingual sentences:

- *Io sono cresciuto, ho pagato / l-yōm nrawaḥ l-omm-ī b-əl-bagnole[58] fōq əl-bateaux (Clandestino)* ("I grew up, I paid / today I go back to my mother with the car on the boat"). Here the French word *bateau* is used to favor the rhyme with the Italian *pagato*.
- *Bye bye la vita solo mia/ bye bye sallem-lī ʿalà l-fāmīlyā (Bye Bye)* ("Bye bye life is only mine / bye bye say hello to my family"). Here we observe the English expression bye bye and the foreignism *fāmīlyā* instead of the nouns *'usra* or *'āyla*. The term is more popular among the younger generations, especially among young people living abroad and it is a loanword adopted from Italian *famiglia*.
- *Rāžəʿ ya-mā, non ti preoccupare, weld-ek ṛāžel (Bye Bye)* ("I'll be back mom, don't worry, your son is a man"). Here, as in Ghali, we find the phrase *weld-ek ṛāžel* "your son is a man", an expression addressed to mothers to reassure them about the state of their children away from home; it is a recurring theme in the lyrics of these rappers.
- *Mi hanno detto barrā / nḥebb nwaṣī l-aḥbāb fī bāl-hom əl-ġorba žanna / l-ġorba rāhī klēt ržāl mā-hyā-š kīmā tətmanna (Bye Bye)* ("They told me leave / I want to give advice to my loved ones who think that being abroad is like being in heaven / estrangement actually destroyed[59] men, it's not what you think").

---

[56] He is a very popular Algerian singer. In the song *Bye Bye* he sings some verses in Arabic.
[57] The lyrics of both songs are available on the web in Arabic characters. For *Clandestino* see genius.com; for *Bye Bye* see: https://testicanzoni.mtv.it.
[58] Colloquial term for "car" borrowed from French and introduced into Tunisian Arabic.
[59] The verb used is *akal*, lit.: "to eat".

In both lyrics examined, Master Sina uses Italian as the main language, except for the last verse of *Bye Bye*, which is entirely in Tunisian Arabic:

- *yəllī mrawəḥ li-l-ḥbība sallem-lī ʿalà d-dār / ġorba w-d-dənyā ġrība / žanna w-trà fī-k nhār / ṭawəlt ʿale-yā l-ġība w-l-aḫḍar ṣfār / w-l-forga ʿale-yā ṣ ʿība ma ʿā-yā l-ʿālī l-žabār / tġarrabnā w-aḥnā ṣġār / lā ṣūrdī w-lā dūrū/ baddəlnā d-dīnār ḥəbbīnā nžībū l-ūrū / təzha fī n-nawār ḥūma*[60] *təhna umūr-ū / yā rabb-ī yā sattār mšà ḥārəg fī bābūr-ū/ blā̆d əl-mustaqbəl wīnū, šabība maḥgūra/ w-d-dam ʿa mḥabīnū w-l-gulūb maghūra/ ḥūma ṛabb-ī ʿayn-ū məhā̆žžər w-l-ġorba morra/ ʿaqliyya Al Bātšīnū*[61] *fī blā̆d əl-kamorrā* ("you who are getting back to the beloved, say hello to my family / life as an emigrant and the world are strange / heaven sees you during the day [62]/ distance has been prolonged for me and the green has turned yellow[63] / being distant is difficult for me, God the Almighty be with me / we emigrated as young people / without money, without a cent / we changed the dinar and wanted to bring the euro / flowers bloom and people of my neighbourhood celebrate[64] / oh my Lord, protect[65] who leaves as a clandestine on his speedboat / the country of the future where it is, ignored youth / with hidden tears and oppressed hearts / people of my neighbourhood, may God be with them; I expatriate, life as an emigrant is hard / Al Pacino mentality in the Camorra's country").

From a lexical point of view, we find in this verse loanwords from Italian that have become acclimatized to Tunisian Arabic: *ṣūrdī* "money, small amount of money" derived from the Italian *soldi* ("money") and *bābūr* "speedboat", that is used to indicate boats with which clandestine immigrants arrive in Italy from Tunisia. It probably derives from the Italian word *vapore* ("vapor") from which the word *vaporetto* ("ferry, steamship"). The text mentions another term of Italian origin *kamorrā*[66] "Camorra" which indicates the Italian criminal organization of mafia connotation originating in Campania.

We also observe the word *dūrū* which literally indicates the coin corresponding to five cents of the Tunisian dinar, but it is used in everyday language to indicate "a few coins, a small amount of money"; it is a loanword from Spanish *duro*, the informal name used to refer to the Spanish five peseta coin.

Finally, a wide use of words such as *ġorba*, *ġrība*, *tġarrabnā* emerges from Master Sina verses. All these words are semantically referable to a theme that is central in the Arabic literature of the twentieth century, the *ġurba*: the feeling of loss, alienation and isolation that is felt by Arabs, intellectuals and not, when they are far from their homeland (D'Afflitto 2013).

---

[60] Lit.: "neighbourhood". This term is used in the Tunisian colloquial language to refer both to the popular neighbourhoods themselves and to the people of the neighbourhood, to family members, loved ones. Throughout the verse it is used in the sense of "people from my neighbourhood".

[61] In the text in Arabic: ألباتشينو Al Pacino, the famous Italian-American actor.

[62] Here the rapper probably means that with daylight, heaven (i.e. God) sees you and therefore can judge you better.

[63] Here the singer refers to the passage of time that makes things age, makes them lose their colour and makes them uglier.

[64] *ḥūma təhna umūr-ū* lit.: "people of my neighbourhood are satisfied with their things".

[65] *yā sattār* lit.: "Oh Protector" in reference to God.

[66] In the text in Arabic: كمرا.

Conclusion

Although the number of Arab immigrants in Italy is growing as evidenced by the data, linguistic research is scarce: studies on the language of immigrants of Arab origin and on the interaction between Arabic and Italian are not numerous. The present study represents a preliminary starting point for reflection on this issue that certainly needs to be explored. Through the analysis of the texts of some rappers of Arab origin, first or second-generation immigrants in Italy, it is possible to make considerations of a linguistic and socio-linguistic nature.

These texts represent sources that reveal a tendency in the language of youth and therefore can provide us with data on the evolution of the Arabic language in the specific context of immigration. In fact, the lyrics examined are full of colloquial expressions, idioms and terms used by young people.

The choice of using rap texts as material for reflection was given by the fact that the language of rap is close to the spoken; it is essentially the so-called "street speech" which, in general, distances itself from the standard language by approaching more colloquial forms in the lexicon and syntax. The rappers reproduce through their songs the language they usually use: as highlighted by the analysis, Italian is the first language in which Italian rappers of Arab origin choose to express themselves, but their lyrics represent examples of pluringuism. We can observe examples of mixed languages between Italian and Arabic (in the variety of dialect of origin): the singer constantly switches from one language to another, without it being possible to identify particular contexts for the use of one or the other. The singers resort to other languages such as English, French or Spanish, but to a lesser extent.

The use of Arabic fulfills an identity function that also plays an important role in youth jargon and becomes a tool to bring singer's two worlds and two cultures closer together. For many of these rappers, Arabic is used to keep alive the bond with the motherland and to bring the Italian public closer to Arab culture.

Rappers, through their lyrics, often aim to break down stereotypes about their culture and society; in this sense, language can also represent a form of pedagogical and didactic expression[67].

References

Alim S. H., Awad, I. & Pennycook A. 2009. *Global linguistic flows: hip hop cultures, youth identities, and the politics of language.* New York: Routledge.

Bagna C., Barni M. & Vedovelli M. 2007. "Italiano in contatto con lingue immigrate: nuovi modelli e metodi per il neoplurilinguismo in Italia", Consani C. & Desideri P. (eds), *Minoranze linguistiche. Prospettive, strumenti, territori.* Rome: Carocci. 270-289.

Berruto, G.& Cerruti, M. 2011. *La linguistica. Un corso introduttivo.* Torino: UTET Università

Camera D'Afflitto, I. 2013. *Letteratura araba contemporanea. Dalla Nahḍah a oggi.* Rome: Carocci Editore.

Caubet, D. 2007. "Langues et Musiques de France depuis les années 80", *Les langues de France au XXIe siècle: vitalité sociolinguistique et dynamiques culturelles*, *sous la direction de Garabato Alen C. & Boyer H.* Paris: L'Harmattan. 51-75.

---

[67] The pedagogical and didactic function is also inherent in reality rap, a genre that tells the reality and informs young people and not only on current problems and issues.

Dabène, L. & Billiez, J. 1986. "Code-Switching in the Speech of Adolescents Born of Immigrant Parents", *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 8(03). 309 - 325.

Durand, O. 2009. *Dialettologia araba*. Rome: Carocci Editore.

Favaro, G. 2000. *Il mondo in classe. Dall'accoglienza all'integrazione dei bambini stranieri a scuola.* Bologna: N. Milano Editore.

Ferrari, J. 2018. "La lingua dei rapper figli dell'immigrazione in Italia", *Lingue e Culture dei Media*, vol. II. 155-172.

Forman, M. & Neal, M.A. 2004. *That's the Joint! The hip hop Studies Reader*. London-New York: Routledge.

Gnisci, A. 2006. *Nuovo Planetario Italiano. Geografia e antologia della letteratura della migrazione in Italia e in Europa.* Troina: Città Aperta.

Gualdo, R. & Clemenzi, L. 2016 "Didattica dell'italiano a stranieri immigrati a Viterbo. Primi appunti", *ILD. Italiano LinguaDue*, vol. 8/2. 19-53

Krims, A., 2000. *Rap music and the poetics of identity*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Mion, G. 2016. *La lingua araba*. Rome: Carocci Editore.

Pacoda, P. 1996. *Potere alla parola. Antologia del rap italiano*. Milan: Feltrinelli.

Sabelli, S. 2006. "Vibrazioni da altrove. Un'inchiesta sulla musica dei migranti in Italia", Gnisci, A. (ed), *Nuovo Planetario Italiano. Geografia e antologia della letteratura della migrazione in Italia e in Europa.* Troina: Città Aperta. 519-537.

Vedovelli, M. 2015. "Fra 40 anni. L'Italia che verrà", *Italienisch*, LXXIII. 78-109.

Terkhourafi, M. 2010. *The languages of global hip-hop*. London: Continuum.

Yaghan, M.A. 2008. "Arabizi: A contemporary style of Arabic Slang", *La linguistique*, 19. 71-83.

Sitography

www.istat.it
https://genius.com
https://www.repubblica.it/spettacoli/musica/2017/06/04/news/ghali_il_ragazzo_della_via_rap_che_canta_l_islam_l_isis_e_i_migranti-167196276/
https://www.youtube.com/c/radio105/search?query=GHALI
https://www.youtube.com/user/worldmusix1
https://www.vice.com/it/article/3dy7ny/master-sina-i-sogni-degli-immigrati-e-il-rap-di-seconda-generazione
https://testicanzoni.mtv.it

ON MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES OF "URDUBIC"

GEORGE GRIGORE

University of Bucharest

GABRIEL BIȚUNĂ

University of Bucharest

Abstract: This study is an investigative approach, highlighting some linguistic features, on the autobiographical speech of a Pakistani worker, in a pidgin used in the Gulf countries, consisting of Arabic and Urdu elements, subsequently named Urdubic. The corpus we analyze for this study is the story of the aforementioned Pakistani worker, recounted in this variety of Pidgin Arabic. The morphosyntactic features identified in the text sample confirm that it is a language system developed as the result of contact with Arabic. However, it also shows that there are phonetic, lexical, as well as morphosyntactic features that have developed internally so that this pidgin could be successfully used by its speakers for the communication of not only their immediate needs, but also many more intricate concepts.
Keywords: *Gulf Pidgin Arabic, Hindi Arabic, Urdu Pidgin Arabic, morphosyntax*

1. Introduction

This study is an investigative approach, highlighting some linguistic features, on the autobiographical speech of a Pakistani worker, in a pidgin used in the Gulf countries, consisting of Arabic and Urdu elements (here Urdu is used as a reference, because, in addition to Urdu, elements appear in other languages spoken in the Indian subcontinent, such as Hindi, Punjabi, etc. This *lingua franca* has attracted the attention of many linguists - especially after 1990 - who have dedicated detailed studies to it, and from all of these, we have focused only on a few that were the starting point in our analysis: Smart (1990), Næss (2008), Al-Moaily (2013), Alghamdi (2014), Avram (2014), Bakir (2014), Abed (2018), Alshammari (2018). In the aforementioned studies, the names under which this pidgin is designated vary from Gulf Pidgin, Gulf Pidgin Arabic, Hindi Arabic, to Urdubic. The latter term, Urdubic, (composed by juxtaposing the syllable -bic from Arabic to the word Urdu, a plastic name anchored in the linguistic reality of that pidgin) was also picked up by us for the present study.

Hussain et alii (2020), based on Smart's (1990) study, present a definition of this *lingua franca* used by immigrant workers in the Indian subcontinent in their daily

communication with Arab employers: "This lingua franca is used by a constantly changing force of temporary immigrant workers in everyday communication with their Arab masters. The words constantly changing are significant and refer to the temporary stay of workers in the region. This constantly changing force includes doctors, engineers, teachers, laborers, technicians, drivers, waiters, maids, cooks, cleaners, sweepers, gardeners, salespersons, barbers, and others. Though this lingua franca came to the fore with the oil boom, the traces of its latent existence can be noticed even before the discovery of oil." (Hussain et alii 2020: 225). It was the previous statement "the words constantly changing" that gave us the idea to present a case study, therefore, a study focused on a concrete realization of this pidgin.

2. The corpus

The corpus analyzed is the life story, a kind of auto-biography, told by a Pakistani worker - 42 years old, whose mother tongue is Urdu, but can communicate minimally in Punjabi, on the one hand, and English, on the other hand. It should be noted that his knowledge of English was not sufficient for full communication in this language, but he resorted to English-Urdu code-switching when speaking with Indians or Bengalis.

As shown by the studies undertaken on this pidgin, it has various realizations, depending on its "user" and their background. In this case, our interlocutor, who came to the United Arab Emirates for a short time and took a short course in learning the standard Arabic language – *fuṣḥā* – will make some insertions of its lexicon in his speech and more than that, noticing that the interdentals /t̲/, /d̲/, /d̲/ in the Arabic words borrowed from Urdu are rendered as occlusive /t/, /d/, /z/, he will be tempted to retrace his steps, generalizing, in an attempt at being hypercorrect, and making mistakes as a result: etymologically occlusive consonants appear as interdental.

It can also be noticed that the Arabic consonants that do not exist in Urdu, like the fricatives / ʕ /, / ḥ /, are still realized, but these prove to be unstable in his pronunciation, as they alternate with a short hiatus instead of / ʕ / and with / h /. The same instability can be seen in the case of emphatics, as appears from the recorded text. These hesitations were noted as such.

In addition to this text, recorded with the consent of the narrator, we also used, for some explanations regarding various phonetic and morphological aspects, a series of notes taken during our visits to the Emirates - especially in Dubai and Sharjah - following some conversations with Pakistani taxi drivers; these notes, in conjunction with the studies already published on this topic (see above), gave us the opportunity to explain certain aspects of the basic text.

Some remarks on the phonemic inventory of Urdubic

Maldonado García & Yapici (2014) assert that the Urdu language crystalized once it had contact with Persian and Arabic, due to the invasions on India by Persian and Turkic armies in the 11th century and onwards. This cohabitation of the Urdu language with

Arabic, either directly or through Persian or Ottoman Turkish, was to continue during the Delhi Sultanate (1206 to 1526) and later on, during the Mughal Empire (1526 to 1858), which would lead to an influx of Arabic terms. Dowson asserted that "Urdu abounds with Arabic derivatives which have brought with them the grammatical powers of their original language" (1908, 18).

In order to understand the phonemic inventory of Urdubic, we initially analyzed the phonemic inventories of the two linguistic systems found in contact, Gulf Arabic – for which we focused on the general and defining features found in many of the spoken varieties that bear this label, without going in depth with regard to the details that make them stand out from each other – and the Urdu language – the literary or standard variety, without going into details with respect to what makes its dialects different –, which form the mother tongue of those who create communication processes in this pidgin.

The phonemic inventory of Gulf Arabic

Since the phonemic basis of Urdubic is Gulf Arabic, the linguistic system which the Urdu speakers will make use of for communicating with the general population of the United Arab Emirates, the consonant and vowel inventories of this Arabic variety will be presented as follows:

a. Gulf Arabic Consonants

The inventory of consonants which we list in the table below is based on the works of Qalisheh (1977: 2), Holes (1990: 260), and Næss (2008: 28), with some adaptations:

		Labial		Dental	Dentialveolar		Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn geal	Glottal
		plain	Emph.		plain	emph.					
Nasal		m	ṃ		n						
Occlusive	vl	p			t	ṭ	č	k	q		ʾ
	vd	b	ḅ		d		j	g			
Fricative	vl	f		t̠	s	ṣ	š	ḫ		ḥ	h
	vd			ḏ	z	ḍ		ġ		ʕ	
Trill					r	ṛ					
Approximant					l	ḷ	y	w			

b. Gulf Arabic Vowels

There are several opinions with regard to the vowel inventory of Gulf Arabic. Qafisheh (1977: 15) highlights the presence of nine such vowels: /i/, /ī/, /u/,/ū/, /ē/, /o/, /ō/. /a/, /ā/. However, Holes (1990: 264) considers that there are only eight, eliminating the short mid back vowel /o/, which resulted in the table below, presented as such by Næss (2008: 30) also:

Hight	Length	Front	Central	Back
High	Short	i		u
	Long	ī		ū
Mid	Short			
	Long	ē		ō
Low	Short		a	
	Long		ā	

The phonemic inventory of the Urdu language

All the information regarding the phonemic inventory of the Urdu language are based on Kaye (1997: 637-652), in conjunction with the information offered by the group of researchers from the Center for Research of Urdu Language Processing (see Saleem & al. 2003).

The Urdu language has 43 consonants: stops (23) from which bilabial 6, dental 6, alveolar 4, velar 5, uvular 1, glottal 1; affricates: alveolar 4; approximants (3): back 1, middle 2; fricatives (9): labio-dental 2, alveolar 2, palatal 2, velar 1, uvular 1, glottal 1; trills (2): palatal 2; flaps (2): palatal 2; and 17 vowels: by lengt:, long 7, short 4, nasalized long 6 and by their place of articulation: front 8, back 8, middle 1.

The phonemic inventory of Urdubic
Consonants in Urdubic

Following the examination of the phonemic inventories of the two linguistic systems in contact, GA and Urdu, we were able to have a fair level of expectation regarding the resulting phonemes: the non-overlapping sounds, the sounds that are specific to each one of the two, were expected to disappear in Urdubic, because of the phenomenon of hypodifferentiation, which was highlighted through a series of researches employed by Marius Sala (1997: 92-101). Thus, in the newly created linguistc system of Urdubic, only the common sounds will survive, while the specific sounds will be approximated, as stated by Franz Boas (1974: 76): "Each apperceives the unknown sounds by means of the sounds of his own language.".

Therefore, the emphatic consonants will disappear (/s/, /d/, /t/, /r/, /b/, etc.), having no equivalent sound in Urdu and will be realized as their non-emphatic counterparts, as is the case in Urdu:

(1a)   *itisal* "communication" ← GA: *ittiṣāl* "communication".
(1b)   *tul* "length", "height" ← GA: *ṭūl* "light", "height", "size".

The posterior consonants, such as the pharingeal fricative /ˤ/, will disappear entirely or will make their presence known via the slight compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:

(2)   *ya^ani* "it means, that is" ← GA: *ya^ʕnī* "it means, that is".

The interdental consonants /ṯ/, /ḏ/, /ḏ̣/ will usually switch to the occlusive series of /t/, /d/, /z/ :

(3)   *hada* "this" ← GA: *hāḏa* "this".

The gemination with phonemic role, both in GA (i.e.: *ḥamām* "pigeon" vs. *ḥammām* "bath") and in Urdu (i.e.: *pəta* "adress" vs. *pətta* "leaf"), is also realized in Urdubic, but only accidentally or without any apparent phonemic role. For instance, in the same speech, one can hear *kullu* "all", "every" (GA: *kull*) and *kulu*. But in the loanwords from Urdu, the gemination is constantly preserved:

(4)   *bačča* "child", "children" ← Urdu: *bæčče* "child".

All these modifications and switches of Arabic phonemes in Urdubic are found as such in the Arabic loans of the Urdu language, as well as other languages such as Persian and Turkish (see Grigore 2016: 436-437), which makes it more difficult to successfully back trace the path of the Arabic lexeme until its entering Urdu.
The interdental fricatives /ṯ/, /ḏ/ and /ḏ̣/ switch to the sibilants /s/ and /z/ and the emphatic interdental /ẓ/ shifted to the sibilant /z/, which also loses its pharyngeal features:

(5a)   /ṯ/ → /s/: *ṯurayyā* "Pleiades" → *sorayyâ* "Pleiades".
(5b)   /ḏ/ → /z/: *ḏalīl* "heinous", "abhorrent" → *zalīl* "lowly", "abject", "servile".
(5c)   /ḏ̣/ → /z/: *ẓafar* "victory" → *zafar* "victory", "triumph".

The emphatic occlusive /ḍ/ shifted in Urdu to /z/, too:

(6)   /ḍ/ →/ḏ̣/ → /z/: *qabḍ* "constipation" → *qabz* "constipation".

Also, the pharyngealized voiceless alveolar occlusive /ṣ/ and the pharyngealized voiceless dental occlusive /ṭ/ also lost their pharyngeal features when the words containing them entered Urdu:

(7a)   /ṣ/→ /s/: *ṣanam* "idol" → *sanam* "idol", "lover".
(7b)   /ṭ/→ /t/: *ġalaṭ* "mistake" → *ġalat* "mistake".

The Arabic voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ḥ/ shifts in Urdu to the glottal fricative /h/:

(8)   /ḥ/ → /h/: *ḥuqūq* "rights" → *hoquq* "rights" (i.e.: *hoquq-e bašar* "human rights").

The Arabic voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ disappears:

(9)   /ʕ/→ /-/: *ʕarḍ* "petition", "memorial" → *arz* "petition".

Remark: All these modifications of the Arabic phonemes in contact with Urdu are applicable to all the loans from the Arabic language into Urdu. Having taken into account these transformations, the Pakistani worker that allowed us to do the interview (on which most of this research is based, and included in the end of the article) had also attended a class of learning Arabic. He will try to realize the sounds that are specific to Arabic, sometimes to such extent, that he will also make the switches the other way around, where it wasn't even required, as is the case of the sibilant /s/ switching to /ṯ/ in an attempt of hypercorrection:

(10)   *iṯim* "name" ← GA: *isim* "name".

Vowels in Urdubic

Regarding the vowels, following the phenomenon of hypodifferentiation, the long nasal vowels from Urdu, although they can be realized by chance, in Urdubic do not have a phonemic role; rather, they function only as allophones of the basic vowels. Urdubic, like most pidgins, will have a reduced number of vowels such as /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/.

Grammatical Structure

Urdubic, like other pidgins, has very few suffixes and grammatical markers of categories that are mandatory in both of the languages in contact whence it stems, Urdu and Gulf Arabic.

The verbal phrase

Many of the Urdubic verbs in our text are etymologically 2nd person masculine imperatives (*sīr* "go", *gūl* "tell", šīl "take", "bring", *šūf* "see", *ḫābar* "call", etc.). Those Arabic imperatives, as Smart (1990: 98-100) observes in his study on Golf Arabic-based pidgin, are always invariable, and substitute the verb for all the persons and for both aspects (perfective and imperfective); their meaning can be understood out of context or indicated with the help of temporal adverbs (*al-ḫīn* "now", *bukra* "tomorrow", *baᶜden (baden)* "afterwards" etc.:

(11)   *baᶜden ana sīr belād* "afterwards I'm going to the city"

However, in a sentence where there is no temporal adverb, the moment of the action can only be understood from the conversational context: The sentence *ana ḫābər enti* could mean "I am telling you", as well as "I will tell you" or "I told you".

The proclivity for 2nd person masculine imperatives finds its roots in the fact that these forms these are most often heard by the employee who receives various orders (go, come, bring, etc.) and, as such, they are the first to be learned, constituting the strongest

forms of their speech. This explains the form of masculine that was taken from the received orders (in the second person, masculine, singular). On the other hand, their retention is done without much difficulty, considering that they have the smallest length, being reduced to the minimum possible (they do not have any external grammatical markers, which would make communication harder). We could say that these forms are in fact reduced, intuitively, to the radical consonants of the root - therefore still full of meaning.

(12a) *baʕden ana sīr belād* "afterwards I'm going to the city (in fact, *downtown*)"
(12b) *ana ḫābər enti* "I told you"
(12c) *ay nafər gūl ʕarbi, ana fahəm* "I understand anyone who speaks Arabic
        (lit. "Anyone who speaks Arabic, I understand")

Occasionally, standardized conjugations such as *ana šuft* "I saw" may also appear, but after further questions, we deduced that they are not creative and mobile, rather they appear only in phrases learned as such.

In addition to these imperatives with broad applications and meanings, Urdubic resorts to the use of masdars as well, which it verbalizes: <u>mowt</u> (death) "to die", or *ḫalās* (finish) "to finish", *etc.:*

(13)   *w-ma baʕden ente mowt šəġəl ḫalās* "And after he died, the work stopped"

It also uses verbal participles as is the case with the passive participle *maʕlūm* (known) which replaces the verb "to know" in all its functions. It should be mentioned that *maʕlūm* was borrowed from the Urdu language as part of its vocabulary, and for Urdubic it seems to be a true brand:

(14)   *kullu nafriyyāt maʕlūm enti bas baʕden fi… enti fi šūf fi ana*
         *"*Everyone knew him, but after… he had… there is, I mean you can see me"

The particle *fi*

One interesting fact is the occurrence of the existential particle *fi* in compound verbs of the type *fi šūf* "you can see", which might be an indicator of modality for possibility, like "is it possible to...", "you can...", etc. (see also Bakir 2014: 410-436).

(15)   *enti fi šūf fi yaʕni anā fi youtube hāḏa ḫurma iṯəm nūr ğaḥan*
         You can see, I mean, me, on Youtube, [with] this woman whose name is *nūr ğaḥan*

In order to place actions on temporal coordinates, Urdubic, as is also the case in many pidgins, leaves it to the discretion of the receiver who has to always consider the communicative context; some other times it is expressed by temporal adverbs, as is the case of verbs (see the section on the verb phrase above) like *al-ḥīn* "now" for the present, *ams* "yesterday" for the past, *bukra* "tomorrow" for the future; also, *baʕden* "later"

indicates a temporal posteriority relation, while *avval* "before" indicates the temporal anteriority relation.

(16) *baˤden bas ma fi ziyāda šəġəl al-ḥīn ma-l-ana abū-y…*
      *"*But afterwards, there's no more work now, I don't have a father"

      fi is also employed with a copulative value in a nominal sentence:

(17) *yaˤni al-ḥīn nafriyyāt ma-fi mašhūr* "Right now, people are not famous"

Noun phrase
The noun

From our research and recordings, it seems that the definite article *al/el* is never present next to nouns, with very few exceptions, which are "fixed" phrases, like, for example, *al-ḥīn* "now", with an adverbial value, or *fi-l-leyl* "in the night":

(18) *fi-l-leyl ana sīr belād* "In the night, I go to the city"

      Sometimes, the singular is also used with a plural meaning; then, a disambiguation will be warranted, through the use of *ziyāda* "much", "many", "more":

(19a) *al-ḥīn, baˤden kōrōna fi muškil ziyāda*
      "Now, after Corona settled in, there are many problems"

(19b) *beyt ziyāda* "many houses"

      Given that in Arabic the possessive adjective does not have an independent form, the interlocutor cannot detached it from the definite noun and, as such, *uḫt-i* (my sister) means "sister" or "sisters", and *aḫu-y* (my brother) means "brother" or "brothers", in general.

(20) *ana arba uḫt-i* […] *w itənēn aḫu-y* "I [have] four sisters […] and two brothers."

      On top of a massive number of lexical borrowings, which Urdu has loaned from Arabic, especially in the Islamic domain, there are several grammatical morphemes (Khan & Alward 2011), particularly the suffixes for the feminine external plural in *-āt* and for the masculine external plural in *-īn*. Considering that the value of these morphemes is easily recognizable by Urdu speakers, the plurals formed this way make their appearance in Urdubic, especially the ones ending in *-āt*, which have a higher frequency than those ending in *-īn* (the latter type is specialized only for nouns that define human beings of the masculine gender), as per our recordings: *nafriyyāt* "persons", "individuals", "people", *sanavāt* "years", *safriyyāt* "travels", etc.

Regular Arabic suffixes -*īn* (*een*) and -*āt* (*aat*) are easily recognized by Urdu speakers, as they have often been borrowed from nouns to which they were attached. Such regular Arabic plural forms appear even in English-language texts produced by Urdu speakers:

(21a) "Four *Mujahideen* embraced **shahadat**"
(21b) "***Takbiraat*** were recited after Eid-prayer"

According to the grammatical agreements in the sentences, it is clear that the words ending in -*āt* (*aat*) are perceived as plurals.

Standing out from the Arabic words borrowed by Urdu, there is the case of *zyada* (in Arabic: *ziyāda* "increment", "growth", "surplus", "overplus", "excess", etc., which has the meanings of "high", "much", "bulky", "more", "many", "more than" in Urdu. One of its uses is as an adjectival modifier (much), appearing after the noun that it modifies:

(22) *Es men   namak zyada   hai*
      In this   salt   much   is
      "In this there is a lot of salt"

Another one of its uses is as an adverbial modifier, for marking the superiority comparison degree (more), appearing before an adjective:

(23) E Dubai se   zyada qareeb   hai
      It Dubai than   more close   is
      "It is closer than Dubai"

The same structures have unusual uses in Urdubic, compared with the Arabic phrases and structures where it is found.

(24a) *al-ḥīn, baˤden kōrōna fì muškil ziyāda*
      "Now, after Corona settled in, there is a big[ger] problem"
(24b) *al-ḥīn la-na baˤden fì muškil ziyāda, ma fì ziyāda* work in *bākistān*, so…
      "Now, we after having more problems, there's no longer any work in Pakistan, so…"
(24c) *anā elli hanāk fì yaˤni fì ziyāda zēn muˤāš*
      "I was there I mean I would have more salary"
(24d) *… al-ḥīn fì fikr ḏiyāda… ana*
      "now I think a lot more… I…"
(24e) *yaˤni ziyāda kabīr ustād.*
      "I mean a very big master/teacher"
(24f) *zēn ziyāda* "more beautiful"
(24g) beyt ziyāda "more houses"

The pronoun

As can be seen from the analyzed text, the interlocutor uses two forms of pronouns: *ana* (I) for their own person and *ente* (you, second person singular masculine) for anything else / other than their own person. In short, it is I *versus* the rest of the world. Therefore, in addition to "you" (sg.), it can also be "he", "she", "you" (pl.), "they", etc.).

(25) *šuġl baʕden ma-l-ana abū-y ente šəġəl fi al-ḥīn šəġəl musician*
     "Working after losing my father, he [used to] work as a musician"

In order to express possession, Urdubic does not use the affix pronouns as is the rule in Arabic, rather the independent pronouns preceded by the preposition *l(i)* "for": *l-ana* (ad litteram "for I"):

(26) *ma-l-ana ğad[d]* "I don't have a grandfather"

The numeral

With respect to the cardinal numeral, one can observe the application of a single rule, namely after the numeral there always appears the singular form of the counted object (without dual or plural forms after numerals counting up to and including ten, like is the case in Arabic):

(27a) *ana arba uḫt-i* […] *w itənēn aḫu-y* "I [have] four sisters […] and two brothers"
(27b) *Ana ḫabər enti wəḥad sana itəneyn šaġəl avvəl ana il-li həna*
     "I told you one year, two jobs, ever since I came here"

Loans from the Urdu substratum

Sometimes, words – other than those shared with Arabic – from Urdu that are common with other Indo-Iranian languages (like Hindi, Punjabi, Persian, Pashto, which are well-known due to the influx of native speakers of these languages in the UAE) are used in Urdubic as such, like it is the case of the word *bačča* "kid", "child", "children":

(28) *ma-l-ana abū-y, ana fi ma-l-ana abū-y, ma-l-ana ḫurma, ma-l-ana **bačča***
     "I don't have a father, I am without a father, I don't have a wife, I don't have **kids**"

Recording sample

The recording sample utilized the following abbreviations for the glosses:
1 – 1st person, 2 – 2nd person, 3 – 3rd person, def – definite article, f – feminine, imp – imperative form of the verb, iprf – imperfective form of the verb, m – masculine, neg –

negation particle, poss – possessive particle, prf – perfective form of the verb, rel – relative pronoun.

ma-l-ana   umm-i,   ma-l-ana   abū-y,   āh,
neg-poss-1sg   mother-1sg neg-poss-1sg   father-1sg   ah
I'm without a mother, without a father, ah,

ana   arba uḫt-i […]   w   itənēn aḫu-y
1sg   four sister-1sg […]   and   two   brother-1sg
I [have] four sisters […] and two brothers.

ana   kullu nafar, ana   fi [...]   very poor family, ma-l-ana   abū-y,
1sg   all   person 1sg   in [...]   very poor family, neg-poss-1sg father-1sg
I am alone, I am [from] a very poor family, without a father,

ab-i,   ma-l-ana   ğad[d]
father-1sg, neg-poss-1sg   grandfather
My father, I don't have a grandfather

enti   fi šuġl, ziyāda mazbūt bal   baden   yani avval
2sg.m   in work more   firm   but   afterwards that is firstly
If you [have] work, it's much better; but, actually, before

hāda fi indīya   bākīstān kullu same
this in India   Pakistan all   same
this was all the same in India or Pakistan.

baᶜden   yani   we got freedom
afterwards   that is   we got freedom
After that, I mean, we got freedom

baden l-anā   enti illi   hənāk, ana   šuft   ziyāda   muškil
after   poss-1sg 2sg which   there   1sg   see.1sg.prf more   difficulty
Then I had, when I was there, I had many difficulties

sār   fi bākistān
happen.3sg.prf   in Pakistan
[which] happened in Pakistan

ente fi zayn nafar   baden   ente ma...
2sg in good person   after   2sg.m neg
Now you're doing well, now you don't…

šuġl baᶜden   ma-l-ana   abū-y   ente šəġəl fi al-ḫīn šəġəl musician
work after   neg-poss-1sg father-1sg   2sg.m work in now   work musician

Working after losing my father, he [used to] work as a musician

fi bākistān ente šəġəl fi filəm industry fi bākistān
in Pakistan 2sg.m work in film industry in Pakistan
In Pakistan he [used to] work in the film industry.

kullu nafriyyāt maʿlūm enti bas baʿden fi… enti fi šūf fi ana
all persons known 2sg.m but after in… 2sg.m in see.imp.sg.m in 1sg
Everyone knew him, but after… he had… there is, I mean you can see me

fi yūtūb hāda ḥurma iṯəm nūr ǧaḥan
in Youtube this woman name Noor Jehan
on Youtube, with this woman [singer], called Noor Jehan

enti ḏēn enti naġma ziyāda zēn…
2sg good 2sg.f song more good
She was good, she had a really good song

ma-l-ana abū-y šuġl f-waḥad-a
neg-poss-1sg father-1sg work in-one-3sg.m
without a father [I] worked on my own

w-ma baʿden enti mowt šəġəl ḫalās
and-neg after 2sg.f death work finish
And after he died, the work stopped

baʿden bas ma-fi ziyāda šəġəl al-ḥīn ma-l-ana abū-y
after but neg-in more work now neg-poss-1sg father-1sg
But there's no more work now, since I lost my father

al-ḥīn, baden kōrōna fi muškil ziyāda
now after Corona in problem more
Now, after Corona [came], there are [even] more difficulties

al-ḥīn l-ana baden fi muškil ziyāda, ma-fi ziyāda work in *bākistān*, so
now poss-1sg after in problem more neg-in more work in Pakistan, so...
Now, after [that], I have more problems, there's even less work in Pakistan, so...

anā bas ana təfakker anā elli hanāk,
1sg but 1sg think.imp.sg.m 1sg rel there
I am thinkinging about me [over] there

anā elli hanāk fi ziyāda zēn muʿāš
1sg rel there in more good salary
[when] I was there, the salary was better

fi bākistān ana šəġəl markaz-e itisāl,
in Pakistan 1sg work call center
In Pakistan I was working at a call center

anā w-aḷḷā-hi ana fi zēn fi bākistān
1sg and-God-1sg 1sg in good in Pakistan
I swear I was doing well in Pakistan

ma-l-ana abū-y, ana fi ma-l-ana abū-y, ma-l-ana ḥurma,
neg-poss-1sg father-1sg 1sg in neg-poss-1sg father-1sg neg-poss-1sg wife
I don't have a father, I am an orphan, I don't have a wife

ma-l-ana bačča, yaˤni kullu nafriyyāt.
neg-poss-1sg kids that is all persons
I don't have kis, I mean [I don't have] anyone

bukra ana sīr fi šəġəl, fi-l-leyl ana sīr belād
tomorrow 1sg go in work, in-def-night 1sg go.imp.sg.m city
Tomorrow after I go to work, I go downtown during the night

kullu nafriyyāt mawǧūd fi hada
all people present in this
Everyone is [going] there.

ma-l-ana aḫu-y, oḫt-i, ma-l-ana bint, ma-l-ana ana,
neg-poss-1sg brother-1sg sister-1sg neg-poss-1sg daughter neg-poss-1sg 1sg
I don't have brothers, sisters, I don't have a daughter, I don't have... I...

ana bint, ana oḫt-i, ana abū-y, ana zawǧ
1sg daughter 1sg sister-1sg 1sg dad-1sg 1sg husband
I am the daugther, I am the sister, I am the father, I am the husband

and *fi-l-layl ana wēn ana urīd taˤām,*
and in-def-night 1sg where 1sg want.1sg.iprf food
And during the evening, wherever I want to go and eat

enti bas šīl taˤām baˤden ana bas akel
2sg.f just take.imp.sg.m food after 1sg just food
You can just go and take the food, afterwards I just eat

ma-fi tafakkar fi beyt… al-ḥīn fi fikr ḏiyāda
neg-in think.imp.sg.m in house now in thought more
I didn't think about the family anymore, now I think more

*enti kullu kullu naġma yaʕni songs mawǧūd fi hāḏa-l-*yūtūb.
2sg.f all all song that is songs present in this-def-Youtube
You [can find] all the songs – they are on this Youtube.

enti yaʕni sīr anǧilistān, enti sīr amerikā, enti
2sg.f that is go.imp.sg.m England 2sg go.imp.sg.m America 2sg.f
You can go to England, to America, you

sīr kullu yōrop, enti sīr al-ḥīn hindustān bas al-ḥīn, fi ma-fi ḏālik
go all Europe 2sg.f go.imp.sg.m now India but now in neg-in this
can go to all of Europe, but if you go now to India, there's no such thing

ana ḥābər enti, baden mawt fi hāḏa ḥurma nūr ǧaḥan šəġəl [...],
1sg tell.imp.2sg.m 2sg.f after death poss this woman Noor Jehan work [...],
I told you, after the death of this woman, Noor Jehan, the work, I mean

yaʕni devām šəġəl ḥallās, baden
that is continuous work over after
The stable work had ended afterwards

cause *huwa nafriyyāt [...] yaʕni ziyāda kabīr ustād*
Because 3sg.m people [...] that is more big master
Because he was a great master, among the people

ente fi hāḏa fi music *hāḏa fi kabīr ustād*
2sg.m in this in music this in big master
She was a great artist in music.

yaʕni al-ḥīn nafriyyāt ma-fi mašhūr,
that is now people neg-in famous
Right now, people are not famous

yaʕni huwa ḥurma fi ziyāda, enti fi mašḥūr ziyāda,
that is 3sg.m woman in more, 2sg.f in famous more
I mean if she is a woman that is more [famous], you're also more famous

nafriyyāt fi ma-fi mašhūr hena
people in neg-in famous here
People are unfamous here

ana bas saġīr fi in my family
1sg just small in in my family
I am the youngest in my family

98

ana   ḫābər   enti   eight year,   tisʕa   sana,   avvəl   ana   elli   hanāk,
1sg   tell.imp.sg.m   2sg.f   eight year   nine   year   first   1sg   rel   there
I told you eight years, nine years [since I came here] – the moment I got here

ana   šəġəl   li-l-safriyyāt   maktab   itəneyn   sana
1sg   work   poss-def-travels   office   two   year
I worked at a travel agency for two years

baden   ana   sīr   belād,   uhm.. vēn   ana   sīr   belād   baden?
after   1sg   go.imp.sg.m   country   uhm   when   1sg   go.imp.sg.m   country after
After that I went back home, uhm… when was I to go home after?

la, wuḫad sana ana sīr   belād   baʕden ana fi zawǧ   yaʕni fi marriage
no, one   year 1sg go.imp.sg.m   country after   1sg in marriage that is in marriage
No, I wanted to go back home for a year and get married

itəneyn sana ana šəġəl li-l-safriyyāt   maktab   baden ana sīr   bilād
two   year 1sg work poss-def-travels   office   after 1sg go.imp.sg.m   country
After working two years at the travel agency, I would go to the country

al-ḥin   tisʕa, uhm, ḫamsa, sitta sana   ana   elli   hanāk
now   nine   uhm   five   six   years   1sg   rel   there
[But] now it's been nine, uhm, five-six years since I was [back] there.

ana safe fi šūf   šəġəl yaʕni li-l-safriyyāt   maktab, ana   šəġəl fi fandak
1sg safe in see.imp.sg.m   work that is poss-def-travels   office   1sg   work in hotel
I am safe, I know how to work, I mean, in a travel agency, I worked in hotels

ana   maʕlūm   keyf šəġəl fandak, ana maʕlūm keyf šəġəl li-l-safriyyāt   maktab
1sg   know   how   work hotel   1sg know   how work poss-def-travels   office
I know how to work in a hotel, I know how to work in travel agencies.

baʕden   kōrōnā, ziyāda yaʕni fi muškil fi li-l-safriyyāt   maktab
after   Corona more   that is in problem in poss-def-travels   office
After Corona, there were even more difficulties for hte travel agencies.

tayarān bannat, maṭʕām   bannat, kullu šay   bannat,
flights banned restaurants banned all   thing banned
The flights were banned, restaurants closed, everything closed

baʕden-ma tayarān bannat, fandak   bannat
after   flights banned hotel   banned
After the flights were banned, hotels were banned

itənēn   šəġəl bannat, baden   ana   fi-l-muškil   ziyāda,
two   work banned after   1sg   in-def-problem   more
Two jobs stopped after that I had even more problems

ana   fi   təff, ana   fi   fikər   ziyāda
1sg   fi   tough 1sg   in   thought more
I [was] in a tough [situation], I was thinking more

waḥad   nafar   ḫabar   ana   sīr   fi   wa   ente   iṯəm maḫḏūm
one   person tell   1sg   go.imp.sg.m in   and 2sg.m name Makhdoum
[when] a guy told me to go and his name is Makhdoum

ente   zēn   nafar   hənāk
2sg.m   good person   there
He is a good person there

ente   ḫabar   ana   waḥad   šəġəl fi   mustašfi [...]
2sg.m tell.imp.sg.m 1sg   one   work in   hospital
He told me [that he has] a job in the hospital

ente   fi   šəġəl ana   ḫabar   ente,
2sg.m in   work 1sg   tell.imp.sg.m 2sg.m
He had a job, I asked him,

ya'ni kam   mu'āš ana   šīl,   kam   fəlūs
that is how much   salary 1sg   take.imp.sg.m how much   money
I mean how much salary do I get, how much money?

ente   ḫabar   ana   al-ḥīn ente ma-fi   šīl   ziyāda fəlūs,
2sg.m tell.imp.sg.m 1sg   now   2sg.m neg-in take.imp.sg.m more   money,
He told me now you don't get a lot of money

bas   wuḥad   alif
but   one   thousand
But [you only get] one thousand

ana ḫabər   wēn ana sīr   bākistān hāḏa fi   al-hind fi   muškil   ziyāda
1sg tell.imp.sg.m when 1sg go.imp.sg.m Pakistan this in   India   in   problem more
I asked when I was going to go to Pakistan [because] this was in India, it was more difficult

ana   ḫabər   enti ma-fi   muškil ana   seyl   ana   šəġəl
1sg   tell.imp.sg.m 2sg.f neg-in problem 1sg   asking   1sg   work
I told him it's not problem. I asked if I can work

bas   hāḏa mustašfi al-ḥīn wəḥad   sana,
but   this   hospital now   one   year
So [I was] in this hospital for one year now

ana   ḥabər   enti wəḥad   sana itəneyn šaġəl   avvəl ana   il-li həna
1sg   tell.imp.sg.m   2sg.f one   year two   work   first 1sg   rel   here
I told you one year, two jobs, ever since I came here

ana   šəġəl ʕala-dūr ḥamsa šahər   hənāk   fi mustašfi [...]   fuġayra
1sg   work   on-turn five   month   there   in hospital [...]   Fujairah
I worked around five months there in the hospital [... in] Fujairah

baʕad ana   ḥabər   enti dāḫal   ibra   fi vaccine
after 1sg   tell.imp.sg.m   2sg.f enter.3sg.m.prf needle   in vaccine
After [that] I told you, the needle got it, the vaccine

baʕaden heart-attack-i,   yaʕni   al-ḥīn   ana   fi kalab marīd
after   heart-attack-1sg   that is   now   1sg   in heart sick
After [that] my heart attack [came], I mean now I have a sick heart

al-ḥamdulilla   wa doktōr yaʕni   doktōr ḥabər   ana kullu šay   zēn
def-praise-poss-God and doctor that is   doctor tell.imp.sg.m 1sg all   thing good
Thank God with the doctor, I mean the doctor told me that everything is alright

heart attack   *il-li   but   hāda ma-fi   fikər ziyāda*
hart   attack   poss-1sg   but   this   neg-in   thought more
I had a heart attack, but this is not [something] to think about too much

hāda ma-fi   kabīr hāda fi saġīr ma-fi   muškil
this   neg-in   big   this   in small neg-in   problem
This could be a big [deal] or not, it's not a problem

Conclusions

After comparing the results obtained on analyzing the text in Urdubic with the results highlighted by other researchers of this pidgin, we could see on the one hand that the overwhelming majority of the problems reported by them – regarding phonetics, morphology, syntax – are found in this speech, but on the other hand there are elements specific to the speaker, such as realizing Arabic consonants – which are usually approximated by users of this pidgin based on their mother tongue, i.e. Urdu, Hindi, etc. - due to a standard Arabic language course.

References

Abed, L. G. 2018. *Gulf Pidgin Arabic: An Empirical Investigation into its Emergence and Social Attitude* (Doctoral dissertation, Trinity College Dublin).

Alghamdi, E. A. 2014. "Gulf Pidgin Arabic: A Descriptive and Statistical Analysis of Stability", in *International Journal of Linguistics*, 6(6), 110.

Al-Moaily, Mohamad. 2013. *Language variation in Gulf Pidgin Arabic*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Alshammari, W. F. B. 2018. *The Development of and Accommodation in Gulf Pidgin Arabic: Verbal and Pronominal Form Selection* (Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University).

Avram, A. A. 2014. Immigrant workers and language formation: Gulf Pidgin Arabic. Lengua y migración/Language and Migration, 6(2),7-40.

Bakir, M. J. 2014. "The multifunctionality of *fii* in Gulf Pidgin Arabic". *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 29(2): 410-436.

Bakir, Murtadha J. 2010. "Notes on the verbal system of Gulf Pidgin Arabic", in *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 25 (2): 201–228.

Boas, Franz. 1974. "On 'Alternating Sounds' in Stocking", in George Jr (ed.), *The Shaping of American Anthropology 1883-1911: A Franz Boas Reader*. New York: Basic Books.

Dowson, J. 1908. *A Grammar of the Urdu or Hindustani Language*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

Ferguson, C.A. 1971. "Absence of copula and the notion of simplicity: A study of normal speech, baby talk, foreigner talk, and pidgins", in Albert Valdman (ed.), *Pidginization and creolization of languages*: 99–125.

Grigore, George. 2016. "*Fuṣḥā* Arabic Vocabulary Borrowed by Mardini Arabic via Turkish", in Manuel Sartori, Manuela E. B. Giolfo &Philippe Cassuto (eds.), *Approaches to the History and Dialectology of Arabic in Honor of Pierre Larcher*. Leiden / Boston: Brill: 435-450.

Holes, Clive. 1990. *Gulf Arabic*. London: Routledge.

Holms, John. 1988. *Pidgins and creoles*. Vol. 1. London: Cambridge University Press.

Hussain, Riaz; Asif, Muhammad & Muhammad Din. 2020. "Urdubic as a Lingua Franca in the Arab Countries of the Persian Gulf", in *Research Journal of Social Sciences & Economics Review*, Vol. 1, Issue 4: 225-232.

Kaye, Alan & Mauro Tosco. 2001. *Pidgin and creole languages: A basic introduction*. München: LINCOM EUROPA.

Kaye, Alan S. 1997. "Hindi-Urdu Phonology", Alan Kaye (ed.), *Phonologies of Asia and Africa* (ed.). Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Khan, Abdul Ghaffar & Mohammed Ahmad Alward. 2011. "Arabic Loan Words in Urdu: A Linguistic Analysis", in *Speech and Context* 1: 31-37.

Maldonado García, María Isabel &Mustafa Yapici. 2014. "Common Vocabulary in Urdu and Turkish Language: A Case of Historical Onomasiology", in *Pakistan Vision* Vol. 15 No.1, Pakistan Study Centre: 193-225.

Næss. U.G. 2008. *Gulf Pidgin Arabic: individual strategies or a structured variety? A study of some features of the linguistic behavior of Asian migrants in the Gulf countries*. M.A Thesis, University of Oslo.

Owens, Jonathan. 1985. *The Origins of East African Arabic Nubi*. Anthropological Linguistics: 27. 229–71.

Owens, Jonathan. 2001. "Creole Arabic: The orphan of all orphans", in *Anthropological Linguistics* 43: 348–378.

Qalisheh, H. A., 1997. *NTC's Gulf Arabic-English dictionary*. Illinois: NTC Publishing Group.

Sala, Marius.1997. *Limbi în contact*. București: Editura Enciclopedică.

Saleem, A. M.; Kabir, H.; Riaz, M. K.; Rafique, M. M.; Khalid, N.; & S. R. Shahid. 2002. "Urdu consonantal and vocalic sounds", in *Center for Research in Urdu Language Processing - Annual Student Report*.

Smart, J.R. 1990. "Pidginization in Gulf Arabic: A First Report", in *Anthropological linguistics*. Vol. 32, pp. 83-119

Tosco, Mauro. 1995. "A pidgin verbal system: The case of Juba Arabic", in *Anthropological Linguistics* 37: 423–459.

Versteegh, Kees. 2014. "Pidgin verbs: Infinitives or imperatives?", in *Pidgins and Creoles beyond Africa-Europe Encounters*. Buchstaller, I., Holmberg, A., Almoaily, M. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 141-170.

PHONETICAL AND PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATIONS OF HEBREW LOANWORDS IN MOROCCAN JUDEO-ARABIC: THE CASE OF FEZ

JONAS SIBONY

GEO – University of Strasbourg

Abstract: Like all Jewish languages, Judeo-Arabic dialects borrowed numerous terms from Hebrew and Aramaic. Many studies have already been conducted on modern North-African Judeo-Arabic, some concerning specifically Judeo-Moroccan dialects, in their written or oral forms. This study intends to offer a systematic analysis of how the Hebrew component of Judeo-Arabic in Fez behaves in terms of phonological and phonetical adaptation and to look in particular for regularities in that adaptation.
Keywords: Judeo-Arabic, Hebrew component, Moroccan Arabic, Phonology, Morphology, Fez

Introduction

The Judeo-Arabic dialects are Arabic dialects that have been spoken by Jews. Thus, they are both to be considered as Arabic dialects and Jewish languages. And like all Jewish Languages, they borrowed numerous terms from Hebrew and Aramaic. There is already to this day, many studies focusing on those dialects and on the question of the interactions with the Hebrew language[1]. This study intends to offer a systematic analysis of how the Hebrew component of Judeo-Arabic in Fez behaves in terms of phonological and phonetical adaptation and to look in particular for regularities in that adaptation. To the present day, many authors have focused on specific aspects of this Hebrew component: Bahat (2001) provides a dictionary listing of Hebrew lexemes in use in Moroccan Jewish written Arabic. Leslau (1945), Maman (1999) and Sibony (2019) address the issue of relevant semantic fields while Tedghi (1995, 1999, 2001 and 2003b) deals with the internal semantic developments of Hebrew loan words. Brunot and Malka (1939, 1940), Lévy (1994, 2009) and Chetrit (2007, 2009, 2014, 2015) also refer widely to the Hebrew component in studies that are not exclusively dedicated to it.

---

[1] See Morag 1963 for the pronunciation of Hebrew words into Yemeni Judeo-Arabic ; see Morag 2007 and Maman 2019 for the different traditons of Hebrew around the world; for Judeo-Arabic dialects see Saada 1956 for Sousse, Cohen D. 1964, 1975 for Tunis, Henshke 1991 for Djerba and 2007, 2008 for Tunisia in general, Cohen M. 1912 for Algiers, Tirosh-Becker 1989a,b for Constantine, Bar-Asher 1992 for Tlemcen and Ain Tmouchent, for Morocco (which will be more developed through the article), see Akoun 2013, 2015, Bar-Asher 1978, Heath 2002, Heath & Bar-Asher 1982, Maman 1989, 1999, Stillman 1988.

Finally, in key studies, Bar-Asher (1996) and Tedghi (2003a) retrace the entire history of the research on the Hebrew component in modern Judeo-Arabic dialects.

For Fez, the particular issue of phonological and phonetical adaptations in Hebrew loanwords has been researched by Leslau (1945), and for Sefrou by Stillman (2008). Lévy (2009) explores and describes a series of Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects and touches on phonetical questions for Fez, Meknes, Rabat-Salé, Sefrou, Debdou, the areas of Tafilalt, Midelt, and Draa, Marrakesh, Essaouira, Safi, El-Jdida and Azemmour. Though Lévy makes crucial remarks about how the Hebrew component behaves, he does not draw any specific conclusions from these. This article will bring together these previous studies focusing on the Judeo-Moroccan dialect of Fez (henceforth FJA) in order to propose a general hypothesis concerning the phonetical adaptation process. In order to open up a comparative perspective, the Fasi (from Fez) data will be complemented with examples from other Moroccan cities, taken from Lévy (2009) but also from Chetrit (2007, 2014, 2015) for Meknes, Stillman (1988) for Sefrou, Pellat (1952) for Debdou, and Caubet (1993) for "standard" Moroccan Arabic (henceforth MA).

Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects

The most important and up to date studies concerning the diversity of North African Judeo-Arabic dialects have been undertaken by Joseph Chetrit. For the present article, I will focus on four of them (2007, 2009, 2014, 2015). According to Chetrit, around the 1950s, "there were about four hundred Jewish communities in North Africa (urban and semi-urban), most of them in Morocco for which Judeo-Arabic was the principal language"[2].

Dialectologists distinguish mainly between two kinds of North African Arabic dialects: Pre-Hilalian (ancient urban dialects and among them, all Judeo-Arabic dialects[3]), dating back to the first wave of Arabization of North-Africa, and Hilalian dialects[4], from the wave of Arabization that accompanied the arrival of the confederation of tribes of the Banu Hilal in the eleventh century[5].

Chetrit distinguishes four groups of Judeo-Arabic dialects (all pre-Hilalian) with different backgrounds and which share many characteristics. He calls them *Eqa:l*, *Wqal*, *kjal* and *ʔal* dialects[6] and shows how each group share specific phonological and morphological features.

Chetrit sums up his investigation[7] as follows: the first group *Eqa:l* is very ancient (formed between the ninth and fifteenth century) and was in use in the East (Libya, Tunisia,

---

[2] Chetrit 2014: 202.

[3] See for example AGUADÉ, Jorge 2018. "The Maghrebi dialects of Arabic". *Arabic Historical Dialectology, Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Approaches*. Oxford University Press. 39-63.

[4] In fact, this distinction has been lately reconsidered by many scholars, and among them Alexander Magidow. 2013. *Towards a Sociohistorical Reconstruction of Pre-Islamic Arabic Dialect Diversity*. BA, MA Dissertation. University of Texas, Austin: Chapter 4, History, North Africa. 233-250.

[5] See Holes, Clive (eds.). 2018. *Arabic Historical Dialectology*. Clive Holes (eds.). Oxford University Press. 347.

[6] Chetrit 2015. Those names refer to the specific pronunciation in each of them of the verb "to say", that carries in it two unstable features of the North-African Arabic dialects: pronunciation of phoneme /q/ and of the long vowels. In other words, the pronunciation of this single word tells a lot about the nature of the dialect.

[7] Chetrit 2015 (overview table p. 34).

Annaba, Algiers); the *Wqal* group concerns the western Moroccan dialects, it is very old as well (tenth-thirteenth century); the third group *kjal* may be the oldest (eight-eleven century) for eastern Morocco; and finally the *ʾal* group shaped between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century in urban parts in northern Morocco.

Judeo-Arabic from Fez, the main subject of this article, belongs to the *ʾal* group.

The *ʾal* dialects and FJA

FJA belongs to the "interior urban belt" dialects[8]. William Marçais, in his *Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée?* talks about an "old urban vernacular"[9]. In Chetrit's classification, it is a *ʾal* dialect. This group includes the varieties of Salé, Rabat, Fez, Meknes, Sefrou, Taza and Wezzane, and are all dialects of Iberian influence. Those dialects carry very ancient features but were widely reshaped in the sixteenth and seventeenth century after important groups of *Megorashim*[10] settled in the region. In terms of language contact, those dialects arose from the meeting of Judeo-Spanish, Andalusi Arabic and ancient Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects[11]. They show some phonetical and phonological specificities such as: glottalization of /q/ > [ʔ], neutralization of sibilants /š/-/s/ > /s/ and /ž/-/z/ > /z/[12], affrication of the dental consonant /t/ > [ts] and a significant attenuation trend of /h/[13].

If those varieties share many linguistic features, they are nonetheless distinct dialects that each evolved in different contexts, places and in contact with different Muslim dialects. For example, FJA was in constant contact with the "Old Fasi" dialect, the ancient dialect of *Ahl Fas*, described by Hilili[14]. The Judeo-Arabic dialect of Sefrou, a *ʾal* dialect also behaves in a similar way to FJA but has developed internal specificities as well[15], due to its contact with Berber speaking populations, with Jebli and 'Old Montagnard' dialects[16] and interferences from Judeo-Arabic dialects from the Tafilalt and Debdou (both *kʲal* dialects)[17]

Which Hebrew and how?

The Hebrew component is the most common feature of Jewish languages. Jewish communities are in constant contact with Hebrew (and Aramaic) sacred sources such as

---

[8]   Heath 2002: 21-24.
[9]   Marçais William. 1938. "Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée ? I. L'arabisation des villes". *Annales de l'Institut des Etudes Orientales 4*: 1-21.
[10] *Megorashim* means "expelled" in Hebrew and is the term used to designate the Jewish population that were expelled from Spain in the fiftennth century before they established to Northern Morocco. In opposition, the ancient local Jewish population is called *Toshavim* "natives, residents".
[11] Chetrit 2007: 163-164 ; 2015: 29-31.
[12] Like almost every other Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects.
[13] Chetrit 2015: 32.
[14] Hilili, A. 1986. "Esquisse de l'arabe parlé dans la medina de Fès". *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Fès* 8: 67-77.
[15] Stillman 2011: 194.
[16] Stillman 1988: 31.
[17] Chetrit 2015: 32.

the Hebrew Bible, the Talmud and the Midrash[18] as well as with Hebrew literatures from different times and regions[19]. In other words, Jewish life is bathed in Hebrew culture. Jews use non-Hebrew vernacular languages and insert Hebrew vocabulary into it. In North Africa, Jews speak many kinds of specific sociolects of Maghrebi Arabic, with a Hebrew lexical component. Although these loanwords have rather been historically considered as concerning religion or aspects of Jewish life only, recent studies have shown they refer to other semantic fields as well[20].

The interaction between Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic is not usual language contact because there has never been any bilingualism, rather it is a situation of diglossia resulting in continued influence of written Hebrew texts into the spoken (judeo-)Arabic dialect. This led to different levels of word use, depending mainly on the speaker's degree of education.

Bar-Asher mentions four groups of speakers that behave differently towards Hebrew loanwords. Group one concerns "wise men (Hakhamim) and their students"; group two "men who know how to write and read Hebrew"; group three "men who don't know Hebrew" and group four "women"[21]. The more the speaker has contact with Hebrew, the more he uses a Hebrew lexicon in his Arabic dialect.

In this study, I focus on fully integrated Hebrew vocabulary, used by every speaker and in which the etymology is often known to all but also sometimes unknown. I will not discuss the Hebrew of the first group since the most educated population can theoretically use any Hebrew word in a personal capacity and therefore this lexicon and its pronunciation (often "corrected") are not representative of what happens to the usual spoken language.

Integrated Hebrew vocabulary should be considered as the category proposed by M. Weinreich of *merged Hebrew*, in opposition to *whole Hebrew*[22], i.e. not Hebrew in general, but a fully integrated Hebrew component to the vernacular language. *Merged Hebrew* is sometimes very ancient and even if it is difficult to identify precisely the period of each loan word, aspects of phonology and morphology can offer precious clues.

Many scholars have mentioned the fact that in dialects where the Arabic /q/ (ق) is produced /ʔ/, Hebrew follows with ק /q/ produced /ʔ/[23]. How did the pronunciation shift occur? There are two ways to understand that phenomenon. The first is to consider that phonetical evolutions are led by the "wise men". That seems unlikely. The group designated as "wise men" can indeed identify etymological matches between the two languages and partly lead the pronunciation of traditional reading but they can hardly control the natural evolution of pronunciation in everyday speech. If we nevertheless consider this possibility, we would have to assume that some speakers identified both historical phonemes and consciously adapted the Arabic evolution of pronunciation to the Hebrew. The second way to address this situation is to assume that these were very

---

[18] Chetrit 2014: 206.
[19] Namely Iraqi and Andalusi medieval literatures : poems, grammars and philosophical essays.
[20] Tedghi 2003b: 689.
[21] Bar-Asher 1978: 166-167
[22] Tedghj 2003b: 690 mentions that category from Weinreich, M. 1954. "Pre- and Early History of Yiddish: Facts and Conceptual Frameworks". U. Weinreich (eds.). *The Fields of Yiddish*. New York: 89-96.
[23] Akoun 2015: 35; Bar-Asher 1978: 172; Morag 2007: 558; Tirosh Beker 1989: 332.

ancient loans, dating back to when both the Arabic /q/ was produced /q/ as well as ק in the Hebrew reading tradition and that when the Arabic shift /q/ > /ʔ/ occurred, the Hebrew component was already fully integrated and thus followed precisely the phonetic evolution as any lexical element would have.

In this manner, the historical nature of the Hebrew component can be seen by its articulation and imbrication with the dialect's phonological and morpho-syntactical systems. A lexeme of Hebrew origin integrates the FJA linguistic mechanism just as any other word would, whether it comes from Classical Arabic, Berber, Spanish or French. Hebrew nouns go with the Arabic article: *l-pṛāṣa* "the Parasha" (Hebrew *pārāšâ* פָּרָשָׁה), *l-ʿasirīm* "the rich people" (Hebrew *ʿăšīrīm* עֲשִׁירִים), they can have Arabic plurals as *ṣḍāḍəṛ* [24](Arabic broken plural of Hebrew *siddur* סִדּוּר"prayer book"), external plurals as in *mămzirēn* and *səkkāṯ* [25] (FJA plurals of Hebrew *mamzēr* מַמְזֵר "bastard" and *sukkâ* סֻכָּה "Sukkah").

Phonological and phonetical adaptations of the Hebrew consonants in FJA

The Hebrew lexicon of interest for this study concerns a borrowed lexicon that is fully integrated into the Judeo-Arabic dialect, and available in daily speech, just like loanwords from other languages such as Spanish or French.

Due to the fact that those words have mainly been integrated into speech from written sources (in contrast to the Romance loanwords), I will list the Hebrew letters of the alphabet one by one, and see how they were adapted in borrowed lexicon.

The written Hebrew sources are most often codified according to the Masoretic tradition. For the purposes of this study it is crucial to remember that there is not nor has there ever been a situation of bilingualism between Hebrew and FJA. What happened here is the extraction of written forms of an ancient language system and adaptation into a living language system. That is to say that ancient Hebrew phonemes did not influence directly the pronunciation of those loans. And even if some aspects of those ancient phonemes have probably been retained in the reading traditions, the effective pronunciations of the loans in FJA are to be considered as interpretations according to what is available in everyday speech, namely, the FJA phonemes.

The FJA phonemes have been described, among others, by Leslau (1945) and Lévy (2009). The transcription used here is the one developed in Levy. Here follows the exhaustive list:

Labials and labiodentals: /b/, /f/, /m/, /p/, /v/; dentals / alveolars: /d/, /ḍ/, /t/, /ṭ/, /n/; liquids: /l/, /r/; sibilants[26]: /s/, /ṣ/, /z/; velars: /k/, /g/, /ḫ/, /ġ/; pharyngeals: /ḥ/, /ʿ/;

---

[24] Tedghi 1995: 45.

[25] Leslau 1945: 69.

[26] In most North African Judeo-Arabic dialects, opposition has been neutralized between /s/ and /š/ which merged to /s/ and between /z/ and /ž/ which merged to /z/. The two remaining phonemes /s/ and /z/ are produced with various degrees of stridency (Chetrit 2015: 6), depending on the dialect and on the speaker. This phenomenon is not absolutely specific to Jewish speech and can be observed in other "uncorrected speeches", as for example in traditional Meknes Muslim speech, in Old-Fasi (Muslim) or in many women speeches as in Fez, Meknes, Tangiers and Rabat (Lévy 2009: 189).

laryngeals: /h/, /ʔ/; semi-vowels: /w/, /y/; vowels[27]: /ā/, /ō/, /ī/, /ə/. In terms of phonetics, the available productions are:
[b], [bˤ], [f], [m], [mˤ], [p], [v], [d], [dˤ], [t], [tˤ], [n], [l], [lˤ], [r], [rˤ], [s], [sˤ], [z],[zˤ], [k], [g], [x], [ɣ], [ħ], [ʕ], [h], [ʔ], [ɛ], [a], [ä], [ʊ], [ö], [u], [o], [i], [Iˤ], [eˤ], [ə], [ă][28].

The presented lexicon is not the result of a personal research but is extracted from previous works. The aim of the study is not to present specifically original data nor an exhaustive list of the Hebrew loanwords but to understand how those words have been integrated into FJA. Thus, the words are to a very large extent extracted from Levy (2009) and to a lesser extent from Brunot and Malka (1939, 1940), Leslau (1945), Lévy (1994, 2013), Stillman (2011) and Tedghi (1995, 1999, 2001, 2003b). The comparative data from other Judeo-Moroccan dialects is borrowed from Akoun (2015), Bar-Asher (1978, 1992), Chetrit (2007, 2009, 2014, 2015), Heath and Bar-Asher (2002), Lévy (1994, 2009, 2013), Pellat (1952) and Stillman (1988, 2011). Finally, for obvious reasons of consistency, the various transcription methods from the various authors have been standardized.

א (Alef) /ʔ/[29] > FJA /ʔ/-/ø/[30]: [ʔ]-[ø][31]

Hebrew א identifies with FJA /ʔ/, a glottal stop [ʔ]. However, its production is very fragile and it is lost in many positions as in Arabic words like *ʔaḫ > ḫa "brother", *ʔarḍ > āṛḍ / lāṛḍ "earth" (with assimilation of the definite article). It is artificially maintained (or re-introduced) through influence of written Arabic sources: ʔōṣōl "real property". The situation regarding the Hebrew lexicon is precisely the same: אֶסְתֵּר, ʔestēr "Esther" > FJA isṭīr, אֲדָר, ʔăḏār "Month of Adar" > FJA adār. Some Hebrew words assimilate the Arabic definite article: אוֹרְחִים, ʔōrəḥīm "guest" often becomes löṛaḥīm and some have two possible forms אֵיבָרִים, ʔēḇārīm "members" is ʔibārīm or libārīm. This situation is the same in other JA dialects in Morocco and restitution seems to be applied on a case-by-case basis. For the reflexes of Arabic *ʔarḍ "earth", when as in Fez and Sefrou the word is produced lāṛḍ (FJA) or ləṛḍ (Old Fasi), the identified Hebrew cognate is produced leṛeṣ[32] (<*אֶרֶץ-أل, ʔal-ʔereṣ). Chetrit notes that in Meknes, one of the few effective /ʔ/ for

---

Hebrew **א** is actually found in that word *əl-ʔereṣ* precisely in a dialect where /ʔ/ has been maintained (or reinserted) into the Arabic cognate: *əl-ʔarḍ*[33], this match could be explained by analogy since, still in Meknes, when no cognate is identifiable: אֱמֶת, *ʔĕmeṯ* "truth" is *imiṯ*[34]. In Fez, there is at least one case of retention or restitution: in the expression עַם הָאָרֶץ, *ʕam hā-ʔāreṣ > ʕām-a-ʔārēṣ* "ignorant person"[35]. Finally, some /ʔ/ are preserved or reinserted into Hebrew words, probably because unlike with the Arabic words, Jewish speakers can compare them to the written forms found in the Jewish sources, thus leading to "corrections", as in אֶצְבַּע, *ʔeṣbāʕ* "finger" *> ʔəṣbāʕ*, מַלְאָךְ, *malʔak* "angel" *> māl ʔāḵ* and צַוָּאָה, *ṣawwāʔâ* "testament" *> ṣāvāʔa*.

ב-ﬞב (Bet) /b/-/ḇ/ > FJA /b/: [b]

Hebrew **ב** and **ﬞב** identify with FJA /b/, the voiced bilabial stop [b]. It is never spirantized[36] as it is alternatively in Hebrew according to Hebrew grammar and noted in the Masoretic system[37]. FJA /b/ appears in Arabic words like *bās* "in order to" or *bōy* "my father". /b/ can be emphasized[38] [bˤ] by contact **ṭbəl > ṭḇəl* "tambourine". Pharyngealized /b/ appears in some Romance borrowings as well *lamḅa* "lamp" and in at least one example for phono-symbolic reasons[39] in *ṛəḅḅẹ* "God". /b/ becomes /p/ ([p]) by assimilation with a voiceless consonant **ḥăbs > ḥăps* "prison", *kəppāṛ* "capers" but *kəbbāṛ* in Muslim speech. It is found in Hebrew words עֲבֵירָה, *ʕăḇērâ > ʕabera* "transgression" or צָבוּעַ, *ṣāḇūaʕ > sābūwāʕ* "hypocrite"[40]. Hebrew adapted **ﬞב** can be pharyngealized too as seen in at least one example of borrowed consonantal Hebrew root fully assimilated to FJA verbal morphology: √ט.ב.ל *> ṭḅəl/iṭḅəl* "to have a ritual bath".

ג-ﬞג (Gimel) /g/-/ḡ/ > FJA /g/-/ġ/: [g]-[ɣ]

---

[33] Chetrit 2007: 170.

[34] Chetrit 2007: 198.

[35] This irregular retention might be explained by the fact that *ʕām-a-ʔārēṣ* is a whole Hebrew expression and the word *ʔārēṣ* isn't isolated. The word *ʔārēṣ* comes as the second part of a Hebrew construct state, it cannot absorb the Arabic article. In addition, maybe /ʔ/ is preserved as an artificial retention because Hebrew /h/ is already lost right before and because both loss leads to a too significant change, which draws attention and is being rectified.

[36] The spirantized /ḇ/ is absent from the other Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects as well, for example in Debdou: בָּבֶל, *bāḇel* "Babylone" *> bābīl* and אַבְרָהָם, *ʔaḇrāhām* "Abraham" *> ābrāhām*.

[37] According to the Hebrew grammar, the phonemes /bgdkpt/ represented by the letters בגדכפ״ת, are spirantized /ḇḡḏḵp̄ṯ/ in some positions in the word. In the Masoretic system, when the consonant has a dot in it, its production is plosive and when not, it is spirantized.

[38] "Emphasis" in the context of Arabic linguistics usually refers to pharyngealization of consonants or velarization of vowels. "Emphasis" is noted by a subscripted dot: /b/ = [b] but /ḅ/ = [bˤ].

[39] Lévy 2009: 178 speaks of emphasization due to "affective semantic reasons". He assumes there is a correlation between the phonetical emphasization, i.e pharyngealization, and the meaningfulness of the designated subject "God". He rightly notes that the same phenomenon is found in the other designation of God in Arabic, with the same unusual pharyngealization: *əḷḷāh*. Chetrit (2007: 169) speaks of "semantic emphasis due to the psychological weight of the lexeme" and quotes the additional example *ḅaḅa* "dad".

[40] Lévy 2009: 192 adds that *sābūwāʕ* is then the pronunciation of צָבוּעַ and שָׁבוּעַ.

Hebrew ג is identified with FJA /g/, a voiced velar stop. In FJA, it is usually found in Romance loanwords such as *gārṛo* "cigarette" but some occurrences come from historical Arabic /q/ **qrōn > grōn* "horn" (probably borrowed to a Bedouin dialect), **qābəl > gābəl* "to look after". Other cases come from ancient dissimilations of Arabic /ž/ جزّار *ǧazzār >* *gəzzāṛ* "butcher". This background has made it an internal phoneme and might have facilitated a possible match with Hebrew Gimel as in גוי, *gōy* "non-Jew" > *gɔ̄y*. Unlike Hebrew ב, non-dotted Gimel ג, the spirantized allophone /ḡ/ has managed to find a match with another FJA phoneme: /ġ/, a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] (etymologically corresponding to Hebrew ע). /ġ/ appears in Arabic words *ġəss* "he cheated", *ġɔ̄la* "ogress" and is regularly unvoiced **ġēṛ > ḫēṛ* "good". It is found in Hebrew מְגוֹרָשִׁים, *məḡōrāšīm > meġōrāsīm* "expelled (from Spain)".

ד-ד (Dalet) /d/-/ḏ/ > FJA /d/: [d]

Hebrew ד identifies with FJA /d/, a voiced dental or alveolar stop [d]. Since FJA dialects don't have interdental consonants (merge of historical Arabic د /d/ and ذ /ð/ > /d/), Hebrew ד (Hebrew spirantized /ḏ/) is produced [d] as well. /d/ appears in Arabic words *dīb* "jackal", *dāz* "to pass by" and can be pharyngealized by contact > [dˤ] as in **dār >* **dāṛ > ḍāṛ* "house"[41]. There are a few cases of contextual devoicing **dḫəl! > tḫəl!* "come in!". In Hebrew words, Hebrew ד and ד are produced /d/: סִדוּר, *siddur* "prayer book" > *səddōṛ* and קָדוֹשׁ, *qāḏōš* "holy" > *ʔādōs*[42].

ה (He) /h/ > FJA /h/: [h]-[ø]

Hebrew ה identifies with FJA /h/ which is a voiced or voiceless glottal fricative [h], found in *həm* "worry" or *həllōla* "pilgrimage". FJA /h/ is sometimes reduced to /ø/ as in **kəll-hɔ̄m* "all of them" > *kəllɔ̄m*, the same happens to Hebrew loans at least once in עַם הָאָרֶץ, *ʕam hā-ʔāreṣ > ʕā̀m-a-ʔāṛēṣ* "ignorant person".

ו (Vav) /w/ > FJA /v/: [v]

Hebrew ו identifies with FJA /v/, a voiced labiodental fricative [v]. In FJA non-Hebrew words, [v] appears in Romance loanwords, Spanish and French as *vīlla* "villa" or can correspond to an Arabic voiced /f/ **ʕənfəz > ʕənvəz* "to tread" or even to a voiced preposition *f-* "in" **f-əḍḍāṛ > v-əḍḍāṛ* "at home". Lévy[43] suggests that the [v] production of ancient ו is due to a *Megorashim* influence since it is produced [v] in Fez, Meknes,

---

[41] In Hebrew script, *ḍāṛ* is alternatively noted דאר, *dār* - which corresponds to the notation in Arabic script دار - or צֿאר, with the grapheme צֿ, used for /ḍ/. Lévy (2009: 210) mentions the fact that in divorce certificates, "Casablanca" is often צֿאר אלביצֿא, *ḍāṛ l-bīḍa* (while Arabic script notes الدار البيضاء, *al-dār al-bayḍāʔ*).

[42] Same in the Tafilalt Jewish dialects *ʔādɔ̄s*.

[43] Lévy 2009: 182.

Rabat and Sefrou, all dialects of Spanish influence, but produced [w] everywhere else. In Fez, indeed, עָווֹן, *ʿāwwōn* is *ʿavōn* "sin" and אֲוִיר, *ʾăwīr* is *həvvīr* "air". Chetrit[44] adds that the [v] pronunciation also concerns the Andalusi production of Hebrew ו, which strengthens the Iberian hypothesis. Historically, and as is still the case in the southern Judeo-Arabic dialects, Hebrew ו was identified to Arabic /w/, a voiced labio-velar approximant [w], still effective in FJA Arabic words such as *ʿāwd* "horse". In the south, ו has retained the [w] production[45]. Back in Fez, a few cases of Hebrew ו > FJA /b/[46] are observed where plural of *ʿāwwōn* becomes *ʿābōnōṯ* in the formula *bāʿābōnōṯ,* the name לֵוִי, *lēwī* "Levy" is *lębi, lībę* or *lębę*[47] and דָּוִיד, *dāwīḏ* "David" is *dābid*[48]. It could result once more from a Spanish influence coming from a confusion /v/-/w/-/b/, attested for instance in the Andalusi Judeo-Arabic version of "David": *dabi*[49].

ז (Zayin) /z/ > FJA /z/: [z] (with variant degrees of stridency)

Hebrew ז identifies with FJA /z/, a voiced alveolar fricative [z] which results from the neutralization of the opposition of Arabic ز /z/ and ج /ž/. The production of FJA /z/ is to be found somewhere between [z] and [ʒ] (voiced post-alveolar fricative), but usually, closer to [z]: *zōz* "two", *zdāda* "chicken". /z/ can be unvoiced **zḥ̄ām > sḥ̄ām* "crowd" or emphasized [zˤ] by contact (*rāžəl >) **rāzəl > ṛāẓəl* "man". /z/ in Hebrew loanwords corresponds to the same articulation and shows the same stridency. It is found in words like מַמְזֵר, *mamzēr* "bastard"> *mămzīr* or מְזוּזָה, *məzūzâ* "Mezuzah" > *mzōza.*

ח (Chet) /ḥ/ > FJA /ḥ/: [ħ]

Hebrew ח identifies with FJA /ḥ/, an unvoiced pharyngeal fricative [ħ], seen in *ḥōṯ* "fish" or *dəllāḥa* "watermelon". It is found in Hebrew loans like חֶבְרָה, *ḥeḇrâ > ḥəḇra / ḥęḇra* "brotherhood".

ט (Tet) /ṭ/ > FJA /ṭ/: [tˤ]

Hebrew ט identifies with FJA /ṭ/, a pharyngealized voiceless alveolar stop [tˤ] as seen in *ṭḷēba* "request" or *ṭāṣāṭ* "cups". Hebrew ט appears in פְּטִירָה, *pəṭīrâ > pēṭęra* "funeral" and טוֹב, *ṭōḇ > ṭōb* "good".

---

[44] Chetrit 2015: 7

[45] In Tafilalt, עָווֹן, *ʿāwwōn* is *ʿāwōn* and אֲוִיר, *ʾăwīr* is *lāwīr*, in Marrakesh and El Jadida *lāwwīr* (but in Meknes *layyęṛ*).

[46] The same occasional development happens in Arabic words as well: **wōṣ(t)-əḍḍār* becomes *bōṣəḍḍār* "patio" and *wōḥ! > bōḥ!* "misfortune". In Midelt and in the Draa area, אֲוִיר is *həbbi* and in the Tafilalt עֲנָוִים, *ʿānāwīm* "modests" is *ʿanabim*.

[47] In Marrakesh *lēwi*, in Azemmour *līwī*.

[48] In Marrakesh *dāwid*.

[49] Mentioned in Lévy 2009: 180, from Corriente, Federico. 1977. *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*. Madrid.

י (Yod) /y/ > FJA /y/: [j]-[i]

Hebrew י identifies with FJA "semi-vowel" /y/, a voiced palatal approximant [j]. If FJA /y/ is stable in middle and final position as in *zāy* "coming", it usually turns to /ī/ when at the beginning of the word: **yədd* "hand" (as in Old-Fasi) > *īdd*. As intended, same happens to Hebrew loans: יְשֻׁרוּן *yəšurūn* "Jew" > *īṣoṛon* and יְשִׁיבָה, *yəšīḇâ* "Yeshiva" > *līsība*[50] with agglutination of the definite article (definite form is *l-līsība)* as in other nouns beginning with a vowel (after loss of /ʔ/ or /y/): أرض, *ʔarḍ* > *lāṛḍ* and *l-lāṛḍ* "the earth".

כ-ך (Kaf) /k/-/ḵ/ > FJA /k/-/ḫ/: [k]-[x]

Since both [k] and [x] sounds are available in FJA, Hebrew כ and ך (/k/ and its spirantized allophonic variant /ḵ/) find easy phonetic matches. However, in FJA, [k] and [x] are reflexes of the distinct phonemes /k/ and /ḫ/. /k/ is thus a voiceless velar stop [k][51] seen in *kān* "he was" or *kəllōm* "all of them" and can be voiced by contact **kdəb* > *gdəb* "he lied". It appears in the Hebrew loan words סַכָּנָה, *sakkānâ* "danger" > *səkkāna*, and כַּפָּרָה, *kappārâ* > *kəppāṛa / kăppāṛa* "atonement", both reshaped into the CəCCāCa FJA stem[52]. FJA /ḫ/ is a voiceless velar fricative [x] as seen in *ḫəbz* "bread" or *ḫāf* "he was scared". /ḫ/ can be voiced by contact as in **ḫzər* > *ġzər* "he looked". Since Hebrew כ can't be at the beginning of a word (according to the Hebrew spirantisation rule), FJA /ḫ/ is always in the middle of the word or in final position in Hebrew borrowings[53]: חָכָם, *ḥāḵām* > *ḥāḫām* "wise" and מַלְאָךְ, *malʔāḵ* > *mālʔāḫ* "angel".

ל (Lamed) /l/ > FJA /l/: [l]

---

[50]   *lḗsība* in Azemmour.

[51]   In the Tafilalt, Arabic /k/ is often produced /ṭ/-/ṭ/ as in **kbīr* "big" > *ṭbīr* and *kəlb* "dog" > *ṭəlb*. It should logically be the same for Hebrew loans but I couldn't find any example (Heath and Bar-Asher 1982 don't give any). Although Lévy (2009: 329) mentions עַכְבָּר, *ʕaḵbār* > *ʕaṭbār*. However, this case is suspicious since it would imply an original pronunciation *ʕakbār* without spirantization, which is found nowhere in Morocco and since כ and ך identify to distinct phonemes, the other possibility would imply an adaptation /x/ > /ṭ/ which is not attested anywhere either. Moreover, Lévy 2009 indicates p. 329 that *ʕaṭbāṛ* is a Hebrew loan meaning "boring matter", but says p. 290 that *ʕăṭbāṛ* means "mouse" in Sefrou and is borrowed from Tafilalt Judeo-Arabic…

[52]   See FJA Arabic words *dəllāḥa* "watermelon", *ṭəʔʔāya* "pitcher" or *nəzzāṛa* "woodworkers".

[53]   There is at least one exception, that could origin from some kind of hypercorrection *l-xalab* "the dog" identified as coming from Hebrew כֶּלֶב, *keleḇ*. In Chetrit's book of proverbs (2015. *Paroles Affables*. Matanel Fondation), is mentioned the proverb from Taroudant *äs iʕaṛf əl-xäläb l-əṭ-ṭsis?*, "what does the dog understand to the flour?", where *xäläb* is used as a common word for "dog" and yet Chetrit gives as well a proverb where "dog" is said with the usual Arabic word *kəlb*: *mn iddnä kəl l-kəlb* "the dog ate from our hands". Brunot (1940) and Leslau (1945) mention the expression *fḥäl l-xalab* "like a dog" in use in Fez alongside the usual *kəlb* once more. It is quite difficult to explain its origin. For Leslau (1945: 76) and Brunot and Malka (1940: 43), production *xalab* is to be explained by the fact that the Jewish speakers identify the correspondence k > x as characteristic of the Hebrew word. Actually, it could also correspond to a real reading of Hebrew לכלב although the vowels of *l-xalab* don't seem to match. It could also imply a truncated Biblical quotation, maybe from Joshua 14:13 *lə-ḵālēḇ* "to Caleb"? or Ecclesiastes 9-4 *lə-keleḇ* "to a dog"? In addition, in the Tafilalt, there is a case of /k/ > /x/ without any apparent Hebrew interference in *kəzzāb* > *xəzzāb* "liar".

Hebrew **ל** identifies with FJA /l/, an alveolar lateral approximant [l] seen in *līla* "night"
and *lāʔ!* "no!". /l/ can move to /n/ by dissimilation: *səlsla > sənsla* "chain". It can be
pharyngealized [lˤ] by assimilation *ṣla > ṣḷa* "synagogue". Pharyngealized /l/ is common
in Romance borrowings *sāḷḷēro* "salt shaker" or appears as intensification for phono-
symbolic reasons *əḷḷāh* "God". /l/ is thus the match for Hebrew **ל** as seen in **לוּלָב**, *lūlāḇ >
lōlāb* "Lulav" and **מוֹהֵל**, *mōhēl > mōhəl* "Mohel".

מ (Mem) /m/ > FJA /m/: [m]

Hebrew **מ** identifies with FJA /m/, a bilabial nasal [m], as seen in *məṛṛa* "once", *məsˤō̄d*
"Messaoud". /m/ is usually pharyngealized [mˤ] in the neighboring of an emphatic
consonant as in *ṣəmṭa > ṣəmṭa* "belt". It is regularly produced /m/ in Hebrew loans too:
מַמְזֵר, *mamzēr > mămzīr* "bastard", **שָׁלוֹם**, *šālōm > sālōm̄*. However, Lévy notes at least
one case of dissimilation **מ** > n, in the Hebrew masculine name *sənṭōb <* **שֵׁם טוֹב**, *šēm
ṭōḇ*[54]. Such a shift is not very common in FJA but appears here and there as in **miftāḥ >
nəftāḥ* "key"[55].

נ (Nun) /n/ > FJA /n/: [n]

Hebrew **נ** identifies with FJA /n/, an alveolar nasal [n], found in *nhāṛ* "day" and *nṭēn*
"you" and can sometimes move to /l/ by dissimilation: *ḥsən* "good, better" when isolated
but *ḥsəl mən* "better than". /n/ appears in Hebrew loans as **נִיסָן**, *nīsān > nīsān* "Nisan" or
תַּקָּנָה, *taqqānâ > ṭəˤˤāna* "ordinance".

ס (Samech) /s/ > FJA /s/: [s] with variant degrees of stridency

Hebrew Samekh identifies with FJA /s/ which is produced close to a voiceless alveolar
fricative [s]. Actually, as in many Judeo-Arabic dialects, /s/ is the result of a merger of /s/
and /š/ and shows a degree of stridency that varies between [s] and to the palato-alveolar
[ʃ], although closer to [s]. It is found in words like (**šēḥ >*) *sēḥ* "chief" and *skəṭ!* "shut-
up!". It is voiced at least once in **ˤātrūs > ˤətrō̄z* "goat". /s/ represents Hebrew Samekh in
words like **נֵס**, *nēs* "miracle" > *nīs* or **סוֹפֵר**, *sōp̄ēr* "scribe" > *sō̄fər*.

---

[54] Lévy 2009: 181.

[55] Bar-Asher 1978: 168 mentions the case of **מַבּוּל**, *mabbūl* "flood", produced *mbbul* or *məbbul* by educated
men but *nəbbul* by women and uneducated men in at least in the Tafilalt, Marrakesh and Salé. He does
not specify in the article which Judeo-Moroccan dialect is referred to but I had the chance to ask him
personally for more details. *Nəbbul* is mentioned as well in his study on Aïn-Temouchent and Tlemcen
Algerian Jewish dialects of Arabic (1992: 176). Finally, in Azemmour the name **חַיִּים**, *ḥayyīm* is produced
ḥiyyəm or *ḥiyyōn*.

ע (Ayin) /ˤ/ > FJA /ˤ/: [ʕ]

Hebrew **ע** identifies with FJA /ˤ/, a voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] seen in words like ˤāwd "again", ˤrōṣa "bride". /ˤ/ represents Hebrew **ע** in עוֹלָם ˤōlām > ˤ$\bar{\bar{o}}$lām "world" or else עָשִׂיר, ˤāśīr > ˤasīr "rich".

פ-פּ (Pe) /p/-/p̄/ > FJA /p/-/f/: [p]-[f]

Hebrew **פּ** is identified to FJA /p/, a voiceless bilabial stop [p], mainly observed in Romance loanwords pōlis "police". In fact, historical Arabic does not have a [p] sound and the main reflex of the same historical Semitic phoneme corresponding to the Hebrew Pe is ف, /f/ Fa[56]. The persistence of the production /p/ is quite enigmatic since it is produced [p], at least by educated men, in every region of Morocco, with a few exceptions [f] or [b], regardless of the degree of Romance influence[57]. And the same can be said for many Judeo-Arabic dialects, inside and outside of Morocco: except from Tunisia, Libya and Egypt where **פ** > /b/ is common[58], /p/ is very stable across the Arab speaking world[59] while /p/ is absent from standard Arabic phonology. However, in many of those places, women pronounce /b/.

In Fez, Hebrew **פּ** is produced /p/ as in פֶּסַח, pesaḥ > pisā̆ḥ "Passover" and פָּרְשָׁה, pārāšâ > pṛāṣa "Parasha" and **פ** (/p̄/) identifies with /f/, a voiceless labiodental fricative [f] found in FJA Arabic words like fḥ̣āl "as" or fōṭa "towel". For Hebrew words, see גֶּפֶן, gepen "grapevine" > gīfən "wine blessing", סֵפֶר, sēper > sīfer[60].

צ (Tsade) /ṣ/ > FJA /ṣ/ > [sˤ]-[s]

Hebrew **צ** identifies with FJA /ṣ/, a voiceless alveolar sibilant [sˤ] found in ṣla "synagogue", ṣōf "wool" and thus in Hebrew loanwords like צִיצִית, ṣīṣīṯ "Tzizit" > ṣēṣeṭ. Some cases of voicing can be observed *ṣġēṛ > zġēṛ "small". However, the distinction between /s/ and /ṣ/ is not always very clear in FJA. Some occurrences of /ṣ/ are described as semi-emphatics by Bruno and Malka[61], that is, a minor intensity in terms of

---

[56] See for example Hebrew פִּיל, pīl but Arabic فيل, fīl "elephant".
[57] With the opposite idée, Akoun 2015: 47 mentions that according to Bar-Asher, the consonant remained produced as [p] in communities that have been influenced by the Sefardic pronunciation.
[58] Djerba and Gabès produce bišáḥ "Pessa'h" (Maman 2019: 604), Tunis says pésaḥ and bišáḥ (Maman 2019: 604) and Tripoli says bísḥak "your Pessa'h" (Maman 2019: 604) and būrīm "Purim" (Yoda 2018: 94). For Egypt, see Khan, Geoffrey. 2018. "Judaeo-Arabic". *Arabic Historical Dialectology*. Clive Holes (eds.). Oxford University Press: 166.
[59] See Heath and Bar-Asher (1982), Lévy (2009), Maman (2019) and Yoda (2018).
[60] For comparison, פֶּסַח, pesaḥ is pisā̆ḥ in Meknes, pisāḥ in Taroudant and Inezgan (Essaoui 1990), and pisāḥ in the Tafilalt. For פּוּרִים, pūrīm, Marrakesh has pōrim. The data for Tafilalt (Lévy 2009: 311-331 and Heath and Bar-Asher 1982) shows it is the only place in Morocco where פ has various reflexes /p/-/f/-/b/: פָּרְשָׁה, pārāšâ > pṛāṣa but פְּטִירָה, paṭīrâ > fṭēṛa "funeral" (Fez has pēṭēṛa), פַּרְנָסָה parnāsâ > fərnāsa "salary". Finally, Heath and Bar-Asher (1982: 44) indicate that women pronounce /b/, without giving any example but Akoun (2015: 46) mentions that women in Tafilalt do pronounce burim and bisaḥ.
[61] Brunot and Malka 1939: VIII.

pharyngealization. This situation leads to confusion and explains ambiguous doublets like *mōṣẹ / moṣṣẹ* "Moses" or /s/-/ṣ/ inversions as in *ṣǝṛba* (< *šǝṛba*) > *ṣǝṛba* "sirop" or else in Hebrew loans like **צָבוּעַ**, *ṣāḇū^(aʕ) > sābūwā^ʕ* "hypocrite".

ק (Qof) /q/ > (*/q/ >) FJA /ʔ/: [ʔ]

Hebrew **ק** identifies with the historical Arabic ق /q/, which reflex is /ʔ/ in FJA; a glottal stop [ʔ]. This is actually the main reflex of /q/ in many urban dialects across the Arabic speaking world[62]. For Arabic words */q/ > /ʔ/ is regular: **qom!* > *ʔom!* "stand up!", **qraʔ* > *ʔra* "he read", same for Hebrew loans: **קָהָל**, *qāhāl > *qāhāl > ʔāhāl* "community", **עִקָּר**, *ʕiqqār > ʕ^ʔāṛ* or else **תַּקָּנָה**, *taqqānâ > ṭǝ^ʔʔāna* "ordinance"[63].

ר (Resh) /r/ > FJA /r/: [r]-[r^ʕ]

Hebrew **ר** identifies with FJA /r/, an alveolar trill [r] found in *ryāl* "five cents" and often pharyngealized [r^ʕ] as in *ṛōḥ* "soul". /ṛ/ is a non-completely phonemic counterpart of /r/ and their alternation is complex. The presence of /ṛ/ is sometimes obviously allophonic and conditioned by the proximity of another pharyngealized consonant. Some other cases of conditioning could result from the influence of an adjacent vowel height as in *kbǝṛ* "taller, bigger" compared to *kbīr* "tall, big". Finally, even if the distinction is not fully phonemic, the alternation /r/-/ṛ/ might be used in some cases as a distinctive mark to avoid semantic ambiguity: *rǝbbẹ* "rabbi" / *ṛǝbbẹ* "God"; *kǝbbǝr* "to raise", *kǝbbǝṛ* "to offer"; *bǝrd* "it cooled" / *bǝṛḍ* "he sanded down"[64]. The Hebrew loans with an original **ר** share the same characteristics: **עָשִׁיר**, *ʕāšīr* "rich" is produced *ʕasīr*, but the presence of a pharyngealized consonant or some specific vowels (mainly /ā/) make Hebrew /r/ behave just like FJA /r/ in the same conditions: **צָרָה**, *ṣārâ* "trouble" becomes *ṣāṛa* and **הַתָּרָה**, *hattārâ* "annulling" is *hǎttāṛa*.

---

[62] In Morocco, */q/ > /ʔ/ is found in Old Fasi (Muslim), Jewish Fez, Meknes, Sefrou, Rabat, Ouezzane (Lévy 2009: 196). For more about reflexes of /q/ in Arabic dialects, Cf. for ex. Behnstedt, Peter and Woidich, Manfred. 2013. "Dialectology". *The Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*. Owens, Jonathan (eds.). Oxford University Press.

[63] In Sefrou, where the evolution of Arabic /q/ is /ʔ/ as well, the name **יִצְחָק**, *yiṣḥāq* "Isaac" is *yiṣḥaʔ* in proverbs but rather *ṣḥaʔ* in everyday use (Stillman 1988: 57). The verbal root √BDQ is borrowed in many Judeo-Arabic dialects from the use of the Hebrew expression **בְּדִיקַת חָמֵץ**, *bǝḏīqaṯ ḥāmēṣ* "to search for leaven bread", which gave birth to a FJA verb, among other dialects in Fez and Sefrou *bdǝ^ʔ/ibdǝ^ʔ* (<*bdǝq): "to do a major clean up". In Midelt and the Draa area, Arabic /q/ is produced /k/ thus in Midelt, Arabic *bǝlḥāq* "actually" is *bǝlḥāk*, Hebrew **קָהָל**, *qāhāl* is *kāhāl* and **יִצְחָק**, *yiṣḥāq* is *isḥāk*. In the Draa area, Arabic **qǝdra* "cauldron" is *kǝdra* and Hebrew **מְעַקֶּה**, *maʕāqê* "ballister" is *māʕākẹ*. In Marrakesh, where Arabic */q/ is /q/, Hebrew ק is /q/: **קְבוּרָה,** *qǝḇūrâ > qēḇōṛa* "grave".

[64] Lévy 2009: 189, 220.

שׁ (Shin) /š/ > (*/š/>) FJA /s/: [s] with variant degrees of stridency

Hebrew שׁ identifies with FJA /s/, produced close to a voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. It might have identified, as a first step to a proto-FJA phoneme */š/, which merged later with /s/. As a result, both etymological Arabic /š/ and Hebrew /š/ are produced /s/ with a degree of stridency that varies between [s] and [ʃ]. It is found in words like (*šēḫ >) sēḫ "chief" and skəṭ! "shut-up!". /s/ represents Hebrew שׁ in words like שָׁלוֹם, šālōm > sālōm "peace, shalom" or שָׁבוּעַ, šāḇū^{aʕ} "week" > sābūwā^ʕ[65].

שׂ (Sin) /ś/ > FJA /s/: [s] with variant degrees of stridency

Hebrew שׂ identifies with FJA /s/ which is produced close to a voiceless alveolar fricative [s], and as seen before, represents Arabic */s/ س and /š/ ش and Hebrew /s/ ס, /š/ שׁ and /ś/ שׂ. Cases for Hebrew שׂ are seen in שִׂמְחָה, śimḥâ, "joy" > simḥa or שְׂרָרָה, śərārâ "rulership" > sēṛāṛa[66].

ת-ṯ (Tav) /t/-/ṯ/ > FJA /t/: [t]-[t͡s]

As virtually every North-African Judeo-Arabic dialect[67], FJA has lost interdentals. Arabic /t/ (ت) and /ṯ/ (ث) have merged into /t/, a voiceless alveolar stop [t] which is however produced as a sibilant affricate /ṯ/ ([t͡s]) in almost every position in the word except before /l/, /r/ and /n/ and in some pharyngealized environments[68]: ṯəḥṯ "under" but tlāṯa "three". Hebrew ת and ṯ identify with FJA /t/. As a second step, it follows the contextual allophonic inclinations of FJA /t/ > /ṯ/: תַּקָּנָה, taqqānâ "ordinance" > ṯəʔʔānâ. Actual production [t] in Hebrew loans is very rare and I could not find any occurrence for Fez[69].

    After this exhaustive development of how Hebrew consonants are adapted in FJA, it seems quite clear that the pronunciation of the Hebrew consonants have been interpreted on the basis of reading traditions but adapted by identification with what was already available in the FJA phonological system. Since there has never been a situation

---

[65] The phenomenon is common to most Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialects, except from the dialect of Debdou where /z/-/ž/ and /s/-/š/ didn't merge and are perfectly distributed as seen in šrāb "wine" but sā^ʕa "hour" (Pellat 1952: 138) , and of course, the same can be said about the Hebrew loanwords שְׁטָרוֹת, šaṭārōṯ > šṭārōṯ "legal acts". In my research, I had the chance to have access to a study on Demnate Judeo-Arabic (El Karich, Mohamed Abd El Monaim. 1990. *Habla Arabe de una Judia de Demnate*. C.E.C. dirigida por el profesor Simon Levy. Departamento de Lengua y Literatura Españolas: Universidad Mohamed V). In the dialect described, /s/-/š/ and /z/-/ž/ didn't merge and are well distributed. However, the study focuses on one speaker only, an isolated old woman, leaving alone in the city. The distribution of the phonemes could be the result of some leveling to the Muslim local dialect. And still, a few cases of /š/ > /s/ are observed, which suggests remnants of an ancient Judeo-Demnati dialect with merged phonemes.

[66] In Demnate, /s/ is usually voiced in יִשְׂרָאֵל, yiśrā^ʔēl > izṛael.

[67] Chetrit 2015: 6, Lévy 2009: 182, note 63.

[68] Chetrit 2015: 7.

[69] Although, I found some for Sefrou (in Stillman 2008 : 54), where the conditions are exactly the same: תַּלְמוּד, talmūḏ > talmüd whereas תּוֹרָה, tōrâ is ṭora and חֲלוֹמוֹת, ḥălōmōt is ḥalömöṯ.

of bilingualism Hebrew-FJA, the various reflexes of pronunciation might be thought as interpretations using what is available in the FJA phonological system, itself built on historical contact between Arabic, Berber and to a lesser extent Spanish. The choice of identification might have sometimes been influenced by some etymological consciousness.

A symptomatic illustration, the בגדכפ״ת

The reflexes of בגדכפ״ת are, in this regard, noteworthy to observe: for Fez, the actual spirantizations are precisely the ones that find a phonemic match in FJA[70]. Indeed, spirantized ג, כ and פ find a phonemic match with FJA: /ġ/, /ḫ/ and /f/ whereas ב, ד and ת are always produced /b/, /d/ and /t/. This can easily be explained by the fact that ב /b/-[v] cannot be rendered in standard Arabic[71], neither can ד /ḏ/-[ð] and ת /ṯ/-[θ] since the North-African Judeo-Arabic dialects all lost their interdentals. By comparison, David Cohen describes the exact same situation for Judeo-Arabic from Tunis[72].

Morpho-phonetical adaptations of the Masoretic Hebrew vowels into FJA[73]

Unlike the consonants, the adaptation of the Hebrew vowels into FJA are very connected to the syllable structure of the word and more precisely to the available stems and patterns in FJA. As is the case for Semitic languages in general, the consonants build the root and bear the global meaning of the lexeme but the vowels are defined by the stem and are related to the mechanism of the language.

The simplest illustration comes with what happens to the verbs. In FJA, the verbal stem of the first form is CCəC/iCCəC and the second form is CəCCəC/iCəCCəC. When a Hebrew verb is adapted into FJA, the consonants of the original root are reinterpreted as seen above but the vowels adapt to those of the FJA verbal stem. In those cases, it is safer to talk about borrowed lexical or consonantal roots. For example, the Hebrew verb *bāḏaq* becomes *bdə²/ibdə²* (or the Hebrew root √BDQ is verbalized in a FJA stem) and *dāraš* becomes *dṛəš/idṛəš*. The vowels are fully imposed by those of the FJA verbal stem.

The mechanism for the nouns is not so different although the borrowings come with consonants and vowels (and not with consonants only) and then are attracted to a close FJA nominal stem according to several criteria: the same number of consonants and close vowels. One of the difficulties is that the number of possible nominal patterns is greater than the number of verbal stems. For Lévy, "the original nature of the Hebrew vowel does not have any importance on its actual production when borrowed. The

---

[70] However, some cases of hyper restitution are observed in the Tafilalt. Hyper restitutions could explain the enigmatic *xalab* "dog", usually said to originate from Hebrew *keleḇ* (among other Leslau 1945: 76). Still in the Tafilalt, it occurs as well in a series of words: פְּטִירָה, *pəṭīrâ > fṭēṛa* "funeral, גַּאֲוָה, *ga²ăwâ > ġā²āwa* "pride" (alongside *gā²āwa*) and גָּנוּב, *gānūḇ* (?) > *ġnūb* and *gnūb* "theft".

[71] Actually, [v] is present in FJA, probably due to contact with Spanish, but was affiliated to ו.

[72] Cohen 1964: 30.

[73] All example are taken from Lévy (2009), Leslau (1945) and Brunot and Malka (1940).

vocalism adapts to that of the Arabic stem"[74]. I would not say that the original vowel plays absolutely no role in the choice of the hosting pattern but indeed, it is not the key element, while the nature of the syllables of the pattern is conclusive. Another difficult issue is the fact that FJA only has 4 vocalic phonemes /ā/, /ō/, /ī/, /ə/ and Hebrew has much more. The Hebrew vocalic phonemes therefore have to fit into those four vocalic phonemes.

In fact, it seems that the vowels are identified with the FJA vocalic phonemes by two criterions: quality and/or quantity.

For example, Hebrew kubutz is identified to a short vowel of /u-o/ coloration. From that starting point, it can match the FJA /ō/ phoneme (quality), and be produced as /ō/, /ṓ/, /ū/ or /o/ according to the consonantal and syllabic environment or it can be identified with the short FJA phoneme /ə/ (quantity).

It is possible to address this issue the other way round. FJA shaped many stems with closed unstressed syllables with short vowels (phoneme /ə/). In terms of morphology, Hebrew short vowels are usually found in similar syllable structures. When Hebrew words are reshaped into FJA patterns, those Hebrew short vowels are very likely to be adapted into /ə/. When that does not happen, mainly when the analogy with a FJA stem is difficult, the Hebrew vowel usually keeps its coloration and is then assimilated to the phoneme of same coloration.

Although it seems to be the main process for the formation of those loans, many additional elements may result in irregularities. Mainly, since FJA Hebrew vocabulary is continuously in touch with its written, fixed and codified source, the contact may imply an opposite attraction towards the Hebrew shape of the word and, concerning the vowels, lead to a recoloration as in כַּפָּרָה, *kappāra* "atonement" > FJA CəCCāCa > *kəppāṛa* and *kăppāṛa*.

_ (Patach) /a/ > FJA /ā/-/ə/: [ɛ], [a], [ä], [ə], [ă]

In the Masoretic system, _ is a short /a/ vowel. Both characteristics are important since it leads to two distinct possible projections into FJA phonemes: /ā/ or /ə/ which reflexes are respectively /ā/, /ā/, /a/ ([ɛ], [a], [ä]) and /ə/, /ă/ ([ə], [ă]):
_ > FJA /ə/ is observed in the first syllable of סַכָּנָה, *sakkānâ* "danger" which fits FJA CəCCāCa pattern and then becomes *səkkāna*.

CəCCāCa is a very common structure in every Moroccan Arabic dialect[75], and corresponds to many stems[76]. It can be found in FJA Arabic words like *zəllāba* "djellaba", or *ḥəffāṛa* "gravedigger" or in MA words such as *žəlbāna* "pea", *dənžāla* "eggplant". In this structure, /ə/ is regularly produced /ă/ when close to a pharyngeal or a laryngeal consonant as in MA *mă*ʕ*gāza* "lazy", *šă*ʕʕ*āla* "flame", *ḥămmāla* "cloth part"[77]. In Hebrew הַתָּרָה, *hattārâ* "annulling" > FJA *hăṭṭāṛa*, production /ă/ of phoneme /ə/ is either the result

---

[74] Lévy 2009: 213.
[75] All examples of "standard" MA are taken from Caubet 1993 (1).
[76] We are dealing here with a generic structure CəCCāCa and since the Hebrew words attracted by it were not built at first in the FJA morphological system but in the Hebrew one, it is not exactly a proper stem. In MA CəCCāCa is a generic structure that may reflect stems of different kind. It can be the structure of a feminine substantive C1əC2C2āC3-a as in *zəllāba* "djellaba" a stem C1əC2C2āC3-a of nominalization from a verb (Masdar) *ḥəffāṛa* "gravedigger", a feminine adjective MəC1C2āC3-a *mă*ʕ*gāza* "lazy", a stem of names of units or collectives C1əC2C2āC3a or C1əC2C3āC4a *dəllāḥa* "watermelon", *žəlbāna* "pea", *dənžāla* "eggplant" and other.
[77] Caubet 1993 (1): 89-95.

of the guttural environment or a re-attraction towards the Hebrew original vowel. The hypothesis of re-attraction towards the source language is strengthened by examples coming from the Romance languages, such as the case of *săndāla* "sandal", a Spanish loan in FJA with production /ă/ of phoneme /ə/ without a guttural environment.

Other Hebrew structures with ָ can identify to different FJA structures, see for example צַדִּיק, *ṣaddīq* > CəCCīC[78] > *ṣəddē'* "saint" or מַצָּה, *maṣṣâ* > CəCCa[79] > *məṣṣa* "Matza"[80].

Hebrew ָ can identify with FJA /ā/ as in מַלְאָךְ, *mal'āḵ* "angel" > *māl'āḥ* in the Moroccan CāCCāC structure, which is, according to Caubet[81], specifically used to integrate loanwords.

ֲ (Hataf Patach[82]) /ă/ > FJA /ā/-/ø/ : [ɛ], [a], [ä], [ø]

ֲ is in Hebrew a very short /a/ vowel. In the Hebrew context, it is a colored Shwa resulting from the contact with a guttural sound. According to the Hebrew morpho-phonetical rules, it appears at the end of a closed unstressed syllable (Shwa Nah) or after the first consonant of the word (Shwa Na'). In the first case, ֲ will identify with /ā/ as in מַעֲשֶׂה, *ma'ăśê* "event" > FJA CāCāCi > *mā'āsẹ*. Such a structure is not regular in MA, but similar structures are commonly used for loanwords: CāCāCa *māgāna* "watch", *bāṭāṭa* "potato", CāCīCa *žākēṭa* "jacket", CīCāCa *sīmāna* "week". Caubet specifies that "what characterizes those triliteral stems with two long vowels, is that they are not productive and that they are not stems strictly speaking but rather 'molds', into which loanwords are poured from French, Spanish, Berber and Classical Arabic"[83]. Hebrew can be added to that list.

When ֲ is a Hebrew colored Shwa Na', it is usually removed in FJA: חֲתִימָה, *ḥătīmâ* "signature" > FJA CCīCa > *ḥṭīma*. The result reminds us of many forms in MA like feminine substantives and adjectives, collectives and Masdars: *gzīra* "island", *srēqa* "theft" and *zbība* "raisin".

ַ (Furtive Patach) /ᵃ/ > FJA /ā/: [a]

ַ (Furtive Patach) is always adapted into /ā/. Its own *raison d'être* in Hebrew is to link a long vowel to a final guttural consonant: **šābū'* > שָׁבוּעַ, *šāḇū^a'*. Thus, it always comes after a long vowel. The adaptation reflex in FJA is to insert a liaison semi-vowel to facilitate this connection: /w/ when the vowel is re-interpreted phoneme /ō/ and /y/ when the phoneme is /ī/. Since, the MA mechanism creates long vowel structures with many

---

[78] See MA *bəttīx* "melon".

[79] See MA *ḥənna* "henna", *mərra* "time", *zəbda* "butter".

[80] Akoun 2015: 46 mentions that example to show the penetration of Arabic phonetic elements into the Hebrew loan words and states that alongside *məṣṣa*, *maṣṣa* is actually in use too, probably depending on the speaker's level of education.

[81] Caubet 1993 (1): 96.

[82] The other *Hatafim*, i.e. colored Shwas, and mainly ֱ and ֳ won't be listed in this study since they behave like their non-*Hataf* counterparts.

[83] Caubet 1993 (1): 92.

consonants precisely in order to insert loanwords, as CāCūCa *nāmūsa* "mosquito", CāCīCa *fārīna* "flour", CūCūCīC *ṭōmōbīl*, the same happens to the elongated Hebrew words with ֗ (Furtive Patach): שָׁבוּעַ, *šāḇū*ᵃˤ > *sābūwā*ˤ (CāCūCāC), שָׁלִיחַ, *šălī*ᵃ*ḥ* "emissary" > *sālīyāḥ* (CāCīCāC).

֙ (Kamatz Gadol) /ā/ > FJA /ā/: [ε], [a], [ä]

֙ (Kamatz Gadol) is in Hebrew a long /a/ vowel. In FJA, it is globally identified with the phoneme /ā/ and is adapted according to the stems and the phonetical environment: שַׁמָּשׁ, *šammāš* "beadle" > FJA CəCCāC > *səmmās*, like MA *gəzzāṛ* "butcher", *ḥəddād* "blacksmith". When ֙ represents the Hebrew morpheme /-â/ (Kamatz Gadol + *Mater Lectionis* ה, mainly feminine morpheme), it turns to FJA/-a/: סַכָּנָה, *sakkānâ* > *səkkāna* and תַּקָּנָה, *taqqānâ* > *ṭə*ᵖᵖ*āna*.

I would like to focus on two specific examples of words with ֙ (Kamatz Gadol) > FJA /ā/. Hebrew הַפְטָרָה, *hapṭārâ* "Haftara" and הַבְדָּלָה, *habdālâ* "Havdala" mentioned by Leslau[84] and Brunot and Malka[85]. They are produced respectively *bdāla* and *fṭāṛa*. This result is due to morphological interpretation and attraction. First, the initial *ha-* of the words is interpreted as the Hebrew definite article (while it is the stem prefix of Hebrew *hap*ˤ*ālâ*, nominalization of verbal stem *hiṗ*ˤ*īl*). Thus, once the word had been borrowed, the speakers removed it and replaced it by the Arabic definite article: *l-bdāla* and *l-fṭāṛa*. The other reason for such confusion might be that stem CCāCa[86] is a very fruitful structure in MA. The frequency of the structure might have attracted both words into it.

֙ (Kamatz Qatan) /ŏ/ > FJA /ō/: [ʊ], [ö], [u], [o] (and /ə/? > [ə])

֙ (Kamatz Qatan) is identified with FJA /ō/ in חָכְמָה, *ḥŏḵmâ* > FJA CūCCa[87] > *ḥōḥma* "wisdom". Unfortunately, I could not find any example to illustrate the hypothesis that short Hebrew vowels can match both the same vowel color in FJA and the short phoneme /ə/, maybe because of the small amount of original ֙ (Kamatz Qatan) in the Hebrew lexicon.

יִ (Hiriq Yod) /ī/ > FJA /ī/: [i], [Iˤ], [eˤ]

יִ appears in Hebrew in words that will match FJA structures with /ī/. It is produced /ī/ in בֵּית דִּין, *bēṯ dīn* > CīC[88] > *bīṯ dīn* "law court" and in פּוּרִים, *pūrīm* > CūCīC[89] > *pōrīm*. יִ is

---

84 Leslau 1945: 68.
85 Brunot and Malka 1940: 8.
86 See MA *šnāfa* "lip", *žrāna* "fog", *ktāba* "writing", *zyāṛa* "visit".
87 In standard MA, see for example *noqṭa* "point", *šoṛba* "soupe", *mudda* "moment".
88 See MA ˤ*īn* "eye", *zīt* "oil".
89 See MA *ṭōbīs* "bus", *būlīs* "police" (*pōlīs* in FJA).

produced /ē/, /ẹ/ (which are regular inclinations of phoneme /ī/) in some specific contexts like next to emphatic /ṣ/: **צִיצִית**, *ṣīṣīṯ* > CīCīC[90] > *ṣẹ̄ṣẹṭ* "Tzizit".

ִ (Hiriq) /i/ > FJA /ī/-/ə/ : [i], [Iˤ], [eˤ], [ə]

ִ can turn to /ī/ or /ə/: **שִׂמְחָה**, *śimḥâ*, "joy" > CīCCa[91] > *sīmḥa* but **מִשְׁנָה**, *mišnâ* "Mishna" > CəCCa[92] > *məsna*. From another Hebrew structure: **כִּפּוּר**, *kippūr* > CəCCūC[93] > *kəppōr*.

ֵ (Tzere) /ē/ > FJA /ī/-/ə/ : [i], [Iˤ], [eˤ], [ə]

ֵ is identified with FJA /ī/ and sometimes with /ə/. **נֵס**, *nēs* "miracle" > CīC > *nīs*. Hebrew *Segolate* nouns with ֵ usually turn to FJA CīCəC: **סֵפֶר**, *sēp̄er* "book" and **סֵדֶר**, *sēḏer* "order" turn to *sīfər* and *sīdər*, thus FJA CīCəC[94]. This stem, with a long vowel in the first syllable does exist in MA for Arabic words but is not very productive. The fact that it integrates *Segolate* nouns with ֵ might be explained by the original structure of those Hebrew words, where the stress is on the first syllable. Another specific case concerns Hebrew active participles *pōˤēl* that seem to experience two possible adaptations: **מוֹהֵל**, *mōhēl* "Mohel" > *mō̄hīl* or *mō̄həl* and **סוֹפֵר**, *sōp̄ēr* "scribe" is *sō̄fẹ̄r* or *sō̄fər*. The first production is reshaped on a CūCīC common MA structure, but the second one; CūCəC, seems unattested beyond these Hebrew loans.

ֶ (Segol) /e/ > FJA /ī/-/ə/ : [i], [Iˤ], [eˤ], [ə]

Just like ֵ (Tzere), ֶ (and ֱ) is identified with FJA phoneme /ī/ in many situations, but it is sometimes /ə/ in original unstressed positions: **אֶסְתֵּר**, *ʾestēr* "Esther" > CīCCīC[95] > *isṭīr*, **גֶּפֶן**, *gep̄en* "grapevine" > CīCəC > *gīfən* "wine blessing".

 וּ (Shuruk) /ū/ > FJA /ō/: [ʊ], [ö], [u], [o]

וּ is identified with phoneme /ō/ and thus will be produced as /ō/, /ō̄/, /ū/ or /o/, depending on the environment: **פּוּרִים**, *pūrīm* > CūCīC > *pō̄rīm*, **סִדּוּר**, *siddūr* > CəCCūC > *səddōṛ*[96]. וּ is always /ū/ before /w/ as in **שָׁבוּעַ**, *šāḇūˤ* "week" > *sābūwāˤ*, like for Arabic words where phoneme /ō/ is produced /ū/ only before /w/: *hūwa* "he".

---

[90] MA stem used for loanwords like *ḏẹ̄sẹ̄ṛ* "dessert".
[91] See MA *fīsta* "jacket", *ˤīnba* "grape".
[92] See MA *žəfna* "banquet", *bəl̇ga* "slippers".
[93] See MA *fəllūs* "chick", *məssūs* "tasteless"
[94] See MA *ˤīnab* "grapes".
[95] Caubet 1993 (1) mentions the stems with 4 consonants and two long vowels which function is to integrate loanwords and she quotes CāCCāC, with *kāwkāw* "peanut" and CīCCūC *šīflōṛ* "cauliflower". CīCCīC could be added to that list.
[96] See the MA loan from Spanish reshaped in CəCCūC > *kəppōṭ* "coat".

ֻ (Kubutz) /u/ > FJA /ō/-/ə/: [ʊ], [ö], [u], [o], [ə]

ֻ is identified with /ō/ or /ə/ as in קֻפָּה, *quppâ* > CūCCa > *ʾ*ɔ̄*ppa* "money box" but סֻכָּה, *sukkâ* "Sukkah" > CəCCa > *səkka* and כְּתֻבָּה, *kə*ṯ*ubbâ* > CCəCCa > *kṯəbba*.

וֹ (Holam or waw holam) /ō/ > FJA /ō/: [ʊ], [ö], [u], [o]

וֹ is identified with /ō/, with contextual inclinations leading to ō/, /ɔ̄/, /ū/ or /o/: גּוֹי, *gōy* "non-Jew" > CūC[97] > *gōy* but the feminine plural Hebrew morpheme ות- /-ōṯ/ is *-ɔ̄*ṯ in *ndāb*ɔ̄ṯ "gifts" and *-ōṯ* in *bra*ḥ*ōṯ* "blessings", probably due to the presence of /ḥ/.

ְ (Shwa) /ə/ > FJA /ī/-/ø/: [i], [Iˤ], [eˤ], [ø]

ְ is identified with FJA /ī/ (because of its coloration /e/ in the reading traditions) or /ø/, but never to the FJA short phoneme /ə/. In fact, ְ is often found after the first consonant of the word in Hebrew and since the presence of phoneme /ī/ in such a syllable structure in FJA is very unlikely to happen, it is mainly seen in borrowed vocabulary as it is here with the Hebrew loans: בְּכוֹר, *bə*ḵ*ōr* "first born" > CīCūC[98] > *bē*ḥ*ōṛ*; כְּבָר, *kə*ḇ*ār* "already" > CīCāC[99] > *kē*ḇ*āṛ*. The second possibility for Hebrew ְ is to disappear: כְּתֻבָּה, *kə*ṯ*ubbâ* > CCəCCa[100] > *kṯəbba*[101].

Since the loanwords are a matter of lexicon, and because the Semitic lexicon is organized on lexical consonantal roots, the correspondences between Hebrew consonants and FJA are quite regular. But when it comes to vowels, the Semitic morphological rules apply and the vowels are imposed by the internal stem and pattern system. However, the selected FJA structures are in most cases similar to the borrowed Hebrew word and in conformity with the Hebrew vowel coloration or quantity.

Conclusion

Throughout this study, I have identified many regularities made possible by the morphological proximity of the two languages, which facilitated identifications and adaptations. The phonological and the morpho-phonetical system of FJA exerts a very strong magnetic force on the lexical borrowings that are being reshaped according to the internal rules of the host language. The words for which the match is easy, adapt to generic

---

[97] See MA ṣōf "wool", ḍ*ōw* "light".
[98] See MA loanwords š*ī*f*ōṛ* "driver", *nīlōn* "nylon".
[99] See MA loanword from Classical Arabic ž*īhād* "Djihad" and (*ˤla*) *q*ē*bāl* "according to".
[100] See MA *mrəmma* "embroidery frame".
[101] For more about the behaviour of Hebrew Shwa (in Tafilalt, Marrakesh and Meknes Judeo-Arabic), see Akoun 2013.

FJA common stems. Those stems come with already established vowels. For the others words, where the Hebrew stem is too different from what is usually found in North African Arabic, FJA, proposes specific existing structures, with long vowels, dedicated to the integration of foreign words. Caubet (1993) listed them and showed how those structures, absorb French and Spanish words. The present study shows additional cases of such structures, but this time, in order to absorb Hebrew words.

As a general conclusion, it appears that the integration of Hebrew vocabulary and the phonetical adaptations came about in two stages. The first stage concerns the reading tradition of Masoretic Hebrew and depends very concretely on what is written, that is, mainly how the consonantal script and the *niqqud* were interpreted. The second stage relies on concrete integration and on how the Hebrew element evolved alongside the other components of vernacular Fasi Judeo-Arabic. Once the words are in concrete everyday use, by speakers who are aware, or not, of the etymology, those words adapt to the internal phonological and morpho-phonetical rules of the host language and follow their evolutions. The fact that the phonetical internal evolutions of the dialect did impact an historical Arabic lexicon and the Hebrew loanwords in exactly the same way (like with Hebrew ק, /q/ and Arabic ق, /q/ > /ʔ/) may imply that the Hebrew loanwords are very ancient.

Bibliography

Akoun, Nathalie. 2013. "The Shwa following a long Tiberian Vowel in the Hebrew of Moroccan Jews". *Mehaqarim balashon XIV-XV*. Jerusalem: Magnes: 163-174 (in Hebrew).

Akoun, Nathalie. 2015. "haaravit hamishtaqefet beivrit shel maroko". *Mehqarim betarbutam shel yehude tsfon-afrika*, Eds. Moshe Bar-Asher and Steven Fraad. New Haven: Yale University: 29-52 (in Hebrew).

Bar-Asher, Moshe. 1978. "Al yesodot haivriim bearavit hameduberet shel yehude maroko", *Leshonenu 42*: 163-189 (in Hebrew).

Bar-Asher, Moshe. 1992. *La composante hébraïque du judéo-arabe algérien*. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Bar-Asher, Moshe. 1996. "La recherche sur les parlers judéo-arabes modernes du Maghreb: etat de la question". *Histoire Epistémologie Langage 18 (I)*: 167-177.

Brunot, Louis, and Malka, Elie. 1939. *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*. Rabat: Ecole du Livre.

Brunot, Louis, and Malka, Elie. 1940. *Glossaire judéo-arabe de Fès*. Rabat: Ecole du Livre.

Caubet, Dominique. 1993. *L'arabe Marocain*. 2 vols. Louvain: Editions Peeters.

Chetrit, Joseph. 2007. *Diglossie, hybridation et diversité intra-linguistique*. Paris and Louvain: Peeters.

Chetrit, Joseph. 2009. *Linguistic Treasury and Textures: Socio-Pragmatic Studies in North African Judaeo-Arabic and its Hebrew Component. Articles, Poems, Tales and Proverbs*. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute (in Hebrew).

Chetrit, Joseph. 2014. "Judeo-Arabic Dialects in North Africa as Communal Languages: Lects, Polylects, and Sociolects". *Journal of Jewish Languages* 2: 202-232.

Chetrit, Joseph. 2015. "Diversity of Judeo-Arabic Dialects in North Africa: *Eqa:l*, *Wqal*, *kjal* and *ʔal* Dialects". *Journal of Jewish Languages* 4: 1-43.

Cohen, David. 1964. *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, Textes et Documents*. Paris, The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Cohen, David. 1975. *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, Vol. II : Etude linguistique*. Paris, The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Cohen, Marcel. 1912. *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*. Paris: H. Champion.

Essaoui, Abdessamad. 1990. *Dialecto de los Judios en Inezgan*. Monografia de Licenciatura. Departamento de Lengua y Literatura Españolas: Universidad Mohamed V.

Heath, Jeffrey. 2002. *Jewish and Muslim Dialects of Moroccan Arabic*. London: Routledge.

Heath, Jeffrey and Bar-Asher, Moshe. 1982. *"A Judeo-Arabic Dialect of Tafilalt"*. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik 9*: 32-78.

Henshke, Yehudit. 1991. "Hebrew Elements in the Spoken Arabic of Djerba". *Massorot V-VI*

Henshke, Yehudit. 2007. *Hebrew Elements in Daily Speech: A Grammatical Study and Lexicon of the Hebrew Component of Tunisian Judeo-Arabic*. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik (in Hebrew).

Henshke, Yehudit. 2008. "tofaot udrakhim bintiyat hapoal haivri: hapoal bamarkiv haivri shebefi yehude tunisya". *Leshonenu* 70: 679-695 (in Hebrew).

Leslau, Wolf. 1945. "Hebrew elements in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Fez". *The Jewish Quatterly Review 36*: 61-78.

Lévy, Simon. 1994. "De quelques hébraïsmes en arabe marocain et de leurs voies de passage". *Approches linguistiques: universaux et paramètres*. Rabat: Mohamed V University: 35-43.

Lévy, Simon. 2009. *Les parlers arabes des Juifs du Maroc*, *histoire, sociolinguistique et géographie dialectale*. Zaragoza : Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo.

Lévy, Simon. 2013. "Les parlers arabes des Juifs du Maroc". *Langage et société 2013* 1(143): 41-51.

Maman, Aharon. 1989. "On identifying the Hebrew Element in Judeo-Maghrebian". *Massorot III-IV*: 117-201.

Maman, Aharon. 1999. "Developments in the Magrebian Judaeo-languages from the Expulsion from Spain to the Present". *Sefunot: Studies and Sources on the History of the Jewish Communities in the East, New Series vol. 7*. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi: 141-190 (in Hebrew).

Maman, Aharon. 2019. *Synoptic Dictionary of the Hebrew Component in the Jewish Languages*. Including the notes of Shelomo Morag. Second revised edition. Jerusalem: Hebrew University (in Hebrew).

Morag, Shelomo. 1963. *Haivrit shebefi Yehude Teman*. Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language.

Morag, Shelomo. 2007. "Pronunciations of Hebrew". *Encyclopaedia Judaica, Second Edition, vol. 16*. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA in association with Keter Pub. House: 547-562.

Pellat, Charles. 1952. "Nemrod et Abraham dans le parler arabe ds Juifs de Debdou". *Hesperis* XXXIX: 121-145.

Saada, Lucienne. 1956. "Introduction à l'étude du parler arabe des Juifs de Sousse". *Cahiers de Tunisie* 16: 518-532.

Sibony, Jonas. 2019. "Éléments hébreux ou pseudo-hébreux dans le parler arabe des Juifs de Fès". *AIDA 12th Conference*. Online Edition: https://books.openedition.org/iremam/4069.

Stillman Norman. 1988. *The Language and Culture of the Jews in Sefrou*, *Morocco: An Ethnolinguistic Study*. University of Manchester.

Stillman Norman. 2011. "The Functions of Hebrew in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic with Particular Reference to the Vernaculars of Fez, Sefrou and Meknes". *Ḥikrei Maᶜarav u-Mizraḥ, Studies in Language and History, Presented to Joseph Chetrit*. Yosef Tobi and Dennis Kurzon (eds.), Karmel, Jerusalem: University of Haifa, Matanel: 193-203.

Tedghi, Joseph. 1995. "Les interférences de l'hébreu dans les langues judéo-arabes d'orient et d'occident musulman". *Les interférences de l'hébreu dans les langues juives*. Paris : Publications CEHJMC: 41-66.

Tedghi, Joseph. 1999. "Comparaisons hébraïques dans le judéo-arabe marocain", *Vena Hebraica in Judaeorum Linguis*. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Jewish Languages. Eds S. Morag et al. Milan: Centro Studi Camito-Semitici di Milano: 321-351.

Tedghi Joseph. 2001. "shimushim metaforiim bamarkiv haivri bearavit hayehudit shel hamaarav". *BIVO 13*. University of Madrid: 44-51 (in Hebrew).

Tedghi, Joseph. 2003a. "Évolution des recherches sur la composante hébraïque dans les parlers judéo-arabes maghrébins modernes". *Linguistique des langues juives et linguistique Générale*. Alvarez-Péreyre, F. and Baumgarten, J. (eds.). Paris: CNRS Editions: 157-190.

Tedghi, J. 2003b. **"**De l'évolution sémantique des lexèmes hébreux dans le judéo-arabe marocain". *Mélanges David Cohen*. Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose. 689-698.

Tirosh-Becker, Ofra. 1989a. "Hamarkiv haivri baravit hayehudit". *Leshonenu laam 40-41*, Kovetz lishnat halashon: 331-337 (in Hebrew).

Tirosh-Becker, Ofra. 1989b. "Sugiot leshoniot min haaravit hayehudit shel Konstantin". *Masorot III-IV*: 285-312.

Yoda, Sumikazu. 2018. "Libyan Judeo-Arabic". *Jewish Libya*. Jacques Roumani, Judith Roumani, David Meghnagi (eds.). Syracuse : Syracuse University Press.

THE HYBRIDITY OF THE NEW ARABIC OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF EGYPT OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY (BASED ON THE TEXT OF THE SIYASATNAME LAW)

IVAN SIVKOV

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ukraine)

Abstract: The present paper is dedicated to the examination of the corpus of lexical units of common usage and technical terms of administrative, legal, military, and commercial spheres, originating in both Egyptian Spoken Arabic and the languages outside Arabic areal (predominately Ottoman Turkish) that influenced the formation of the New Arabic official language of Egypt, and selected on the basis of its attestation in the text of the Siyasatname Law issued by Muhammad Ali Pasha, viceroy/governor (*wālī*) of Egypt (1805-1848). These lexical elements are considered from the point of the peculiarities of its conceptual/notional representation, its semantic development, the features of its functional/stylistic exemplification in the text of the Siyasatname Law, and its origin (etymological aspect). The Siyasatname Law text treated as the material of present study will be presented here as an example of the formal style of Written Arabic that emerged in Egypt during the Napoleon's campaign (1798-1801) and the early stages of Muhammad Ali Pasha's rule that ushered in the foundation of the Modern Egyptian state.
Keywords: *stylistics, official style, lexical bulk, lexeme, (technical) term, terminology, loanword, lexical borrowing, dialectology, semantics, semantic field, semantic change*

Introduction

The present paper is aimed to highlight the functional and stylistic peculiarities of usage of the loanwords and words of Egyptian Spoken Arabic origin extensively attested in the Siyasatname Law text. The bulk of lexical components borrowed to both Written and Egyptian Spoken Arabic of the 19th century and widely present in the text of the Siyasatname Law will be examined etymologically.

The lexical features of the language of the Siyasatname Law as such generally weren't considered in Arabic linguistic studies. Some fragmental aspects of the lexical arrangement of the text of Siyasatname Law were focused on in (al-Harrawi 1963) in the context of development of the formal (official) Arabic (*luġat al-idāra*, *al-luġa al-dīwāniyya*) of Egypt of the 19th century.

Arabic of the Siyasatname Law will be treated in the present work as an early example of the formal (official) style of Written Arabic that began to crystalize in Egypt in the period of Napoleon Bonaparte's campaign (1798-1801) and at the beginning of reign of Muhammad Ali Pasha – the founder of Modern Egypt.

1. The Siyasatname Law. Lexical peculiarities

قانون السياسة نامه *qānūn al-siyāsa nāme* – the first Organic Law of Egypt (Hunter: 21) enacted by the decree of Muhammad Ali Pasha in 1837/1253 and printed in the Bulaq Press in Rabī‘ I 1253 (June-July 1837) (Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaqāt*, 26).

This document was firstly published by A.F. Zaġlūl in his work "al-Muḥāmāt" (Hunter 1999: 21) in two separate parts. The first part of the Siyasatname Law is its preamble (*muqaddama*) which explicates the reasons that urged Muhammad Ali Pasha to promulgate the Siyasatname Law (*abāna fī-hā al-sabab allāḏī ḥamala-hu ‘alā waḍ‘i-hi*) (Zaġlūl 1900: 171-176). The second part representing the proper text of the Siyasatname Law is introduced as the Appendix (*mulḥaq*) number (*nimra*) 2 "*taškīl al-dawāwīn wa-qānūn al-siyāsa nāme*" under the title "*qānūn al-siyāsa nāme*" (Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaqāt*, 4-26).

The original manuscript of the Siyasatname Law seems to be written in Ottoman Turkish as it was the primary official language of the state administration and bureaucracy of Muhammad Ali Pasha's Egypt (al-Harrāwī 1963: 145; Mutawallī 1991: 24). It was immediately translated to Arabic to be implemented in all Egyptian territory.

The text of the Siyasatname Law was written in a mixture of ungrammatical Written and Egyptian Spoken Arabic. Its lexicon consists of the following etymological strata:
1. Words of Classical Arabic origin.
2. Words of Classical Arabic origin semantically extended under Ottoman Turkish influence, as the result of the new meanings the Ottomans gave to them.
3. Ottoman Turkish loanwords that are mostly the technical terms of Ottoman civil and military bureaucracy, and of Turkish-speaking traders (Procházka 2009: 590). They seem to find their way into both Written and Egyptian Spoken Arabic, as they are attested in the lexicons of both Written Arabic and Egyptian dialect of the 19th century. The lexemes borrowed from Ottoman Turkish are of both Turkish and non-Turkish origin, including words not only from Persian and Greek but also from French and Italian that entered Arabic through Ottoman because, until the 19th century Turkish was the main language for the transmission of Western ideas and culture into the Arab world (Procházka 2009: 590).
4. Direct lexical borrowings from European languages.
5. Words of Egyptian dialectical origin.
   The groups 3-5 will be discussed further (see **2**-**5**).

2. Semantic fields of Ottoman Turkish loanwords

The semantical classification of the bulk of Ottoman Turkish loanwords (see 1) could identify the following spheres such of their terminological usage:

1. <u>Administration and government</u>

The term الكرنتينات *al-karantīnāt* 'quarantine' (كارنتينة 'Quarantaine, isolement pendant quarante jours de ceux qui sont soupçonnés de contagion' (Bochtor 1829: 219); كارنتينا

'quarantaine; lazaret, lieu où l'on fait la quarantaine' (Dozy 1881, II: 434); كرنتينة *karantīna* 'Quarantine' (Wortabet 1888: 506); قرنتينه or كرنتينه *karantyna*, pl. كرنتينات *karantynât* 'quarantine' (Spiro: 515); كرنتينة *karantīna* 'Quarantine' (Hava 1899: 641)) seems to be borrowed from French or Italian via Ottoman Turkish (قرانتنه: *qarāntina* (du français) 'La quarantaine' (Kieffer, Bianchi 1837: 457); *kàrantina*, (Italian), 'Quarantine' (Redhouse 1880: 697):

<p align="center">استبان ذلك من الكرنتينات الوارده من بحر بره</p>
<p align="center">*istabāna ḏālika min al-karantīnāt al-wārida min baḥr barra*</p>
<p align="center">'It is evident from the quarantines that arrive from abroad'</p>

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 13: chapter 2, article 8).

باشكاتب *bāškātib* (pl. باشكتاب *bāškuttāb*) 'head clerk' (Willmore 1905: 44) (< Turkish *baş* 'head, chief of' + *kātib* 'scribe', 'clerk') – the Ottoman compound noun of hybrid Turkish-Arabic origin (باش كاتب 'premier secrétaire' (Schlechta 1870: 345-346); باشكاتب 'premier secrétaire' (Fraschery: 222)) borrowed to Written Arabic (باشكاتب *bāškātib*: 'Premier écrivain (dans un bureau)' (Cuche 1862: 16); *baśkâtib* 'chief clerk' (Spiro 1999: 29); باش كاتب *bāš kātib*: 'Chief clerk' (Wortabet 1888: 689); 'Head clerk' (Hava 1899: 18)) of the Egyptian administration of the 19th century:

<p align="center">باشكاتب ديوان</p>
<p align="center">*bāškātib dīwān*</p>
<p align="center">'head clerk of the department',</p>

<p align="center">باشكتاب دواوين العموم</p>
<p align="center">*bāškuttāb dawāwīn al-'umūm*</p>
<p align="center">'the head clerks of the General departments'</p>

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 20: chapter 2, article 30).

2. Legal sphere

شروط نامه *šurūṭ nāme* (pl. شروط نامات *šurūṭ nāmāt*) 'paper of conditions, agreement, contract'). The considered term is a compound noun of the mixed Arabic-Persian origin (< Arabic شروط *šurūṭ* 'conditions' + نامه *nāme* 'writing, letter, book' coined in Ottoman Turkish to refer to agreement or contract (شرطنامه: *śart-nâme* 'acte de convention, traité' (Zenker 1876: 542); *shàrt-nāmé* 'A paper of conditions, an agreement' (Redhouse 1880: 611); *chart-nâmé* 'Lettre contenant des conditions, des stipulations; contrat' (Fraschery: 623)) and borrowed to Written Arabic of the 19th century. This lexeme is attested in none of the dictionaries of Written and Egyptian Spoken Arabic of the 19th century. The text of the Siyasatname Law shows wide usage of administrative technical term شروط نامه *šurūṭ name* in both singular and plural:

<p align="center">فيصير اعمال شروط نامات</p>
<p align="center">*fa-yaṣīr i'māl šurūṭ nāmāt*</p>
<p align="center">'[The provisions] of contracts are enacted'</p>

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 10: chapter 2, article 6);

<div align="center">

ويتحرر شروط نامه بختم المديرين المذكورين

</div>

wa-yataḥarrar šurūṭ nāme bi-ḫatm al-mudīrīn al-maḏkūrīn
'The contract is put down in writing sealed by the mentioned directors'
(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 10: chapter 2, article 6).

3. <u>Army and war</u>

الاوردو *al-ūrdū* 'army':ü

أوردي *ūrdī*, أوردو *ūrdū* 'Camp, tents of an army' (Hava 1899: 855) < (Turkish): اوردو,
اوردى *ordou* 'camp' (Mallouf 1863: 139); اردو *òrdu* 'A camp; an army' (Redhouse 1880:
396). This term is attested once in the text of the Siyasatname Law:
    ومهمات الاوردو *wa-muhimmāt al-ūrdū* 'the assignments of army' (Zaġlūl 1900:
mulḥaq nimrat 2: 5: chapter 1, article 1).

الدوننما *al-dūnanmā* 'fleet':

الدوننما *al-dūnanmā*: *ṭā'ifa min al-sufun al-ḥarbiyya* (al-Bustānī 1987: 301) 'flotte,
escadre' (< Turkish دونانمه (Dozy 1881, I: 479)); دوننما *dūninmā* 'Fleet (navy)' (Wortabet
1888: 695); دوننمه *dunanma* 'fleet of ships' (Spiro 1999: 210); دونانمة *dūnānma* 'Squadron,
fleet' (Hava 1899: 210) < (Ottoman Turkish): دوننمه *dūnnma*, دونانمه *donanma* 'flotte, escadre'
(Mallouf 1863: 532-533); دوننما: *dònanma* 'a fleet, squadron' (Redhouse 1880: 572):

<div align="center">

وتجهيز مهمات وماكولات وساير لوازمات الدوننما

</div>

wa-taġhīz muhimmāt wa-mākūlāt wa-sāyir lawāzimāt al-dūnanmā
"Preparing the assignments, foodstuffs, and the other requisites of the fleet"
(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 5: chapter 1, article 1).

    As one can notice, both military terms الاوردو *al-ūrdū* 'army' and الدوننما *al-dūnanmā* 'fleet' were directly borrowed to Written Arabic and Egyptian Spoken Arabic from Ottoman Turkish.

4. <u>Commerce and industry</u>

الفاوريقات/الفابريقات *al-fābrīqāt/al-fāwrīqāt* 'factories':

ديوان الفاوريقات *dīwān al-fāwrīqāt* 'Department of Industry' (Hunter 1999: 21, Table 3)

<div align="center">

كافة الفابريقات الكاينه بالاقاليم والمحروسه

</div>

kāffat al-fābrīqāt al-kāyina bi-l-aqālīm wa-l-maḥrūsa
'All the factories existing in the provinces [of Egypt] and Cairo'
(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 6: chapter 1, article 1).

This term is solely attested in S. Spiro's Arabic-English dictionary of Egyptian Spoken Arabic فابريقه *fabryqa*/فاوريقه *fawryqa* (pl. فابريقات *fabryqât* /فاوريقات *fawryqât* or فراريق *fawaryq*) 'factory, mill' (Spiro 1999: 438). It appears to be indirectly borrowed by both Written Arabic of Egypt and Egyptian Spoken Arabic of the 19ᵗʰ century from Italian via Ottoman Turkish (< فابريقه *fabryqa* [mot ital.] 'Fabrique' (Fraschery: 758)).

5. Government institutions

الضربخانه *al-ḍarbḫāna* 'mint' (ضربخانه *ḍarbaḫâna* (Spiro 1999: 351); ضربخانة *ḍarbḫāna* (Hava 1899: 408)).

This term is mentioned in article 1 of chapter 1 of the Siyasatname Law defined by the adjective المعموره (feminine/pl. form of معمور *ma'moûr* (Fraschery: 1053) (< Arabic معمور *ma'mūr*)) 'Peopled; inhabited; cultivated; prosperous, in good estate' (Redhouse 1880: 801)) used in Ottoman Turkish as an official epithet applied to public establishments (Redhouse 1880: 801) (épithète officielle des établissements de l'État (Mallouf 1867: 1278)):

وإدارة الضربخانه المعموره
wa-idārat al-ḍarbḫāna al-ma'mūra
"The managing of the imperial mint"
(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 4-5: chapter 1, article 1).

As can be observed, ضربخانه is a hybrid compound term created in Ottoman Turkish from Arabic ضرب *ḍarb* 'striking' and Persian خانه *ḫāne* 'house' (ضربخانه *dharb-ḫâne* 'hôtel de la monnaie' (Zenker 1876: 585); ضربخانه *zàrb-khāné* 'A royal mint' (Redhouse 1880: 634)).

اسبتاليات *isbitāliyyāt* 'hospitals' (إسبتالية *isbitāliya* 'Hospital' (Wortabet 1888: 688); اسبتاليه *isbitâlja* (pl. اسبتاليات *isbitaljât*) 'hospital' (Spiro 1999: 10)) is attested in article 1 of chapter 1 of the Siyasatname Law:
الاسبتاليات الملكية *al-isbitāliyāt al-mulkiyya* "the civil hospitals" (Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 4: chapter 1, article 1); اسبتاليات العسكريه *isbitāliyyāt al-'askariyya* 'the military hospitals' (Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 5: chapter 1, article 1); الاسبتاليات البحريه *al-isbitāliyyāt al-baḥriyya* "the marine hospitals" (Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 5: chapter 1, article 1).

The mentioned term is likely to enter both Written and Egyptian Spoken Arabic from Italian via Ottoman Turkish (اسپتاليه *ispitalïa* (de l'ital.) 'hôpital' (Mallouf 1863: 45)).

6. Tools

كرباج *kirbāǧ*: *al-kirbāǧ*: *al-sawṭ min ḏanab fīl wa-naḥwi-hi* (al-Bustānī 1987: 775) 'fouet fait de la peau de l'hippopotame, de la queque de l'éléphant, cravache' (Dozy 1881, II: 453); *kirbāǧ* 'cravache' (Cuche 1862: 568); 'Horse-whip, scourge' (Wortabet 1888: 505); 'horse-whip, bastinado' (Hava 1899: 641); *kurbâg* 'lash, whip' (Spiro 1999: 514).

In some Arabic dictionaries of the 19th century *kirbāǧ* is marked as the word of Persian origin (al-Bustānī 1987: 775; Wortabet 1888: 505). According to R.Dozy, كرباج

kirbāǧ/kurbāǧ is of Ottoman Turkish origin (Dozy 1881, II: 453) (< قرباج *qyrbadj* 'Fouet fait de cuir de boeuf; Cravache' (Fraschery: 820)), but he says that this term, having been attested also in Hungarian (قرباج *qerbatch* (*qerbadj*) (du hongrois) 'cravache, fouet fait de cuir de boeuf ou de chameau' (Mallouf 1867: 987)), Russian, etc., seems to be of the Slavic origin (Dozy 1881, II: 453).

It is attested as a legal technical term to indicate flogging, whipping, or lashing – one of the corporal punishments envisaged in article 18 of chapter 3 of the Siyasatname Law:

التبديل من خمسة وعشرين الي خمسماية كرباج

al-tabdīl min ḫamsa wa-'išrīna ilā ḫamsimiyat kirbāǧ

'The alternation [of punishment] from 25 to 500 lashes'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 25; chapter 3, article 18).

3. Semantic shift in the lexical borrowing

Some Ottoman Turkish words underwent semantic change in the process of their borrowing to Arabic. The most typical semantic change is reduction when polysemantic Turkish word becomes monosemantic in Arabic, and the most specific terminological meaning of a Turkish loanword becomes transferred to Arabic. The example of semantic reduction from Turkish to Arabic attested in the Siyasatname Law is سرجي *sargī/*
*sarkī*سركي (pl. سراجي *sarāǧī/*سراكي *sarākī*) 'a card which mentioned the amounts paid to each government official and the back pay to be cleared by the end of the year or on dismissal' (Hamed 1995: 10):

كافة ارباب الخدم من الكبير والضغير يكون تحت يدهم سراجي مطبوعه تحتوى حساب أصول وخصوم استحقاقهم
ان كان سنويه او شهريه

kāffat arbāb al-ḫadam min al-kabīr wa-l-ṣaġīr yakūn taḥta yadi-him sarāǧī maṭ'būa
taḥtawī ḥisāb uṣūl wa-ḫuṣūm istiḥqāqi-him in kāna sanawiyya aw šahriyya

'All [government] servants, regardless of whether they are of low or high rank, should bear the cards which mention the amounts paid to each of them and the back pay to be cleared by the end of the year or the month'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 17: chapter 2, article 19);

واما الذين يرفعون في اثنا السنه فيوخذ منهم سراكيهم بوقت رفعهم من بعد صرف استحقاقهم مسددين على الوجه المشروح

wa-ammā l-ladīna yurfa'ūna fī aṯnā l-sana fa-yūḫad min-hum sarākī-him bi-waqt raf'i-
him min ba'd ṣarf istiḥqāqi-him musaddadīn 'alā l-waġh al-mašrūḥ

'The cards are taken from those [government servants] who are dismissed during the year at the time of their dismissal, but after they are paid back in the proper way'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 17: chapter 2, article 19):

السركى *al-sarkī* (pl. السراكي *al-sarākī*): *fī iṣṭilāḥ arbāb al-siyāsa: ṣakk bi-māl yu'ṭā li-yu'ḫaḏ ḏālika l-māl bi-mūǧibi-hi* (al-Bustānī 1987: 408) 'de commerce, obligation (acte)' (Dozy 1881, I: 650); سركي *sarkī* (pl. سراكي *sarākī*) 'bill of money obligation' (Wortabet 1888: 241); سركى/ سرجي *sarky / sargy* (pl. سراجي *sarâgy*) 'delivery-book' (Spiro

130

1999: 275-277); سرکی *sarkī* 'Money-order. Bill to order' (Hava 1899: 311); *sarghî/sirûg* "delivery-book" (Willmore 1905: 73) < (Ottoman Turkish سرکی): *sergui* 'Billet donné par le trésor public pour une somme remboursable; bon du trésor' (Fraschery: 582); *sèrgui* 'stalle dans une foire; exposition pâr terre, pour vendre de petits articles; billet a ordre' (Mallouf 1863: 601); *sèrghi* 'A stall at a fair; a paymaster's office or temporary stall when paying troops; an order or bill on a paymaster' (Redhouse 1880: 596).

One could see that the special technical value (see above) of سرکی *sarkī* was borrowed to Arabic from Ottoman Turkish. Its common meaning 'a stall at a fair' (Redhouse 1880: 596) was disregarded.

Some terms underwent semantic shift from common to terminological value while borrowed from one of the European languages to Arabic via Ottoman Turkish. As an example, one could give term لومان *lūmān* originated in Greek λιμήν 'port' (Dozy 1881, II: 559) (*wa-l-lūmān māḫūḏa min līmīn bi-l-yūnāniyya wa-maʿnā-hā mīnā aw iskila* (al-Bustānī 1987: 832)). The said lexeme entered Ottoman Turkish as ليمان *liman* in the same sense (Dozy 1881, II: 559) (*wa-l-atrāk yastaʿmilūna-hā li-ḏālika wa-yaqūlūn līmān* (al-Bustānī 1987: 832)): *limān* (du grec λιμήν) 'Lieu propre à recevoir les vaisseaux, port' (Kieffer, Bianchi 1837: 724).

The term ليمان *liman* was subsequently borrowed to Written Arabic of Egypt in bifurcated forms:

1. ليمان: *lymân* (pl. ليمانات *lymanât*) 'port, harbour' (Spiro 1999: 549); *līmān* 'Harbour' (Hava 1899: 689).

2. لومان *lūmān*: *siǧn yusǧan fī-hi aṣḥāb al-ǧināyāt al-faẓīʿa muddat ḥayāti-him aw ilā sinīn muʿayyana* (al-Bustānī 1987: 832) 'prison où l'on enferme les grands criminels pour un certain nombre d'années ou pour la vie' (Dozy 1881, II: 559); *lūmān*: 'jail for life, or for a long period; state-prison' (Wortabet 1888: 552); *lumân* 'hard labour, penal servitude' (Spiro 1999: 548); *lūmān*: 'Galleys, penal servitude' (Hava 1899: 689).

It came to be particularly used in reference to the dockyards of Alexandria – one of the main penal institutions of Muhammad Ali's Egypt, where those who were sentenced to life imprisonment and hard/forced labour served their sentence (Peters 1990: 214, 217). For this reason لومان *lūmān* became used as the technical term of law 'hard/forced labour'. This term is widely used in chapter 3 of the Siyasatname Law to indicate hard/forced labour as one of the punishments envisaged for the offences of government officials:

<div dir="rtl">

يصير ارساله الى اللومان من سنتين الى خمسة سنين مربوطا بالزنجير

</div>

yaṣīr irsālu-hu ilā l-lūmān min sanatayn ilā ḫamsat sinīn marbūṭ[an] bi-l-zinǧīr

'He should be sentenced to the dockyards of Alexandria for a period of two to five years forced labour'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 21: chapter 3, article 1);

<div dir="rtl">

يرسل اللومان مدة حياته

</div>

yursal al-lūmān muddat ḥayāti-hi

'He should be sentenced to the dockyards of Alexandria for life forced labour'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 22: chapter 3, article 5).

4. Direct lexical borrowings

From among the bulk of loanwords attested in the texts of the Siyasatname Law, two lexical units are likely to be directly borrowed to both Written Arabic of Egypt and Egyptian Spoken Arabic from European languages mainly Italian and English in the course of all-level Egyptian-European contacts that commenced in the end of the 18th /beginning of the 19th century:

ورشه *warša* (pl. ورش *wiraš*) (ورشة 'Atelier, lieu où travaillent les ouvriers sous un même maître' (Bochtor 1828: 64); ورشه *warśa* 'workshop, yard, factory, office' (pl. ورش *wiraś* or ورشات *warśât* (Spiro 1999: 638)) < workshop (English) (al-Harrawi 1963: 206):

ان المصالح المتنوعه يصير تقسيمها على ورش بكل دواوين عموم ... وينتصب ناظر لكل ورشة

inna l-maṣāliḥ al-mutanawwi'a yaṣīr taqsīmu-hā 'alā wiraš bi-kull dawāwīn 'umūm ...
Wa-yantaṣib nāẓir li-kull warša

'The different divisions are divided into number of sections or workshops in each general departments … A supervisor is appointed to run each one'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 6-7: chapter 2, article 4).

جرنال *ǧurnāl* 'report on daily operations sent by government offices' (Hunter 1999: 64) (جرنل *gurnâl* 'journal, newspaper, report' (Spiro 1999: 99)) < giornale (Italian) (al-Bustānī 1987: 105; al-Harrawi 1963: 200):

يلزم على كل ديوان عموم تنظيم جرنال يكون مشتملا فقط على زبدة المصالح التي صار رؤيتها وتقديمه للاعتاب يوم الخميس جمعي

yalzim 'alā kull dīwān 'umūm tanẓīm ǧurnāl yakūn muštamil^{an} faqaṭ 'alā zubdat al-maṣāliḥ allātī ṣāra ru'yatu-hā wa-taqdīmu-hu li-l-a'tāb yawm al-ḥamīs ǧum'ī

'Each department should submit a weekly report on Thursday to the viceroy, briefing the major achievements and problems'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 7: chapter 1, article 6).

5. Egyptian dialectisms

From among all lexical material represented in the Siyasatname text, 6 lexemes were definitely identified as of Egyptian Spoken Arabic origin, namely
بحر بره *baḥr barra* 'abroad, foreign countries' (Spiro 1999: 33):

الاصناف اللازم جلبها من بحر بره

al-aṣnāf al-lāzim ǧalbu-hā min baḥr barra

'The articles that need to be imported from abroad'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 13: chapter 2, article 8).

براني *barrâny* 'outsider', 'stranger' (Spiro 1999: 37)/*barrānī* 'outer, foreign' (Vollers 1895: 134):

المراكب البرانيه والميريه

al-marākib al-barrāniyyah wa-l-mīriyyah

'The vessels from abroad and the vessels of government'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 19: chapter 2, article 24).

جمعى *ğumʿī* 'weekly' < جمعه *gumʿa* (Spiro 1999: 108)/*gumʿa* (Willmore 1905: 96)/*gumʒa* (Vollers 1895: 124, 191)/ جمعة *ğumʿa* (Hava 1899: 94; Wortabet 1888: 78) 'week':

يقتضى ان تحضر قوايم جمعى الى ديوان كل مدير من ديوان الكمرك ببيان البضايع الوارده للتجار

yaqtaḍī an tuḥḍar qawāyim ğumʿī ilā dīwān kull mudīr min dīwān al-kumruk bi-bayān al-baḍāyiʿ al-wārida li-l-tuğğār

'Weekly lists should be sent to department of each director of the Department of Customs with all data of the merchandises imported to the merchants'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 12: chapter 2, article 8).

الحكيم *al-ḥakīm* 'physician' (حكيم *ḥakym* 'physician' (Spiro 1999: 147); *ḥakîm* 'doctor' (Vollers 1895: 126); *ḥakîm* 'physician' (Willmore 1905: 74)):

الحكيم يحكم بذبحه

al-ḥakīm yaḥkum bi-ḏabḥi-hi

'The physician orders [the sick bull] to be slaughtered'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 21: chapter 2, article 31).

تشهيل *taśhyl* 'act of hurrying, urging' (Spiro 1999: 326) < شهل *śahhil* to hurry on, urge to do a thing' (Spiro 1999: 326):

تشهيل الحسابات باوقاتها

tašhīl al-ḥisābāt bi-awqāti-hā

'Urging to send bills in proper time'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 15: chapter 2, article 13).

متهوم *mathûm* 'accused, defendant' (Spiro 1999: 86) < تهم *taham* 'to accuse' (Spiro 1999: 86):

المتهوم بتهمه من التهم المشروحه من ابتدا الباب...الى...الباب

al-mathūm bi-tuhma min al-tuham al-mašrūḥa min ibtidā al-bāb ... ilā...l-bāb...

'The accused in any of the accusations explained from article … to article …'

(Zaġlūl 1900: *mulḥaq nimrat* 2: 25: chapter 3, article 18).

Conclusions

The present work shows that a bulk of lexical borrowings to Arabic of written and Egyptian colloquial level attested in the text of the Siyasatname Law is of predominantly Ottoman Turkish extraction. It involves both Turkish and non-Turkish lexemes

transferred to Ottoman Turkish from Greek, Italian, and French. Some of the words attested in the Siyasatname Law have Egyptian dialectic roots.

References
Primary sources

Bochtor, Ellious. 1828-1829. *Dictionnaire Français-Arabe*. Vol. 1-2. Paris: chez Firmin Didot Père et Fils, Libraires.

al-Bustānī, Buṭrus. 1987. *Muḥīt al-muḥīṭ*. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān.

Cuche, Philippe. 1862. *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*. Beirut: Imprimerie catholique.

Dozy, R. 1881. *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*. Vol. I-II. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Fraschery, Samy-bey Ch. *Dictionnaire turc-français*. Constaninople: Mihran.

Hava, J.G. 1899. *al-Farā'id al-durriyya fī l-luġatayn al-'arabiyya wa-l-inglīziyya. Arabic-English Dictionary for the Use of Students*. Beirut: Catholic Press.

Kieffer, J.D., & Bianchi, T.X. 1835-1837. *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*. Vol. 1-2. Paris: Imprimé par Autorisation du Roi a'l Imprimerie Royale.

Mallouf, N. 1863-1867. *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*. Vol. 1-2. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, Libraires-Éditeurs.

Redhouse, J.W. 1880. *Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary*, In two parts, English and Turkish, and Turkish and English. London: Bernard Quaritch.

Schlechta von Wschehrd, Ottocar Maria de. 1870. *Manuel Terminologique Français-Ottoman*. Vienna: Imprimerie Impériale.

Spiro, Socrates. 1999. *An Arabic-English Dictionary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban Publishers.

Vollers K. 1895. *A Grammar of the Modern Egyptian Dialect of Arabic*. Cambridge: at the University Press.

Willmore, J. Selden. 1905. *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt. Grammar, Exercises, Vocabularies*. London: David Nutt.

Wortabet, William Thomson. 1888. *Arabic-English Dictionary*. Cairo: Al-Muktataf Printing Office.

Zaġlūl, Aḥmad Fatḥī. 1900. *al-Muḥāmāt*. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-ma'ārif.

Zenker, Julius Theodor. 1862-1876. *Turkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*. Vol. 1-2. Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann.

Secondary sources

Hamed, Raouf Abbas. 1995. "The Siyasatname and the Institionalization of Central Administration under Muhammad 'Ali", Hanna, Nelly (ed.), *The State and its Servants: Administration in Egypt from Ottoman Times to the Present*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press. 1-12 // http://www.raoufabbas.org/Download/1995%20Siyasatname.pdf.

al-Harrāwī, 'Abd as-Samī' Sālim. 1963. *Luġat al-idāra al-'āmma fī Miṣr fī l-qarn al-tāsiya 'ašara*. Cairo: al-Maǧlis al-a'lā li-ri'āyat al-funūn wa-l-ādāb wa-l-'ulūm al-iǧtimā'iyya.

Hunter, F. Robert. 1999. *Egypt under the Khedives 1805-1879. From Household Government to Modern Bureaucracy*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Mutawallī, Aḥmad Fu'ād. 1991. *al-Alfāẓ al-turkiyya fī l-lahaǧāt al-'arabiyya wa-fī luġat al-kitāba*. Cairo: Dār al-Zahrā' li-l-našr.

Peters, Rudolph. 1990. "The Codification of Criminal Law in Nineteenth Century Egypt: Tradition or Modernization?", Abun-Nasr, J. M., & Spellenberg, U., & Wanitzek, U. (eds.), *Law, society, and national identity in Africa*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. 211-225.

Procházka, Stephan. 2009. "Turkish Loanwords", Versteegh, Kees (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 4. Leiden: Brill. 589-594.

A NINETEENTH CENTURY MALTESE DOCUMENT IN ARABIC SCRIPT: LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS

MARTIN R. ZAMMIT

University of Malta

Abstract: In the year 1838, the arabist and linguist Reverend Christoph F. Schlienz, head of the Malta branch of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, published, in Malta, his *Views on the Improvement of the Maltese Language and its Use for the purposes of Education and Literature.* This consists of three long letters, dated October 26, 1837, which he wrote to C.H. Bracebridge, "… a gentleman, well known for the interest he has lately taken in the cause of education in the Mediterranean countries …" To Bracebridge's query about the Arabic schools in Malta, Schlienz expressed his conviction that Arabic, "the parent of Maltese," should be made the basis of all instruction in Malta. The three letters are followed by an appendix covering certain peculiarities of Maltese, as well as a dialogue in Maltese between two traders, printed in Arabic script, with translations in Egyptian Arabic and English. Apart from highlighting a number of linguistic features characterizing the dialogue, the paper also discusses the attempts, during the nineteenth century, to write the Maltese language in the Arabic alphabet. These attempts stemmed from the belief, held by some, that the Arabic script is the natural choice, given that Maltese is a dialect of Arabic, and that it was relatively easy for the Maltese to learn literary Arabic.

Keywords: Maltese; Arabic Dialect; Arabic Teaching; Education; Maltese in Arabic script; Linguistic Observations

Introduction

Since its earliest written evidence - the *Cantilena*, a poem of twenty verses from the second half of the fifteenth century - the Maltese language has almost always been committed to writing in the Latin characters. This choice was not a haphazard one, as script is a powerful means of asserting one's identity.[1] The choice of the Latin alphabet was dictated by the political, social, religious (Catholic), and cultural orientations of the Maltese people whose archipelago has always been subjected to foreign European dominion, with the exception of the Phoenician-Carthaginian (9th c. - 218 BC) and the Arab periods (AD 870 - 1090). It was during the latter period that Arabic reached the Maltese islands. The archipelago was, then, recolonized in 1048-49 by Muslim Arabs. By the late thirteenth century, Arabic Maltese had lost most contact with the mainstream Arabic dialects. It was during the fifteenth century that Arabic Maltese, spoken by some

---

[1] Edwards (2009:2) states that identity is "at the heart of the person, and the group, and the connective tissue that links them."

fifteen thousand islanders,[2] emerged as a *lingua maltensi* and survived in the shadow of well-established languages, namely Latin, Sicilian, Italian and, later, English.[3]

Since the *Cantilena*, other attempts were made to produce poetry and prose in Maltese. In particular, the local Catholic church played a very important role in the emergence of Maltese as a written language, publishing catechisms, some books of the Bible, and other religious literature. It is noteworthy that as early as the mid-17th century, Maltese had what may be considered to be its first dictionary, probably compiled by the Provençal knight Thezan. The alphabet adopted for this work is predominantly Latin, but includes the following Arabic characters: ذ ق ح خ چ ش ع غ ه and ث.[4] This solution was later adopted by a few other writers, but such mixed alphabets were met with opposition (Aquilina 1988: 86, 99). Various Latin alphabets continued to proliferate until, in 1934, the current Maltese alphabet was officially recognized by the government of Malta.

In 1838, Rev. Christoph Friedrich Schlienz (1803-1868), the head of the Malta branch of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, published three long letters, dated 26 October 1837, titled *Views on the improvement of the Maltese language and its use for the purposes of education and literature*. The letters are addressed to Charles Holte Bracebridge (1799-1872), "a gentleman, well known for the interest he has lately taken in the cause of education in the Mediterranean countries."[5] The letters are followed by an appendix about "the chief peculiarities of the Maltese, considered as a modern Arabic language", a Maltese dialogue in Arabic script, with Egyptian Arabic and English translations, and a Maltese hymn in Latin characters, with an English translation. This paper focusses on the dialogue consisting of about 590 words printed in Arabic unvocalized script. It is one of the longest documents of its kind which has reached us so far.[6]

In view of the limited space allocated to this paper, only a very concise overview of Schlienz's views can be given. The gist of the three letters is that Arabic, being "the parent of Maltese", rather than Italian, should be made the basis of all instruction in Malta.[7] Moreover, he sought to "bring English into more general use at Malta ... by having the English and not the Italian taught therein ...." (Third letter:100). Schlienz claimed that English was spoken not only by the upper classes, but also by the poorer ones, whereas Italian was growing into disuse.[8]

---

[2] I wish to thank the Maltese historian Charles Dalli for this information.

[3] During the 12th and the first half of the 16th centuries, Sicilian and Latin were in use in Malta, apart from Maltese. Italian was the administrative language of the Knights of St John (1530-1798). French was introduced during the French rule (1798-1800), whereas English spread from the year 1800 onwards.

[4] Thus, for example, the word *ḥaqq* (*ha⁀*) 'justice, truth' is given as حق in Thezan (145r).

[5] From the preface. Bracebridge was an author and a council member and trustee of the Florence Nightingale Fund. Letter 1 covers pages 1-25, letter 2, 26-57 and letter 3, 58-105.

[6] Canolo's manuscript of a Maltese grammar in Arabic characters is lost.

[7] In the 1820s, the British academic and diplomat J. Hookham Frère (1769-1846) proposed: 1. teaching Maltese through Italian, and 2. writing Maltese in both the Latin and Arabic alphabets. (Brincat 2011:283) His compatriot, G. Percy Badger (1815-1888) was in favour of the teaching of classical Arabic and English, not Maltese, a "corrupt" dialect (See footnote 9 below). Later, Badger changed his mind, suggesting the use of "the Maltese dialect as a written medium of instruction in the Government Primary Schools" (Aquilina 1988:87). In 1878, Patrick Keenan proposed the "purification" of Maltese and the teaching of Classical Arabic in schools (Brincat 2017:172). See also Hull 1993, Brincat 2011.

[8] This is contradicted by A. Slade who, writing also in 1837, stated that "not more than twenty of the natives speak English perfectly" (Hull 1993:9).

Schlienz made no effort to hide his anti-Italian sentiments. He argued that an educational system based on Italian, the domain of the upper classes, excluded the poorer ones. He becried the "setting up among them [the Maltese] a foreign language [Italian] for the national cultivation of the native mind" (Third letter:89). He advocated an educational system based on the mother tongue as a medium for the acquisition of other languages. Given the blending of the general interests of Malta with those of Great Britain, English, not Italian, was the obvious preference. After all, English surpasses Italian in "its literary consequence" and in "its practical usefulness" (First letter:18).

Schlienz defends Maltese, calling it "a dialect of a well cultivated language," (Second letter:35) and stands "... in the same relation to the literal Arabic, as the vulgar Arabic generally does" (Second letter:52). Given the frequent intercourse of the Maltese with their Arab neighbours, the Maltese would stand a better chance of success if they were to cultivate their language as a means to acquire literary Arabic, which would, in turn, be adopted as the langauge of education and literature. Moreover, cultivating literary Arabic opens the way to the learning of other Semitic languages, as well as Turkish and Persian. Not only, but knowledge of literary Arabic would enable Maltese Catholics to have access to the religious literature of the Greek-Catholics and the Maronites in the Levant. Furthermore, Maltese presses could thrive on the production of periodicals in Arabic, Persian and Turkish for the Middle Eastern and North African markets.

Maltese migration to the Barbary states, Egypt and Syria would also benefit from the knowledge of literary Arabic. Schlienz noted that Maltese migrants without the knowledge of Arabic end up doing menial jobs, but the situation would be much different should they receive "a common school education in Arabic" (Third letter:72).

Schlienz saw great advantages in writing Maltese in Arabic characters, as it could serve as a medium of written communications between Malta and the North African territories whose vernaculars are "most closely related" to Maltese, particularly since North African Arabs "are accustomed to use the vulgar tongue for epistolary communications …." (Second letter:48). Moreover, Maltese graduates trained in Arabic would thrive in commerce, interpretation and translation, spreading their field of action throughout the Arabic-speaking world, Turkey, Persia, as well as the African continent. In doing so, the Maltese would be a vehicle "to promote the British influence in the Eastern countries ... an efficient means of enlightening the East ...." (Third letter:83).

Schlienz remarked that "some of her people would perhaps still feel more honoured by the scanty knowledge of the Italian, than by a proficiency in the Arabic ... such sentiments ... are anti-Maltese, and show ... a want of patriotism" (Third letter:92). He argued that "if it be true, that the literal Arabic is but the classical language of the Maltese ... ought not every patriotic Maltese to esteem it as a national possession of great value?" He extolled Maltese, stating that it "still exhibits its excellency as an Arabic dialect, and shines, though in unpolished beauty, through the reproaches heaped upon it by long neglect ...." (Third letter:92-93).[9]

---

[9] According to the Cornwall-Lewis& Austin report (1838), "The Maltese language is a corrupt dialect of the Arabic, and, consequently, a Maltese learner of the Arabic is not mastering a strange language, but is merely acquiring the art of employing his own correctly" (Hull 1993:16).

In a *crescendo* of pro-British sentiments, Schlienz declared that it is not unjust, nor unreasonable, for the Maltese, as British subjects, to "use the English before any other" thus coming "into the possession of every possible civil advantage ... fully to enjoy the great privileges and blessings of the English nation ... [whereas the use of Italian] would so materially injure the best interests of the Maltese and of the English people" (Third letter:98-99).[10]

Regarding the use of the Arabic script for Maltese, Schlienz reported that the it had been adopted in Rev. Giov. G. Bellanti's translation of some Psalms, and in G. M. Canolo's Maltese Grammar.[11] Moreover, both Gesenius and De Sacy, in their treatises on the Maltese language, render the Maltese in Arabic letters. Referring to De Sacy's treatise, Schlienz reports that the French linguist preferred the Arabic alphabet to the Latin one, "though he admits that with regard to this plan also, there would be great difficulties" (Second letter:45-46). There existed no standard method for the writing of Maltese in Arabic characters. Schlienz remarked that Bellanti, like Gesenius and De Sacy, followed Arabic etymology, but "pays some regard also to certain peculiarities of the Maltese" (Second letter:46). As for Canolo, his rendition of Maltese in the Arabic alphabet reflects Maltese as it is spoken. Schlienz was perfectly aware of the problems besetting the writing Maltese in Arabic characters; it entailed choosing between the adoption of the etymological criterion, reproducing phonemes which no longer form part of the phonemic repertoire of Maltese, or to transcribe Maltese as it is spoken. Schlienz admitted that ignoring the dialectal features of Maltese, and following strictly the rules of Arabic grammar and its lexicon, "will prove an exceedingly difficult, and almost impracticable undertaking" (Second letter:47). Schlienz was against the spoken approach, as this would be tantamount to "cultivating barbarism" (Second letter:47). In the Maltese dialogue given by Schlienz, the etymological is generally followed, with sporadic exceptions.

This is the first time that the dialogue presented by Schlienz is receiving any attention; Aquilina (1988:67) does refer to Schlienz's publication, but makes no reference to the dialogue. The dialogue involves two traders who talk about their commercial dealings in Sicily and Libya, the hard times affecting their business, as well as family matters.[12] The dialogue affords the reader a glimpse of nineteenth century Maltese, with some syntactic, lexical and phraseological aspects which have not survived in contemporary Maltese.

---

[10]   Schlienz's views coincide with those expressed by Governor Henry Bouverie, also in 1837. See Brincat 2017:165.

[11]   Canolo's grammar is lost. In his *Avvertimenti per la ristorazione della lingua maltese* (1829), Bellanti advocates the adoption of the Arabic alphabet for the writing of Maltese.

[12]   The dialogue in question is reminiscent of the dialogues which G.P.F. Agius de Soldanis (1712-1770) included in his "Nuova scuola dell'antica lingua punica scoperta nel moderno parlare maltese e gozitano (1755, The National Library of Malta, ms 144.)

1. Syntax:

The following syntactic constructions sound awkward in CMal.[13]

a. انا نمور في حسابي : *jiena nmur fi ħsiebi* 'I intend to go' (13).[14] In CMal. the word order is *jiena biħsiebni mmur.* The prepositional phrase *fi ħsiebi* is grammatically more correct than *biħsiebni.*

b. تبقاش ما ترانيش : *tibqax ma taranix* 'Do not delay to see me' (16). In CMal. one would say *iddumx ma tarani.*

c. شي عرفت تصيبه : *x'għaraft tsibu*, lit. 'what did you know you find him', translated in the English version as 'You knew how to find him' (28). This sentence makes no sense in CMal. due to the unusual use of the interrogative particle *xi*, which here does not seem to be used interrogatively. It might be a typo for *li*, in which case the sentence would make sense.

d. انقص ياكلو سا يشبعوا : *anqas jieklu sa jixbgħu* '[*they*] do not even eat to satisfy their hunger' (28). CMal. adds the negative particle *ma* after the adverb *sa.*

e. انقص هما اللي يعرفوا كم : *anqas huma illi jafu kemm* 'not even they know how much' (28). In CMal. the use of the relative pronoun *illi* in this syntactic context is unknown; one would say, instead, *anqas huma ma jafu kemm.*

2. Lexical observations

The dialogue includes a number of lexical items which are attested in the earliest Maltese lexicons, but are either obsolete, or very rarely used in CMal.

مشاغل *mxiegħel* 'busy' (3): See Thezan 133v, *Damma* 392v, *Lexicon* 523. MED 877.

متتحالقش *ma titħalaqx* 'you do not joke' (7): See Thezan 137v, *Damma* 484, *Lexicon* 101, MED 547. Probably related to *taħallaq* 'avoir des manières agréables' (Dozy 398); *ħalāq* 'share of happiness' (Hava 175).

طرف *tarf* 'debt' (8): This word appears in the sentence: *kelli nieħu xi tarf ġbartha* 'I had to receive some debts, which I have collected.' In view of the Egyptian translation *ħāga*, the actual meaning of the word seems to be 'something', with the English translation identifying the nature of the 'something' in question, namely 'debts'. Given that *tarf* is masculine, the feminine suffixed object pronoun *-ha* attached to the verb *ġbart*, 'I collected', is problematic.

مغزول *magħżul* (*māzūl*) 'cotton' (13): The Egyptian translation has *ġazl* 'spun thread, yarn' (HB 622), so the item must be 'spun linen', rather than 'cotton'. This is confirmed

---

14 The transcription of the Maltese words in Arabic script, including their vocalization, is based on contemporary standard Maltese, and is rendered in Maltese orthography. The reader should only take notice of the following correspondences: <ċ> = /č/, <ġ> = /ǧ/, <għ> = /ʿ/, <ie> = /ɪ:/, <j> = /y/, <q> = /ʔ/, <ż> = /z/, <z> = /dz/ and /ts/. The numbers in brackets refer to the numbered sentences in the text of the dialogue. The reader can access Schlienz's Views on the Improvement of the Maltese Language via archive.org. The dialogue is in pages 126-136.

by *maġzul* 'filato' in Thezan (159r); *masri maghzul* 'lino filato' in *Damma* 336, 348.[15] It is not included in the *Lexicon* and MED only gives the passive participle 'spun'.

كالا قُريا *kalavrija* 'Calabria' (13): This is reflex of Greek Καλάβρια, the retention of which in Maltese is intriguing. CMal. has *kalabrija*.

في الرجعة *fir-reġgħa* 'on (my) return' (13). Also in Thezan (172r), *Damma* (418), and *Lexicon* (571). MED (1200) gives only *bir-reġgħa* 'returning s.th to s.o.'

وضلنك جاي *u dlonk ġej* 'and more are continually coming' (20): The adverb *dlonk* 'suddenly' is still in use, but here it reserves its orignal meaning of 'often, continuosly, frequently', probably from Sicilian *di longu*. (*Damma*. 143v. See MED 254)

بحقه *b'ħaqqu* 'at their (sic) cost' (20): Here *ħaqq* is still used in the sense of 'price'. It is unattested in Thezan and *Damma*, but found in *Lexicon* (245). In CMal., the meaning is restricted to 'worth, the value of' (MED 500).

نيكوسيو *negozju* 'business' (21): The Arabic transcription *nīkūsyū* reflects imperfectly the Maltese pronunciation, namely *negōtsyu*.

كل ضربة بالتلف ما يصحّش - *kull darba bit-telf ma jseħħx* 'it will never do to be always loser' (23): The negative phrase *ma jseħħx* corresponds to ما يصحش *mā ysaḥḥiš* 'it is not fitting, appropriate; possible' in the Egyptian version (HB 496). In CMal. the verb *seħħ* stands for 'to come true; happen' (MED 1286), but does not extend further to cover the sense in Egyptian.

داك عنده الخلايات - *dak għandu l-ħlejjiet* 'he has a good deal of money' (28): The *Lexicon* (pp. 274-75) gives *ħlejjiet* as the plural of *ħala* 'profusion, great wealth' (See MED 533-534). This lexeme is not found in MLRS, and the Egyptian *ħalāyā* is not attested in HB with this sense.

عموماته - *għumumietu* 'his two uncles' (28): *Damma* (200) gives only the singular *għamm* and *għamt* for 'paternal uncle and aunt'. The *Lexicon* (344) includes two plurals, namely *għammijiet* and *għmum*, covering both genders, and the feminine plural *għammiet*, but not *għumumiet*.

3. Phraseology

Mal. صحه وسق *saħħa wisq*	'How do you do?' (1)

This greeting, literally meaning 'too much health', at the beginning of a conversation, is not in use in CMal. Nowadays, s*aħħa*, or *saħħiet*, are reserved exclusively for the end of a conversation.

Mal. انقص تضهر خلاف فين تكون *anqas tidher ħlief fejn tkun*	'Neither do you make your appearance any where except where you are to be found' (3)

---

[15] *Masri* "Egyptian".

This way of expressing the idea about someone who is rarely seen is not current in CMal..

اظنك وجه الورده Mal. ... صرت ظنك عجل *donnok wiċċ il-warda* *... donnok għoġol*	'you appear fresh as the rose ... you have become like a calf' (6)

These complimentary remarks about one's physical appearance are not attested in MLRS.

بقي زمان في وجهي Mal. *baqa' żmien f'wiċċi*	'they [i.e. the beans] have been a long time upon my hands [and I cannot sell them]' (20)

The adverbial use of the noun *żmien* 'time' in CMal. comes in conjunction with the preposition *il* + pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ilu żmien* 'it has been a long time since it ...', and never by itself. Moreover, the prepositional phrase في وجهي *f'wiċċi* is nowadays used in the contexts of a. telling/doing something openly, 'to my face', and b. with the verb *baqa'* in: *baqa' f'wiċċi*, lit. 'it remained in my face', that is 'I failed to get what I wanted'. The above sentence can be rendered in CMal. as follows: *ilu żmien ma' wiċċi*.

ساير لورا بحال قابرو M. *sejjer lura bħal qabru*	'goes all awry like a crab' (21)

This is another version of the CMal. expression *sejjer lura bħal granċ*, lit. 'going back like a crab', i.e. 's.th is fast deteriorating' (MED 1102).

كل وحدة تجي شافرة Mal. *kull waħda tiġi xiefra*	'when everyone is unlucky' (24)

The word *xiefra* is probably a typo for *xierfa* 'hard' used in the contexts of meat, clayey soil, insensitivity and senility. Here, it might refer to 'hard times', a notion not found in CMal.

وحده يسوي واخري يداوي Mal. *waħda jsewwi u oħra jdewwi*	ومره يسوي واخري يداوي Eg. *marra ysawwi w-uħra ydāwiy*	'to make up at one time what he loses at another' (24)

This idiom is not included in CDMP and in MLRS. The verb *jdewwi* is wrongly transcribed in the third verbal form يداوي (*ydāwī*). One might deduct that the person

responsible for the Egyptian translation might have also transcribed the Maltese version into Arabic script.

عش البنات جميره .Mal *għax il-bniet ċmajra*	'... for girls are like the rheumatism' (26)

Ċmajra 'severe feverish cold' (< Sicilian *cimoira*) is here used figuratively to refer to someone 'naughty, troublesome' (MED 185), but unattested in MLRS. This idiom seems not to be used in CMal.

ضنه عنده الراي .Mal *donnu għandu r-raj*	'he seems to be a man of discretion' (27)

In CMal. the noun *raj* 'good sense, opinion, judgement' is seldom used on its own, but either with a suffixed pronoun, e.g. *rajna f'idejna* 'our destiny in our hands', or in conjunction with a preposition and attached to suffixed pronouns, as in *minn rajja* 'on my own free will' and *b'rajja* 'it depends on me' (MED 1167, 1178). In the above expression, *raj* still enjoyed full autonomy. It is also attested in three proverbs (See CDMP 347, 357, 447).[16]

عافيه عليك .Mal *għajfa għalik*	عافية عليك .Eg *ʿāfya ʿalīk*	'*success* to you' (28)

Thezan's dictionary (115v) and the *Damma* (9v) give this expression with the sense of 'good for you; health; I wish you health', said with admiration to someone who achieved his desire.. In CMal., *għafja*, which reflects Egyptian *ʿāfya* 'good health, vigour' (HB 587), is used only in *l-għafja tal-mewt* 'the temporary return of good health of a dying man' (MED 940), whereas the above compliment has been reinterpreted as *offi għalik* with the same meaning.[17]

الخنزير متي تقتله تكون تعرف .Mal كم يزن *il-ħanżir meta toqtlu tkun taf kemm jiżen*	'The sow, if you kill her, you will learn how much she weighs.' (31)

This expression does not seem to be in use in contemporary Maltese.

تيخو ... ما ترد الاسوار تهد .Mal *tieħu ma trodd,*	اذا كنت تاخذ وما ترد .Eg الأسوار تهد	'If you take away without replacing, you will pull down

---

16 The noun *raj* is the nominal element in *jiġifieri* 'that is to say', i.e. *jiġi fir-raj*, i.e. 'it comes to the mind'.
17 There are only five matches of *offi għalik* out of 249,256,855 words forming the MLRS.

is-swar thodd	*idā kunt tāḫud u-mā tirudd, il-ʾaswār tihidd*	the walls.' (33)

This proverb comes quite close to its counterpart: *Min jiekol u ma jroddx, sa fl-aħħar is-swar iħott*, i.e. 'He who eats and never puts something back, will at last pull down the bastions' (CDMP 367). The logical guess concerning the vocalization of the final verb in the *apodosis*, تهد , is *thodd*, so as to rhyme with the verb *trodd* in the *protasis*. *Thodd* is not attested in the Maltese lexicon and, therefore, this could probably be a case of contamination of the verb *tħott* 'you pull down' with Eg. *tihidd* 'you demolish' in the Egyptian version (HB 901). This evidence seems to consolidate the suspicion expressed above regarding one same person producing the Egyptian translation and the Arabic transcription of the Maltese dialogue.

Mal. كلما يمور يظلم *kulma jmur, jidlam*	'the farther we advance, the darker it grows' (35)

This metaphor does not seem to be reflected in contemporary Maltese.

Mal. نحي اليوم ونحي غدا ولا تعمل قط قاع الصندوق مع لير تراه *Neħħi llum u neħħi għada, u la tagħmel qatt, qiegħ is-senduq malajr tarah.*	'Take away today, and take away tomorrow, and putting nothing, the bottom of the coffer will speedily be seen.' (37)

This proverb is not included in the CDMP.

Mal. احنا نروا ارواحنا *Aħna naraw irwieħna*	'We shall see each other.' (38)

This way of wishing 'farewell' is not current in CMal., but it does feature in eight matches in the MLRS.

Mal. ابقي بالسلامه *Ibqa' bis-sliema*	'Remain in peace.' (39)

This expression is not used in CMal., but it is attested in five mateches in the MLRS. One might still occasionally hear *mur bis-sliema*, 'go safely', to someone leaving a place, or going abroad. Cp. Tunisian *bi-s-slēma* 'goodbye'.

| Mal. الله معك
Alla miegħek | 'God be with you.' (40) |

This expression of farewell, which echoes Levantine *alla maʿak*, is quite rare in Maltese. The MLRS gives eight matches.

5.   Etymology

The transcription of the Maltese dialogue into Arabic script is based on a strict etymological approach. This means that the interdental *ṯ*,[18] the emphatics *ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ*, and the velar and pharyngeal phonemes *ġ, ḫ, ʿ, ḥ*, which have merged with other phonemes in contemporary standard Maltese, are regularly reproduced in the Maltese dialogue. Thus:

a. interdentals: ثمانمية (*ṯmānmiyya*) - Mal. *tmien mija* '800' (20).

b. emphatics: نصيب (*nṣīb*) - Mal. *nsib* 'I find' (18); فضة (*fiḍḍa*) - Mal. *fidda* 'silver' (16); طيب (*ṭayyeb*) - Mal. *tajjeb* 'good' (10); اظنك (*aẓonnok*)[19] - Mal. *donnok* 'as if you are' (6).

c. velars and pharyngeals: صحه (*ṣaḥḥa*) - Mal. *saħħa* 'health' (1); خشنت (*ḫšint*) - Mal. *ħxint* 'you put on weight' (7); شغل (*šoġl*) - Mal. *xogħol* (pronounced *šōl*) 'work' (10); نعيد (*nʿayd*) - Mal. *ngħid* ([nayt]) 'I say' (31).

d. voicing: Final devoicing is reverted to full voicing in Arabic script. Hence: فراد (*frād*) - Mal. *frat* 'oxen' (18); نعيد (*nʿayd*) - Mal. *ngħid* 'I say' (31)

e. assimilation: Assimilated Maltese expressions are rendered in their unassimilated forms in Arabic script.

نجزوا خير (*niǧzū ḫayr*) - Mal. *niżżu ħajr* 'we thank' (5); كان لي (*kān lī*) - Mal. *kelli* 'I had' (9); الشغل (*il-šoġl*) - Mal. *ix-xogħol* 'the work' (10); نمور (*nmūr*) - Mal. *immur* 'I go' (13); نموروا (*nmūrū*) - Mal. *(i)mmorru* 'we go' (36); من القعاد (*min al-qʿād*) - Mal. *mill-qgħad* 'from indolence and ease' (19); يكون لي (*ykūn lī*) - Mal. *jkolli* 'I will have' (20); من بعد (*min baʿd*) - Mal. *mbagħad* 'then' (20); وجهي (*waǧhī*) - Mal. *wiċċi* 'my face' (20); تصيب (*tṣīb*) - Mal. *(i)ssib* 'you find' (28); يكون له (*ykūn luh*) - Mal. *ikollu* 'he will have' (28); من الكلام (*min il-klām*) - Mal. *mill-kliem* 'from the words' (32); تجيبها (*tǧībhā*) - Mal. *(i)ġġibha* 'you bring it' (32); الاسوار (*al-aswār*) - Mal. *is-swar* 'the bastions' (33); من اللي (*min illī*) - Mal. *milli* 'than'(36); ان كان لا (*in kān lā*) - Mal. *inkella* 'otherwise' (36); اليوم (*al-yūm*) - Mal. *illum* 'today'(37).

---

[18]   Attested only once.
[19]   Lit. "I think you are".

f. etymologizing whole words:[20] انا (*anā*) - Mal. *jiena* (4, 8, 9, 13, 25); او (*aw*) - Mal. *jew* 'or' (13); في ايش (*fī īš*) - Mal. *fiex* 'in what' (6); تعرف (*taʿraf*) - Mal. *taf* 'you know' (20, 31); ما نعرفش (*mā naʿrafš*) - Mal. *ma nafx* 'I don't know' (23); يعرف (*yaʿraf*) - Mal. *jaf* 'he knows' (28); يعرفوا (*yaʿrfu*) - Mal. *jafu* 'they know' (28); اعطيتها (*aʿṭaythā*) - Mal. *tajtha* 'I gave her' (29).

g. *alif al-wiqāya*: Even though this *alif* pertains to literary Arabic, and is irrelevant in dialectal Arabic and Maltese, yet it is included. Thus:

يعرفوا (*yaʿrfū*) - Mal. *jafu* 'they know' (23, 28); يروا (*yaraw*) - Mal. *jaraw* 'they see' (28); يشبعوا (*yišbʿū*) - Mal. *jixbgħu* 'they are fed up' (28).

h. hesitation in transcription: طيتها (اعطيتها) (*ṭaythā (aʿṭaytha)*) - Mal. *tajtha* 'I gave her' (25); تيخو (تاخذ) (*tīḫū (tāḫuḏ)*) - Mal. *tieħu* 'you take' (33).

i. erroneous etymology: مخبط < تظهر تضهر (*taẓhar*) for *tidher* 'you appear' (3); محبط < تتحابط (*mħabbaṭ*) for *mħabbat* 'troubled' (4); تخبيط < تحبيط (*taḫbīṭ*) for *taħbit* 'troubles' (5); تتخابط < (*titḫābaṭ*) for *titħabat* 'you trouble yourself (with s.th.)' (6).

j. no etymology: ئلي (*ʾilī*) < الي Mal. *ili* and ئلو (*ʾilū*) < اله - Mal. *ilu* 'it is [so much time] since I / he' (2, 9); اسا (*issa*) < الساعة - Mal. *issa* 'now' (6, 20); ناخو (*nāḫū*) < ناخذ - Mal. *nieħu* 'I take' (8); جبرتا (*ġbarta*) < جبرتها - Mal. *ġbartha* 'I picked it up' (8); ينا (*yina*) < أنا - Mal. *jiena* 'I' (15);[21] تا (*tā*) < تاع - Mal. *ta'* 'of' (17); دا (*dā*) < ذا - Mal. *da* 'this' (2); داك (*dāk*) < ذاك - Mal. *dak* 'that' (18); دان (*dān*) - Mal. *dan* 'this' (17); دون (*dawn*) - Mal. *dawn* 'these' (29); كاكو (*kākū*) < كان يكون - Mal. *kieku* 'if' (25); بيش (*bīš*) < باش - Mal. *biex* 'in order to' (25).

Conclusion

The attempt to commit the Maltese dialogue to Arabic script stemmed from Schlienz's belief that Maltese is an Arabic dialect related to literary Arabic. The context of the dialogue, related as it is to everyday realities of family life and simple commercial dealings, could be easily expressed through the Arabic element of Maltese, and therefore writing the dialogue in Arabic characters did not constitute a big challenge.[22] The task would have been much more arduous had the context involved complex semantic fields, such as those of law or politics, characterized by their heavily dependence on the Romance lexicon.

Writing Maltese in the Arabic scipt is not without difficulties, especially if the etymological criterion is applied. In that case, only persons proficient in literary Arabic would be able to render the Maltese words to their Arabic etymons. The task would be

---

[20] As regards the Egyptian version, the same etymologizing effort is evident, e.g. كنت تاخذ (*kunt tāḫuḏ*) for *kutt tāḫud* 'you used to take' (v. 33), but this goes beyond the scope of the study.

[21] انا (*anā*) is attested in sentences 4, 8, 9, 13, and 25.

[22] Only four words, namely تسكر (*tsokkor*) 'sugar' (13), نيكوسيو (*nīkūsyu*) 'business' (21), سكوتي (*skūtī*) 'escudos' (25), and سكنت (*skont*) 'according to' (30), are of Romance origin.

much more simpler if one were to transcribe Maltese as it is actually realized in normal speech. However, the transciption of the Maltese vocalic phonemes remains the main stumbling block in such an experiment, as the Arabic script cannot represent such Maltese like /ɛ, ɛː, ɔ, ɔː, ɪː, ɛɪ, ɛʊ, ɔɪ, ɔʊ/ (orthographically <e (short and long), o (short and long), ie, ej, ew, oj, ow>), unless special symbols are created to represent them.

The adoption of the Arabic alphabet for Maltese would have been impracticable, given this language's substantial non-Arabic component. Moreover, writing Maltese in the Arabic script, especially if based on the etymological principle, would have had serious implications on the literacy of the Maltese people in general, apart from distorting the Maltese nation's historical, socio-cultural and religious identity.

Abbreviations

CDMP - Aquilina, J. 1972. *A Comparative Dictionary of Maltese Proverbs*. Malta: University of Malta Press.
HB - Hinds, M., & Badawi, E. S. 1986. *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic: Arabic-English*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.
MED - Aquilina, J. 1987-1990. *Maltese English Dictionary.* 2 vols. Malta: Midsea Books.

References

Agius De Soldanis, G.F. 1759. *Damma tal-Kliem Kartaginis mscerred fel fom tal-Maltin u Ghaucin.* (reprint Carabott 2016). (Referred to as '*Damma*'.)
Aquilina, J. 1988. *Papers in Maltese Linguistics*. 4th reprint. Malta: University of Malta Press.
Brincat, Joseph M. 2011. *Maltese and other Languages: A Linguistic history of Malta.* Malta: Midsea Books.
Brincat, Joseph M. 2017. "The Language Question and Education: a Political Controversy on a Linguistic Topic", *Yesterday's Schools: Readings in Maltese Educational History.* R.G. Sultana ed. 2nd ed. Malta: Xirocco Publications. 161-181.
Cassola, Arnold. 1992. *The Biblioteca Vallicelliana 'Regola per la Lingua Maltese'.* Malta: Said International. (Referred to as 'Thezan'.)
Dozy, R.P.A., 1881. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Vol. 2). EJ Brill.
Edwards, John. 2009. *Language and Identity: An Introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hava, J.G., 1964. *Arabic-English Dictionary*. Beirut: Catholic Press.
Hull, Geoffrey. 1993. *The Malta Language Question: A Case Study in Cultural Imperialism.* Malta: Said International.
Schlienz, Christoph F. 1838. *Views on the improvement of the Maltese language and its use for the purposes of education and literature*. Malta.
Vassalli, Mikiel A. 1796. *Lexicon Melitense, Latino – Italum. Ktyb yl Klym Malti, Vocabolario Maltese.* Rome (reprint Sammut 2002). (Referred to as '*Lexicon*'.)

Internet Source

MLRS Corpora (Institute of Linguistics and Language Technology - University of Malta) - https://mlrs.research.um.edu.mt/

CENTRAL ASIAN ARABIC THROUGH COMPARATIVE SEMITIC LENSES: SOME FEATURES OF BUKHARAN ARABIC[1]

HONGWEI ZHANG

University of Chicago

Abstract: On multiple occasions, Chikovani has advocated the key directions for research on Central Asian Arabic, the first and foremost being Central Asian Arabic's connection to other Semitic languages. This study investigates Bukharan Arabic in the comparative Semitic background and connects some of its features in phonology and morphosyntax, including the phonemes *i* and *ō*, the perfective participle, the V-final word order, the linker *in* and the "Turkic genitive", to parallel phenomena in other Semitic languages. In contact situations like that of Central Asian Arabic, it is easy to attribute innovations to surrounding languages. But just as Cowan (1967) criticizes Fischer's (1961) phonological analysis, instead of simplistically resorting solely to contact factors, parallel developments could well reflect the Semitic potentials for historical developments which paved the way for those contact-induced changes.
Keywords: Central Asian Arabic; comparative Semitics; historical linguistics; language contact; parallel development

Introduction

Since the early days of the "discovery" of Central Asian Arabic, scholars have addressed the fascinating archaism and innovation (Tsereteli 1941: 134) of this peculiar group of peripheral Neo-Arabic varieties. Over the years, Chikovani (2012: 122; 2014: 113; 2016: 170–72; 2017: 137) has been advocating a four-dimensional approach to the study of Central Asian Arabic in terms of: (1) the preservation of Arabic/Semitic archaisms, (2) the peculiar development of Arabic linguistic materials, (3) the factors of language contact, and (4) the role of extra linguistic factors.

Putting this into practice, Chikovani (2007) compares the pl suffix in Central Asian Arabic (Qashqadarya) with Northwest Semitic, which is been furthered by more comparisons (Chikovani 2014: 114–15): numeral forms, mimation, negative particle of existence, and an expanded discussion of Tsereteli's (1941: 140) comment on the demonstratives. This essay examines several features of Central Asian Arabic from a comparative Semitic perspective. Following some suggestions on the terminology, I discuss the phonemes *i* and *ō*, the perfective participle, the V-final word order, the linker *in*, and the "Turkic genitive" with special attentions to their roots in the existing Arabic/Semitic mechanisms.

2. Suggestions on the terminology

Considering the relatively small amount of literature on Central Asian Arabic, little can be said about any consensus regarding the terminology. Designations with the pattern "[place name] Arabic/dialect" appear to been relatively more used, e.g. "het Bukhara-dialect" (Thiel-Gnyp 1990) and "Bukhara Arabic" (Ratcliffe 2005), but designations of the pattern "Arabic of [place name]" are not rare either, e.g. "das arabische von Buchara" (Zimmermann 2002) and "the Arabic of Bukhara" (Miller 2014a). On the other hand, the Russian terminology uniformly specifies different Neo-Arabic varieties via adjectival modifiers derived from the corresponding place names, hence, **buxar-skij** *arabskij dialekt* refers to the "Arabic dialect" of "Bukhara" (*Buxara*). These factors may have led to the varying terminologies used by scholars familiar with Russian in their non-Russian publications.[2]

On the national level, the designation "Uzbekistan Arabic" appears to be used slightly more often, but one also finds "Uzbeki Arabic" (Hammarström, Forkel, & Haspelmath 2019) and "het Oesbekistaans-Arabisch" (Thiel-Gnyp 1990). Zaborski (2008: 409) insists on using lengthy designations like "el grupo de dialectos hablados en Uzbekistán" and criticizes "Uzbeki Arabic" and "Tajiki Arabic" as misleading because "Uzbeki Arabic" can be interpreted as "Arabic spoken by Uzbeks (árabe hablado por uzbecos)".

There seems to be more existing practices to refer to regional varieties of Neo-Arabic using a derived adjective, e.g. *Moroccan* Arabic, *Kuwaiti* Arabic, etc. Further specified local varieties appear to be commonly designated in the same fashion,[3] e.g. *Cairene* Arabic (Eisele 1999) for the Egyptian variety of Cairo, *Maccan* Arabic (Bakalla 1979) for the Saudi variety of Macca, *Baghdadi* Arabic (Grigore 2014) for the Iraqi variety of Baghdad, etc. Since terms like "Egypt Arabic" or "Britain English" are hardly encountered, terms like "Uzbekistan Arabic", "Afghanistan Arabic", etc. appear illogically exceptional. Considering Zaborski's (2008) criticism—which may not be necessary since the ethnonyms should be "Uzbek" and "Tajik" rather than "Uzbeki" and "Tajiki"—I propose to uniformly specify the Central Asian Arabic varieties by adjectives derived from the place names, e.g. "*Uzbekistani* Arabic" for the varieties in Uzbekistan. To stay consistent, I opt for

---

[2]   See, e.g. "Qashqadarian Arabic" in Chikovani (2000) vs "Qashqa-darya Arabic (dialect)" in Chikovani (2001).
[3]   Admittedly, the entries in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (Versteegh et al. 2006-2009) generally occur as "[place name] Arabic".

"*Bukharan* Arabic" to designate the Uzbekistani variety of Bukhara, which matches the term "Bukharan Tajik" in the recent publications on the Tajik vernacular used in the same region (Ido 2007; 2014).

3. Phonology
3.1 The phoneme *i*

The phoneme *i* in some Bukharan Arabic words is recorded with an allophone *e*, e.g. one finds both *ḥiml* and *ḥeml* for 'load' (Vinnikov 1962: 69). Sometimes, authors differ slightly on this point, e.g. Vinnikov (1962: 59) records the preposition 'under' as *ḥéder*, whereas Dereli (1997: 46) records it as "*ḥidir*". The lowering of *i* in the environment of the a pharyngeal is not unexpected for Arabic—Al-Ani (1970: 23) notes the allophone [ɪ] of *i* next to ʿ and *ġ* and Watson (2002: 271) illustrates the lowering of *i* to [ɛ] before a syllable final pharyngeal. The example *ḥeder* reflects *i* → *e* / [pharyngeal]__, a change which is less regular for *i* before a pharyngeal: e.g. √ʿ*br* 'to cross' has both *iʿbir* and *éʿbir* as its impv.msg form, but its impv.fsg forms are *iʿbiri*, *iʿberi* or *iʿebri* (Vinnikov 1962: 134).

Another environment for the *e* allophone is found before *r*. The perfective ptcp (originally active ptcp, see 4.1) from the preceding root has the forms ʿ*āber* or ʿ*ōber* (ibid.)—variation depending on the dialect (see 3.2). Similarly with epenthesis like in *ḥéder*, we find the variant forms for "grave" as *ḳabr* or *ḳáber* (Vinnikov 1962: 162):

(1) *ḥeder < *ḥidir < *ḥidr < *ḥidr-un*
   ʿ*ōber < *ʿābir < *ʿābir-un*
   *qaber < *qabir < *qabr < *qabr-un*

The changes *i* → *e* / [pharyngeal]__ and *i* → *e* / __*r* find parallel in Sargonic Akkadian, the Akkadian language recorded in the texts of the Sargonic Period (from ca 2350 BCE). Gutturals including ʿ and *ḥ* were lost in later Akkadian, but the orthography of Sargonic Akkadian demonstrates that they were mostly preserved and only started to disappear in some environments and geographical areas (Hasselbach 2005: 125ff). Even more interestingly, there are instances where *i* is lowered in the environment of *ḥ* but not ʿ, as attested in the royal inscriptions (Hasselbach 2005: 109):

(2) *na-e* /nā(**ḫ**)**e**/ 'one who turns' < **nāḥi(y)* √*nḥy*
   ís-ti-ni-is /ʿ**i**stēnis/ 'together'

The following is an example from the southern Babylonian area illustrating the lowering of *i* in the environment of *r* (Hasselbach 2005: 110):

(3) *da-sa-bi-ir* /tasabb**er**/ 'you will smash' < **tasabbir* √*sbr*

This "coloring" effect and even the imbalanced degree of lowering (more regular with *ḥ*) create an interesting parallel between Central Asian Arabic and Sargonic

Akkadian and dialectal variation is very important to evaluate the irregular instances in both cases.

3.2 The phoneme *ō*

As shown by the example ʿ*ōber* in 3.1, in Central Asian Arabic, there is a tendency for Arabic **ā* to be reflected as *ō*—a change that has been attributed to Tajik influence (Fischer 1961; Tsereteli 1970). Tsereteli (1970) emphasizes the strong Tajik influence on Central Asian Arabic vocalic system as reflected in both *ā >ō* and *aw > ō > ū* ("*ü*"[4]).

    In an interesting contribution, Cowan (1960) compares Central Asian Arabic forms with contrastive *ō* and *ā*. He cites *mōt* vs *nām*—as reflexes of **awa*[5]—and *dawō, ṣalō* vs *anā*—as reflexes of **āh, *āʾ* or **ā#*—and argues to reconstruct a Proto-Arabic **ō* to account for the contrast. Despite the intriguing observations, the forms with *ō* are too hastily taken as evidence since neither dialectal variation (e.g. *māt* in Qashqadaryan Arabic) nor lexical items containing *ō* shared with Tajik and Uzbek are considered. However, Cowan (1960) correctly points out the complexities regarding the phoneme *ō*. See Table 1 for the two possible sources of *ō* in different varieties of Central Asian Arabic:

	Uzbekistani			Afghanistani	Iranian	
	Bukharan		Qashqadaryan	(Balkh)	Khorasani	Khuzestani
	Jovgari	Arabxona	Jeynov			
ā>ō in G ptcp	*kōtib*	*kātib*	*kātib*	*kātib*	*nāfug, ǧāʿadīn*	*kātib*
aw>ō	✓ [*ōwal*]	✓? [*awwal*]	*ū* [*awal*]	*ō* or *aw*	*ō, aww~oww*	?

*Table 1. Central Asian Arabic reflexes of *ā and *aw, with Iranian varieties in comparison*

    The rounding of *ā* in Central Asian Arabic is certainly not a regular sound change, like that attested elsewhere in Semitic, as in the Canaanite languages (known as the "Canaanite Shift") and the Eastern dialects of later Aramaic. Not only do we find G-stem (Form I) active ptcps with the original *ā* as in Table 1, but we also find phonetic transcriptions such as *årbaʿ ʿašrāt i̯ümāt* 'fourteen days' vs *k̇ȧl* 'he said' (Tsereteli 1956: 119), i.e. the fpl suffix remains *-āt*. The change **ā > o* exists in both Tajik and Uzbek but even if we rely on their influence to explain the similar *o* in Central Asian Arabic, the variations remain unexplained.

---

[4]   Tsereteli (1970: 170) describes this *ü* as "a labial mixed vowel, lower than *ū* and higher than *ō*, with an original fronted timbre" corresponding to orthographic *ȳ* in Tajik. The notation is very misleading since *ü* can be easily misinterpreted as the IPA /y/. The Tajik *ȳ* "lies phonetically between [u] and [y], i.e., halfway to the Umlaut, a little lower than Eng. *good* as pronounced in lowland Scottish (imitated spelling, *guid*), but higher than French *peu*" (Perry 2005: 18), which would fit the IPA /ɵ/. Cf. the stem vowel in the word **i̯ümāt** as recorded by Tsereteli (1956) is recorded by Dereli (1997) as **'yȯmin**.

[5]   More words are cited by Cowan (1960: 61). Note, however, that these two forms should reflect the triphthong **awi* rather than **awa*, i.e. originally **mawita* and **nawima*.

As for *aw > ō > ū/ü*, despite its product being close to Tajik according to Tsereteli's (1970: 170) description, it may as well be the result of the rearrangement of the vowel system. The further raising of *o* is well-attested in Phoenician-Punic: being in the Canaanite subgroup, Phoenician inherited the outcome of the Canaanite Shift (*ā > o*), together with Proto-Semitic *aw > o*, while Phoenician itself features the "Phoenician Shift" with *á > o*. The Canaanite *o* was further raised to *u* while the original *u* was fronted to *ü*, as reflected in Greek transcriptions of Punic (Fox 1996). The Bukharan Arabic phoneme /o/ created by the monophthongization of *aw* (also attested in many Neo-Arabic varieties) could have been occupying the mid back vowel position and it was pushed higher as the newly /o/ developed from the *ā* entered the vowel inventory. In addition, discrepancies between Vinnikov's and Tsereteli's transcriptions and their occasional inconsistencies for Bukharan Arabic vowel lengths could reflect a loss of phonemic length like that in Qashqadaryan Arabic (Chikovani 2005: 129).

4. Morphosyntax
4.1 Development of the perfective ptcp

The reflex of the original active ptcp in Central Asian Arabic developed into a new finite verbal form marking mostly completed actions and has been termed "perfective ptcp". See the following Bukharan Arabic examples:

(4)   **ʿ ağūza fi__kadúa dóḫla, šība fi__mū́ri ṭōleḥ[6]** (Vinnikov 1969: 356)
ʿağūz-a   fi kadūa   **doḫl-a**   šība   fi   mūri   **ṭōleḥ**
old_(wo)man-f in gourd   **enter\ptcp-fsg** old_man in   chimney **go_up\ptcp**
'the old woman went into the gourd (vessel); the old man went into the chimney'

> doḫla < *dōḫela < *dāḫil-at-un √dḫl; ṭōleḥ < *ṭōleʿ < *ṭāliʿ-un √ṭlʿ

In the narrative, the old man and the old woman were trying to hide themselves and (4) relates what they did immediately following the old man's speech suggesting the hiding places, with the two verbs in impv and ind forms: *uḫtuli* '(you.fsg) enter!' and *maṭlaḥ* 'I (will) go up'. The old function of the ptcp can still be detected instances like (5) below:

(5)   **ʿ áyyan: fat parī naymá** (Vinnikov 1969: 244)
ʿayyan   fat   parī   **naym-a**
look\perf.3msg indf   peri   **sleep\ptcp-f**
'he looked [and saw that] a peri was lying [there]'

> nayma < *nāyima < *nāwim-atun √nwm

---

6   Analyzed examples are presented in the format as follows: First, I produce it as **how it appears** in the source materials. Then, I render it into a **transcription** with morpheme segmentation. After that, I provide my own **glossing** and a relatively literal **translation**.

The morphology remains nominal, with the pl suffix *-īn*, e.g. *doḫl-īn* 'they entered'. But for the 1st and 2nd persons, an infix *-(i)n(n)-* occurs between the ptcl and the pronominal suffix.

The grammaticalization of predicative constructions into new forms entering the verbal system has been repeatedly taking place in the Semitic family and Central Asian Arabic is just one recent witness of this potential. The members of the entire West Semitic branch share the perfective $C_1aC_2VC_3$-*a* developed from the original predicative construction (Huehnergard 2011: 221–23) as in Akkadian consisting of a predicative adjective $C_1aC_2iC_3$ (or a noun) and a personal suffix, which "predicates the **condition** or **state** that is the result of the action of the verb" (Huehnergard 2011: 221). The example in (6) contains the independent pronoun for emphasis and nicely illustrates the connection between the suffix and the pronoun:

(6)   ***atta ana mārūtim nadnāta*** (ibid.)

atta	*ana*	*mār-ūt-im*	***nadn-āta***
2msg	for	son-abstract-gen	**given-2msg**

'it is you who were given up for adoption'

nadnāta < *nadin-āta √ndn

A similar cliticization of the subject pronoun is found in Aramaic: already in Syriac, subject pronouns were very often attached to the participial (and less frequently adjectival) predicates, e.g. *qāṭel-nā < qāṭel (ʾe)nā* 'I kill' (Nöldeke 1904: 45–46). Furthermore, in West Semitic, we find many more parallel grammaticalization of the Subject-Predicate structures into verbal forms. In Hebrew, the original active ptcp *$*C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$ has been grammaticalized into the new present tense of Modern Hebrew after a long period of change in its verbal system (Givón 1977); in Aramaic, the original passive ptcp structure *$*C_1aC_2\bar{i}C_3$ *l*=pron has been grammaticalized into the new past tense of (Northeastern) Neo-Aramaic creating the split ergative alignment (Coghill 2016); in Ethiopian Semitic, the original perfective active ptcp (Lambdin 1978: 140–41) structure *$*C_1\ddot{a}C_2iC_3$=pron has been grammaticalized into the new past tense of Tigrinya. This grammaticalization potential may even go back to Afroasiatic resulting in the formation of verbal conjugations, cf. the verbal form *sḏm≠f* in Ancient Egyptian grammaticalized from a "passive participle followed by a genitival suffix-pronoun" (Gardiner 1957: 41).

As for the perfective semantics of the ptcl, it finds many parallels in the Neo-Arabic varieties not only in Eastern Arabia (Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, Oman), but also in Nigeria and eastern Sudan, as illustrated by Holes' (2011) discussion of the *-(i)n(n)-* infix.

4.2. V-final word order

The clause-final position of verbs is perhaps the most salient feature of Central Asian Arabic, as already shown in (4) and (5). However, as noted by Versteegh (1986) and

Ratcliffe (2005), Bukharan Arabic is more than simple OV. Not visible above is the very commonly encountered personal pronouns on the verbs, creating the pattern **O$_i$V=pron$_i$**:

(7) **fat ʿaǧūza wāḥ^{e}da bazūna tuzrúba messīr** (Vinnikov 1969: 332)

fat	*ʿaǧūz-a*	***wāḥed-a***	***bazūna***	*tu-zrub=**ha***	*me-s-sīr*
indf	old (wo)man-f	**one-f**	**cat**	3fsg-beat\impf=**3fsg**	ind-3fsg-walk\impf

'an old woman was beating one cat'

Not only can this pronominal suffix coindex with the unmarked nominal direct object as in (7), but it can also coindex with direct/indirect nominal objects marked by *il*, and even with pronominal direct/indirect objects pronouns, i.e. pronouns suffixed to *iley-*. The pattern NP$_i$V=pron$_i$ with the pronoun resuming a fronted NP is a very typical Arabic/Semitic mechanism, whereas object indexing is not in Uzbek and normally not in Tajik.

In addition, constituents can appear after the verb without any clear discourse function, and they may vary greatly in length, e.g. the lengthy "adverbial" complement in (8) and the short subject in (9), with the verbs shaded:

(8) **akaĕ́nu$^{sic!}$ miqla$^{sic!}$ ʿūnu mioġdūn madintin aḫuhum pōšō insoyer** (Chikovani 2009: 56)

aka-īn=u	*m-i-qlaʿ-ūn=u*	*m-io-ġd-ūn*	**madint=in**
older_brother-mpl=3msg	ind-3-exit\impf-mpl=and	ind-3-go\impf-mpl	**city=lk**
aḫu=hum	***pōšō***	***in=soyer***	
brother=3mpl	**pasha**	**rel=become\ptcp**	

'the older brothers came out and went [to] the city where their brother became a pasha'

(9) ***'batnu mi'ŝibʿu 'hâd-u, ha'mât mi'yoġdi*** (Dereli 1997: 40)

batn=u	*m-i-šibʿ=u*	**hād=u**	*hamāt*	*mi-yo-ġdi*
stomach=3msg	ind-3m-saturate\impf=3msg	**this.m**=and	this.m	ind-3m-go\impf

'he saturated his stomach, and he went [away]'

Thus, what we see in the V-final word order in Central Asian Arabic should be regarded as a result based on a full exploitation of the Semitic/Arabic resumption mechanism.

4.3 The linker *in* and the "Turkic gen"

The morpheme *-in* is attested in Bukharan Arabic mostly between the N-Adj sequence, "linking" the noun to the adjective, which gives it the designation linker or connector (Versteegh 1986; Dereli 1997). Apart from the majority N-Gen word order, there is also a **Gen$_i$ N=pron$_i$** structure for the gen phrase. The linker *-in* is said to function like the Persian *ezāfe* morpheme (Ratcliffe 2005: 145), and the Gen$_i$ N=pron$_i$ pattern has been termed "Turkic type construct" (Ratcliffe 2005: 147). However, both seemingly foreign patterns have their roots in the existing Arabic mechanisms.

Indeed, the distribution of the *-in* morpheme resemble the *ezāfe* morpheme. The following examples illustrate the usages of *ezāfe* in Persian (right) *-(y)e* and Tajik (left) *-(y)i*:

(10)　Canonical usages of the Persian/Tajik *ezāfe*
a.　　N-Adj phrase

духтар-и зебо　　　　　　　　　　　هوای معتدل
duxtar=i　　zebo　　　　　　　　　　*havā=ye　　mo'tadel*
girl=**ez**　　　beautiful　　　　　　　weather=**ez**　moderate
'beautiful girl' (Perry 2005: 73)　　　'moderate weather' (Yousef 2018: 51)

b.　　N-Gen phrase, including naming
аъзоҳо-и партия　　　　　　　　　سقفِ اتاق
a'zo-ho=yi　　partiya　　　　　　　*saqf=e　　otāq*
member-pl=**ez**　party　　　　　　　ceiling=**ez**　room
'members of the party' (Perry 2005: 76)　'ceiling of room' (Yousef 2018: 51)

шаҳр-и Душанбе　　　　　　　　كشورِ ایران
šahr=i　　dušanbe　　　　　　　　*kešvar=e　　irān*
city=**ez**　　Dushanbe　　　　　　　country=**ez**　Iran
'City of Dushanbe' (Perry 2005: 76)　'Country of Iran' (Yousef 2018: 52)

c.　　N-pron phrase
ҳавли-и онҳо　　　　　　　　　　دوستانِ من
havli=yi　　onho　　　　　　　　　*dustān=e　　　man*
house=**ez**　3pl　　　　　　　　　　friend.pl=**ez**　1sg
'their house' (Perry 2005: 77)　　　'my friends' (Yousef 2018: 57)

Note that in Bukharan Arabic, the pattern in (10b) is very marginal and (10c) does *not* occur even though some of its independent pronoun—like *hād* in (9)—can occur in the possessor position. The earliest studies on Central Asian Arabic pointed out that the linker *-in* resembles the "dialectal *tanwīn*"—in Blau's (1999: 167ff) terminology—attested in many Neo-Arabic varieties.[7] Such a nunation in the N-Modifier structure is well-known in Najdi Arabic:

(11)　Najdi indf nunation (Ingham 1994: 49)
a.　***beet-in kibīr***　b.***kalmit-in gāl-ō-hā-li***
bēt=in　　　kibīr　　　　　　*kalmit=in　　gāl-ō=hā=l=i*
house=**indf**　big　　　　　　　word=**indf**　say\perf-3mpl=3fsg=to=1csg
'a big house'　　　　　　　　　'a word which they said to me'

7　　Already in Jušmanov's (1931) review, this *-in* has been compared to the similar nunation in Bedouin dialects. Tsereteli (1937) further draws parallels in Central Arabian dialects.

There have been several studies on the *n* morpheme in Neo-Arabic.[8] Without entering the debate regarding the origin of the *-in(n)-* morpheme, it appears to me that the widespread attestation of the *-in* marking indefiniteness and adnominal linkage is sufficient to provide Bukharan Arabic with the linguistic material and basic functions for further development.

The linker *-in* may also occur on the head noun of RCs which actually do not appear frequently in Bukharan Arabic. The rel marker is *il*. Interestingly, *il* appears to have a variant *in-* as shown already in (8) *in-soyer*. The following is an example with the normal *il*:

(12) **bínt^in gíd^ir il_ṣáyra ḳōlet** (Vinnikov 1969: 97)
bint=in   *gidir*   *il*   *ṣayr-a*   *qōl-et*
girl=lk   boiler   rel   become\ptcp-f   say\perf-3fsg
'the girl who had turned into a boiler said'

Relevant to both the rel markers *il* and *in-* and the *-in* morpheme is the following example in Qashqadaryan Arabic. Hofmann (2011: 90) analyzes the *-in* in (13) as a Turkic gen suffix ("das türkisch-usbekische Genitivsuffix – *in*"):

(13) **díhin-in y̱ibī'**
dihin=in   *yi-bī'*
oil=**IN**   3m-sell\impf
'oil seller' (Vinnikov 1963: 177)

Such an analysis should be rejected since the Turkic poss suffix—cf. *-ning* in Uzbek—is never used alone without a gen pronominal suffix on the head noun: the pattern Gen$_i$(=poss) N=pron$_i$ is consistent throughout the Turkic language family, and if anything is ever omitted, it would be the poss suffix rather than the gen pronominal suffix. The phrase "oil seller" can be expressed in Uzbek as follows, preferably without the poss suffix:

(14) **yog'(ning) sotuvchisi**
yog'(=ning)   *sot-uvchi=si*
oil(=**poss**)   sell-ptcp=**3sg**
'seller of oil, oil seller'

The *-in* suffixed to the head noun of a RC is standard in Qashqadaryan Arabic whereas in Bukharan Arabic, an *il* is expected as in (12). The patterns for rel

---

[8]   Holes (2004) assembles a large amount of data in Neo-Arabic varieties of Bahrain, showing the morpheme *-in* and its allomorphs attached to isolated and modified nouns, adverbial adjuncts (e.g. *baʿd-an* 'then'), and conjunctions (e.g. *wakt-im ma* 'when'). Holes (2011) discusses the morpheme *-(i)n(n)-* found on the verbalized PTCPs in Omani, Southern Yemeni, Emirati, and Shiʿī Bahraini Arabic, rejecting its connection with Classical Arabic *tanwīn* while arguing for an ancient pre-conquest feature of Arabic to explain its existence in Central Asia and Nigeria. Miller (2014b) also discusses *-in* together with the *-in(n-)* morpheme attached to the PTCP and sometimes linking it with a pronominal suffix. Ferrando (2018) details the distribution of a similar adnominal linkage morpheme *-an* in Andalusi Arabic.

constructions with -*in* create a surface resemblance to the N-Adj patterns and when *il* and the unmarked possibility is considered, we find a distribution which seems to parallel the Arabic def vs indf RC patterns:

(15) Bukharan Arabic N-RC and N-Adj patterns

N	*il*	**RC**	cf. marked RC in Classical Arabic	**N**[+def]	rel	**RC**
N	*in=*	**RC**				
N	*=in*	**RC**	cf. unmarked RC in Classical Arabic	**N**[−def]	∅	**RC**
N		**RC**				
N	*=in*	**Adj**	cf. definiteness agr in Classical Arabic	**N**[±def]	**Adj**[±def]	
N		**Adj**				

The comparisons in (15) do not mean Central Asian Arabic is to be derived from Classical Arabic, but the same pattern for def N to be modified by a marked RC seems also true in Neo-Arabic varieties whose def article is preserved. The linker -*in* in Bukharan Arabic is likely related to the -*in*/-*an* in other Neo-Arabic varieties and despite both Owens (2006) and Ferrando (2018) strongly dismissing its indefiniteness marking function,[9] Bukharan Arabic does attest instances in which the -*in* is more likely to be a vestige of indefiniteness. We find five examples in the 1st text (the longest of all three) recorded by Dereli (1997) such as (16):[10]

(16) ***tabîb-in 'môhu ĝâ'buh 'kulu qatal'u*** (Dereli 1997: 46)
    *tabīb=**in**   mō=**hu**   ğāb-u=h   kul=hu   qatal=hu*
    doctor=**lk?** neg=**3msg** bring\perf-3mpl=3msg   every=3msg   kill\perf=3msg
    'there is <u>not one single doctor</u>; they brought everyone, he killed him'

Therefore, it seems the *in*- and -*in* involved in RC marking could also be combined either as a reflex of the indf nunation from the indf RC pattern in which the head noun is marked by nunation or simply as extended from the N-Adj pattern with the -*in* linker.

    With these considerations in mind, the "Persian" linker -*in* no longer appears so foreign. In fact, the so-called "Turkic gen" is not entirely foreign to Arabic either. Fisher (1961: 244) comments briefly on the comparable structure in Arabic and illustrates it with an Egyptian Arabic example.[11] I expand on this parallel and explain the reanalysis process below.

---

[9] One of Ferrando's (2018: 111) arguments is "indefiniteness in nouns is marked in practically all varieties of neo-Arabic by the absence of a morpheme to mark it". It should be noted that in Faifi Arabi, definiteness is marked by the *m*- article while indefiniteness is marked by not only the absence of the *m*-article but also the existence of the final -*in* (Alfaifi & Behnstedt 2010: 61; Alfaife 2018: 84ff).

[10] Dereli (1997: 46) comments that "[d]e uitgang -*in* lijkt op de gelexicaliseerde Izafet in **'yŏmin**". The form *yŏmin* occurs twice in the text: *kul yŏmin* 'every day' and *fat yŏmin* 'one day'. It is not apparent to me how the "Izafet"—i.e. emphasizing the linkage function of the LINKER morpheme—could have become lexicalized in these isolated temporal expressions where modifiers are hardly necessary.

[11] "Die letztere Konstruktion ist allerdings im Arabischen bereits in Sätzen, in denen ein Nomen als isoliertes Subjekt am Satzanfang steht und dann im Satz durch ein rückweisendes Pronominalsuff. vertreten ist, vorgebildet, z. B.: (ägyp.) *ilwazīr bētu fī baladna* d. h. 'das Haus des Ministers ist in unserem Dorf'".

The Gen$_i$ N=pron$_i$ pattern in Bukharan Arabic is paralleled by the sentence pattern *al-ǧumlah al-wāqiʿa ḫabaran* "predicate clause", when the subordinate clause contains a different subject from the main clause. See the Classical Arabic example (17) in comparison with the Bukharan Arabic one (18):

(17) وَٱلظُّلْمُ مَرْتَعُهُ وَخِيمٌ (Fischer 2006: 170)

wa=	*l=ḏulm-u*	*martaʿ-u=hu*	*waḫīm-u=n*
and=	def=tyranny-nom	grazing_land-nom=**3msg**	unhealthy-nom=indf

'and tyranny, its pasturing ground is unhealthy'

(18) **ṣayyōt máratu ṭálaʿet** (Vinnikov 1969: 243)

ṣayyōt	*marat=u*	*ṭalaʿ-et*
fisherman	woman=**3msg**	come_out\perf-3fsg

'the wife of the fisherman came out'

In this context, a group of men sent by the emir arrived at the fisherman's house, calling him out. It does not even seem unfitting to read example (18) as "[unexpectedly, instead of] the fisherman, his wife came out". The sentence structure in (17) above thus serves as the starting point of the following reanalysis:

(19) Reanalysis leading to the so-called "Turkic gen" in Bukharan Arabic

$$\text{S}_{i[+\text{def}]} \quad {}_{\text{Pred}}[\; \text{S}_{[+\text{agr}]}=\textbf{pron}_i \qquad \text{Pred}_{[+\text{arg},\,-\text{def}]} \quad]$$
⇓
$$\text{S}_i \qquad \text{S}_{[+\text{agr}]}=\text{pron}_i \qquad \text{Pred}_{[+\text{arg}]}$$
⇓
$$\text{N}_{1i} \qquad \text{N}_{2[+\text{agr}]}=\text{pron}_i \qquad \text{Pred}_{[+\text{arg}]}$$
$${}_{S}[\; \textbf{Gen}_i \qquad \textbf{N}_{[+\text{agr}]}=\textbf{pron}_i \quad] \quad \text{Pred}_{[+\text{arg}]}$$

The nominal/equational clause in Arabic generally relies on the definiteness feature [+def] to signify the S-Pred relationship. Incidentally, the def article is what ended up lacking in Bukharan Arabic, whereas other Arabic agreement features [+agr], especially gender and number, are well preserved overall. The S$_{main}$-S$_{subordinate}$ sequence would then be reanalyzed as a N$_1$-N$_2$ sequence functioning as the "new" S of a simple clause which is structured by [+agr] between N$_2$ and the Pred. In this way, the pronominal suffix on N$_2$ coindexed with N$_1$ creates a poss/gen relationship with a surface structure closely resembling the Turkic pattern.

The function of the pronominal suffix, which is coindexed with the subject of the main clause, is referred to by the Arab grammarians as *al-ʿāʾid*—the same "resumptive pronoun" that appears in structures such as fronting-topicalization and relativization. The "predicate clause" can be equally analyzed as a topicalization process with the resumptive pronoun as the syntactic trace of the fronted gen modifier. If we line up the O-V and Gen-N word order patterns in Bukharan Arabic in their detailed forms, the coindexed pronouns become unified in the Semitic/Arabic resumption mechanism:

(20) A resumptive view of the head-final orders in Bukharan Arabic

(acc=)**O**   *i* **V** =pron*i*

Gen   *i* **N** =pron*i*

5. Conclusions

In this essay, I selected a few features of Bukharan Arabic for an examination of Central Asian Arabic from comparative Semitic perspectives. As it turns out, these features have parallels attested in other Semitic languages and the seemingly foreign patterns in Central Asian Arabic are also rooted in the Semitic/Arabic structures. The contact-induced changes represent a development based on the existing linguistic materials and mechanisms rather than simple copying of the features and patterns from the "donor" languages. This could reflect the native speakers' own manipulation of their language, which should be taken into consideration in further discussions regarding possible historical scenarios of the language contact.

References

Al-Ani, Salman H. 1970. *Arabic Phonology: An Acoustical and Physiological Investigation*. The Hague: Mouton.

Alfaife, Saleem M. 2018. "A Grammar of Faifi". Master's thesis, Long Beach: California State University, Long Beach.

Alfaifi, Abdullah Ahmad M., & Behnstedt, Peter. 2010. "First Notes on the Dialect of Ǧabal Fayfāʾ (Jazan Province, Saudi Arabia)", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 52. 53–67.

Bakalla, Mohammed H. 1979. *The Morphological and Phonological Components of the Arabic Verb (Maccan Arabic)*. London: Longman.

Blau, Joshua. 1999. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*. 3rd rev. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East.

Chikovani, Guram G. 2000. "The Qashqadarian Arabic Dialect of Central Asia (Nominal Structures)", Mifsud, Manwel (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of AÏDA*. Malta: Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe. 189–194.

Chikovani, Guram G. 2001. "Some Peculiarities of Verb Formation in the Qashqa-Darya Arabic Dalect", Gamkrelidze, Tamaz V., & Chikovani, Guram G. (eds.), *Orient'alist'i = Orientalist, I*. Tbilisi: Ak'ad. G. Ts'eretlis sakhelobis aghmosavletmtsodneobis inst'it'ut'i. 58–66.

Chikovani, Guram G. 2005. "Linguistic Contacts in Central Asia", Csató, Éva Ágnes, Isaksson, Bo, & Jahani, Carina (eds.), *Linguistic Convergence and Areal Diffusion*. London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon. 127–132.

Chikovani, Guram G. 2007. "Some Peculiarities of Central Asian Arabic From the Perspective of History of Arabic Language", *Romano-Arabica* VI–VIII. 29–38.

Chikovani, Guram G. 2009. *Arabuli enis bukharuli dialekt'i = Buxarskij dialekt arabskogo jazyka*. Tbilisi: Tbilisis aziisa da afrikis instituti.

Chikovani, Guram G. 2012. "P'eriferiuli arabuli dialekt'ebis k'vlevis dziritadi mimartulebebi", *Enatmetsnierebis sak'itkhebi = Issues of Linguistics* 2011. 269–281.

Chikovani, Guram G. 2014. "Bukhara and Qashqa-Darya Arabic Dialects: The Main Objectives of the Study of Peripheral Arabic Dialects", Durand, Olivier, Langone, Angela Daiana, & Mion, Giuliano(eds.), *Alf Lahǧa Wa Lahǧa*. Wien: Lit Verlag. 113–122.

Chikovani, Guram G. 2016. "K voprosu issledovanija periferijnyx arabskix dialektov", Dzevanovskij-Petraševskij, V. M., Smiljanskaja, I. M., Pumpjan, G. Z., & Useinova, S. R. (eds.), *Podarok uchenym i uteshenie prosveshchennym*. Sankt-Peterburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie. 169–188.

Chikovani, Guram G. 2017. "Dialectological Material as a Source to Study Central Asian Arabs' History, Ethnography and Culture", Al-Hamad, Muntasir Fayez Faris, Ahmad, Rizwan, & Alaoui, Hafid I. (eds.), *Lisan Al-Arab: Studies in Arabic Dialects*. Zürich: Lit Verlag. 135–149.

Coghill, Eleanor. 2016. *The Rise and Fall of Ergativity in Aramaic: Cycles of Alignment Change*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Cowan, William. 1960. "Arabic Evidence for Proto-Semitic */awa/ and */ō/", *Language* 36 (1). 60–62.

Cowan, William. 1967. "Sound Change in Central Asian Arabic", *Der Islam* 43 (1). 134–138.

Dereli, Belgin. 1997. "Het Uzbekistaans Arabisch in Djogari, veldonderzoek 1996". Master's thesis, Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.

Eisele, John C. 1999. *Arabic Verbs in Time: Tense and Aspect in Cairene Arabic*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Ferrando, Ignacio. 2018. "The Adnominal Linker -an in Andalusi Arabic, with Special Reference to the Poetry of Ibn Quzmān (Twelfth Century)", Holes, Clive (ed.), *Arabic Historical Dialectology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 96–111.

Fischer, Wolfdietrich. 1961. "Die Sprache der arabischen Sprachinsel in Uzbekistan", *Der Islam* 36 (3). 232–63.

Fischer, Wolfdietrich. 2006. *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*. 4th ed. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Fox, Joshua. 1996. "A Sequence of Vowel Shifts in Phoenician and Other Languages", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55 (1). 37–47.

Gardiner, Alan H. 1957. *Egyptian Grammar*. 3rd ed. London: Oxford University Press.

Givón, Talmy. 1977. "The Drift From VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew: The Pragmatics of Tense-Aspect", Charles N. Li (ed.), *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press. 181–254.

Grigore, George. 2014. "The Verb of Perception Šāf 'to See' in Baghdadi Arabic", *Romano-Arabica* XIV. 139–47.

Hammarström, Harald, Forkel, Robert, & Haspelmath, Martin. 2019. "Glottolog 4.2.1 - Uzbeki Arabic", 2019. https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/uzbe1248.

Hasselbach, Rebecca. 2005. *Sargonic Akkadian: A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.

Hofmann, Elena. 2011. "Sprache und Bedeutung des Wortschatzes des arabischen Dialekts von Kaska-Darja (Usbekistan) in der Volksliteratur". Master's thesis, Heidelberg: Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg.

Holes, Clive. 2004. "Tanwīn in the Arabic Dialects of Eastern and South-Eastern Arabia", *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 8. 89–97.

Holes, Clive. 2011. "A Participial Infix Construction in Eastern Arabia — An Ancient Pre-Conquest Feature?" *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 38. 75–98.

Huehnergard, John. 2011. *A Grammar of Akkadian*. 3rd ed. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Ido, Shinji. 2007. *Bukharan Tajik*. München: LINCOM Europa.

Ido, Shinji. 2014. "Bukharan Tajik", *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 44 (1). 87–102.

Ingham, Bruce. 1994. *Najdi Arabic*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Jušmanov, N. V. 1931. "Arabskoe narečie sovetskogo Vostoka", *Kul'tura i pis'mennost' Vostoka* 10. 76–84.

Lambdin, Thomas O. 1978. *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Geʿez)*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Miller, Kerith. 2014a. "The Arabic of Bukhara: A Principal Parts Analysis of the Effects of Contact Influence on Morphological Typology", Khamis-Dakwar, Reem, & Froud, Karen (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XXVI*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 213–240.

Miller, Kerith. 2014b. "The Morpheme /-in(n)-/ in Central Asian Arabic: A Comparative Study", Farwaneh, Samira & Ouali, Hamid (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XXIV–XXV*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 91–118.

Nöldeke, Theodor. 1904. *Compendious Syriac Grammar*. Crichton, James A. (trans.). London: Williams & Norgate.

Owens, Jonathan. 2006. *A Linguistic History of Arabic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Perry, John R. 2005. *A Tajik Persian Reference Grammar*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Ratcliffe, Robert R. 2005. "Bukhara Arabic: A Metatypized Dialect of Arabic in Central Asia", Csató, Éva Ágnes, Isaksson, Bo, & Jahani, Carina (eds.), *Linguistic Convergence and Areal Diffusion*. London; New York: Rutledge Curzon. 141–159.

Thiel-Gnyp, Marta van. 1990. "Het Bukhara-dialect: een creooltaal of een gemengd dialect". Master's thesis, Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.

Tsereteli, George V. 1937. "Shua aziis arabuli dialekt'ebi (ts'inasts'ari angarishi)", *Aqad. n. maris sakhelobis enis, ist'oriisa da mat'erialuri qult'uris inst'it'ut'is moambe* 1. 295–307.

Tsereteli, George V. 1941. "K xarakteristike jazyka sredneaziatskix arabov (predvaritel'noe soobšenie)", Kračkovskij, I. Ju. (ed.), *Trudy vtoroj sessii Associacii Arabistov*. Moskva; Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR. 133–148.

Tsereteli, George V. 1956. *Arabskie dialekty Srednej Azii, Tom 1, Bukharskij arabskij dialekt*. Tbilisi: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoj SSR.

Tsereteli, George V. 1970. "The Influence of the Tajik Language on the Vocalism of Central Asian Arabic Dialects", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33 (1). 167–170.

Versteegh, Kees. 1986. "Word Order in Uzbekistan Arabic and Universal Grammar", *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35. 443–453.

Versteegh, Kees, Eid, Mushira, Elgibali, Alaa, Woidich, Manfred, & Zaborski, Andrzej, eds. 2006-2009. *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. 5 vols. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Vinnikov, Isaak N. 1962. *Slovar' dialekta buxarskix Arabov*. Moskva; Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.

Vinnikov, Isaak N. 1963. "Obrazcy govora kaška-dar'inskix arabov", *Semitskie jazyki: sbornik statej* [1]. 176–85.

Vinnikov, Isaak N. 1969. *Jazyk i folklor buxarskix arabov*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka".

Watson, Janet C.E. 2002. *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yousef, Saeed. 2018. *Persian: A Comprehensive Grammar*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge.

Zaborski, Andrzej. 2008. "Árabe de Asia central", Corriente, Federico, & Vicente, Ángeles(eds.), *Manual de dialectología neoárabe*. Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo. 409–437.

Zimmermann, Gerit. 2002. "Das Arabische von Buchara zwischen alten Quellen und neuen Forschungsergebnissen". Master's thesis, Bayreuth: Universität Bayreuth.

THE USES OF SUBJECT PRONOUNS IN CLASSICAL ARABIC AND MODERN ARABIC DIALECTS

AMAL ZU'BI

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Abstract: The present paper discusses the following question: What is the function of subject pronouns if the sentences have the same meaning with or without the pronoun? In this paper I propose that in modern Arabic dialects (henceforth MAD), subject pronouns do have a communicative function and their use or deletion is not a free choice made by the speaker. This paper shows that subject pronouns serve to preclude ambiguity.

I found that in the perfect Classical Arabic (henceforth CA) and Qəltu dialects do not use a pronoun to avoid ambiguity for 1p.sg and 2p.m.sg because in these dialects there are two different forms for the two persons, i.e. there is no ambiguity and as a result there is no need for a pronoun. Unlike CA and Qəltu dialects, Galilean Arabic (henceforth GA) uses the pronoun to avoid ambiguity because in this dialect there is one form for 1p.sg and 2p.m.sg, i.e. ambiguity arises and there is a need for pronoun. In the imperfect CA, GA and Qəltu dialects have ambiguous forms for 2p.m.sg and 3p.f.sg. As a result, there is a need for a pronoun in order to avoid the ambiguity and resolve the problem. All of them have used the pronoun for this purpose: GA, Qəltu dialects and CA. In addition, I found that the pronoun is sometimes superfluous or has an emphasizing function in these dialects, but it is mandatory when there is an ambiguity to be resolved. These results confirm my hypothesis regarding the use and the function of the subject pronoun in MAD.

Keywords: Subject pronouns - Arabic dialects - Classical Arabic -Ambiguity - Emphasis

Introduction

In what follows I discuss the function and uses of subject pronouns in Classical Arabic (henceforth CA) and modern Arabic dialects (henceforth MAD),[1] and the impact of their presence (and absence) in the sentence, based on a consideration of multiple syntactic structures.

In order to test my hypothesis, after describing it in § 2 and § 3, I present my data sample in § 4 and § 5. In § 6 I analyse the data. Conclusions appear in § 7.

As in the case of CA, as well as many Arabic dialects and many languages in general, in MAD pronominal arguments related to the verb normally are absent. In verbal sentences the person is included into the verbal form, so that an independent personal

---

[1]   This article is based mainly on samples collected from texts recorded by me, in addition to Aharon Geva's texts (2004; 2009) and the late Rafi Talmon's texts (2004) from Galilee. Syrian and Egyptian examples are cited from Cowell (1964) and Eid (1983) respectively.

pronoun is not necessary (except in cases of emphasis, see below). Consider the following examples:[2]

Table 1

I. Pronoun presence	II. Pronoun absence
*ṣurt **ana** adawwir ʿalēhin* 'I started to look for them' (T 6+7:4)	*iza baḍallni biḥdūni ʿa-lǧēš itturkí* 'if I stay, the Turkish army will take me' (AM 2:7)
***iḥna** mnaḥudkon la-maṭraḥ ykūn fĭš(!) ḥarb* 'we will take you to a place which does not have war' (AM 2:3)	*tʿallamt ilmuḥasabāt* 'I studied accountancy' (T 14:3)

The question that arises here is: What is the function of pronouns in examples like I. in table 1 above, if the sentences have the same meaning with or without the pronoun? One answer is that pronouns in such cases are used for emphasis: If there is no emphasis, the pronoun is unnecessary.

One could thus argue that pronouns have no communicative function; their use in a sentence is a choice made by the speakers, because the information provided by the pronoun also appears within the verb.

In this paper I propose that in MAD, subject pronouns do have a communicative function and their use or deletion is not a free choice made by the speaker. I will show that subject pronouns serve to preclude ambiguity. In addition to examples from Palestinian Arabic (i.e. Galilean Arabic, henceforth GA), examples from CA and other Arabic dialects (e.g. Egyptian Arabic (henceforth EA), Damascus Arabic (henceforth DA), etc.) will be compared.

2. Uses of subject pronouns in MAD:

In MAD we note three uses of the subject pronouns:

I- Identification of the referent:[3]

a. When the predicate is a prepositional phrase, the subject pronoun is used to show the person, gender and number of the subject-referent:[4]

---

[2]　Examples are cited from Geva, 2009 and from my texts. The Latin letters and Arabic numerals that appear following the examples refer to text and sentence number respectively. In the first example of the group number II the stress occurs unlike the rules as a result of the impact of the Hebrew language: *ittúrki > itturkí.*

[3]　I have adapted this term from Cowell (1964).

[4]　DA examples are cited from Cowell, 1964: 548-9. In the second example in GA the elision of the pronoun is permitted when a question precedes the sentence: *min dār mīn inte*? *min dār ilBatrīs.*

Table 2

GA	DA
inte *min ⁱFrānsa* 'you are from France' (T 6+7:2)	***hīye*** *bəl-bēt* 'she is in the house'
ana *min dār ilBatrīs* 'I belongs to the Batris family' (T 6+7:3)	*b-ʾanu farᵊʿ bə-žžēš ʾənte* 'in which branch of the army are you?'
ana *min mawalīd sint...* 'I was born in the year...' (T 63:1, 68:1)	

b. When the predicate appears as an adjective or a non-finite verb (participle), a subject pronoun is used to show the person of the subject-referent:

Table 3

GA	DA
iḥna *ṭalʿīn mašīn-mašīn* 'we climbed, walking and walking' (AM 6:30)	*ṭābḫīn **nəḥna** žāž ʿa-lʿaša* 'we're having chicken for dinner'
*yaʿni mintibhīn wēn wāḥad, **inte** zāriʿ zarʿayāt* 'people notice that you planted seed' (B:44)	

Sometimes subject affixes in verbal predicates supply information about the subject's gender, number and person:[5] *w rižʿu bass ma-rižʿūš ʿa-Ṣaffūrye* 'they came back but they did not come back to Zipori' (T 68:1); in such cases the subject pronoun is superfluous: *ana basawīš iši* 'I do not do anything' (T 8:6), *basīr ana adīr ʿala ṛṛuzz...* 'I begin to pour (it) into the rice...' (T 6+7:3); it therefore has another function (see below).

c. When the predicate is a noun phrase in a verbless equational sentence, the subject pronoun is used to show the person of the subject-referent:
ana ʿarabi 'I'm an Arab' (T 8:1), *ibⁱn mīn inte* 'whose son are you?' (T 6+7:2), *iḥna ʿarab* 'we are Arabs' (T 66:1), *hū masʾūl ʿan ʿašīrtu* 'he is responsible for his clan' (T 65:6), *ana ružāl ⁱkbīr* 'I myself am an old man' (AM 2:6).

II- Contrastive emphasis:[6]

When the predicate/noun/context supply the information about gender, number and person of the subject-referent, the subject pronoun is used to emphasize the contrast between its referent and others:

---

5. In this regard, Cowell (1964: 548) gives the following example: *byaᵊrfu* 'they know'.
6. I have adapted this term from Cowell (1964). DA examples are cited from Cowell, 1964: 548-9.

Table 4

GA	DA
waḷḷāhi ma-**ḥna** … mā minḥūn... miš mumkin iḥna nḥūn... 'but we are not... we are not to betray... it is impossible that we betray... ' (T 65:9)	waḷḷa mā btədfaʿ **ənte** 'but you are not to pay!'
waḷḷāhi **ana** issa ṣuṛt ⁱkbīre w ma aġdarš aštġil 'nowadays I certainly became old and I cannot work' (T 17+18:14)	**ana** mā baʿref bass bẓənn-əllak ṣāneʿti btaʿref 'I do not know, but I think my maid knows'
šabībt ilyōm ʿindha šwayyit ʿunṣurīye w hāy **iḥna** žīl zamān fišš minfarri ⁱš... 'nowadays young people have a little racism, but we the older generation does not discriminate...' (T 48:2)	**hənne** byədfaʿu lⁱḥrāse bass **əntu** btətkaffalu b-maṣrūf əlmayy 'they will pay the taxes, but you will take care of the water and electricity expenses'
ana miš baḥriqha w bahuṭṭha... **ana** bamʿashāš w baḥuṭṭha 'I do not burn it before I put it... I do not grind it and put it' (T 67:5)	

III- Emphasizing predication:

Subject pronouns may appear in order to identify or emphasize the predication:[7]

Table 5

GA	DA
bīžu **hinne** 'they used to come (=they do come)' (T 17+18:16)	btəfham ʿalīyi **ante** 'you do understand me!'
... qadd ma **hī** kānat ṃayy naqīye w šalabīye '… because it was such clean and good water' (T 14:6) The construction 'ma hū/hī' (with a cataphoric pronoun) is used for affirmation (see Talmon, 2004, 233)	šukran ʿala kəll ḥāl **ana** mā bdaḥḥen 'thanks anyway, but I do not smoke'
iḥna dāyman ⁱb-faṣl irrabīʿ minlaqqiṭ zaʿtar 'In the spring, we (do) always pick hyssop' (T 68:8)	ma **hūwe** fə lmustašfa 'but he is in the hospital'
hī ṣārat ḥarāb 'it became a ruin' (T 68:6)	

---

7   DA examples are cited from Cowell, 1964: 548-9.

MAD speakers usually delete the subject whenever it is clear from the context.[8] Verbal and quasi-verbal predicates are usually used without a subject: *baġdar aqūl...* 'I can say...' (T 66:3), *biddi aḥki ʿan ṭabḫa min hāy iṭṭabḫāt...* 'I want to talk about one of these dishes...' (T 63:3), *ballašna ništġil fīha šwayy ⁱšwayy* 'we started to work on it slowly' (T 67:7), *ʿindi arbaʿ banāt* 'I have four daughters' (T 6+7:5). Adjectival predicates also usually appear without a subject: *ilmuhimm māḫid žāyze kbīre* 'the important (thing) is, he's gotten a big prize', *ḫālīyan^S sākin fi nNāṣire* 'Nowadays I live in Nazareth' (T 65:1), *issa mabnīye bi-lhandase žždīde* 'nowadays it is built according to the new design' (T 14:5). It is important to note that the adjective shows the subject's number and gender.[9]

3. Uses of subject pronouns to avoid ambiguity

In MAD pronouns are also used to avoid referential ambiguity:

3.1 Ambiguity in verbal sentences:

3.1.1 Verb in the perfect:

In most MAD, ambiguity results from the elision of the final short vowels of CA in the first person and second person masculine singular:

Table 6

CA -unambiguous-	MAD (with no subject pronoun) -ambiguous-	MAD (with subject pronoun) -unambiguous-
Katabtu (I wrote)	*katabt*	*katabt* **ana**
katabta (you (m.) wrote)	*katabt*	*katabt* **inte**

The following examples reflect the linguistic situation in some Arabic dialects; some of which have no ambiguity problems:[10]

---

[8] "If, however, in dialectal Arabic, it is clear from pragmatic or discoursal factors who the agent of an action is, then the free-standing pronoun does not need to be specified" (Holes, 2004,:180).

[9] See also Cowell, 1964: 418.

[10] The examples are cited from Cowell, 1964: 173-4; Fischer-Jastrow, 1980: 61-7; Eid, 1983: 288; Talay, 1999: 95-7; Werbeck, 2001: 130-2.

Table 7

Dialect	First person 'I wrote'	Second person 'you wrote'
Qəltu dialects (e.g. Khawētna)	**katabtu**	**katabt**
Syrian Arabic (DA)	*katabt*	*katabt*
Some Yemeni dialects	**katabt**	**katabta**
EA	*katabt*	*katabt*
Other Yemeni dialects (Northern Yemeni Arabic, e.g. Manāḥa)	*katab-t/k*	*katab-t/k*

The following table provides details about areas/cities in the Arab world:[11]

Table 8

	Najd (Saudi Arabia)	Yašīʿ (Yemen)	Baghdad (Iraq) Muslim	Cairo (Egypt)	Rabat (Morocco)
1 singular	**kitabt**	**katabtū**	*kitábt*	*katábt*	**ktəbt**
2 masculine singular	**kitabta**	**katabt**	*kitábt*	*katábt*	**ktəbti**

Table 9

	Palestinian (Fellahin)	Zullām (Negev)
1 singular	*čatáبⁱt*	*kitabt*
2 masculine singular	*čatáبⁱt*	*kitabt*

Table 8 shows that the Najd, Yašīʿ and Rabat dialects have different forms for the first and second masculine singular. As in many MAD, in Palestine, Baghdad (Muslim) and Cairo there is one common form for these persons.

Table 10 shows the shared Arabic dialect forms (=morphemes) for the first and second person singular:[12]

---

[11] Examples are cited from Durand, 2009: 358-62.
[12] Ibid.

Table 10

	Area/City	1 singular	2 masculine singular
1	Yašīʿ Baghdad (Jewish)	***katabtū*** ***ktabtu***	***katabt*** ***ktabt***
2	Najd Iryān (Yemen)	***kitabt*** ***katabt***	***kitabta*** ***katabtā***
3	Najrān (Saudi Arabia)	***katabt***	***katabhant***
4	Baghdad (Muslim) Jerusalem (Israel) Cairo Bengasi (Libya)	*kitabt* *katabt* *katabt* *ktabt*	*kitabt* *katabt* *katabt* *ktabt*
5	Rabat	***ktəbt***	***ktəbti***
6	Tunisia (Muslim) Fes (Morocco)	*ktəbt* *ktəbt*	*ktəbt* *ktəbt*
7	Jibla (Yemen)	***katubk***	***katabk***

Table 10 shows that the dialects of Yašīʿ, Baghdad (Jewish), Najd, Iryān (Yemenite), Najrānite (Saudi Arabia),[13] Rabat and Jibla (Jemen) have different forms for the first and second person masculine singular. As in many MAD, Baghdad (Muslim), Jerusalem, Cairo, Bengasi (Libya), Tunisia (Muslim) and Fes (Morocco) share one common form for these persons, i.e. they have the same ambiguity problem as many MAD.

In Table 11 subject pronouns also serve to avoid ambiguity in the verbal predicate in MAD:

Table 11

CA -unambiguous-	GA (with no subject pronoun) -ambiguous-	GA (with subject pronoun) -unambiguous-
nažaḥtu 'I succeed'	*nžiḥⁱt fi lʾimtiḥān* 'I passed the exam'	***ana*** *nžiḥⁱt fi lʾimtiḥān* 'I passed the exam'
nažaḥta 'you (m.) succeed'	*nžiḥⁱt fi lʾimtiḥān* 'you passed the exam'	***inte*** *nžiḥⁱt fi lʾimtiḥān* 'you passed the exam'

In the previous examples (Table 11) no ambiguity arises when the pronoun is used, but it arises when the pronoun is not used. It is important to note that the context, situation and intonation (for example in case of a question) may help to avoid ambiguity when the pronoun is not used. In addition, in discourse situations when one of the people who participate in the discourse is feminine, no ambiguity arises and there is no need to use a pronoun.

---

[13] In the dialect of Najrān (Saudi Arabia) an independent personal pronoun is added to the verbal form in order to avoid ambiguity. See example in Table 10.

In Qəltu dialects and some Yemeni dialects there is usually no use or need of a pronoun because they distinguish between the first and the second person masculine singular.[14] The pronoun appears only in case of emphasis. For example: *jītu **ána** tʿəddētu ʿála hāḏa l-ġəjjāl* 'I have mistreated that man' (Text B, story II:27), ***ənta***[15] *má-kənt b-bəġdād* 'you were not in Baghdad (then)' (Text C, story I:1), ***ána** šləḥtúwa d-dəšdāša māli* 'I took off my nightdress' (Text C, story V:43),[16] *waḷḷa **ana** qʿədtu* 'well, I sat down' (Text 1.9:22).[17]

Table 12

CA -unambiguous-	GA (with no subject pronoun) -ambiguous-	GA (with subject pronoun) -unambiguous-
istaʿžaltu 'I hurried'	*staʿjaĺt, w iḥna hāy irrahāʾin* 'I hurried and we were the hostages'	***ana** staʿjaĺt, w iḥna hāy irrahāʾin* 'I hurried and we were the hostages' (G:73)
istaʿžalta 'you hurried'	*staʿjaĺt, w iḥna hāy irrahāʾin* 'you hurried and we were the hostages'	***inte** staʿjaĺt, w iḥna hāy irrahāʾin* 'you hurried and we were the hostages'

3.1.2 Verb in the imperfect:[18]

Ambiguity also appears in CA in the second person masculine singular and the third person feminine singular:

Table 13

CA -ambiguous-	MAD (with no subject pronoun) -ambiguous-	MAD (with subject pronoun) -unambiguous-
taktubu 'you write'	*tiktib*	*tiktib **inte***
taktubu 'she writes'	*tiktib*	*tiktib **hīye***

In CA the ambiguity problem is solved by using the pronoun if it is not understood from the context:

" وأوحينا إلى موسى أن ألق عصاك فإذا هي تلقف ما يأفكون " (Qurʾān 7: 117)
'And we revealed to Musa (Moses) (saying): "Throw your stick," and behold! It swallowed up straight away all the falsehoods which they showed'.

---

[14] On this issue in Qəltu dialects see also Jastrow, 1983: 103.
[15] Stress occurs on the first syllable.
[16] These examples are cited from Mansour, 1991: 202, 209, 221.
[17] This example is cited from Talay, 2003: 50. See also texts in Abu-Haidar, 1991.
[18] Examples are cited from Cuvalay, 1997: 18; Durand, 2009: 358-62.

" أَأَمِنتم من في السّماء أن يخسف بكم الأرض فإذا هي تمور " (Qurʾān 67: 16)

'Do you feel secure that He, Who is over the heaven (Allah), will not cause the earth to sink with you, and then it should quake?'

It is important to note that MAD uses the same way as CA to solve the ambiguity problem. This way is also used in the perfect in MAD, as we saw earlier. MAD uses the pronoun to eliminate the ambiguity that resulted from the elision of the final vowels of CA (see § 3.1.1 above). Qəltu dialects and Yemeni dialects behave like CA in this regard, so that the ambiguity appears only in the imperfect and the pronoun serves to solve this problem:

zaʿaltu w əbkītu w həyyi tqəlli ... 'I got angry and cried. she went on saying to me ...' (Text 3:156),[19] *təʿṛəf ənta, əlḥādəṯ əlli ṣār* 'you know what happened' (Text 1.10:8), ... *ənta tāḫəḍhəm ʿal bəlʿa* '… bring them to trial by fire' (Text 1.9:10), … *ənta tīji təqaʿ bīha* '… and next year it falls to you' (Text 2.5:18).[20]

The following tables reflect the linguistic situation in some Arabic dialects with ambiguity problems:

Table 14

	Yašīʿ	Ṣanʿāʾ (Yemen)	Damascus (Syria)	Cairo	Morocco
2 masculine singular	*tuktub*	*túktub*	*təktob*	*tíktib*	*tekteb*
3 feminine singular	*tuktub*	*túktub*	*təktob*	*tíktib*	*tekteb*

Table 15

	Najd (Saudi Arabia)	Baghdad (Muslim)	Baghdad (Jewish)
2 masculine singular	*taktib*	*tiktib*	*təktəb*
3 feminine singular	*taktib*	*tiktib*	*təktəb*

Table 16

	Cirenaica (Libya)	Tunisia (Muslim)	Malta	Rabat (Morocco)
2 masculine singular	*tiktib*	*təktəb*	*tiktep*	*təktəb*
3 feminine singular	*tiktib*	*təktəb*	*tiktep*	*təktəb*

---

[19] This example is cited from Abu-Haidar, 1991: 156.
[20] These examples are cited from Talay, 2003: 50, 52, 88.

Table 17

	Palestine (Fellahin)
2 masculine singular	*btičtib*
3 feminine singular	*btičtib*

The Tables 14-17 show that in MAD there is one common form for the second person masculine singular and the third person feminine singular, [21] i.e. they are ambiguous.

Speakers of some MAD use the same imperfect form for the first and third person masculine singular of the verb from the root ' ʿ.ṭ.y' when ʿ > n:[22] 1) *banṭī* 'I give him', 2) *banṭī* 'he gives him'. This situation creates ambiguity, so there is a need to use a subject pronoun: 1) *ana banṭī* 'I give him', 2) *hū banṭī* 'he gives him'.[23]

In the following examples subject pronouns also serve to avoid ambiguity in the verbal predicate in MAD:[24]

Table 18

CA -ambiguous-	GA (with no subject pronoun) -ambiguous-	GA (with subject pronoun) -unambiguous-
taʾkuluhu 'you eat it'	*btōklu* 'do you eat it?'	*btōklu **inte*** 'do you eat it?'
taʾkuluhu 'she eats it'	*btōklu* 'does she eat it?'	*btōklu **hīye*** 'does she eat it?'

Table 19

CA -ambiguous-	GA (with no subject pronoun) -ambiguous-	GA (with subject pronoun) -unambiguous-
talʿabu 'you play'	*btilʿab* 'you play'	*btilʿab **inte*** 'you play'
talʿabu 'she plays'	*btilʿab* 'she plays'	*btilʿab **hīye*** 'she plays'

Table 20

CA -ambiguous-	GA (with no subject pronoun) -ambiguous-	GA (with subject pronoun) -unambiguous-
taqṭaʿu 'you cut'	*bisirᶨš tiqṭaʿ ᶨwjūhna* 'it is inacceptable that you do not respect our decision (=you cannot insult us)'	*bisirᶨš **inte** tiqṭaʿ ᶨwjūhna* 'it is inacceptable that you do not respect our decision (=you cannot insult us)' (A:15)

---

[21] Examples are cited from Fischer-Jastrow, 1980: 61-7; Durand, 2009: 362-3.

[22] See Zu'bi, 2014: 55.

[23] Compare Qəltu dialect, i.e. Khawētna: § 5.2.2, a.

[24] For a DA example see Cowell, 1964: 548.

taqtaʿu 'she cuts'	*bisirⁱš tiqṭaʿ^{ɛi}wjūhna* 'it is inacceptable that she/they (=people) do not respect our decision (=she/they cannot insult us)'	*bisirⁱš **hīye** tiqṭaʿ^{ɛi}wjūhna* 'it is inacceptable that she/they (=people) do not respect our decision (=she/they cannot insult us)'

Table 21

CA -ambiguous-	GA (with no subject pronoun) -ambiguous-	GA (with subject pronoun) -unambiguous-
tadūsu-tamšī 'you stomp-walk'	*ilmiʿza isⁱmha mn iššayaṭīn, laʾinnha lʾarḏ illi btidʿas ʿalēha w btimši ʿalēha... miš mumkin tiġdar tidʿas fī* 'the goat's name is from the devils, because the ground that you stomp and walk on (it)... you cannot stomp on (it)'	*ilmiʿza isⁱmha mn iššayaṭīn, laʾinnha lʾarḏ illi btidʿas ʿalēha w btimši ʿalēha **inte**... miš mumkin **inte** tiġdar tidʿas fī* 'the goat's name is from the devils, because the ground that you stomp and walk on (it)... you cannot stomp on (it)' (B:21)
tadūsu-tamšī 'she stomps-walks'	*ilmiʿza isⁱmha mn iššayaṭīn, laʾinnha lʾarḏ illi btidʿas ʿalēha w btimši ʿalēha... miš mumkin tiġdar tidʿas fī* 'the goat's name is from the devils, because the ground that she stomps and walks on (it)... she cannot stomp on (it)'	*ilmiʿza isⁱmha mn iššayaṭīn, laʾinnha lʾarḏ illi btidʿas ʿalēha w btimši ʿalēha **hīye**... miš mumkin **hīye** tiġdar tidʿas fī* 'the goat's name is from the devils, because the ground that she stomps and walks on (it)... she cannot stomp on (it)'

4. Data sample

This paper concerns itself with the study of the uses of subject pronouns among speakers of MAD. A comparison with CA[25] has also been conducted. In order to prove my assumption, examples of subject pronouns from GA and Qəltu dialect[26] were compared especially where the two dialects are different with regard to subject pronouns.[27]

In addition to various texts from Qəltu dialect, the selected Galilean informants for this paper varied including Muslim, Christian and Jews.[28] In general, the present paper is based on sample of 100 texts:

1- 50 transcribed texts from live recordings of informants who reside in Galilee;
2- 50 transcribed texts from Qəltu dialects[29]

---

[25] Examples are cited from the Qurʾān. Four *suwar* were checked: 2, 3, 7 and 67.
[26] Texts from Qəltu dialects based on Talay's study of the dialect of Khawētna. See Talay, 1999.
[27] See § 3.1.1 above.
[28] I.e. Jews who have Arabic as a mother tongue. See Geva 2004: 14-23; 2009: 1-7.
[29] See footnote 27 above.

These include especially extended, continuous texts of various types, which give a faithful representation of the informants' speech. The texts include stories, jokes, customs, life stories, etc. The informants derived from various backgrounds (academics, high-school graduates, and illiterate people), of different ages and gender. Examples of CA are cited from the Qurʾān: *sūra* 7 and *sūra* 67.

5. The Data
5.1 Subject pronouns Data for 1p.sg. in the perfect:
5.1.1 GA:

a. Avoiding ambiguity

Table 22

no.	example	translation
1	*ana ˈmiltha* (66:2)	I have made it
2	*ana ḫliqˈt* (68:2)	I was born
3	*ma ruḥtˈš mallēt ʿa-lˈēn ana* (17+18:8)	I did not go to fill water from the spring
4	*zamanāt ilʾinglīz ˈlḥiqˈt ana* (17+18:9)	I experienced when the British came here
5	*ˈrifˈt ana* (6+7:3)	I knew
6	*ištaġaˈlˈt ana* (6+7:5)	I worked
7	*w ʿīt ana* (8:3)	I matured
8	*ana ṭliˈt ilˈawwal bi-lˈālam* (10:6)	and I was the first in the world
9	*w ana nda ʿēt min ṭāyift illatīn* (10:8)	and I was invited by Latins sect
10	*aḫadtha ana* (3:11)	I got it
11	*kunt ana bi-lmiktab* (7:13)	I was in the office
12	*ana sta ʿjalˈt* (G:73)	I hurried
13	*w ana ʿamalt kulli šī* (AM1:14)	and we (l. I) did everything we could do
14	*maṭraḥ lli t ʿallamˈt ana* (AM8:7)	Where I myself had studied
15	*ana šabbahtha la-maṛa* (AM10:14)	I compared it to a woman
16	*abl ma ḫilˈeˈ ana* (AM13:55)	before I was born
17	*ana šuftu* (C, I:45)	I saw it
18	*ana ma šuftˈš ana* (C, IV:53)	I did not see anything
19	*ana smiˈqˈt uṣṣa* (A, I:6)	I heard a story
20	*w ana šufˈt lamma...* (A, II:15)	and I saw when...

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 23

no.	example	translation
1	*ana nažaḥt* (66:3)	I succeedded
2	*ana kunt ašūfha* (67:7)	I used to see it

3	*ana ḫliqᵢt* (68:2) x 2	I was born
4	*ana kunt asmaʿ* (68:2)	I used to hear
5	*ana... kunt* (14:1) x2: (6+7:5)	I... was
6	*ana ʿmilt* (14:2)	I made/prepared
7	*ana tʿallamt* (14:3)	I learned
8	*ana ṣurt* (14:3) x 2	I became
9	*ma kunt ṣabīye ayyāmha ana* (17+18:2)	I was young at that time
10	*ržiᵈt ana* (17+18:2)	I returned back
11	*ana ṭliᵈt* (17+18:3)	I left
12	*ana kunt baᵈdni binᵢt* (17+18:4)	I was still single
13	*ana kunt ʿind uḫti* (17+18:10)	I was with my sister
14	*ana ṣurt kbīre* (17+18:14)	I became old
15	*ana lḥamdullā rabbēt iwlādi..* (17+18:17)	I, thanks to God, raised my sons...
16	*ana ma-kuntiš aʿrif* (6+7:1)	I did not know
17	*kunt ana bi-lšuġᵘl* (6+7:3)	I was at work
18	*ṣurt ana adawwir ʿalēhin* (6+7:4)	I started to look for them
19	*ana ḫliᵃit* (48:1)	I was born
20	*inkasarᵢt ana* (6+7:5)	I lost my money
21	*ana ḥakēt* (10:9)	I said
22	*w-ana kunt ʿāmil knīst ilᵢbšāṛa* (10:9)	and I have already built the annunciation church
23	*w ana kammaltha* (10:9) x 2	and I completed it
24	*ana ʿmilt ilʾižtimāʿ* (10:11)	I conducted the meeting
25	*ana tʿallamᵢt* (5:2)	I learned
26	*ana hōn kunt* (3:2)	I was here
27	*ana dafaʿt* (3:2)	I paid
28	*ana fataḥt* (3:4)	I opened
29	*ana tšažžaᵈt aktib maqāl kbīr* (3:5)	I was encouraged to write a great/long article
30	*aṣdarᵢt ana* (3:10, 13) x 2	I published
31	*w ana kamān duʿīt* (3:13)	and I was also invited
32	*ultillu ana* (3:14)	I said to him
33	*ana wṣilᵢt* (3:16)	I got (it)/arrived
34	*ana kunt arūḫ* (AM 3:1) x 2: (AM 6:1)	I used to go
35	*w ana kunt ʿandon* (AM 3:6)	and I was with them
36	*ana aḫadt salle* (AM 6:13)	I took a basket
37	*ana ʿaṭet iššamʿa* (AM 6:37)	I gave her the candle
38	*ana... sāfart* (AM 8:3)	I... went
39	*ana ḫaṭabt maʿa žōzi* (AM 8:45)	I was engaged to my husband
40	*ana kunt raḥ aktub* (AM 11:6)	I wanted to write

41	*kunt ana anzal* (AM 12:32)	I would go down
42	*ana dawwart* (AM 12:76)	I searched/looked for it
43	*ana ḫtaraᵈt šītāni* (AM 12:77)	I invented another thing
44	*ana kunt ast...* (AM 13:29)	I wanted to buy
45	*ana kunt fī Ṭabarīya* (AM 13:67)	I was in Tiberias
46	*ana ultillo* (AM 15:13)	I said to him
47	*ana kunt mrabbi faṛas* (B, I:24)	I raised a horse
48	*ana rkibt ʿa-lfaṛas* (B, I:25)	I rode a horse
49	*ana ll(i) kunt bi-lʾētselᴴ* (B, I:34)	when I was in ʾētsel
50	*bass ana b-waʾta ḫalaft yamīn* (B, I:52)	but at that time I swore
51	*ana štaġalt* (B, II:4)	I worked
52	*ana kunt walad* (B, III:13) x 2: (A, I:17)	I was a little boy
53	*ana smiʿto w ana walad* (A, I:17)	I heard it when I was a little boy
54	*hādi ēš ana smiᵈt* (A, I:18)	this is what I heard
55	*ana nzilⁱt maʿ ahli* (A, II:9)	I went down with my family
56	*ana bi-ʿēni šufᵗt* (A II:18)	I myself saw
57	*ana šuftu wiʾiʿ ʿa-lʾarⁱḍ* (A II:21)	I saw him when he fell on the ground
58	*bass ana ... šuftin kīf fātu ʿala Ḥēfa*	but I … saw them when they came to Haifa
59	*ana futt ʿa-lmustašfa amši ʿa-ižrayy* (3:17)	I came to the hospital while I walked on my feet
60	*ṣarli ana alfēn w tisʿa* (3:18) x 2: (7:10)	I am here since 2009
61	*gaddēš aḫaḏt ana?* (7:4)	how many points did I get?
62	*ana kunt mn ilʾawāʾil* (7:5, 13) x 2	I was one of the first
63	*minnēn ana žibtlu hāy ilmaʿlumāt* (7:13)	from where I brought him this information
64	*ana baʿatt binⁱt* (G:39)	did I send a girl?
65	*ana štikⁱt la-mmi* (G:39)	I missed my mother
66	*w ḫṣirt ana* (G:76)	and I lost
67	*w lamma ana fataḫt ilmaktabe* (3:4)	and when I opened the bookshop
68	*hāda uṣṣa lli ana kunt fīha* (AM:22)	this is a story in whose scene I participated

5.1.2 Qəltu dialect:
a. Avoiding ambiguity:[30]

Table 24

no.	example	translation
1	*ana ʿamalt* (3.11:9) x 2	I made
2	*ana ḥaḍḍart...* (3.11:17)	I rose...
3	*ana nfakkēt...* (3.21:54)	I am dismissed...

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 25

no.	example	translation
1	*ana qataltu ṯalāṯa w ʿəšrīn wəḥda* (2.11:3)	I have hunted twenty three ducks
2	*mā ḥadd ʿtaṛaf w lā qāl, ənnu ana ḥaṭṭētu* (1.9:9)	No one confessed and said 'I put it'
3	*ana q ʿədtu* (1.9:22)	I sat down
4	*ana ḫayyō ḫəftu* (1.9:23)	my dear, I got scared
5	*ana mā aḫḏtu maṛti* (1.12:31)	I could not attend my wife
6	*ana haḍartōhəm* (2.4:9)	I have seen it
7	*ana čəntu asqi b-əlṃayya* (2.5:39)	I irrigated with the water
8	*ana ʿaḏabtənni* (2.5:40)	you have hurt me
9	*ana ṭəbtu* (3.2:12)	I was healed
10	*tbāzaʿtu ana* (3.6:10)	so I went bankrupt
11	*waḷḷa ana mən fataḫtu ččanṭa* (3.6:19)	when I opened the bag
12	*w ana qəmtu* (3.7:19, 24) x 3	and I started
13	*ana čəntu aṛōḥ* (3.7:46) x 8: (3.7:47; 3.8:3; 3.11:24; 3.21:1, 3, 11; 3.22:37)	I used to go
14	*ana əjītu* (3.7:49, 66 ,71) x 6	I came
15	*ana ṣərtu* (3.10:4) x 2: (3.7:71)	I came
16	*ana šəltu ḫāli* (3.9:12)	I got up
17	*ḍarabtōha ana* (3.9:16)	I have beaten them
18	*ana ... qultu* (3.10:11) x 2: (3.12:2)	I... said
19	*ana ḏallētu* (3.10:11)	I waited
20	*ana mā čəftu* (3.13:13) x2: (3.10:15)	I did not see
21	*ana əjīu* (3.11:3) x 3: (3.15:9; 3.22:40)	I came

---

[30] The three examples are loan forms from Bedouins. For Qəltu dialect we expected distinguished forms between 1p.sg. and 2p.m.sg. in the perfect: *ana ʿamaltu* (I made) vs. *ənta ʿamalt* (you made). See Talay, 1999: 97.

22	*ana … sawwētu* (3.11:15)	I … did
23	*ana nḥawaftu mən hal, mən hal mawḏūˁ* (2.5:39)	this situation frightened me
24	*mən ḏarabtu ana* (3.18:31)	when I shot at them
25	*ana... qultu* (3.18:29)	I said to myself
26	*ana ṛjəˁtu* (3.22:44)	I returned back
27	*ana ēš ˁməltu* (3.18:32)	what I did then?
28	*ṭalaˁtu ana* (3.21:9)	it came so
29	*ana mən šəftu* (3.21:23)	when I saw
30	*ḏallētu … ana* (3.21:26)	I … stayed
31	*ana kəntu* (3.22:13)	I was
32	*ana ḥajaztu* (3.22:23)	I booked
33	*ṛəhtu ana* (3.22:36)	I went
34	*ana kull šī əjīna sajjaltō b-īdi* (1.7:28)	I have wrote down by my hand everything we have received
35	*ana qataltō* (1.12:43)	I killed him
36	*mən ᵊjjawwaztu ana* (1.12:44)	since I married
37	*w ana jītu* (1.12:53)	and I came (again)
38	*ana b-īdi ˁammartu b-əlməḥfaṛ* (2.1:19)	I myself have been involved in the construction of the police station
39	*ana štaġaltu bīha* (2.2:2)	I worked on (building) the mill

5.1.3 CA:
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

There are no examples.

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

There are no examples.

5.2 Subject pronouns data for 2p.m.sg. in the perfect:
5.2.1 GA
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

There are no examples.

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 26

no.	example	translation
1	*inti qwīt ʿalēna* (65:6)	you became more powerful than ourselves
2	*inti ḫallēt ilḥamᶦr lᶦmlīḫ la-lʾāḫir* (10:5)	you left the good wine to the end
3	*inti ankart ʿanni baʿḏ al-maʿlumāt* (7:13)	you hid me some information
4	*inti wēn ruḥt?* (C:37)	where did you go?

5.2.2 Qǝltu dialect
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

Table 27

no.	example	translation
1	*ǝnta aḫḫarǝtni* (2.5:37)	you have fed me the water too late

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 28

no.	example	translation
1	*ǝnta ḫayyō ṭayyabt ǝbǝnna* (1.6:20)	you my dear, you have healed our son
2	*mǝtǝt ǝnta* (2.15:20)	you are dead

5.2.3 CA
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

There are no examples.

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

There are no examples.

5.3 Subject pronouns data for 2p.m.sg. in the imperfect:
5.3.1 GA
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

Table 29

no.	example	translation
1	*tiḍaḥḥiknīš inti* (48:2)	do not make me laugh
2	*inti tirḏa* (A:11)	you will be satisfied
3	*bisirš inti tiqṭaʿ ⁱwjūhna* (A:15)	you cannot demean us
4	*inti kull yōm btaʿṭīni lēra* (C:39)	everyday you give me a pound
5	*inte bitkūn wazīr* (C:45)	you will be a minister
6	*mamnūʿ inti tiḫtariʿ iši* (A, III:4)	you cannot invent anything
7	*hāy inti ilyōm bitšūf šawāriʿ* (A, V:3)	nowadays you see streets
8	*yimkin tiʿrafūš inti lḅaʾʾ* (C, I:44)	maybe you have never seen bugs

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 30

no.	example	translation
1	*qalli inti btiktib masraḥ* (10:7)	he said to me 'you write (plays) for theater'
2	*ilwaṣⁱf btiġdar yaʿni inti titmakkan minnu* (10:7)	(regarding) the description, you can improve (your writing skills) in it
3	*inti tiġdarš timši* (3:17)	you cannot go
4	*nte kull yōm btaʿṭī hallēra* (C:19)	every day you give him the pound
5	*lēš inte lamman tiskīni lkubbāye btibʿid ʿanni* (C:40)	why when you drink me, (when you) give me the cup, you move away from me
6	*w inte bitkūn malik* (G:79)	and you will be king

5.3.2 Qəltu dialect
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

Table 31

no.	example	translation
1	*ənta tqannəʿhəm* (2.5:44)	you can convince them
2	*ənta tīji təqaʿ bīha* (2.5:18)	and next year it falls to you
3	*təʿrəf ənta* (1.9:8) x 3: (1.10:8; 3.14:1)	you know
4	*ənta tāḫəḏhəm ʿal bəlʿa, bī sayyəd* (1.9:10)	bring them to trial by fire
5	*ənta mā tāḫəḏ marṭək* (1.12:29)	you cannot attend your wife
6	*hassaʿ ənta ṣṣīr zalama ʿal hal maṛa hāyi?* (1.12:45)	will you be a man for this woman?
7	*ənta tbēri əlṃayya* (2.5:31)	You're the one who distributes the water
8	*w ənta təḏrəb baʿdi* (3.20:11)	and you shoot at me
9	*ənta mā tgūs* (3.20:12)	you miss/do not hit
10	*w lā ənta tənġader* (3.20:14)	and you will diadvantaged

11	*tīji ənta b-makān abūk* (3.20:26, 27) x 2	you must come in place of your father
12	*ənta ḏḏall b-əlmakān hāḏi* (3.21:3)	you stay at this school
13	*ddarrəb ənta* (3.21:3)	you train
14	*iḏa trīd trōḥ inta bī* (3.21:4)	if you want to go there

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 32

no.	example	translation
1	*w ənta baʿd ma təḫdəm muʿaskar tīji...* (3.7:50)	and you, after you have served in the summer camp, you come...

5.3.3 CA
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

There are no examples.

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

There are no examples.

5.4 Subject pronouns data for 3p.f.sg. in the imperfect:
5.4.1 GA
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

There are no examples.

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 33

no.	example	translation
1	*lᵗmʿallmi fakkarat innha tiṭlaʿ hīyi ʿal... ʿala llōḥ* (66:10)	the teacher herself thought to step up on... on the plank
2	*hī tuʾmur w tinhi* (G:59)	she orders and gives instructions
3	*aḥsan ṭabḫa illi hī tiṭlaʿ mn iṭṭabūn* (11:13)	the best dish is the one that is cooked in the Ṭabūn

179

5.4.2 Qəltu dialect
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

Table 34

no.	example	translation
1	*tqūlha, hīya təmsaḥ bīha təḥči* (2.14:27)	she says - she says, while she put on the sick sweeps
2	*hīya tḥəbb* (1.12:4)	she loves
3	*hīya təʿrəf* (1.12:17)	she knew
4	*əlli təṣnaʿu hīya* (2.3:11)	which she builds
5	*hīya təʿmalu* (2.3:11)	she makes it
6	*mā ṭṭīq təḥči hīya maʿāhəm* (3.18:22)	she could not even speak to them

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 35

no.	example	translation
1	*ṭāni yōm tīji əlʾəmm hīya tqulli* (1.13:12)	the next day the mother comes and tells me
2	*aw hīya təġsəl la-ḥālha* (1.13:64)	or she washes herself

5.4.3 CA
a. Avoiding ambiguity:

Table 36

no.	example	translation
1	وأوحينا إلى موسى أن ألق عصاك فإذا هي تلقف ما يأفكون (Qurʾān 7:117)	and we revealed to Musa (Moses) (saying): "Throw your stick," and behold! It swallowed up straight away all the falsehoods which they showed
2	أأمنتم من في السّماء أن يخسف بكم الأرض فإذا هي تمور (Qurʾān 67: 16)	do you feel secure that He, Who is over the heaven (Allah), will not cause the earth to sink with you, and then it should quake?
3	إذا ألقوا فيها سمعوا لها شهيقا وهي تفور (Qurʾān 67:7)	When they are cast into it they shall hear it sighing, while it boils

b. The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:
There are no examples.

6. Distribution of the data:
6.1 Perfect:
6.1.1 Avoiding ambiguity:

Table 37

	GA	Qəltu dialect	CA
1p.sg.	20	0 (3 loan forms)	0
2p.m.sg.	0	0	0

6.1.2 Avoiding ambiguity when the verb is connected to direct object:

Table 38

	GA	Qəltu dialect	CA
2p.sg.	0	1	0
3p.f.sg.	0	0	0

6.1.3 The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 39

	GA	Qəltu dialect	CA
1p.sg.	77	51	0
2p.m.sg.	4	2	0

6.2 Imperfect:
6.2.1 Avoiding ambiguity:

Table 40

	GA	Qəltu dialect	CA
2p.m.sg.	8	15	0
3p.f.sg.	0	6	3

6.2.2 The pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function:

Table 41

	GA	Qəltu dialect	CA
2p.m.sg.	6	1	0
3p.f.sg.	3	2	0

7. Summary and conclusion:

From the tables above, we note that in the perfect CA and Qəltu dialects do not use a pronoun to avoid ambiguity for 1p.sg and 2p.m.sg because in these dialects there are two different forms for the two persons, i.e. there is no ambiguity and as a result there is no need for a pronoun. Unlike CA and Qəltu dialect, GA uses the pronoun to avoid ambiguity (20 for 1p.sg vs. 2p.m.sg) because in this dialect there is one form for 1p.sg and 2p.m.sg, i.e. ambiguity arises and a pronoun is required. I have also found three examples in Qəltu dialects which are loan forms from Bedouins.[31] These forms are ambiguous because there is one form for both 1p.sg and 2p.m.sg., i.e. a pronoun is required to avoid ambiguity. In these examples the speakers of Qəltu dialect use the pronoun in order to solve the ambiguity problem. This use confirms my hypothesis in regard to the function and the use of the subject pronoun. Therefore in Qəltu dialect I have found one example for using the pronoun for 2p.m.sg in the perfect which have been used to avoid ambiguity when the verb has been connected to direct object. In this state there are two forms for 2p.m.sg and 3p.f.sg, i.e. a pronoun is required to avoid ambiguity. Unlike Qəltu dialect, CA and GA are not ambiguous in this regard, i.e. there is no need for a pronoun. This use also confirms my hypothesis with regard to the function and the use of the pronoun. In the imperfect CA, GA and Qəltu dialect have ambiguous forms for 2p.m.sg and 3p.f.sg. As a result, a pronoun is required in order to avoid the ambiguity and resolve the problem. As we have seen from Tables 37, 38 and 40, all of them have used the pronoun for this purpose: GA (8 for 2p.m.sg vs. 3p.f.sg), Qəltu dialect (15 for 2p.m.sg vs. 6 for 3p.f.sg) and CA (3 for 3p.f.sg vs. 2p.m.sg).

In addition, I found that the pronoun is sometimes superfluous or has an emphasizing function in these dialects (see Tables 39 and 41)[32], but it is mandatory when there is an ambiguity to be resolved.

These results confirm my hypothesis regarding the use and the function of the subject pronoun in MAD. We conclude that MAD have an ambiguity problem. CA also has the same problem in the imperfect. This ambiguity appears in verbal sentences. As we have seen, in MAD the use of pronouns serves to preclude ambiguity and sometimes the pronoun is superfluous or has an emphasizing function. CA, Qəltu and Yemeni dialects have no ambiguity in the perfect because they distinguish between the first and second person masculine singular. As a result, a pronoun should not be used normally; it is reserved for emphasis. In the imperfect, CA, GA, Qəltu and Yemeni dialects have an ambiguity problem. GA, Qəltu and Yemeni dialects solve the problem in the same way as CA, i.e. by using a pronoun.

Language permits the use or deletion of pronouns because they have a function (identification, emphasis, prevention of ambiguity, etc.), as we saw earlier. This shows that subject pronouns have a communicative function and the use of them is not free.[33] Thus the speaker is not free to use any structure, but rather chooses the one that carries the intended meaning.

---

[31] See footnote 31 above.
[32] I did not find any examples in CA.
[33] See Perlmutter, 1972; Eid, 1977; 1983.

References

Abu-Haidar, F. 1991. *Christian Arabic of Baghdad*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Berent, G. 1980. "A Maximally Restrictive Rule of Coreference", Kreiman, Jody & Ojeda, Almerindo (eds.), *Pronouns and Anaphora*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society. 49-63.

Brustad, K. E. 2000. *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic: A Comparative Study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti Dialects*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Cowell, W. M. 1964. *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Cuvalay-Haak, M. 1997. *The Verb in Literary and Colloquial Arabic*. Berlin.

Durand, O. 2009. *Dialettologia Araba*. Roma: Carocci editore.

Eid, M. 1977. "Arabic Relativization: Shadow Deletion or Pronoun Drop?", *Minnesota Papers in Linguistics and Philosophy of Language* 4: 19-31.

Eid, M. 1983a. "On the Copula Function of Pronouns", *Lingua* 59 (2-3). 197.

Eid, M.1983b. "On the Communicative Function of Subject Pronouns in Arabic", *Journal of Linguistics* 19. 287-303.

Fischer, W. and Jastrow, O. 1980. *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Feghali, M. 1928. *Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

Geva-Kleinberger, A. 2004. *Die arabischen Stadtdialekte von Haifa in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Geva-Kleinberger, A. 2009. *Autochthonous Texts in the Arabic Dialect of the Jews in Tiberias*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Holes, C. 2004. *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions and Varieties*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Jastrow, O 1983. "Tikrit Arabic Verb Morphology in a Comparative Perspective", *AlAbhath* 31. 99-110.

Mansour, J. 1991. *The Jewish Baghdadi Dialect*. The Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center: Or-Yehuda.

Perlmutter, D. 1972. "Evidence for Shadow Pronouns in French Relativization", Peranteau, P., Levi, J. & Phares, G. (eds.), *Chicago Which Hunt*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 73-105.

Talay, S. 1999. *Der arabische Dialekt der Khawētna*. Eiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Talmon, R. 2004. "19th century Palestinian Arabic: The Testimony of Western Travellers", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 29, 210-280.

Werbeck, W. 2001. *Laut-und Formenlehre des nordjemenitisch-arabischen Dialekts von Manāḥa*. Rhema-Verlag, Germany.

Zu'bi, A. 2014. *The Arabic Dialects of Nazareth and the Surrounding Villages:Phonology, Morphology and Texts*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. (In Hebrew)

Zu'bi, A. 2017. "Pausal Forms in the Arabic of Nazareth". *Mediterranean Language Review* 24:159-174.

Zu'bi, A. 2019. "Aramaic Substrate in the Arabic Dialects of Kufr-Kanna and Mišhad", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 64:1, 251-277.

Zu'bi, A. 2021. "Some Remarks of the Arabic Dialect of ʿArʿara in the Triangle Region (ʾal-Muṯallaṯ)". *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands* III:311-350.

Zu'bi, A. 2021. "The Arabic Elements in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic of Arbīl". *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands* III:290-309.

Zu'bi, A. 2021. "Interesting Pausal Forms in the Speech of Muslims and Christians" in Kufᵗr-Kanna. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 21:121-136.

II. MISCELLANEA

THE FORMATION OF QUADRILITERAL VERBS
IN KUWAITI ARABIC DIALECTS[1]

YOUSUF B. ALBADER
The Public Authority for Applied Education and Training, Kuwait

Abstract This study provides the first extensive examination of quadriliteral verbs in Kuwaiti Arabic dialects. To date, there has been little discussion about their morphological construction, classification, and semantic features; no comprehensive presentation has yet been published of these features despite their frequent occurrence in the dialect. The purpose of this study is to, first, highlight the flexibility of the verb root system in the dialect and, second, to explore the colorful senses that the verbs under investigation carry. The data were mostly gathered in Kuwait between 2012 and 2020, and from local published material on the dialects of Kuwait. One interesting finding is that the dialect has a reservoir of more than 250 quadriliterals based on various templates, with Old Arabic, as well as Persian, Turkish, French, and English origins.
Keywords: lexical semantics; quadriliteral verbs; reduplicative verbs; lexical borrowing; Kuwaiti Arabic

Introduction

This paper presents a morphosemantic description and analysis of quadriliteral verbs based on their usage in the spoken Arabic of Kuwait. Specifically, the paper examines the morphology and lexico-semantics of these verbs because there is evidence that these verbs are on the increase, and so an area of interest is to discover the extent to which certain quadriliteral verb patterns are productive in the dialect. For the purpose of dialectal comparison, the main text and footnotes include several cross-references from published materials on neighboring areas of Kuwait, which will enable Kuwait to be placed in a regional context; this practice is employed throughout the paper.

The main aim of this introductory section is to introduce the patterns or forms found in the analysis of quadriliteral verbs. The emphasis is on an exploration of what constitutes a quadriliteral verb. In the tradition of Arabic linguistics, 'quadriliteral' means 'having four (as opposed to three) root consonants'. The majority of verbs are based on triliteral/triradical roots in classical Semitic languages, while quadriliteral and biliteral roots are much less common (Holes 2016: 169; Sabar 1982). Nonetheless, in post-classical and modern Semitic dialects, quadriliteral verbs are numerous and are constantly increasing.[2] In the Arabic dialects

---

[1] This is a revised and extended version of a paper read at the 11th Conference of the International Association of Arabic Dialectologists held at Bucharest, 2015.

[2] In Modern Hebrew, for instance, "between one third and one half of the entire stock of Hebrew verbs is quadriliteral" (Sabar 1982: 149). See Heidel (1940) for Akkadian, Sabar (1982) for Eastern neo-Aramaic, Gensler (1997) for Ethiopic, Akkadian, and proto-Semitic, and Atallah (2005) for Arabic.

of Kuwait, quadriliteral verbs can be simple (strong, weak, hollow, or reduplicated from Class I doubled verbs) or derived.

Verb forms and patterns

One of the *idées reçues* in Arabic (and Semitic) linguistics is that words are uniquely formed by combining a consonantal root, which indicates core meaning, and a syllabic-vocalic pattern, indicating grammatical function (Ratcliffe 2013: 72). Therefore, the root is seen as the "basic" component of a word, to which are added vowels and, at times, prefixes, infixes, and suffixes. Moreover, the notion of *mīzān ṣarfī* 'morphological measure' is introduced to identify the patterns to which words belong. The *mīzān* normally consists of the root of the word, its vowels, and, where applicable, its affixes.

In terms of derivational systems, Kuwaiti Arabic (henceforth KA) verbs are mainly based on either triliteral roots, i.e. three radical consonants, or quadriliteral roots (also known as *quadriradical* and *quadriconsonantal*), i.e. four radical consonants (Qafisheh 1977: 39).

In common with several other Arabic dialects, KA has a rich inventory of quadriliteral verbs based on various templates. Along with the structurally similar Class II of the triliteral verb, the quadriliteral template CaCCaC is the most productive verb type in the KA dialect, e.g. *ʿarbak* 'to entangle'. Quadriliterals of the CaCCaC type may be passivized or reflexivized by the prefixing of *ti-* or *ta-*, e.g. *taʿarbak* 'to become, get entangled'. Imperatives and participles are also formed, e.g. *ʿarbik!* 'entangle (m.s.)!', *mʿarbak* 'entangled'. Masliyah (2017) reports thirty-one types of quadriliteral verbs based on this template in Iraqi Arabic dialects, including denominatives, blends, and borrowings from Semitic and non-Semitic languages. Other attested patterns for Kuwait include:

1. (t)CāCaC *tsāsar* 'to whisper to one another';[3]
2. (t)CōCaC *bōbaz* 'to squat, hunker down', *tʿōmas* 'to become complicated';
3. (t)CēCaC *tfēḫar* 'to show off'.

Furthermore, a number of denominative examples have been assimilated into the phonology and morphology of modern Arabic which are derived from foreign borrowings. An intriguing example listed in Wehr's (1985: 1339) Arabic-German dictionary is the verb *tahatlara* 'sich wie Hitler aufführen, Hitler imitieren' ('to behave/act like Hitler, to imitate Hitler'), which is not found in the third edition of the English version (1976). This is arguably an innovative verb that was created on the fly but did not catch on, since I have never encountered it in any published work (except in Wehr's dictionary!) nor in the broadcast media. In Kuwait, the following denominative borrowings were noted:

1. *sansan* 'to blow one's nose' (< English 'sneeze/sinus')
2. *t-makyaǧ* 'to put on make-up' (< French *maquillage* 'make-up')
3. *kalbač* 'to handcuff' (< Turkish *kelepçe* 'handcuffs')[4]

---

[3] This is the only verb of this pattern I have come across.
[4] Sabar (1982: 151) gives the meaning of *kalmač* as 'to handcuff' for the eastern neo-Aramaic dialect.

4. *nēšan* 'to aim at a target'(< Persian *nišān* 'mark')[5]

In addition, there are a few quadriliteral verbs which are characteristic to female speakers that describe traditional outer garments, e.g. *tbargaˤ* 'to wear a burka' (< Arabic *barqaˤa* 'to veil'), *tčamčam* 'to put a woman's sleeves over her head' (< Arabic *kumm* 'sleeve'), *tkaṃkaṃ* 'to envelope oneself with an *ˤabāya*' (< Arabic *kamma* 'to cover with a cloak'), *tmalfaˤ* 'to wear a black filigree headscarf' (< *milfaˤ* 'headscarf' < Arabic *talaffaˤa* 'to cover oneself').

Some innovative quadriliteral verbs are also in existence which have been created with the advent of social networking websites and are mostly used by literate, Internet-savvy speakers. Examples include *manšan* 'to make mention of an Internet user on the social networking service' (< English 'mention') *ratwat* 'to forward a message on Twitter' (< English 'retweet').[6] During the COVID-19 crisis, a new verb was coined: *karwan* 'to be tested positive for coronavirus'. In the early 1980s, there was an advertisement featuring Kentucky Fried Chicken on Kuwait television with the Arabic slogan: *hal turīdu ˀan tukantik?* 'Would you like to Kentuckify?' (< *kantak* 'to order/eat food from KFC'). This verb was wittily coined for the purpose of promoting a product; it did not, however, catch on.[7]

State of research

In the first KA dictionary compiled by the Iraqi scholar Jalāl Al-Ḥanafī (1964), he collected a very small number of quadriliteral verbs for KA: *barbaˤ* 'to prosper' (p. 36), *t-ranğaf* 'to hit hard' (p. 61), *daḥlab* 'to hang one's head in shame' (p. 128), *t-zagrat* 'to dress nicely' (p. 161), *zōġal* 'to cheat (in games)' (p. 163), *sakrab* 'to become worn out' (p. 176), *waṣwaṣ* 'to twitter' (p. 391). It so happens that the same form is used in several Arabic dialects, each of which has a different meaning and etymology. A notable example of this is the verb *ḫanzar*, which is noted for Iraq by Masliyah (2017: 26) as being ultimately derived from Old Arabic *ḫazzara* 'to look askance' with the infixation of *n*, hence *ḫanzar* 'to look at maliciously'. Al-Ḥanafī (1964: 120) has noted this form for KA as 'to humiliate', which is totally different from my example which is derived from the noun *ḫanzīr* 'pig', with the adjectival form *mḫanzir* 'looking gluttonous', hence *ḫanzar* 'to eat and drink more than s.o. needs'. Another example of this type is the verb *dardaˤ*, which is glossed for KA (Al-Ḥanafī 1964: 130) and Iraqi Arabic (Masliyah 2017: 84) as 'to curse, make a gesture with a finger denoting intercourse'. However, I have recorded *dardaˤ* as 'to drink up, guzzle', e.g. *illi mā dardaˤ māy, yidardiˤ alḥīn* 'anyone who hasn't drunk enough water, shall do this now' (said during the month of Ramadan, minutes before fasting time).

In his description of the Gulf littoral dialects, Johnstone (1967: 75) noted eleven Kuwaiti quadriliteral verbs. For instance, *barṭal* 'to bribe', *kalfat* 'to caulk', *iddooda*[a]

---

5   *nēšan* is not, however, noted in this sense by Blanc (1964: 110) for Baghdad, which is 'to betroth'.
6   Atallah (2012: 112) records the borrowing *gōgal* 'to google' in Galilee.
7   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8G8-MCLxXTo (accessed on August 27, 2020).

'to be confused', *ṯẖalḥal* 'to move (intrans.)'. Similarly, Maṭar (1970: 136-139) reported some ten Kuwaiti quadriliteral verbs of the tCēCaC pattern, such as *t-ʿēyaz* 'to pretend to be lazy', *t-mēraḏ* 'to malinger'. Holes (2007b: 619-620) recorded seventeen verbs for Kuwait (see below).

A seminal study in this area is the work of Holes (2004, 2016: 168-184), whose data from Bahrain include 141 different quadriliteral verbs. He investigated the morphology and semantics of quadriliteral verbs in the eastern Arabian dialects and argues that a "major strand of the meaning in many types of dialectal quadriliteral verbs is increased intensity, extensiveness of scope, or multiple agency compared with the simple triliteral verbs from which many of them are derived" (Holes 2004: 99).

Overall, these studies highlight the need for more lexical descriptions of these verbs for KA since there are no sources after 2007 that explain how common these verbs are in the dialect.

Theoretical framework

This paper provides insights into the lexical semantic framework of analysis where I explore quadriliteral verbs in the contemporary Kuwaiti dialect, focusing on the relationship between verb meaning and linguistic form. While there is a great deal of scholarship exploring Arabic verbs in general, the sole publication devoted entirely to studying Arabic verb patterns from a lexical semantic perspective is Glanville (2018). He investigates Arabic derivational morphology with one section only devoted to quadriliteral verbs (p. 160). His examples are even gleaned from Holes (2004). Therefore, regarding the presentation and classification of the verbs under study, I will follow Holes' (2004) and Masliyah's (2017) approaches. It should, however, be borne in mind that Holes' approach is mainly dialectologically- and morpho-semantically-driven whereas Masliyah's approach takes a more lexically driven view. Our study shall make use of both approaches because they are the most relevant to the aims of this study, given the significance they have on other studies. It will be noticeable later that the way I have organized the verbs is similar to Masliyah's, but the way I explain verbs' senses, whether in the body text or footnote, is influenced by Holes'.

Research methods and data collection

Because the Kuwaiti dialect is highly fluid and changeable, I needed to obtain data from native speakers of the dialect. Therefore, the material presented is taken from the speech of twenty-five Kuwaiti informants living in Kuwait. Dialectologists have collected spoken material in Kuwait by tape-recording native speakers (Johnstone 1967; Maṭar 1970), and thus this technique was employed to carry out this study. I started collecting these verbs in 2012 through audio-recording native Kuwaitis; the setting and situation described is that of urban Kuwaitis speaking in relaxed conversational circumstances.

Colloquial dictionaries (al-Ayyūb 1982; al-Ḥanafī 1964) comprise another source of data collection and the neighboring Gulf dialects have been used profitably as other

data sources. I have already mentioned the work of al-Ḥanafī (1964) and others. In addition, Al-Ayyūb (1982) collected more than 100 Kuwaiti quadriliteral verbs, which makes his vocabulary book especially valuable.[8] These general-purpose dictionaries are useful. However, there are still, to my knowledge, no dictionaries of KA which are representative databases of usage-in-context. Furthermore, none of these monolingual dictionaries provide real examples and/or information on levels of linguistic formality in Kuwait. It seems to be the case that most of the example sentences in these local dictionaries and glossaries were invented by the compilers, whereas my Kuwaiti material contains genuine texts which constitute a source of authentic examples. Apart from those reference works, literature on the domestic life and pearling lore and information in Kuwait has been useful in providing a flavor of the usage of certain quadriliteral verbs.

Approaches to classifications of quadriliteral verbs in Kuwaiti Arabic

The quadriliteral roots in KA may be classified according to the principles by which they have developed into quadriliterals. Some of these were already well established in Old Arabic whereas others are unique or more common in KA. The quadriliteral templates noted are:

$C_1C_2C_3C_4 \rightarrow$ Every radical is different from one another; e.g. *maškal* 'to get someone in trouble';

$C_1C_2C_1C_2 \rightarrow$ the 1st radical is identical with the 3rd, and the 2nd radical is identical with the 4th; e.g. *dandan* 'to hum softly, croon (a song)';

$C_1C_2C_1C_4 \rightarrow$ the 1st radical is identical with the 3rd; e.g. *daldaġ* 'to tickle';[9]

$C_1C_2C_3C_1 \rightarrow$ the 1st radical is identical with the 4th; e.g. *t-falsaf* 'to speak learnedly or pompously without real knowledge' (< English 'philosophy');

$C_1C_2C_3C_2 \rightarrow$ the 2nd radical is identical with the 4th; e.g. *ratwat* 'to retweet';

$C_1C_2C_3C_3 \rightarrow$ the 3rd radical is identical with the 4th; e.g. *zaḥnan* 'to speak with a nasal voice'.[10]

Template $C_1C_2C_3C_1$ is relatively rare in Semitic languages (Masliyah 2017: 5). In addition to these templates, which are attested for Bahraini Arabic (Holes 2004, 2016) and Iraqi Arabic (Cf. Grigore 2010; Masliyah 2017), Masliyah (2017: 8) gives another template for Iraq, i.e. $C_1C_1C_3C_4$, in which he notes three examples only, all foreign borrowings. An example is *šašqal* 'to weigh' (< Aramaic *šāqōlā* 'to weigh'). This template has, however, not been attested for KA.

Moreover, Holes (2007b: 619-620) classifies quadriliteral verbs in KA into the following types (some of the examples are mine):

---

[8] Al-Ayyūb produced what is considered to be the first Kuwaiti *muʿǧam mubawwab* 'onomasiological dictionary' (1982).

[9] Holes (2016: 174) gives the example of *daldaġ-* 'to scratch up, dig up' for Bahraini Arabic, e.g. *daldaġnā-h bi l-əmḥašš* 'We scratched it (= the soil) up with a sickle'.

[10] Noted for Iraq as *ḫanḫan* 'to speak nasally' (Masliyah 2017: 72).

i. Reduplicatives:[11] *ġarġar* 'to gargle'.[12]
ii. Echoic, mimetic: *bambaʕ* 'to bleat'.[13]
iii. C_2 = /w/: color verbs and bodily states: *bōyaḍ* 'to be whitish, go white'.[14]
iv. Denominatives: *sōlaf* 'to chat' < *sālfa* 'matter, affair'. Some are formed from foreign borrowings, e.g. *kansal* 'to cancel', *tbančar* 'to get a puncture'; both the latter are from English (cancel, puncture).
v. C_2 = /y/: with a *t-* prefix, denoting affectations of one kind or another, e.g. *tlēġab* 'to butt in on a conversation and ruin it'.
vi. C_2 = /r, n/ inserted into a triliteral root, e.g. *šarbak* 'to ensnare' < *šabak* 'net',[15] *fangaš* 'to kick the bucket' < *faqaša* 'to break into pieces'.
vii. Others fall into no particular pattern: *tgašmar* 'to joke, play tricks'.[16]

Results and discussion

The research results show the different quadriliteral patterns in KA, with discussion and analysis given in each subsection. Each verb is provided with an idiomatic translation. The verbs are arranged alphabetically, according to the following letters and symbols: ʔ, ʕ, b, ḅ, č, d, ḏ, ḍ, f, g, ġ, ǧ, h, ḥ, ḫ, k, l, ḷ, m, ṃ, n, q, r, s, š, ṣ, t, ṭ, ṯ, w, y, z.

Pattern: CaCCaC

Reduplicative verbs comprise most of the CaCCaC verb pattern in my data.[17] They are derived from doubled verbs which have the same root consonants, and represent "extensive, intensive or repetitive extensions of the meanings of the corresponding doubled verbs" (Holes 2004: 100). Another major subcategory of reduplicatives is onomatopoeic verbs. It is interesting to note that some of the meaning extensions implied cannot be predicted.

One of the verbs listed here is *sarsaḥ* 'to throw away; to enjoy a refreshing drink'. I noticed that Holes (2004: 105) recorded the verb *tsansaḥ* 'to slither, slide down' for

---

[11] Key (1965) presented a detailed study of reduplicatives in various languages. He assigned the various functions of reduplication to different categories. Procházka (1993) also assigned Old Arabic reduplicatives into six different categories.

[12] Verbal nouns conform to the patterns already described, e.g. *ġarġara* 'gargling'.

[13] Holes (2004: 105) lists *bambaʕ* 'to stammer [with fright, of people]' in the Bahraini dialect. Procházka (1993: 100) lists the Old Arabic *maʕmaʕa* 'bleat (sheep)'.

[14] However, in the Kuwait City dialect, *bōyaḏ̣* with /ḏ̣/ is the (uneducated) common form.

[15] Another very common meaning of *šarbak* is 'to clap repeatedly' < *šarbuka* 'fast interlocking clapping as heard in Kuwaiti sea songs' (Urkevich 2015: 4, 342). *šarbak* is attested in Syrian Arabic as 'to complicate' (Cowell 1964: 114).

[16] In modern KA, this is pronounced *qašmar* or *ġašmar*. In the neo-Aramaic dialect of Barwar, Khan (2008: 279) notes *mqašmore* 'to make fun of' to be derived from the Kurdish *qešmer* 'clown'. See also Masliyah (2017: 76).

[17] The same thing is also true of Bahraini Arabic, as reported in Holes (2004: 100). Procházka (1993: 100) lists 655 reduplicative verbs in Arabic. Atallah (2012: xviii) collected 248 reduplicatives from Galilee.

Oman, which seems to be related to Old Arabic *saḥḥa*, *tasaḥḥa*, and *tasaḥsaḥa*, all of which are used to describe 'water pouring or flowing down'. Therefore, the *r* in the Kuwaiti *sarsaḥ* may be an insertion to the Old Arabic *tasaḥsaḥa*. In Iraqi Arabic, it means 'to comb hair smoothly' and 'to shed tears' (Masliyah 2017: 87).

Another interesting formation of a verb is illustrated in *laḥbaṭ* 'to mess up, be confused'. According to Holes (2004: 110), *laḥbaṭ* and *t-laḥbaṭ* have similar meanings in the Gulf dialects (and in Yemen), and appear to have arisen from the same sources, in this case via *l* insertion and metathesis, viz. *ḥabaṭ* > *ḥalbaṭ* > *laḥbaṭ*. Masliyah (2017: 55), on the other hand, sees this as an example of a blend: *ḥalaṭa* 'to mix, confuse' + *ḥabaṭa* 'to stamp (the ground)'. *bahḏal* 'to make someone get into a mess' is also believed to be formed via blending two words *baḏala* + *bahala* (Masliyah 2017: 54). Abu-Haidar (1991: 53), however, gives the meaning 'to rebuke' for *bahdal* in the Christian Arabic of Baghdad.

Concerning denominatives, this can be exemplified by the verb *dašdaš* 'to wear a *dišdāša*', which is known in Kuwait and Oman by this name, being the traditional everyday male attire, which is a long, ankle-length cotton shirt. It is called *ṯōb* in Bahrain, Qatar and eastern Saudi Arabia, and *kandūra* in the UAE. Sabar (1982: 162) and Masliyah (2017: 3) gloss the homonym *dašdaš* in neo-Aramaic and Iraqi Arabic respectively as 'to tread on, destroy (purposely)'.

(ʾ)
1. *adman*   'to become addicted'
2. *akram*   '[May God] be generous [to you]'
3. *anʕam*   '[May God] give [you] abundance'

(ʕ)
4. *ʕačʕač*   'to clutch, grasp'
5. *ʕaḏʕaḏ*   'to chew, gnaw, grind (with the teeth)'
6. *ʕašʕaš*   'to become nestled'
7. *ʕaṣlag*   'to be recalcitrant; to complicate'
8. *ʕanfaṣ*   'to get angry; to be agitated and unbalanced'
9. *ʕantar*   'to become erect (male genitalia)'
10. *ʕarčab*   'to make someone stumble'

(B)
11. *baʕbaṣ*   'to make a lewd gesture with the middle finger'
12. *baḏbaḏ*   'to squander, fritter away (of money)'
13. *bahḏal*   'to make someone get into a mess'
14. *baḥlag*   'to stare with eyes wide open'[18]
15. *baḥwas*   'to look into, search'[19]
16. *baqbaq*   'to make a gargling sound, make bubbles in water'

---

[18]   Sabar (1982: 158) notes that *baḥlag* derives from the Iraqi *balaq*.
[19]   Atallah (2012: 28) records *baḥwaš* in Galilee with the same meaning.

17. *barbas*   'to make a mess (of food)'
18. *baršam*   'to cheat (in exams)'[20]
19. *barṭam*   'to pout, make a wry face, frown'
20. *bazbaz*   'to start growing (of hair)'[21]

(Č)
21. *čakčak*   'to tick, click, take photographs continuously'[22]
22. *čalčaḥ*   'to defeat everyone else by being the best in a game'
23. *čandas*   'to bow the head, lean over'

(D)
24. *daʕbal*   'to tell lies'[23]
25. *dagdag*   'to knock repeatedly, rap, bang'
26. *dalgam*   'to bend the truth'
27. *danḫak*   'to play on a drum'
28. *dandal*   'to dangle'
29. *darʕam*   'to barge in, push through'
30. *dardaʕ*   'to drink up, guzzle'
31. *dardam*   'to fall (in a hole)'
32. *darfaʕ*   'to push someone hard'
33. *darkas*   'to roll an object in a game while standing'
34. *dašdaš*   'to wear a *dišdāša*'

(Ḏ)
35. *ḏarban*   'to walk aimlessly'

(Ḍ)
36. *ḍahwal*   'to exaggerate the importance of something trivial'

(F)
37. *faḏfaḏ*   'to speak from the heart'[24]
38. *falfal*   'to become curly (hair)'
39. *fantag*   'to show creativity'
40. *farfar*   'to cry one's heart out'
41. *farfat*   'to break (rusk, bread) into very small pieces, crumble'

---

[20] In Egyptian Arabic, *baršam* means "vernieten, festnageln; Hufeisen anlegen; satt warden, sich den Bauch vollschlagen" (Behnstedt & Woidich 1994: 19).

[21] *bazbaz* is glossed as 'to squirt (milk)' in the eastern neo-Aramaic dialect (Sabar 1982: 152) and 'to bubble' in Iraqi Arabic (Masliyah 2017: 66).

[22] *čakčak* is 'to grumble, complain, chunter' in Bahraini (Holes 2004: 103). Khan (2008: 271) gives the meaning of *mčakčoke* as 'to chatter together; to clatter; to prick' for the neo-Aramaic dialect of Barwar.

[23] In Christian Baghdadi, Abu-Haidar (1991: 53) records this verb with the meaning 'to topple, roll'.

[24] Noted in Iraqi Arabic as 'to become vast' (Masliyah 2017: 67).

42. *farṣad*   'to mash (of dates)'
43. *farzan*   'to distinguish'[25]
44. *fasfas*   = *baḏbaḏ*
45. *fatfat*   = *farfat*

(G)
46. *galgas*   'to ingratiate oneself with superiors'
47. *gaḷgaḷ*   'to wiggle, tilt (of teeth)'
48. *ganbar*   'to catch crabs with a spear'
49. *garbaᶜ*   'to make a noise by knocking into something accidentally; to rattle someone, make someone uneasy'
50. *gargaᶜ*   'to clatter, bang; to trick-or-treat'[26]
51. *gargaf*   'to shiver, shudder (from cold)'
52. *gargaš*   'to rattle (of coins)'[27]
53. *garṭaf*   'to pluck a bird's feather'[28]
54. *garwaḍ*   'to crunch nuts'
55. *garwaš*   'to crunch (food, etc.), make a cracking, crunching noise'
56. *gaṣgaṣ*   'to chop something up into small pieces; to pluck feathers'[29]

(Ġ)
57. *ġaldam*   'to frown, look worried'[30]
58. *ġarbaḷ*   'to confuse, bother, put to trouble'[31]
59. *ġašmal*   'to nod off, fall asleep'

(H)
60. *hadrag*   'to fall, collapse (of walls)'
61. *hafhaf*   'to fan, waft'
62. *hardag*   'to tell lies; to make something fall'[32]
63. *harhar*   'to defecate (of animals)'[33]
64. *hazhaz*   'to shake, vibrate, wobble s.th.'

---

[25] < Old Arabic *faraza* 'to separate'.
[26] Maamouri (2013: 471) glosses *gargaᶜ* as 'to thunder'; 'to frighten, scare, terrify' for the educated Baghdadi dialect, while Qafisheh (2000: 490) lists *gargaᶜ* 'to carry someone or something on one's back' in Yemeni Arabic. Cf. the KA idiom: *aku suʔāl yigargiᶜ b-galbi* 'There's a question I should get it off my chest'.
[27] Sabar (1982: 153) lists this verb with the meaning 'to pull, drag' in eastern neo-Aramaic.
[28] A blend of *qaraṭa* 'to cut' + *qaṭafa* 'to pick a flower, a fruit' (Masliyah 2017: 55).
[29] Khan (2008: 272) records *mpačpoče* 'to chop into pieces; mince (meat)' in Barwar.
[30] Holes (2016: 181) gives the form *ġandam* with the same meaning for Bahrain.
[31] Johnstone (1967: 75) lists *ġarbal* 'to sieve' in KA.
[32] *hardaq* is 'to joke, flirt' in eastern neo-Aramaic (Sabar 1982: 152).
[33] *harhar* means 'to cackle, laugh noisily' in eastern neo-Aramaic (Sabar 1982: 152).

(Ḥ)

65.	*ḥakḥak*	'to scratch repeatedly'
66.	*ḥarḥar*	'to break a bird's neck using a blunt knife'

(Ḫ)

67.	*ḫabḫab*	'to trim floor-length robes'
68.	*ḫaḏḫaḏ*	'to shake, rock'
69.	*ḫamḫam*	'to eat from a number of different types of food'[34]
70.	*ḫanfar*	'to open one's nostrils as a result of fear, anger, or excitement'[35]
71.	*ḫarbag*	'to cut one's dress'[36]
72.	*ḫarbaṭ*	'to mix/mess up; to talk nonsense'[37]
73.	*ḫarfan*	'to subtly flirt'
74.	*ḫarḫar*	'to run heavily (nose)'
75.	*ḫarḫaš*	'to jingle, rustle'
76.	*ḫasbag*	'to confuse, mix up'
77.	*ḫašḫaš*	'to rattle (of sheet of paper or of new garment)'
78.	*ḫaṣḫaṣ*	'to privatize (a neologism)'
79.	*ḫazḫaz*	'to cast sly, stealthy glances; to ogle'

(K)

80.	*kabkab*	'to splash, slop'
81.	*kaḥkaḥ*	'to keep coughing'
82.	*karfas*	'to make someone tip over, knock to the ground'[38]
83.	*karkar*	'to howl, roar, laugh'
84.	*katkat*	'to flow, pour, gush forth; to ruffle, rustle (of breeze)'

(L)

85.	*laʕlaʕ*	'to make an irritatingly loud noise'
86.	*laʕwaz*	'to bother'
87.	*lablab*	'to thrash (using a *xēzarāna* 'bamboo cane')'
88.	*laflaf*	'to wrap up, bundle up'[39]
89.	*laġwaṣ*	'to make a mess'[40]
90.	*lamlam*	'to collect together'[41]

---

[34] Abu-Haidar (1991: 53) glosses this verb as 'to develop a musty smell' in Christian Baghdadi. In neo-Aramaic, it means 'to; to keep warm (by hugging)', which is of Syriac origin (Sabar 1982: 151, 156).

[35] Masliyah (2017: 25).

[36] *ḥrbq* means 'to entangle' in eastern neo-Aramaic (Sabar 1982: 152).

[37] Masliyah (2017: 21) postulates that *ḫarbaṭ* is a portmanteau of *ḫalaṭa* 'to mix' and *ḫabaṭa* 'to make a mess'.

[38] See Holes (2004: 112) for its plausible etymology.

[39] Noted in Ṣanʕānī Arabic as 'to go around in small circles' (Watson 2006: 191).

[40] Masliyah (2017: 55) notes a similar verb for Iraq, *laġwas*, with the same Kuwaiti meaning, which he claims to be a blend of *laġu* + *liwās*.

91. *laṭlaṭ*   'to speak loudly and quickly'
92. *laḥbaṭ*   'to mess up, be confused'
93. *laḥlaḥ*   'to beat someone up, bludgeon, knock around'[42]

(M)
94. *maʿǧan*   'to apply crack filler paste'
95. *maġmaġ*   'to stammer'
96. *maḥmaḥ*   'to think out, keep thinking'[43]
97. *malṭaš*   'to humiliate; to lower or depress the dignity or self-respect of s.o.'
98. *marmar*   = *daʿbal*; 'to cause pain and trouble'
99. *maškal*   'to cause problems'
100. *maṣmaṣ* 'to suck on (of fish bones); (humorously) to kiss, smooch'
101. *maṣḥar* 'to humiliate, degrade, make someone's toes curl'
102. *maṭmaṭ* 'to stretch one's speech'
103. *mazmaz* 'to nibble on, snack; to take a drag on cigarette'

(N)
104. *nagnag* 'to nibble on'
105. *naġbaġ* 'to dig, search, paw around'
106. *nasnas* 'to blow, drift (of breeze, moist wind)'[44]

(R)
107. *ṛabṛab* 'to jabber, prattle, chatter; to joke with'[45]
108. *raḏraḏ* 'to drizzle, shower (of rain)'
109. *rafraf* 'to flap (the wings or flag)'
110. *rašraš* 'to sprinkle, spray, drizzle'

(S)
111. *saʿbal* 'to drool'
112. *safsaf* 'to blow (of breeze towards the sea)'
113. *salham* 'to lower one's eyes'
114. *sarsaḥ* 'to throw away; to enjoy a refreshing drink'

(Š)
115. *šabhar* = *baḥlag*
116. *šaḥbaṭ* 'to scribble, scrawl'[46]

---

[41] *lamlam* means 'to mumble, murmur' in eastern neo-Aramaic (Sabar 1982: 152) and 'to be fresh' in Ge'ez (Gensler 1997: 235).
[42] Attested in Iraqi Arabic as 'to emit a bad smell (from wet clothes)' (Masliyah 2017: 73).
[43] Sabar (1982: 152) glosses *maḥmaḥ* as 'to sniff about' in eastern neo-Aramaic.
[44] Procházka (1993: 100) notes the Old Arabic *nasnasa* 'to be weak'.
[45] Its meaning in Iraqi Arabic is quite the opposite: 'to complain vociferously' (Masliyah 2017: 77).

117. *šalwaḥ*   'to throw away'
118. *šamšam* 'to sniff'
119. *šangaḷ* 'to do a headstand'
120. *šantar*   'to squirt (of blood)'[47]
121. *šaršaḥ* 'to humiliate, disgrace'

(Ṣ)
122. *ṣabṣab* 'to pour forth'
123. *ṣaḥṣaḥ* 'to be wide awake'[48]
124. *ṣafṣaf* 'to arrange'
125. *ṣargaʕ* 'to frighten'

(T)
126. *taʔtaʔ*   'to stutter; mumble with fright'
127. *taltal*   'to drag by force'[49]
128. *tamtam* = *taʔtaʔ*
129. *tanḥar* 'to stand up; to be standing still stubbornly or bashfully'
130. *taryaʕ* 'to belch, burp'

(Ṭ)
131. *ṭabṭab* 'to pat, tap lightly'
132. *ṭaḥšal* 'to feel full (of food); to be stuffed to the gills'
133. *ṭagṭag* 'to beat, knock; to do bits and pieces of work'[50]
134. *ṭaḷṭaḷ* 'to look around repeatedly'
135. *ṭambaz* 'to bend over'[51]
136. *ṭamṭam* 'to say nothing; to hide, cover up'[52]
137. *ṭangar* 'to be angry; to get an erection'
138. *ṭargaʕ* 'to crack, pop (of knuckles)'
139. *ṭarṭaš* 'to splash the wall of a building'[53]

(W)
140. *waswas* 'to worry, fret, feel uneasy'
141. *waṣwaṣ* 'to squeak; to chirp, peep (of baby chicks)'

---

[46] The quadriliteral spelling of *šaḥbaṭ* in Syria is *šaḥwaṭ* (Cowell 1964: 113), and it is believed to be blend of *šaḥaṭa* 'to cross out' + *ḥabaṭa* 'to mix up' (Masliyah 2017: 56).
[47] 'to prick up the ear' in Iraqi Arabic (Masliyah 2017: 24).
[48] Masliyah (2017: 71) records this exact verb for Iraq, but with the meaning 'to shut up!'.
[49] Holes (2004: 101) gives the form *taltan* in Bahraini.
[50] Al-Ayyūb (1982: 303) lists the onomatopoeic *ṭigṭāgi*, an obsolete Kuwaiti term for 'motorbike'.
[51] It has a different meaning in Iraqi: 'to shrink out of fear or cold' (Masliyah 2017: 36).
[52] Holes (2004: 101) glosses *ṭamṭam* as 'to completely submerge, fill to the brim' and 'to fill [the seed-bed] right up [with water]' in Bahraini Arabic.
[53] A blend of *ṭašša* 'to scatter' + *rašša* 'to spray' (Masliyah 2017: 56).

142. *waṭwaṭ*   '(negative connotation) to set foot in somewhere'

(Y)
143. *yaryar*   'to drag by force'

(Z)
144. *zaġlal*   'to dazzle'
145. *zaḥlag*   'to cause to slide, slip'
146. *zaḥraf*   'to adorn'
147. *zangaḥ*   'to stride'

Pattern: tCaCCaC

Derived quadriliterals are characterized by a prefixed *ti-* or *ta-*. Although most are derived from simple quadriliteral verbs, we find examples like *t-šabšab* 'to feign youth'[54] where its simple form *šabšab* is not recorded in the dialect. Other quadriliterals are derived directly from nouns, e.g. *t-gahwa* 'to take coffee' < *gahwa* 'coffee'.[55]

1.   *t-ʾafʾaf*   'to grumble, mutter'
2.   *t-ʿalbač*   'to hold tight, clutch'
3.   *t-ʿanfag*   'to complain, nag'
4.   *t-ʿarčab*   'to stumble'
5.   *t-bačbač*   'to snivel, whinge, whine constantly; to fake a cry'[56]
6.   *t-bahḏal*   'to be ridiculed, embarrassed; to be or become mixed up'
7.   *t-bahlal*   'to behave as a buffoon, clown; to make others laugh'
8.   *t-balʿam*   'to be unable to talk, stammer, hum and haw'
9.   *t-čalfat*   'to enter a place without trouble'
10. *t-čanbaḥ*   'to bend down'
11. *t-darbaḥ*   'to roll over'
12. *t-dardam*   'to fall oneself in a hole, plunge, plummet'
13. *t-fatfat*   'to chuckle'
14. *t-garfaḏ*   'to huddle oneself, get huddled'
15. *t-garṭam*   'to grumble, bellyache'
16. *t-gaṣmaḷ*   'to become shorter, skimpy (of clothes)'
17. *t-ġaḷfaṭ*   'to become, be tongue-tied'
18. *t-ḥagraṣ*   'to sit restlessly'[57]

---

[54] Holes (2004: 102) notes the reduplicative *šabšab* 'to work hard, run hither and thither' in Bahraini Arabic.
[55] De Jong (2011: 101) glosses *tagahwa* as 'to drink coffee or tea' for the Bedouin dialects of Sinai.
[56] Erwin (2004: 117) records the meaning 'to put on a piteous act' in Iraqi Arabic. It is one of the few reduplicatives that derives from the weak, triliteral verb *biča*.
[57] Cf. the line in the Kuwaiti ditty Ġazāla Bazāla: *t-ḥagraṣ t-magraṣ* 'the worm is pinching (me!)'

19.	*t-ḫalṭam*	= *t-garṭam*
20.	*t-ḫalbaṣ*	'to be frightened, petrified'
21.	*t-ḫalḫal*	'a reply used at the mention of *ḫāli* 'my maternal uncle' or *ḫālti* 'my maternal aunt', e.g. *t-ḫalḫilat ḏlū⁽ik* 'may your ribs get broken! (mild oath)'
22.	*t-ḫarbaṭ*	'to get confused'[58]
23.	*t-ka⁽ka⁽*	'to laugh boisterously, chortle, howl'
24.	*t-karfas*	'to tip over'
25.	*t-karkar*	'to snigger'
26.	*t-katkat*	= *t-karkar*
27.	*t-lahmad*	'to drift into a deep sleep'
28.	*t-laḫbaṭ*	= *t-ḫarbaṭ*
29.	*t-maḏhak*	'to hoot, scoff, snigger'
30.	*t-maḏmaḏ*	'to rinse out the mouth'
31.	*t-malḫas*	'to lick one's lips; to humiliate oneself for the benefits of others'
32.	*t-maṣḫar*	'to humiliate oneself, show up'
33.	*t-maṣlaḥ*	'to fawn over s.o.; to flatter and curry favor with s.o.'
34.	*t-maškal*	'to have trouble, get in trouble'
35.	*t-maḫṭar*	'to wiggle, swagger'[59]
36.	*t-nahwaṣ*	'to cry, sob'
37.	*t-naḥnaḥ*	'to clear one's throat, say ahem, harrumph'
38.	*t-qalqaṣ*	'to be trapped, trap oneself'
39.	*t-raṭraṭ*	'to have a flabby flesh, become flaccid'
40.	*t-sarsaḥ*	'to slip slowly'
41.	*t-šarġad*	'to stretch oneself out'
42.	*t-ṣarwa⁽*	'to be thunderstruck, have the jitters'[60]
43.	*t-yaġmam*	'to sip continuously'
44.	*t-zaḥlag*	'to glide, slide, slip, skid, ski'

Pattern: tCēCaC

These verbs mostly describe physical and mental states, "often with pejorative overtones of pretence" (Holes 2004: 109), i.e. 'to pretend to be X/act as if' (Maṭar 1970: 136-139). In Ṣan⁽ānī Arabic, Watson (2006: 192) observes that tCayCaC verbs (i.e. tCēCaC) "are used considerably more by women than by men—both in addressing and referring to children, and in addressing women". However, in KA, this verb pattern remains common to both genders. The only Arabic example I have found in the dialect of the form CēCaC without *ti-* or *ta-* is *sēṭar* 'to control' (< Arabic *sayṭara ⁽ala*).

1.	*t-⁽ēyaz*	'to pretend to be lazy, indolent'
2.	*t-dēraf*	'to play on the swings'

---

[58] < *ḫabaṭ* 'to beat' (Atallah 2012: 144-145).
[59] An Egyptian borrowing.
[60] A metaphorical denominative from *ṣara⁽* 'epileptic fit'.

3.	*t-ġēšam*	'to act like a naïve person, an inexperienced person'
4.	*t-hēbal*	'to act as if stupid'
5.	*t-ḥēlag*	'to praise someone in order to gain their trust'
6.	*t-ḥēwan*	'to act foolishly; to blunder'
7.	*t-ḫēbaḷ*	= *t-hēbal*
8.	*t-kēsal*	'to laze about'
9.	*t-lēˤan*	'to be sharp in a devilish way; to be cunning'
10.	*t-lēgaf*	= *t-lēġab*
11.	*t-mēlaḥ*	'to make oneself appear beautiful'
12.	*t-mēraḏ*	'to malinger, feign illness'
13.	*t-mēṣaḥ*	'to become dull'
14.	*t-mēyaˤ*	'to act girlish'
15.	*t-nēḫas*	'to become perverse, obstinate, ill-intentioned'
16.	*t-šēḥaṭ*	'to claim superiority, put on airs'
17.	*t-šēṭan*	'to be naughty; to behave like a little rascal'
18.	*t-šēṭar*	'to pretend to be smart, wise'
19.	*t-ṣēmaḥ*	'to feign deafness, pretend not to hear'

Pattern: CōCaC

CōCaC verbs or "Type 1.w.3.4" verbs (Masliyah 2017: 27) are "treated as quadriliterals based on a triliteral element in which a semi-vowel has been introduced to modify its meaning" (Holes 2004: 107). The CōCaC forms are associated with particular types of meaning – physical characteristics and colors – which have no connection with Old Arabic Class III, yet they often replace Class IX. In a few cases, we find *ṣōfar* and the Class II *ṣaffar*, both meaning 'to whistle', but *ṣōfar* has another meaning: 'to become yellow'. Thus, the former *ṣōfar* derives from the Arabic *ṣafara* 'to whistle, hiss', while the latter derives from *aṣfar* 'yellow'.

1.	*ˤōḷaṣ*	'to walk randomly'
2.	*dōdah*	'to baffle'
3.	*dōzan*	'to tune oud strings'
4.	*fōkar*	'to keep thinking, ponder'
5.	*fōšaḥ*	'to be, become bow-legged'
6.	*gōṭar*	'to drip steadily (of cooking oil)'
7.	*kōfan*	'to beat up'
8.	*nōgaḷ*	'to keep moving houses'[61]
9.	*šōḥar*	'to snore (frequently)'[62]
10.	*ṣōban*	'to wash clothes with soap'
11.	*ṣōṭar*	'to slap'

---

[61] Noted in Iraqi Arabic as *nōqal* 'to transfer' (Masliyah 2017: 30).
[62] Class III *šāḥar* is also common in KA. In the Jewish dialect in Baghdad and Mosul, it means 'to get drunk', 'to drink *shékhar*' (Masliyah 2017: 31).

12. *ṭōṭaḥ*   'to stagger, totter'
13. *ṭōrag*   'to smack, slap'
14. *zōġal*   'to cheat (in games)'[63]

Pattern: tCōCaC/tCōCiC

1. *t-bōsam*   'to smile'
2. *(t-)ddōdah* 'to be confused'
3. *t-kōkas*   'to tumble'
4. *t-lōfiḥ*   'to whip one's hair around in a *baddāwi* dance'[64]
5. *t-šōṭir*   'to have the men's headdress *ġitra* or *čmāġ* not forming a straight line'

Foreign borrowings

KA is a highly fluid and changeable dialect that is undergoing continuous change as a result of the impact of globalization (i.e. using English as a language in certain areas of life) and various contacts with other community languages other than Arabic. This section aims to show how contact with other non-Semitic languages has found its way into the local inventory of quadriliteral verbs.

English borrowings

English is the major language of wider communication in the area. According to Holes (2007a: 216), "[t]he English language first arrived in the area in the 19th century as the language of the British imperial authorities". Additionally, the English language involved is of three varieties: British, American, and Indian (Smart 1986: 202). All the borrowed items were Arabicized like *batwan* < English 'between' as is illustrated in example (a). As has been discussed in the introduction, recent technologies have spurred on the formation of Arabicized quadriliteral verbs from English like *kabčar* 'to screen capture, take a screenshot of' as in sentence (b).

a) *šāf bint yamma, **batwan** u gām yidūs*
    'He saw a girl next to him (in the car), he **bypassed** (the cars) and began to drive fast.'

b) ***kabčir** li-twīta u ḫišha liz-ziman*
    '**Take a screen capture** of the tweet, you might need it someday.'

---

[63] Also attested in Syrian Arabic (Cowell 1964: 113).
[64] < *lafḥa* "hair toss dance move of Bedouin women in the Najd and Upper Gulf" (Urkevich 2015: 39).

In written Arabic, there is a large number of quadriliteral verbs borrowed from non-Semitic languages. The following examples are noted in the *Oxford Arabic Dictionary* (Arts 2014: 14, 23, 63): *aršaf* 'to archive', *aksad* 'to oxidize', *bastar* 'to pasteurize'. In the list below, the English borrowings that form the KA quadriliteral verbs comprise verbs, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions:

1. *balyan*   'to become a billionaire' (< (via French) 'billion')
2. *batwan*   'to bypass cars (i.e. car lane splitting)' (< 'between')
3. *dōbal*   'to double' (< 'double')[65]
4. *fabrak*   'to fabricate'(< 'fabricate')
5. *faltar*   'to clean up water' (< 'filter')
6. *fangar*   'to kick someone or something' (< 'finger')
7. *farmat*   'to format a computer' (< 'format')
8. *farzan*   'to store/sort food in the freezer'[66](< 'freezer')
9. *hastar*   'to become hysterical' (< 'hysteria')
10. *malyan*   'to become a millionaire' (< 'million')
11. *narfaz*   'to irritate, annoy somebody'(< 'nervous')
12. *taktak*   'to plan, arrange something' (< 'tactic')[67]
13. *t-akšan*   'to action' (< 'action')
14. *t-kalwan* 'to wear a cologne' (< (via French) 'cologne')

French borrowings

There is no contact between French and KA to speak of. However, it is possible that the following French borrowings, which mainly relate to fashion and broadcast media, were exported to Kuwait in the form of television shows or via Arab foreign workers from Egypt and the Levant.

1. *dablağ*   'to dub' (< *doublage*)
2. *dakwar*   'to decorate; (idiomatically) to show off, flaunt' (< *décor*)
3. *mantağ*   'to give a montage' (< *montage*)
4. *saŠwar*   'to blow-dry hair' (< *séchoir* 'dryer')

Turco-Persian borrowings

The main languages of the Gulf are Arabic and Persian; these terms include both the standard languages and the colloquial dialects. Officially, until the end of World War I,

---

[65] Class I *dibal* is also recorded for KA. Heath (1989: 234) records the quadriliteral *ḍawbal* (< French *double*) in northern Morocco.

[66] We have already noted above that one of the meanings of the homonym *farzan* is 'to distinguish, see clearly', which is derived from the Arabic verb *faraza* 'to separate'.

[67] Noted in Iraqi Arabic as 'to make the sound *tak tak* in an invariable rhythm (clock)' (Masliyah: 2017: 2). Procházka (1993: 100) similarly glosses the Arabic *taktaka* as 'to tick (clock)'.

Kuwait was in fact part of the Ottoman Empire but became a fully-fledged independent sovereign Emirate on June 19, 1961, which abrogated the 1899 Treaty. According to Procházka (2005: 191), the penetration of Turkish words into both written and colloquial Arabic is "the result of the rule of the Ottoman Empire over all regions of the Arabic speaking world except Morocco for half a millennium or more". Since a large number of words occur in both Persian and in Turkish, it is difficult to tell from which language they were borrowed. For example:

a)   *kān māši ġalaṭ yabi **yičēwir** biš-šāriˤ u yirǧaˤ id-duwwār rōng sāyd*
     'He was driving in the wrong lane and wanted to **turn** the car in the (main) street and returned on the wrong side to the roundabout.'

1.   *baḥšaš*   'to tip, bribe' (< Turk. *baḥşiş*/Pers. *baḥšaš* 'tip, gift')[68]
2.   *barmaǧ*   'to program' (< Pers. *bar-nāma* 'a model, an account-book')
3.   *barwaz*   'to frame (a painting, etc.)' (< Turk. *pervaz* 'border'/Pers. *parvāz* 'a frame')
4.   *čēwar*   'to go in reverse, make a U-turn' (< Turk. *çevirmek* 'turn round')[69]
5.   *ǧamrak*   'to impose a duty or customs on imported goods' (Turk. *Gümrük* 'customs')
6.   *kahrab*   'to electrify' (< Pers. 'to attract straw')[70]
7.   *sarsar*   'to pimp' (< Turk. *serseri* 'vagabond, tramp'; prob. < Pers. *Serseri* 'inattention to, remissness in necessary duties; vain words spoken without reflection; fool')[71]
8.   *t-zagrat*   'to doll oneself up' (< Turk. *züğürt* 'destitute')

Conclusion and future research directions

The study has examined the productivity of quadriliteral verbs in the Arabic dialects of Kuwait. It was found that there is greater number of quadriliteral verb patterns in KA than has hitherto been demonstrated in the lexico-semantic tradition.

Regarding their origin, the quadriliteral verbs in KA fall into three categories: (i) Indigenous roots which may be traced to triliteral or quadriliteral verbs (of nouns and verbs) in Old Arabic; (ii) borrowed roots, mainly denominative, from contact non-Semitic languages, such as Turkish, Persian, French, and English; (iii) native creations, chiefly onomatopoetic/mimetic, with no or only an obscure connection to (i) and (ii).

However, the study is not comprehensive because it only focused on quadriliteral verbs. The methodology and framework could not be easily applied to the lexicon more generally without extensive testing. This is because, in addition to verbs, there are quadriliteral nouns and quadriliteral adjectives in KA. Accordingly, this study was limited by the absence of

---

[68]   Al-Ḥanafī (1964: 34).
[69]   Erwin (2004: 79) glosses *čēwar* as 'to beat up' and Masliyah (2017: 33) 'to whip s.o.' in Iraqi Arabic. Qafisheh (1977: 50) records the weak verb *rēwas* (< English '[to go in] reverse') in the Abu Dhabi dialect.
[70]   Masliyah (2017: 59). Other colloquial terms for 'electrify' include: *fattar* and *nifaḍ*.
[71]   Holes (2001: 236).

data from other parts of speech. Even though the current study is based on samples of verbs, the findings show that the verbal system of the Kuwaiti dialect, like any other Arabic dialect, is rich.

The presentation used in this study may be applied to other Gulf Arabic dialects. It should prove to be particularly valuable to semanticists, sociolinguists, Arabists, and to those who work in Arabic dialectology and Semitics. It is valuable to semanticists, for instance, because the study shows the dynamic structure of verbs in a living dialect and demonstrates the points at which innovations occur.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the main objectives of this paper have been achieved through semantically and morphologically investigating quadriliteral verbs in KA and laying the foundations for further research on related issues.

References

Abu-Haidar, F. 1991. *Christian Arabic of Baghdad*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Al-Ayyūb, A.H. 1982. *Muḫtārāt šaʿbiyya min al-lahǧa al-Kuwaytiyya*. Kuwait: Mugahwī Press.

Al-Ḥanafī, J. 1964. *Muʿǧam al-ʾalfāḏ al-Kuwaytiyya*. Baghdad: Asʿad Press.

Arts, T. (ed.). 2014. *Oxford Arabic Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Atallah, E. 2005. *Dictionary of Arabic Quadriliteral Verbs*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.

Atallah, E. 2012. *Dictionary of Arabic Quadriliteral Colloquial Verbs in Al-Jalil*. Beirut:Librairie du Liban.

Behnstedt, P., & Woidich, M. 1994. *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte. Band 4: Glossar Arabisch-Deutsch.* Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Blanc, H. 1964. *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cowell, M.W. 1964. *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic*. Washington DC Georgetown University Press.

De Jong, R. 2011. *A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai*. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill.

Erwin, W. 2004. *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Gensler, O. 1997. "Reconstructing Quadriliteral Verb Inflection: Ethiopic, Akkadian, Proto-Semitic", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 42. 229-257.

Glanville, P.J. 2018. *The Lexical Semantics of the Arabic Verb*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grigore, G. 2010. "Les verbes à racines quadriconsonantiques dans l'arabe parlé à Bagdad", *Analele Universităţii din Bucureşti* LIX. 55-64.

Heath, J. 1989. *From Code-switching to Borrowing: A Case Study of Moroccan Arabic*. London; New York: Kegan Paul International.

Heidel, A. 1940. *The System of the Quadriliteral Verb in Akkadian*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Holes, C. 2001. *Dialect, Culture and Society in Eastern Arabia*, *Volume I: Glossary*. Leiden; Boston. MA: Brill.

Holes, C. 2004. "Quadriliteral verbs in the Arabic dialects of eastern Arabia", Haak, M., de Jong, R., & Versteegh, K. (eds.), *Approaches to Arabic Dialects: A Collection of Articles Presented to Manfred Woidich on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill. 97-116.

Holes, C. 2007a. "Gulf states", Versteegh, K. et al., K. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, *Vol. 2: Eg-Lan*. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill. 210-216.

Holes, C. 2007b. "Kuwaiti Arabic", Versteegh, K. et al., K. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, *Vol. 2: Eg-Lan*. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill. 608-620.

Holes, C. 2016. *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia. Vol. 3: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style*. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill.

Johnstone, T. M. 1967. *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies*. London: Oxford University Press.

Key, H. 1965. "Some Semantic Functions of Reduplication in Various Languages", *Anthropological Linguistics* 7. 88-102.

Khan, G. 2008. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*. Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill.

Maamouri, M. 2013. *The Georgetown Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Masliyah, S. 2017. "The Formation of Quadriliteral Verbs in Iraqi Arabic Dialects", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Supplement 38.

Maṭar, ʿA. 1970. *Min ʾasrār al-lahǧa al-kuwaytiyya*. Kuwait: Al-ʿAṣriyyah Press.

Procházka, S. 1993. "Some remarks on the semantic function of the reduplicated quadriliteral verb (structure *faʿfaʿa*)", Dévényi, K., Iványi, T., & Shivtiel, A. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Lexicology and Lexicography*. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Chair for Arabic Studies & Csoma de Kőrös Society Section of Islamic Studies. 97-103.

Procházka, S. 2005. "The Turkish contribution to the Arabic lexicon", Ágnes Csató, É., Isaksson, B., & Jahani, C. (eds.), *Linguistic Convergence and Areal Diffusion: Case Studies from Iranian, Semitic, and Turkic*). London; New York: Routledge. 191-202.

Qafisheh, H. 1977. *A Short Reference Grammar of Gulf Arabic*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Qafisheh, H. 2000. *NTC's Yemeni Arabic-English Dictionary*. Chicago: McGraw-Hill Contemporary.

Ratcliffe, R.R. 2013. "Morphology", Owens, J. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 71-91.

Sabar, Y. 1982. "The Quadriradical Verb in Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 27. 149-176.

Smart, J. 1986. "Language Development in the Gulf: Lexical Interference of English in the Gulf Dialects", Netton, I.R. (ed.), *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*. London; Sydney: Croom Helm. 202-212.

Urkevich, L. 2015. *Music and Traditions of the Arabian Peninsula: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar*. New York; London: Routledge.

Watson, J. 2006. "Arabic Morphology: Diminutive Verbs and Diminutive Nouns in San'ani Arabic", *Morphology* 16. 189-204.

Wehr, H. 1985. *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart: Arabisch-Deutsch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

JALĀL AL-DĪN AL-SUYŪṬĪ:
AN HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION BETWEEN LIFE AND WORKS

ANTONIO CUCINIELLO

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milan

Abstract: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, as a religious scholar of the Egyptian Mamluk era, one of the most prominent scholars of the pre-modern Islamic world, is the most prolific author in all of Islamic literature, with both a rich and diverse literary output. After a brief outline of the life, works and historical period in which the late-fifteenth century polymath lived, in the present essay attempts have been made to explore and highlight all the episodes of al-Suyūṭī's personal life and the background and context in which he operated that, most likely, influenced him to the point of making him reflect, argue and debate on life after death and, consequently, produce literature focused on eschatological themes, with the specific mention of some of these works.

Keywords: *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Mujaddid for the ninth century, Mamluk era, Cairo, Apocalyptic and eschatological works*

1. Ibn al-kutub. Biographical traits of a scholar who lived his life to the full

His full name was Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī[1]. In particular his *nisba*, al-Suyūṭī, designated his family's place of origin, namely the town of Asyut in upper Egypt, which his father had left when he moved to Cairo[2]. He was born in Cairo on the night of Saturday, 1st Rajab 849/3rd October 1445. According to a story that circulated about this well-known scholar of the Mamluk era, he appeared to have been destined for greatness in learning and a fertile career. His mother, a Circassian slave, was said to have given birth to him in his father's library, where she had been sent to retrieve a book. Most likely, for this reason (or due to his subsequent passion for learning and strong attachment to books) he was nicknamed

---

[1]   Besides many books and articles about specific topics and aspects of al-Suyūṭī's works, his life has been described in great detail in different works. *Al-Taḥadduth bi-niʿmat Allāh*, his own autobiography, was introduced and edited by Sartain in 1975; he also features himself in his *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* (1997). Moreover, two of his students, al-Shādhilī (1998) and Shams al-Dīn al-Dāwūdī, wrote biographies of him. Specifically, Sartain (1975) accessed microfilms of al-Dāwūdī's work (*Tarjamat al-Suyūṭī*) from Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Depot der Staatsbibliothek. Modern biographies include those by: Ḥammūdah 1989, Abd al-Muʿṭī 1992, Abū Ḥabīb 1993, al-Maṭwī 1995, al-Ṭabbāʿ 1996, Shalabī 1998.

[2]   His *nisba* might be "al-Asyūṭī"; nevertheless "al-Suyūṭī", representing a smoother pronunciation, is the *nisba* that his father decided on to identify his family.

ibn al-kutub, "son of the books". In addition, he came to be called Jalāl al-Dīn, "the glory of the religion", in recognition of his scholarship.

Al-Suyūṭī, through his father, belonged to a Persian family of bureaucrats and religious scholars who lived in Baghdad (his ancestors lived in the district of al-Khuḍayriyya) before coming to Asyut. Abū Bakr Kamāl al-Dīn, his father, moved to Cairo to complete his education in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). He then became an adjunct judge (*qāḍī*) and professor of Shāfiʿī jurisprudence[3] at the Shaykhū mosque in Cairo[4], and occupied the position of preacher at the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn[5], the most important ʿAbbāsid monument outside Mesopotamia, from the time of its establishment. In 855/1451 when he died prematurely, al-Suyūṭī was only six years old. Thanks to financial arrangements his father had made, al-Suyūṭī could pursue a path of scholarship. He was brought up with several teachers as his guardians, so that he could receive the education usual for his background. They were all recognized experts in their respective fields, some of whom were his father's scholarly friends or his former students.

During the fifteenth century, Cairo was the center of academic knowledge and genuine Islamic learning[6]. Whilst the Mamluks faced growing political, social and economic difficulties, the scholarly élite remained quite strong and productive. Moreover, institutions of higher education gradually became independent thanks to the establishment of inalienable charitable endowments (*awqāf*, sing. *waqf*). Thus, al-Suyūṭī had the opportunity to grow up in a highly literate and educated environment (see Petry 1980: 140; Makdisi 1981; Berkey 1992: 24). The great Egyptian polymath effectively began his education at the very early age of three, when his father took him to the lectures of some of the notable religious scholars of Cairo, such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), one of the most celebrated scholars of *ḥadīth* in the Muslim world. By his eighth birthday, al-Suyūṭī had accomplished the customary memorization of the Qurʾān. Then, owing to his father's reputation, but also because of the great promise he was showing, he was welcomed to attend seminars on a variety of religious topics (e.g. jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, Qurʾānic exegesis, theology), as well as on Arabic language, grammar, literature (see Sartain 1975: 138), with some of the renowned scholars of his time, for example: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459)[7] who had risen to prominence as a specialist in

---

[3] Founded by the Arab scholar Muḥammad ibn Idrīs Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) in the early 9th century, the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* is one of the four schools of Islamic law in Sunni Islam. Even though the demographic data for each nation is unavailable, Saeed (2008: 17) states that Shāfiʿī school is the second largest school by number of adherents.

[4] Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī (d. 757/1357) was a high-ranking Mamluk emir during the reigns of sultans Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī (1346–1347), Al-Malik al-Nāṣir (1347–1351, 1354–1361) and Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (1351–1354); see Levanoni 1995.

[5] According to Sartain (1975: 42, 46, 99–100, 105, 111) he occupied a room there until his death.

[6] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Cairo produced some prominent scholars. Along with al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), the most significant included Ibrāhīm al-Qalqashandī (d. 921/1516), Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 952/1545) and Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d. 958/1551): it is meaningful that all these scholars were Shāfiʿī, except al-Laqani who was Mālikī; see Hrbek 1975: 418.

[7] He authored numerous works on various branches of Islamic Studies, including *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, the most popular exegesis of the Qurʾān, due to its simple style and conciseness as it is only one volume in length. As a classical Sunni interpretation of the Qurʾān, it was composed first by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī in 863/1458 and then completed after his death by his student al-Suyūṭī in 911/1505. Therefore, this work's title, which means "*Tafsīr* of the two Jalāls", contains the combined efforts of both scholars.

diverse Islamic disciplines, especially principles of Islamic law; chief-judge 'Alam al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Umar al-Bulqīnī (d. 868/1464) (see al-Sakhāwī 2003: III, 312–4); judge Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad al-Munāwī (d. 871/1467) (see al-Sakhāwī 2003: X, 254–7); and the dean of the Shaykhūniyya school Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Kāfiyajī (d. 879/1474) (see al-Sakhāwī 2003: VII, 259–61). He reportedly learnt from over one hundred teachers. As a consequence, al-Suyūṭī became a specialist in different areas: ḥadīth[8], law, Qur'ānic exegesis (tafsīr), as well as in Arabic.

His teaching career started early. At the age of sixteen he was given his first license (ijāza) to teach grammar and literature and the following year 'Alam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī allowed him to teach Shāfi'ī fiqh and issue legal opinions (fatāwā, sing. fatwā). At eighteen, al-Suyūṭī was appointed to his deceased father's post as professor of Shāfi'ī fiqh at the mosque of Shaykhū in Cairo and gave juridical consultations[9]. He added the teaching of ḥadīth (by taking up again the tradition of dictating), along with other subjects, at the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (from 872/1467) (see Sartain 1975: 42, 46, 99–100, 105, 111), where his father had preached, and at the prestigious Shaykhūniyya school (from 877/1473) (see al-Malaṭī 2002: VII, 56), next to the Shaykhū mosque. Later, he was also appointed to two other positions of a more administrative nature: shaykh of sufis at the mausoleum of Barqūq al-Nāṣirī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 877/1473) in al-Qarāfa (see al-Sakhāwī 2003: III, 12; al-Malaṭī 2002: VII, 59)[10], and shaykh of the al-Baybarsiyya Sufi lodge (khānqāh), a prominent center of learning in Cairo[11] from where he was dismissed in 906/1501. When the incomes of the institution declined, the Sufi residents demanded al-Suyūṭī negotiate on their behalf. Al-Suyūṭī accused him of ignoring his duties, prioritizing some persons over others in determining how the salaries were to be paid. The polymath made his opinion clear with three different legal treatises about the award of stipends, by underlining that priority should be given to the shaykh on the basis of his learning; on the contrary, people with a low level of knowledge did not deserve an entitlement. A revolt broke out and al-Suyūṭī was caught by his clothes and hurled into a fountain (fasqiyya) by the Sufis of the Baybarsiyya: he was nearly killed (see Brockelmann 1937–49: GAL G II, 143; Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 388, 471)[12]. He was then

---

[8]   Al-Suyūṭī claimed to have memorized all ḥadīths in existence; see Ibn al-'Imād 1986–95: X, 76. He studied ḥadīth through a dozen women specialising in this discipline; see Shak'a 1981: 35–40.

[9]   For examples of fatwās given at that early age, see Sa'dī 1993: 189–93.

[10] Though al-Suyūṭī at first hesitantly accepted the position (see Sartain 1975: 45, 81, 89), al-Sakhāwī (2003: III, 12, 67) mentions that Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Asyūṭī/al-Suyūṭī (d. 893/1488), a powerful judicial scribe from the province of Asyūṭ, recommended al-Suyūṭī to Barqūq.

[11] Notwithstanding a rather problematic relationship, al-Suyūṭī was appointed to this post in 891/1486 through the intermediation of Sultan Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–1496); see Sartain 1975: 44–5; al-Malaṭī 2002: VIII, 26; al-Sakhāwī 2003: IV, 69. In addition, as far as the stipulation of the endowment deed of this khānqāh was concerned, the shaykh should have been chosen only from among the Sufis of the monastery, as would happen later, in 791/1389, with Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406); see Fernandes 1988: 48.

[12] In a strongly worded letter, al-Suyūṭī replied that his position was due to the fact that many so-called Sufis of the institution were not worthy of this title, because of their low level of knowledge; see Arazi 1979: 347. According to Sartain (1975: 101) this certainly did not happen because of mismanagement of the finances of the establishment. Therefore, the efforts of his enemies seem to have been the main reason for his dismissal. In this incident, perhaps, among his adversaries, Ibn al-Karakī can be added: before al-Suyūṭī went into hiding and was dismissed, he was appointed, after a bribe, as Ḥanafī chief judge by Ṭūmānbāy; see Ito 2017: 56–9. Hernanedez (2017: 27, 34–5) emphasizes that this episode (and its

forced to hide to escape the harassment of the sultan who also supported his enemies. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (d. 906/1501)[13], formerly Amīr Ṭūmānbāy, had searched for him with the aim of slaying him. Since the time when al-ʿĀdil had been executive secretary (*dawādār kabīr*)[14], there had effectively been bitterness between them. Al-Suyūṭī reappeared later, after the sultan's death (see Garcin 1967: 37; Sartain 1975: 97–102; Saleh 2001: 75; Spevack 2009: 407).

Due to the various problems al-Suyūṭī had experienced with the different sultans, in addition to the scandal provoked by his claims to have reached the level of *mujtahid*, he decided to reduce and, in the end, leave his public offices and activities in the last years of his life. The polymath withdrew from his teaching positions and issuing legal opinions in response to queries presented to him, to dedicate himself to research, writing and revising his works and seeking consolation in mysticism. He also rejected honorary posts, favors and gifts of money that sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (d. 922/1516), the last sultan in office (r. 906–922/1501–1516) as long as al-Suyūṭī was alive, wanted to bestow on him[15]. Nevertheless, it was not complete retirement from public life, since he still held a mainly administrative role at al-Khānqāh al-Baybarsiyya and at the mausoleum of Barqūq (see Sartain 1975: 25–6, 44–5, 82). Moreover, al-Suyūṭī wielded significant influence over the intellectual life of the sultan's court concerning religious issues discussed in the sultan's educated salons (*majālis*), as the members of the Mamluk court recognized him as a leading scholar. Yet, given his previous experiences with rulers, he always tried not to get too caught up in the Mamluk power apparatus (see Mauder 2017: 82–3)[16]. Furthermore, his antipathy of the intellectual communities in Cairo got worse with age, as criticism of him did not abate. He spent the rest of his days in seclusion in his house on Rawḍa Island (near Cairo) overlooking the Nile, until 911/1505 when he died at the age of 60. Despite condemnation during his later years, he was subsequently rehabilitated in the minds of many, gaining saintly status[17].

Finally, it is equally interesting that al-Suyūṭī adopted the mystic approach to life and was certainly the most well-known scholar involved in Sufism (*taṣawwuf*) of the Mamluk era, acting as a pioneer in this field. Indeed, mysticism had become very influential and for this reason almost all scholars had a mystical affiliation. In 869/1465,

---

consequences) is indicative not only of al-Suyūṭī's position related to several legal disputes on the administration of waqf revenues, but it also highlights broader dynamics of how power was distributed among the different levels of Mamluk society and institutions in Egypt.

[13] As the twenty-fifth Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, he ruled for about one hundred days in 1501; see Garcin 1998.

[14] The *dawādār kabīr* was the most important office after the sultan's, since it controlled the state's finances and Egypt's regions; see Igarashi 2017. His occupation of offices such as *amīr silāḥ*, *ustādār*, *vizier* and viceroy of all the Egyptian provinces, continued under governments until the end of the Mamluk sultanate; see Daisuke 2009: 38.

[15] On al-Suyūṭī and al-Ghawrī, see al-Shādhilī 1998: 164–5, 167, 261; al-Shaʿrānī 2005: 17–8; Sartain 1975: 81, 98, 103–6, 110–1, 145; Garcin 1967: 37–8; Spevack 2009: 407. Among the monographs devoted to al-Ghawrī, see Petry 1993.

[16] On al-Suyūṭī's relations with various rulers, see Sartain 1975: 42–5, 71, 89, 94, 109, 196.

[17] One of the main manifestations of his holiness were the miracles attributed to him; see Geoffroy 2017: 10. His mausoleum built to house his tomb, erected due to the wishes of his mother, became a popular attraction; see Mourad *2008*: 383.

during his first visit to Mecca, al-Suyūṭī was clothed in the *khirqa*, the initiatory cloak of the Sufi chain of spirituality, by Ibn Imām al-Kāmiliyya (d. 874/1470), who in turn gave him a license to bestow the Sufi cloak on whomever he wanted (see Geoffroy 2017). Although his Sufism was rooted in several orders, his preferred mystical tradition was the Shādhiliyya order (*ṭarīqa*), the most popular mystical tradition in Egypt[18]; his *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 910/1504) was an outstanding Shādhilī master in Cairo during that time. Al-Suyūṭī never taught mysticism, even though he wrote several short pamphlets on the topic, defending the authenticity of the mystical tradition as dating back to Muḥammad. He is said to have seen the Prophet while awake more than seventy times: in one of those visions the Prophet gave him the honorary epithet *Shaykh al-Sunna*, "Doctor of the Prophetic Way"[19].

2. Al-Suyūṭī's relations with the circle of power holders and scholars

Al-Suyūṭī's reputation during his lifetime was distinguished by controversy. His relationships with the sultans of his time, as well as with some scholars (whom he described as ignorant and corrupt)[20], were not particularly cordial, due to his confrontational personality and convictions. It is generally held that this peculiarity of his biography also found space in some of his scholarly works. Although he did not address rulers directly, but rather his academic colleagues and rivals, he expressed his political critique, along with a clear hostility, against those in power: former slave-soldiers and usurpers (see Banister 2017: 108; Mauder 2017: 86). Indeed, he opposed what he defined the illegal character of the Mamluk sultans' power because of the usurpation of caliphal rights, while standing up for the claims of the ʿAbbasid caliphate[21]. The different holders

---

[18]   The founder was Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī *(d. 656/*1258*):* it was (and still is) the most popular mystical tradition in Egypt; see Taleb 2020. By emphasizing the orthodoxy of this Sufi path, al-Suyūṭī praised all the virtues of the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* in one of his important works (2006); see also Spevack 2017.

[19]   To defend the reality of seeing the Prophet and the angels in visions, al-Suyūṭī wrote a small book (1993a). On the importance that the polymath attributed to the complementarity between the esoteric and exoteric aspects of the Prophet, see al-Suyūṭī 1998. al-Shaʿrānī (2003: 15–7), in addition to seeing visions of Muḥammad, reports other miracles that the polymath is said to have performed, such as traveling from Cairo to Mecca in an instant and foreseeing the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans in 923/1517; see also Geoffrey 1996: 296–7.

[20]   His colleagues often made accusations against him to key political and official figures in Cairo: this resulted in much enmity among the governing class to the point that he lost the support and privileges that these figures conferred on the scholarly community; see Mourad 2008: 371. The majority of al-Suyūṭī's opponents represented historical figures (e.g., al-Jawjarī, Ibn al-Karakī and al-Sakhāwī, to name only a few); however, it is interesting to report that they also included one, considered a despicable person even to be mentioned by name, to whom the polymath gave the epithet of Abū Jahl or al-Jāhil, "the Ignoramus". Through the scarce biographical details provided, he was probably a man named Shams al-Dīn al-Ṭūlūnī; see Sartain 1975: 56–7; Hernandez 2017: 69.

[21]   The Mamluks for al-Suyūṭī were the heirs of the Turkish soldiers who in the 9th and 10th centuries had humiliated and eclipsed the Caliphate in Baghdad, rather than the saviors of Islam; see Garcin 1967. Furthermore, he drew a stark contrast between the piety of Saladin, the restorer of Sunnism in Egypt, and his contemporary rulers; see Black 2011: 148. For his caliphate-centric worldview, see al-Suyūṭī 1992; Arazi, Elʿad 1978; Garcin 1967: 66; Geoffroy 1997: 914; Black 2011: 148; Banister 2017. The polymath,

of worldly power with whom he had a conflicting relationship included Qāytbāy (d. 901/1496), a long-ruling sultan (r. 872–901/1468–1496)[22], with whom contacts were as lasting as they were difficult, due to the scholar's haughtiness. As previously reported, al-Suyūṭī was appointed at the tomb of Barqūq with the position of *shaykh*. When Barqūq died, the sultan became the supervisor of the mausoleum, following the founder's indication, and Qāytbāy in his position required al-Suyūṭī to join him at the Citadel at the beginning of each month to greet him and collect his own salary[23]. Yet, as a representative and interpreter of God's Law and *Sunna*, together with great self-confidence in his own abilities and his God-given "mission" (see Jackson 2006: 138), he stubbornly refused to pay a customary once-a-month visit to the sultan's palace like a common state employee. Furthermore, joining the court would also have forced him to acknowledge the scholars who advised Qāytbāy, whom he detested. Consequently, using a large number of anecdotes, he composed tractates on the question to rid himself of this obligation. The polymath underlined that, except when absolutely necessary, frequenting the holders of worldly power was condemned by the first Muslims, and ridiculed those scholars who made themselves part of a court's retinue (see Mourad 2008: 371; Mauder 2017). In doing so, al-Suyūṭī refused to submit to the sultan's authority and legitimized his own behavior (and power), by proving that he was merely following Muḥammad's instructions and the ancestors' conduct[24]. Al-Suyūṭī even declared that Qāytbāy delegated the responsibility for meeting him to 'Alī Bāy (897/1492), Barqūq's eldest son. Thus, it is likely that 'Alī Bāy visited the sultan in place of the polymath (see Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 288–9; al-Sakhāwī 2003: V, 150; Ito 2017: 52). Nevertheless, when in 899/1493 al-Suyūṭī was summoned again by Qāytbāy, he presented himself to him wearing over his shoulders a shawl called *ṭaylasān*, "the small hermitage" (*khuluww al-ṣughrā*) and "the dormitory of life" (*manām al-ḥayāt*), as named by al-Suyūṭī[25]. It was a cloth of honor

---

in the introduction to his *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* (2003) refers to all the caliphs of history as persons who stood in authority over the *umma*.

[22] Among the monographs devoted to Qāytbāy, see Petry 1993.

[23] It is interesting to mention that by the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, caliphs and *qāḍī*s were expected to visit the sultan once a month at the Citadel to renew his proximity to religious notables; see Banister 2014–15: 234–5.

[24] Thereby, al-Suyūṭī lost no opportunity to demonstrate his vast knowledge through publications (as well as in public through debates) to prove that he was right while his opponents were wrong, see al-Suyūṭī 1992; Sartain 1975: 89–90; Saleh 2001; Geoffroy 1997: 914; Hernandez 2013: 360; Mauder 2017: 84–7. Al-Shādhilī, one of al-Suyūṭī's students, records that the sultan sent (without succeeding) several envoys to try to persuade him to change his mind, but he vowed never to attend the sultan's court; see Sartain 1975: 87–90.

[25] The *ṭaylasān*, a shawl-like head-cover worn in many ways, such as wrapping it around the neck, wearing it over the turban or draping it over the head as a hood, was generally restricted to *qāḍī*s and *faqīh*s; see Schimmel 1942: 78–9. The use of this visible marker of religious membership had already sparked heated debates. Indeed, Qāytbāy and his entourage considered the *ṭaylāsan* to be at best a garment particular to the Mālikī school of law; in particular, Qāytbāy's Ḥanafī imam explained to him its possible Jewish origin, attacking the Shāfi'ites' privileged position and throwing down a challenge to al-Suyūṭī's knowledge on the Prophetic traditions, see Sartain: 1975, 86–94; Kindinger 2017: 75; Mauder 2017: 82. As stated by al-Suyūṭī, the Shāfi'ī law school maintained that wearing a *ṭaylasān* is an established prophetic tradition; in fact, the *Sunna* offers anecdotal evidence for its wearing in the Muslim community since the lifetime of Muḥammad. Moreover, the frequent presence and defense of the *ṭaylasān* in the writings of the Shāfi'ī law school could show how wearing this ceremonial garnment is rooted in the Shāfi'ī tradition, the symbol of their special status in Egypt, see Young 1986; Assmann 2011: 38.

worn by the learned only, a very uncommon practice at the time. By accusing him of arrogance, which brought about a dispute with the sultan and Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Karakī (d. 922/1516), a Ḥanafī judge and the sultan's personal imam, one of al-Suyūṭī's chief opponents[26]. There can be no doubt that this emblematic incident gives some ideas about the behavior of the polymath towards scholars, officials and even sultans. Indeed, even though he would still be invited to join the sultan's court at the Citadel, he refused obstinately and his rejection was interpreted as disobedience to the sultan. As a consequence, his salary was stopped and al-Suyūṭī resigned from the post of the *shaykh* at Barqūq's mausoleum in 901/1495. Finally, it is worth reporting that when a huge fire destroyed Qāytbāy's storehouse and burnt many of his war tents[27]: the event was interpreted by al-Suyūṭī in his autobiography as divine retribution for the sultan's misdeeds. He gave the same interpretation after Qāytbāy fell sick, not long after the blaze, and eventually died of a throat-related affliction (see Sartain 1975: 88–91).

As far as al-Suyūṭī's complicated relationships and disputes with opposing scholars are concerned, he mostly debated with Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Jawjarī (d. 889/1484) (see Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 208; al-Suyūṭī 1975: 183–5; al-Malaṭī 2002: VII, 383; al-Sakhāwī 2003: VIII, 123–6), a scholar appointed to teaching posts in various institutions who, like al-Suyūṭī, delivered many *fatwā*s and wrote numerous works (see Ito 2017: 50). In 886/1481, the Prophet's mosque was damaged due to a fire caused by lightning. Therefore, Qāytbāy, in addition to its renovation, ordered a madrasa to be built adjacent to it. It was precisely the placement of its door and windows, designed to open on to the Prophet's mosque, that provoked debates between al-Jawjarī and al-Suyūṭī (see Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 196; al-Malaṭī 2002: VII, 321–2): the former and the chief judges of Cairo agreed with this, while the latter, the inhabitants of Medina and some jurists claimed that this proposal was not acceptable, since al-Suyūṭī maintained that the Prophet forbade doors and windows opening on to his mosque, excluding a door or a small window of Abū Bakr and a door of ʿAlī (see al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 14–30; Ito 2017: 51–2; Behrens-Abouseif 1999: 129–47). Moreover, the polymath also claimed that everything in the hand of a sultan belonged to the Public Treasury (*Bayt al-māl*): for this reason he rejected the idea that the sultan could do what he wanted to a wall shared by Muḥammad's mosque and the madrasa only because it was built with his money. Consequently, the wall was not his private property.

Therefore, those who supported the use of *ṭaylasān* stressed its accordance with the *Sunna*; on the contrary, those who did not accept its use regarded it as a deviation from true belief (*bidʿa*) emphasizing its deep rootedness in its Persian and Jewish origins, see Levy 1935: 334, n. 5; Kindinger 2017: 77; Mauder 2017: 82. Finally, it is highly probable that it was this very incident that inspired the polymath to write his apologia on the *ṭaylasān* later in 899/1492 (al-Suyūṭī 1983a; see also Arazi 1976), in which he listed a number of traditions attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions, during a decline of the position of the Shāfiʿī law school; see Young 1986.

[26] Ibn al-Karakī was given various teaching, religious and administrative posts by Qāytbāy. Yet, in 886/1481 when he lost the sultan's favor, he went into hiding until 891/1486, see al-Sakhāwī 2003: I, 59–64; Ibn Iyās 1960–75: V, 96. On Ibn al-Karakī's relationship with Qāytbāy, see Hallenberg 2000. Specifically, on conflicts with al-Suyūṭī, see Sartain 1975: 77–80, 88–90.

[27] Qāytbāy himself supposedly blamed the caliph al-Mutawakkil II (d. 902/1497) for the fire and, as a direct result, he expelled the caliph and his family to another residence near the shrine of Sayyida Nafīsa; yet, Ibn Iyās (1960–75: III, 300–1) insisted on the innocence of the caliph.

3. The polymath's controversial claims

In an age characterized by widespread ignorance and corruption[28], in addition to relative intellectual decline because of scholars close to the regime, the polymath considered himself a talented scholar (particularly in the fields of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and the Arabic language), the most knowledgeable and educated Islamic thinker of his time. Indeed, he sought to differentiate himself from his contemporary colleagues of whose low standard of learning he disdained (see Barry, Hunwick 1978: 81; Brustad 1997: 329)[29]. Accordingly, he thought he had a special mission given to him by God: it was his task to assemble, safeguard and transmit the fundamentals of the Islamic cultural patrimony to future generations, before it disappeared entirely. This conviction of his own superiority was most likely the cause of the scholarly disputes on the part of his opponents; however, the polymath was no stranger to debate (see Sartain 1975: 24, 61, 70–1, 115; Saleh 2001: 76; Geoffroy 1997: 914; Irwin 2006: 169; Banister 2017: 110).

Among his several controversial positions concerning matters of law that led to significant controversies, of great interest is his claim to have achieved, as divinely granted, the lofty status of independent juristic reasoning (*ijtihād*). Al-Suyūṭī considered it the backbone of *Sharī'a* without which legal decisions cannot be made (see Sartain 1975: 63; Barry, Hunwick 1978: 98). Yet, he was heavily criticized for allegedly claiming that he had attained this rank. In particular, probably in 888/1483, he declared he was a jurist capable of independent reasoning (*mujtahid*)[30] in the Shāfi'ī legal school (*madhhab*), with which he was affiliated, and he claimed to be able to practice the highest degree. Like some earlier leading Shāfi'ī jurists such as al-Muzanī (d. 264/878), al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1356). It means that, by following Shāfi'ī principles of jurisprudence, al-Suyūṭī could derive law and theology directly from Islam's primary sources (Qur'ān and *Sunna*), without being bound to any precedents from al-Shāfi'ī or other independent jurists (see Sartain 1975: 63; Hallaq 1984: 27–8; Spevack 2009: 401; Idem 2017: 23–5). To be clearer, as he explained to his student al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565)[31] as well as in his writings, he did not put forward claims affirming the right to independent *ijtihād* (*ijtihād istiqlāl*), for he was a follower of the Shāfi'ī school, instead he defended the right to the rare and highest level of "absolute

---

[28] According to Jackson (2006: 138), mainly blaming the ignorance of religious scholars, al-Suyūṭī saw a series of signs prophesied by Muḥammad (greed, materialism, pride, falsehood, great dispute) that urged scholars to stay in their homes, withdrawing from public affairs. Indeed, he devoted a considerable section of his *al-Tanbi'a* (1990a) to this issue, chronicling all of the trials and disasters that the community has to face at the turn of each century.

[29] According to Bahl (1975: 125), pointing to deep-rooted intellectual responsibilities, al-Suyūṭī represented the last bulwark of Islamic leadership based on the transmission of an authoritative Islamic corpus of knowledge mastered to perfection.

[30] In his autobiography the polymath specified that he had achieved this rank in the three disciplines of religious law (*al-aḥkām al-shar'iyya*), Prophetic traditions (*al-ḥadīth al-nabawī*) and the Arabic language (*al-'arabiyya*); see Sartain 1975: 205.

[31] Al-Sha'rānī (2005: 7, 13), an Egyptian Shāfi'ī scholar and mystic, founder of an Egyptian Sufi order, *Sha'rāniyya* or *Sha'rāwiyya*, reported that the polymath never issued a *fatwā* outside the Shāfi'ī legal school, as a qualified jurist in response to questions posed by a judge, a government or a private individual.

affiliated" *ijtihād* (*ijtihād muṭlaq muntasib*) (see al-Suyūṭī 1983b: 116; Sartain 1975: 63–4. See also Barry, Hunwick 1978: 95–8; Pagani 2004: 189–201). It is likely that several of his contemporary scholars misunderstood his assertion, namely they thought that he had reached the level of an independent jurist in the sense that he intended to produce his own methodology, just like the early founders of the legal schools[32]. Otherwise, it is probable that his enemies proved him undeserving of the title, so they tried to discredit him (see Sartain 1975: 61–71; Saleh 2001: 79). As a reaction, al-Suyūṭī wrote a polemical treatise entitled *al-Radd 'alā man akhlada ilā l-arḍ wa jahila anna l-ijtihād fī kull 'asr farḍ* ("Refutation of those who cling to the earth and ignore that independent juridical reasoning is a religious obligation in every age") (see Sartain 1975: 63–4)[33], criticizing his defamers and defending his claim, not only through Qur'ānic references but also with an appeal to previous scholars. As a matter of fact, he stated that the level of school-affiliated independent exertion of juristic effort, as a communal obligation (*farḍ kifāya*) to be fulfilled by the Muslim community, was still possible and necessary in every age, unlike the founder-level independence. Paradoxically, the absence of independent jurists would mean that the community had agreed upon error (see Hallaq 1984: 27; Spevack 2017: 24). Moreover, it is equally important that his opponents firmly assumed that the gates of *ijtihād* had been closed for half a millennium (see Sartain 1975: 66); thus, nobody could allege having attained the level of an independent *mujtahid* after the representatives of the four dominant schools of Sunni jurisprudence.

A well-known *ḥadīth* attributed to the prophet Muḥammad reports that at the turn of every century of the Muslim calendar there would appear a restorer (or renewer) of religion (*mujaddid al-dīn*) appointed by God to restore Islam to its straight path and prevent the Muslim community from going astray: "God will send to this community at the turn of every century someone (or "people") who will restore religion" (*Inna Allāh yab'ath li-hadhihi al-umma 'alā ra's kull mi'a sana man yujaddid lahā amr dīnihā*) (Abu Dāwūd 2008: Book 37, no. 4278)[34]. Based on the same saying of the Prophet, shortly

---

[32] On the contrary, assuming that his opponents really understood the level he had claimed, they were not sure of such a possibility, since it was generally believed that the founder-level independent legal reasoning was no longer possible; see Spevack 2017: 24. Moreover, they also used al-Suyūṭī's earlier statements (al-Suyūṭī 2007) against the study of logic, in order to demonstrate that he was lacking in that area of knowledge. In particular, al-Sakhāwī (2003: IV, 65–70), one of al-Suyūṭī's rivals, attacked his qualifications as a *mujtahid*, pointing to his lack of accomplishments in logic, therefore, he did not possess one of the skills required to attain this status; see Sartain 1975: 69. On the contrary, al-Suyūṭī stated that the noble sciences required of the aspiring *mujtahid* are: Qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and training in the Arabic language, see al-Suyūṭī 2000: I, 244–8; Sartain 1975: 203–5; Hernandez 2017: 63–4. Hallaq (1984: 27) suggests that the antagonistic attitude towards his claim was due to his boastfulness and immense self-confidence. Indeed, he was often in conflict with many of his colleagues, see Sartain 1975: 61; Barry, Hunwick 1978: 80–1, 98–9. It can be concluded that, among opponents, there were those who disproved the possibility of the existence of any *mujtahid*, while others accepted that possibility but thought that al-Suyūṭī was unworthy of it.

[33] Al-Suyūṭī also mentioned the question of *ijtihad* in his *Ta'yīd* (2006), a personal manifesto on Sufism; see Spevack 2017: 17. Calder (1996: 143–52), at least in terms of the strength of his argument, considers al-Suyūṭī's claim to appear well-founded.

[34] This *ḥadīth* is regarded as authentic by Sunni Muslim scholars and is included in a collection considered one of the six authentic sources in Sunni thought; interestingly, the saying is not present in any Shiite collection; see Algar 2001: 292, n. 3. There is discussion as to whether *ra's*, "head", refers to the

before the advent of the tenth century of the *hijra* (900/1494), the polymath's conviction that theological knowledge was falling into oblivion, along with his assumed intellectual superiority, led him to make an audacious statement, namely, that God had chosen him to be the ninth *mujaddid* of the Islamic faith. Following previous restorers, such as al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), the renewer for the third century, or al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the renewer for the sixth century, al-Suyūṭī gave quotations to show that the *mujaddid* had to be a scholar of religious disciplines, recognized by his contemporaries as having benefited the Muslim community through his knowledge[35]. However, to be a *mujaddid* for the ninth century, he first had to be recognized as a *mujtahid*. Hence, the close relationship between the two concepts *tajdīd* and *ijtihād* (see al-Suyūṭī 1975: 203; Hallaq 1984: 27–8; Hernandez 2017: 19)[36] represents the "linchpin of his self-framing enterprise and it is these elements of his legal persona that bear the most significant implications for his legacy" (Hernandez 2017: 101). Finally, there is no doubt that, given the appearance every hundred years of the *mujaddid*, the gates of *ijtihād* could never have been considered closed.

Al-Suyūṭī's own claims made him a *persona non grata* in numerous Cairo circles. Among his adversaries, al-Sakhāwī deprecated his conceited claims and Ibn al-Karakī criticized al-Suyūṭī, affirming that the announcement of his status had not been made by

---

beginning or the end of a century; see Barry, Hunwick 1978: 85 n. 20. According to Voll (1983: 33), *tajdīd* in Medieval Islam, as a call for reform, was based on the concept that the Muslim community always strays from the path of the Qurʾān and the *Sunna*. On the contrary, Landau-Tasseron (1989: 79–80) states that it is a hard interpretation to accept, since it is based on the assumption that Islam admits its own imperfection, although the prevailing idea is that the Community does not err, as a *ḥadīth* reports: "My community will never agree on an error" (*la tajtamiʿ ummatī ʿala ḍalāla*); Ibn Māja: 2013, Book 36, no. 3950. Poston (2010: 100–1) declares that this saying of the Prophet has two advantages: "it establishes a cyclical pattern in history according to which both people and events may be categorized. Second, it affords a psychological advantage in that events in any given time period may be understood and explained in accordance with how far a particular century has progressed. Since one knows beforehand that decline will inevitably occur over the course of a century, it becomes easier to adjust both psychologically and sociologically to catastrophic events which are experienced in perpetuity by the human race. Without such a system of historical interpretation, these events will appear arbitrary, chaotic, and even capricious". Finally, Friedmann (1989: chap. 1, section 1) highlights the eschatological elements of this *ḥadīth* and Bahl (1975: 125) writes that the *mujaddid*-complex has to be seen in the broader framework of an Islamic premillennialism and a transregional eschatological conjunction; see Poston 2010. Indeed, this *ḥadīth* was placed by Abu Dāwūd at the head of *Kitāb al-malāḥim* ("The Book of [Apocalyptic] Battles"), a section comprising different sayings by the Prophet on conflicts and calamities that portend the end of days. For various objections raised on the relationship between the concept of *mujaddid* and eschatology, see Landau-Tasseron 1989: 80–2. No less interesting is the fact that some scholars give Jesus the role of *mujaddid*. In fact, after his second coming, he will renew Islam by using Qurʾānic law, instead of bringing new laws; see, e.g., Al-Qurtubī 1967: XVI, 107.

[35] He also supported his claim in one of his treatises: al-Suyūṭī 1990a; see Sartain 1975: 69–72, 113; Hernandez 2017: 106–12.

[36] Landau-Tasseron (1989: 83–4, 94) underlines that, despite such a connection, the concept of *ijtihād* was widely discussed, developed and systematized by Islamic scholars, but the same cannot be said of the *tajdīd*, since it was rather an honorary title to designate the most outstanding scholar of the age; despite this, interesting elements are found in Barry, Hunwick 1978. Quite a significant phenomenon is that half of the *mujaddid*s were Egyptian; thus, it seems that it was also a regional Islamic phenomenon and not just a general one. Finally, even though most of the *mujaddid*s were *Shāfiʿites*, the use of this title was not limited to the Shāfiʿī legal school; see Landau-Tasseron 1990: 248; Spevack 2017: 34.

any angel. He replied saying that previous *mujaddid*s were recognized by their knowledge and the circulation of their books in different countries, as was his case (see Sartain 1975: 62, 78–80; Banister 2017: 110. See also Barry, Hunwick 1978: 81, 87–8; Jackson 2006: 139). It is conceivable that, as a self-professed *mujtahid* and *mujaddid*, al-Suyūṭī may well have seen himself as authorized by the Prophet's *ḥadīth* that "whoever is asked about knowledge and conceals it shall receive a bridle of hellfire on the Day of Judgment" (*Man shu'ila 'an 'ilm 'alimahu thumma katamahu uljima yawma al-qiyāma bi-lijām min nār*) (al-Tirmidhī 2001: Book 5, no. 2649; see Banister 2017: 111, n. 61).

In 901/1496 the adolescent al-Nāṣir Muḥammad IV (d. 904/1498), following the death of his father Qāytbāy, became the forty-eighth Mamluk sultan. At a chaotic and confused time for the sultanate, al-Suyūṭī plotted to advance the political power of the caliph al-Mutawakkil II (d. 903/1497), a former student of his father, to see at least some power restored to the caliphate (see Margoliouth 1921: 335; Schimmel 1942: 31-2; Garcin 1967: 65–6; Levanoni 2010: 264)[37]. By using his ties to the caliph, moreover, the polymath tried to secure religious authority for himself in Egypt, advancing the idea to be named as a kind of "grand qadi" (*qāḍī kabīr*), so as to achieve esteem and wider scholarly acknowledgement amongst his contemporaries (see Saleh 2001: 78). He was effectively convinced that he himself was the most skilled scholar, so he had to take the post of *qāḍī kabīr* as an obligatory deed performed by a few or even one person (*farḍ kifāya*), which relieves all other Muslims of this its burden (see Banister 2017: 111). However, that way the authority of the four chief *qāḍī*s[38] could be put into the hands of one man who theoretically would have had the power to appoint and dismiss magistrates all over Islamdom. Accordingly, given that the four chief *qāḍī*s viewed it as a threat to their own position, they rapidly blocked the move and denounced the caliph's authority[39].

4. Islamic religious works and eschatology

Al-Suyūṭī is one of the most prominent and prolific religious scholars of the pre-modern Islamic world who flourished in Mamluk Egypt[40]. He authored works on a wide variety

---

[37] However, the caliphs of the later fifteenth century had not aspired to a greater role, see Chapoutot-Remadi 1972: 18; Garcin 1967: 62–3. See also Ayalon 1960; Holt 1984.

[38] The Ayyubid predecessors of the Mamluks bequeathed a judicial system with a single Shāfi'ī chief *qāḍī*. In 663/1265, instead, the sultan Baybars (d. 676/1277) decided that each of the four Sunni schools of law should have had a chief *qāḍī*, so as to introduce more flexibility into the legal system, see Tyan 1960: 38–42; Escovitz 1982: 529–31; Nielsen 1984: 167–76; Jackson 1995: 52–65; Rapoport 2003: 210–28; Berkey 2009: 14–7; Hernandez 2017: 57. Nevertheless, the sultan's decision to establish four chief *qāḍī* posts had no historical precedent, but it eased the efforts of sultans to have the religious establishment under control by dividing and ruling, see Garcin 1967: 64–5, 70–1; Arjomand 2010: 252.

[39] According to Banister (2017: 109–10) this incident provides further insight into al-Suyūṭī's conception of the contemporary caliphate; see Ibn Iyās 1960–75: III, 339; Margoliouth 1921: 335; Schimmel 1965: 357; Garcin 1967: 37, 64–5; Sartain 1975: 91–3; Saleh 2001: 78; Hernandez 2013: 361–2; Banister 2014–15: 244.

[40] Considered for a long time a mere compiler, a judgment that undervalues his scholarly contributions, al-Suyūṭī's works (encyclopedic works, short tracts and *fatwā*s included) deal with a wide range of subjects, covering the whole field of Islamic religious learning; see Sartain 1971: 39–41; Hrbek 1975: 67. He has also been attributed a significant role in conveying the ideas (especially in the field of the Arabic language) of many lost or forgotten manuscripts; see Jackson 2006: 137. Finally, the number of his works is not agreed

of genres of literary production (from shorter treatises to multivolume compendiums) with an evident predominance in almost the entire gamut of the Islamic sciences. He often compiled *ḥadīth* collections on topics that had not previously received attention, including: angels, cosmology, earthquakes, *jinn* and turbans. In fact, his bibliography ranges from jurisprudence to theology, from linguistic arts to history, together with Sufism, geography, cosmology and so on[41]. Although his writing was always anchored in Tradition, his approach to specific topics often reflected multi-disciplinary perspectives, thanks to his own wide-ranging education. Al-Suyūṭī's great ability was also to produce concise but authoritative writings; in a short work he was able to collect the most relevant and important material on a given topic (see Mourad 2008: 380). Furthermore, his "procedure is scientific in so far as he quotes his sources with precision and presents them in a critical way. In the introduction to a work, he often defines the method which he is going to follow. His works benefit from a clear structure, and he often broke new ground by expounding his material according to its alphabetical order" (Geoffroy 1997: 914–5). Finally, his prolific output brought him both acclaim and criticism. In particular, his rapid rise to notoriety, achieving a significant level of popularity throughout the Islamic world[42], was believed to be the basis of his arrogance, as perceived by many of his contemporary colleagues.

A quick and non-exhaustive rundown of the polymath's best known and most widely circulated works, from his numerous writings, follows, along with a more specific examination of some works with supernatural themes. He also dealt with theological topics, including the subject of eschatology.

---

on, with estimates ranging from 550 and 981. The first modern Western attempt to list his works was carried out by Flügel (1832), with more than 500 titles, and later by Brockelmann (1937–49: *GAL G* II, 180–204, *GAL S* II,179–98), concerned only with extant manuscripts, with 415 works. See also Sartain 1971: 193–8; Idem 1975: 46; Barry, Hunwick 1978; Shaybānī, al-Khāzindār 1995; Geoffroy 1997; Saleh 2001: 83; Spevack 2009.

[41] With the premise that each list of al-Suyūṭī's works contains and omits works respectively omitted and contained in all other lists, Sartain (1975: 46–7) reports that in his autobiography the polymath gives a (not complete) list of his works, following an extremely interesting way in which he classifies the works. He lists seven classes: unique works, i.e., those which, as far as he knows, are unparalleled (18 in number); notable but not unique works of about one volume in length, which are complete or nearly so (50); notable works of smaller size, from two to ten quires in length (60); works of about one quire in length, excluding those on legal opinions, fatwas (102); works of about one quire in length about the disputes which occurred concerning fatwas (80); works, written when al-Suyūṭī was a student, which he now considers mediocre (40); works which he never finished because he lost interest in them (83). Specifically, as for the first class, al-Suyūṭī (1975: 105) writes: "Those for which I claim uniqueness. The meaning of this is that nothing comparable has been composed in the world, as far as I know. This is not due to the incapability of those who came before – God forbid – but it simply did not happen that they undertook anything like it. As for the people of this age, they cannot produce its like due to what that would require of breadth of vision, abundance of information, effort, and diligence".

[42] His works contributed to disseminating Sunni religious thought and worldview in the pre-modern Muslim world, even in areas outside the Arab world, stretching from East Africa to India; moreover, his already numerous travels increased as his reputation developed, taking him all over Egypt, Damascus, Hijaz, Yemen, Morocco and beyond, see Hunwick 1970; Sartain 1975: 40–1, 50–2; Bahl 2017: 124–5; Geoffroy 2017: 8. For this reason, he was highly respected in his lifetime, but not always in Egypt, especially in Cairo; on this, Saleh (2001: 78) writes: "It appears that this recognition was more readily granted by those who were separated from al-Suyūṭī by either time or distance". In fact, his career developed much more smoothly abroad than in his country of origin, where he was often at the center of numerous controversies.

Al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān ("The Perfection in the Sciences of the Qur'ān") (al-Suyūṭī 2012) is a well-known work in the field of Qur'ānic sciences, which deals particularly with the language and grammar of the Qur'ān. Moreover, his specialty in Qur'ānic exegesis can also be found in two other works: *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr* ("The Scattered Pearls of Tradition-Based Exegesis") (al-Suyūṭī 2001a), with a specific commentary according to the well-established prophetic traditions; *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* ("The Exegesis of the two Jalāls") (al-Suyūṭī 2002), a word-by-word commentary, that is the continuation of the short exegesis of his teacher and guardian Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459): it is a very popular work thanks to its relative conciseness, if compared to most Qur'ānic exegeses.

Among the works that deal with law, *al-Ḥāwī li-l-fatāwī* ("The Receptacle of Juristic Determinations") (al-Suyūṭī 2000) is a collection of legal opinions, with a great variety of statements on spiritual matters, as a result of requests by officials, colleagues or students and, in some cases, written to defend his attitude concerning a particular case.

Al-Muẓhir fī 'ulūm al-lugha wa anwā'ihā ("The Luminous Work Concerning the Sciences of Language and its Subfields") (al-Suyūṭī 1971), his most important philological work, is a compendium of linguistic works covering issues such as the history of the Arabic language, phonetics, semantics, and morphology.

Al-Suyūṭī also produced different historical works, supplemented with relevant documents and panegyrics: *fi l-Tārīkh al-khulafā'* ("History of the Caliphs") (al-Suyūṭī 2003) is a popular history of caliphs who ruled in the Muslim world, and *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa l-Qāhira* ("The Eloquent Exposition on the History of Egypt and Cairo") (al-Suyūṭī 1997), in which he himself is featured, is a local history of Egypt; both of them give a clear picture of the Cairene 'Abbasid caliphs' careers and their relationships with the Mamluk sultans.

The polymath, who was an apocalypticist in certain areas of his scholarship, was undoubtedly also interested in exploring and describing the otherworldly realities. Indeed, he devoted himself to writings dealing with issues related to the mysteries of the supernatural, the apocalyptic and eschatology, such as the events in the grave, *jinn*, the *Mahdī*, the *Dajjāl* (the "deceiver", the Antichrist), the second coming of Jesus, Paradise and Hell and so on. *Al-Hay'a al-saniyya fi l-hay'a al-sunniya* ("The Radiant Cosmology: On Sunni Cosmology") (al-Suyūṭī 1982) is a religiously-oriented account of cosmology, namely, celestial and terrestrial entities from the perspective of *ḥadīth*, which reflects the position of Sunni religious scholars, and *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* ("The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels") (al-Suyūṭī 1988; see Burge, 2012), essentially based on *ḥadīth* literature, is focused on the role angels play in Islam. *Laqṭ al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jānn* ("Collection of Precious Pearls Concerning the Legal Ordinances of the Jinn") (al-Suyūṭī 2004) is al-Suyūṭī's abridged version of a compilation by a famous Ḥanafī jurist, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shiblī (d. 769/1367), *Ākām al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jānn* ("The Hills of Precious Pearls Concerning the Legal Ordinances of the *Jinn*") (al-Shiblī 1991; see the first critical edition al-Shiblī 2017), an overview of all religious, denominational and philosophical theories and ordinances about the *jinn* and all types of satanic creatures in Islam.

Furthermore, several works on apocalyptic and eschatological themes are found in his collection of *fatwā*s, *al-Ḥāwī lil-fatāwī* (al-Suyūṭī 2000), in which he delivered a

variety of statements on spiritual matters. For instance, *al-'Arf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī* ("The Rose-like Fragrance in the Reports of *al-Mahdī*") (al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 55–81; see Petrone 2013) deals with the figure of *al-Mahdī*, "the rightly guided one", the restorer of religion and justice who will rule before the end of the world (see, e.g., Madelung 1986); *al-Kashf 'an mujāwazat hadhihi al-umma al-alf* ("Revelation concerning this community's passing the Year 1000") (al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 81–7), as a portion of a more comprehensive genealogical work, *Lubb al-lubāb fī taḥrīr al-ansāb* ("The essence of constructing genealogies"), is a *fatwā* on the Last Day, with reference to some of the major signs of the Hour (*al-sā'a*) such as the *Dajjāl*, the second coming of Jesus (*nuzūl 'Īsā*), the rising of the sun from its setting point (*ṭulū' al-shams min maghribihā*), and the need for a *mujaddid* for the ninth century[43]; *Raf' al-sawt bi-dhabḥ al-mawt* ("The Cry in the Slaughtering of Death") (al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 90–6) is a booklet about the people of Paradise (*janna*) and Hell (*jahannam*) that al-Suyūṭī wrote after he was asked about the *ḥadīth* in which death will appear as a ram in the otherworldly abodes: finally the ram will be slaughtered (see, e.g., al-Bukhārī 1990: *Kitāb al-Tafsīr* ["The Book of Commentary"], 65. For similar narratives, see Suyūṭī 1994: 44–5); *Kitāb al-i'lām bi-ḥukm 'Īsā 'alayhi al-salām* ("The Book of Declaration of the Rule of Jesus, Peace Be Upon Him") (al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 146–58), a relatively short religious-legal text on Jesus' return to earth, specifically explores matters in relation to the judgement of Jesus on his second coming before the Last Day, following evidence from the *ḥadīth* literature. Since the issue of law and jurisdiction after the second coming of Jesus (see, e.g., al-Bukhārī 1990: *Kitāb aḥādīth al-anbiyā'* ["The Book of the Traditions of the Prophets"], 50) has been a topic of interest to many commentators, many have come to the conclusion that Jesus will take, as a reference for his ruling system, the Islamic law. Confident of this, al-Suyūṭī authored this work.

As an eschatologist, al-Suyūṭī related numerous traditions describing life after death, Resurrection, the Day of Judgement and the different modalities of traversing paradisiacal and hellish spaces, for instance, in his *Manẓūmat al-qubūr* ("The Poetry of the Graves") (Brockelmann 1937–49: *GAL G* II, 143–58; *GAL S* II, 178–98), *Sharḥ al-ṣudūr bi-sharḥ ḥāl al-mawtā wa l-qubūr* ("The Opening of Hearts by Means of Explaining the Condition of the Dead and the Graves") (al-Suyūṭī 1994), also known as *Kitāb al-Barzakh* ("The Book of *Barzakh*"), in which more than eleven thousand traditions on the authority of various collectors are reported, and in *al-Budūr al-sāfira fī umūr al-ākhira* ("The Shining Full Moons on the Sciences of the Afterlife") (al-Suyūṭī 1990b), that is a sort of "a practical guide to paradise and hell" (Lange 2016: 89). In *al-Ta'ẓīm wa al-minna fī anna abaway rasūl Allāh fī l-janna* ("That the Prophet's parents are in Paradise") (Brockelmann 1937–49: *GAL G* II, 143–58; *GAL S* II, 178–98), al-Suyūṭī claims that the parents of the Prophet attained Paradise despite dying before the coming of Islam. With reference to the heavenly abode, he also wrote *Kitāb al-durar al-ḥisān fī l-ba'th wa na'īm al-jinān* ("Book of the Beautiful Pearls During the Resurrection

---

[43] Notwithstanding increasing anxiety about the coming apocalypse, as the millennium was drawing to a close, the polymath set out to prove that the End Times were still at least two hundred years away and he had an especially crucial role to play in the Islamic community. According to the interpretations given by al-Suyūṭī, the year 1500/2076 is universally considered the end of the world; see al-Suyūṭī 2000: II, 81–7.

and the Blessing of the Garden") (al-Suyūṭī 1993) and *Miftāḥ l-janna fī al-i'tiṣām bi-l-Sunna* ("The key to paradise which consists of clinging to the *Sunna* of the Prophet") (al-Suyūṭī 2013). Prominent among this type of literature is a treaty dealing with the death and afterlife of children, *Faḍl al-jalad 'inda faqd al-walad* ("Virtue of Remaining Steadfast when Losing a Child") (al-Suyūṭī 2008). Finally, in the last period of his life the polymath wrote *Tā'khīr al-ẓulāma ilā yawm al-qiyāma* ("Delaying Injustice until Judgment Day") (al-Suyūṭī, *Tā'khīr*, ms.; Brockelmann 1937–49: *GAL S* II, 188), a short book against the criticisms of his opponents that reflects bitterness and a sense of desperation, as well as his conviction that God is definitely on his side and will take revenge for him on the Day of Judgment.

References
Primary Sources

Abu Dāwūd, al-Sijistānī. 2008. *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.

al-Bukhārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad. 1990. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. 6 vols. Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr.

Ibn al-'Imād, 'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn Aḥmad. 1986–1995. *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*. 10 vols. Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.

Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. 1960–1975. *Badā'i' al-zuhūr wa-waqā'i' al-duhūr*. 5 vols. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Ibn Māja. 2013. *Sunan Ibn Māja*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-nawādir.

al-Malaṭī, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl. 2002. *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*. 9 vols. Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'aṣrīyya.

al-Qurṭubī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad. 1967. *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān*. 20 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī.

al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 2003. *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' fī a'yān al-qarn al-tāsi'*. 12 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.

al-Sha'rānī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb. 2005. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-ṣughrā*. Cairo: Maktabat al-thaqāfa al-dīniyya.

al-Shādhilī, 'Abd al-Qādir. 1998. *Bahjat al-'ābidīn bi-tarjamat ḥāfiẓ al-'aṣr Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*. Damascus: Majma' al-lugha al-'arabiyya.

al-Shiblī, Muḥammad ibn'Abd Allāh. 2017. *Ākām al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jānn*. Edited with an introduction by Badeen, Edward. *The Hills of Precious Pearls Concerning the Legal Ordinances of the Jinn*. Beirut: Tawzī' dār al-Fārābī.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *Tā'khīr al-ẓulāma ilā yawm al-qiyāma*. Ms., Library of Congress. Mansuri Collection, 1-296, "9. II 648 = 1.296", fol. 1b–5a.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1971. *al-Muẓhir fī 'ulūm al-lugha wa anwā'ihā*. Cairo: Dār iḥyā' al-kutub al-'arabiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1975. *al-Taḥadduth bi-niʿmat Allāh*. Sartain, Elizabeth M. (ed.), *Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī: al-Taḥadduth bi-niʿmat Allāh*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1982. *al-Hay'a al-saniyya fī l-hay'a al-sunniyya*. Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary by Heinen, Anton. *Islamic Cosmology: A Study of al-Suyūṭī's al-hay'a al-sannīya fī l-hay'a al-sunniyya*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1983a. *al-Aḥadīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān*. Edited by Arazi, Albert. Jerusalem: The Max Schloessinger memorial series 5, Institute of Asian and African Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1983b. *al-Radd 'alā man akhlada ilā l-arḍ wa-jahila anna l-ijtihād fī kull 'asr farḍ*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1988. *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1990a. *al-Tanbi'a bi-man yab'athuhu Allāh 'alā ra's kull mi'a*. Mecca: Dār al-thiqa li-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1990b. *al-Budūr al-sāfira fi umūr al-ākhira*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1992. *Mā rawāhu l-asāṭīn fī 'adam al-majī' ilā l-salāṭīn*. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr wa-al-tawzī'.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1993a. *Tanwīr al-ḥalak fī ru'yat al-nabī wa-l-malak*. Cairo: Dār al-amīn.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1993b. *Kitāb al-durar al-ḥisān fī l-ba'th wa na'īm al-jinān*. Cairo: Dār al-Amīn.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1994. *Sharḥ al-ṣudūr bi-sharḥ ḥāl al-mawtā wa-l-qubūr*. Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1997. *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 1998. *al-Bāhir fī ḥukm al-nabī bi-l-bāṭin wa-l-ẓāhir*. Cairo: Dār al-salām.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2000. *al-Ḥāwī lil-fatāwī*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2001a. *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr*. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2001b. *al-'Arf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī*. Damascus: Dār al-kawthar.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2002. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. Riyad: Dār al-salām li-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2003. *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'*. 7 vols. Beirut: 'Ālam al-kutub.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2004. *Laqṭ al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jānn*. Riyad: Maktabat al-rushd nāshirūn.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2006. *Ta'yīd al-ḥaqīqa al-'aliyya wa-tashyīd al-ṭarīqa al-shādhiliyya*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2007. *Ṣawn al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām 'an fann al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2008. *Faḍl al-jalad 'inda faqd al-walad*. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-risāla li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'. [Editor not identified]. 2016. *The Virtue of Remaining Steadfast When Losing a Child*. London: IMPRINT (IZ).

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2012. *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya. Lagarde, Michel (ed.). 2018. *Le parfait manuel des sciences coraniques: al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān de Ǧalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (849/1445-911/1505)*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. 2013. *Miftāḥ al-janna fī l-i'tiṣām bi-l-sunna*. [Place of publication not identified]: Turath for Solutions. [Editor not identified]. 2017. *Authority of The Sunnah. The Key to Paradise*. [Place of publication not identified]: Dār al-Sunna.

al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā. 2001. *al-Jami'*. Amman: Dār al-a'lām li-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.

Secondary Sources

'Abd al-Mu'ṭī, Fāruq. 1992. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī Imām al-mujaddidīn wa-l-mujtahidīn fī 'aṣrih*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.

Algar, Hamid. 2001. "The Centennial Renewer: Bediüzzaman Said Nuri and the Tradition of Tajdīd", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 12 (3). 291–311.

Arazi, Albert. 1976. "Noms de vêtements et vêtements d'après *al-Aḥādīṯ al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān* d'al-Suyūṭī", *Arabica* 23. 109–155.

Arazi, Albert. 1979. "Al-Risāla al-Baybarsiyya d'al-Suyūṭī: Un Document sur les Problèmes d'un Waqf Sultanien sous les Derniers Mamlūks", *Israel Oriental Studies* 9. 329–354.

Arazi, Albert & El'ad, Amikam (eds.). 1978. "Al-Ināfa fī rutbat al-xilāfa de Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī", *Israel Oriental Studies* 8. 230–265.

Arjomand, Saïd. 2010. "Legitimacy and Political Organisation: Caliphs, Kings and Regimes", Irwin, Robert (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of Islam*. Vol. IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 225–273.

Assmann, Jan. 2011. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ayalon, David. 1960. "Studies on the Transfer of the Abbasid Caliphate from Bagdad to Cairo", *Arabica* 7. 41–59.

Bahl, Christopher D. 2017. "Preservation through Elaboration: The Historicisation of the Abyssinians in al-Suyūṭī's *Raf' sha'n al-Ḥubshān*", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk*

*Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca'
Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 118–142.

Banister, Mustafa. (2014–2015). "Naught Remains to the Caliph but His Title": Revisiting Abbasid Authority
in Mamluk Cairo. *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18. 219–245.

Banister, Mustafa. 2017. "Casting the Caliph in a Cosmic Role: Examining al-Suyūṭī's Historical Vision",
Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed
Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June
23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 98–117.

Barry, Michael & Hunwick, John O. 1978. "Ignaz Goldziher on al-Suyūṭī", *The Muslim World* 68 (2). 79–99.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. 1999. "Qāytbāy's *Madrasahs* in the Holy Cities and the Evolution of Ḥaram
Architecture", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3. 129–147.

Berkey, Jonathan. 1992. *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic
Education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Berkey, Jonathan. 2009. "Mamluk Religious Policy", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13 (2). 7–22.

Black, Antony. 2011. *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present*. Edinburgh:
Edinburgh University Press.

Brockelmann, Carl. 1937–1949. *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* [*GAL G*], 2 vols. and *Supplement-bände*
[*GAL S*], 3 vols. Leiden: Brill; translation by Lameer, Joep. 2018. *History of the Arabic Written
Tradition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.

Brustad, Kristen. 1997. "Imposing Order: Reading the Conventions of Representation in al-Suyūṭī's
Autobiography", *Edebiyāt* 7. 327–344.

Burge, Stephen R. 2012. *Angels in Islam: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. London:
Routledge.

Calder, Norman. 1996. "Al-Nawawi's Typology of Muftis and its Significance for a General Theory of
Islamic Law", *Islamic Law and Society* 3. 143–152.

Chapoutot-Remadi, Mounira. 1972. "Une institution mal connue: Le Khalifat abbaside du Caire", *Les cahiers
de Tunisie* 20 (77–78). 11–23.

Escovitz, Joseph. 1982. "The Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in the Mamluk Empire", *Journal of the
American Oriental Society* 102. 529–531.

Fernandes, Leonor. 1988. *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamlūk Egypt: The khanqah*. Berlin: Klaus
Schwarz Verlag.

Flügel, Gustav. 1832. "Sojuti's Leben und Schriften", *Jahrbuucher der Literatur, Anzeige-Blatt* 58. 25–40;
59. 20–36; 60. 9–29.

Friedmann, Yohanan. 1989. *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi Religious Thought and Its Medieval
Background*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Garcin, Jean-Claude. 1967. "Histoire, opposition politique et piétisme traditionaliste dans le Husn al-
Muhadarat de Suyûti", *Annales Islamologiques* 7. 33–89.

Garcin, Jean-Claude. 1998. "The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks", Petry, Carl F. (ed.), *The Cambridge History
of Egypt*. Vol. I, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 290–317.

Geoffroy, Eric. 1996. *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie*. Damascus: Institut français de Damas.

Geoffroy, Eric. 1997. "al-Suyūṭī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2]. Vol. IX. Leiden: Brill. 913–916.

Geoffroy, Eric. 2017. "Al-Suyūṭī as a Sufi", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk
Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca'
Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 8–14.

Hallaq, Wael B. 1984. "Was the Gate of Ijtihād Closed?", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16. 3–41.

Ḥammūdah, Ṭāhir S. 1989. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: 'Aṣruhu wa-ḥayātuhu wa-āthāruhu wa-juhūduhu fī l-dars
al-lughawī*. Beirut: al-Maktab al-islāmī.

Hernandez, Rebecca S. 2013. "Sultan, Scholar, and Sufi: Authority and Power Relations in al-Suyūṭī's Fatwā
on Waqf", *Islamic Law and Society* 20. 333–370.

Hernandez, Rebecca S. 2017. *The Legal Thought of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Authority and Legacy*. Oxford:
Oxford University Press.

Holt, Peter M. 1984. "Some Observations on the 'Abbasid Caliphate of Cairo", *The Bulletin of the School of
Oriental and African Studies* 47. 501–507.

Hrbek, Ivan. 1975. "Egypt, Nubia and the Eastern Desert", Oliver, Roland (ed.), *The Cambridge History of
Africa: From c.1050 to c.1600*. Vol. III. London: Cambridge University Press. 10–98.

Hunwick, John O. 1970. "Notes on a Late Fifteenth-Century Document Concerning 'al-Takrūr'", Allen, Christopher & Johnson, Wally R. (eds.), *African Perspectives: Papers in the History, Politics and Economics of Africa Presented to Thomas Hodgkin*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 7–33.

Igarashi, Daisuke. 2009. "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13 (1). 27–51.

Igarashi, Daisuke. 2017. "The Office of the *Ustādār al-'Āliya* in the Circassian Mamluk Era", Ben-Bassat, Yuval (ed.), *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*. Leiden: Brill. 115–142.

Irwin, Robert. 2006. "Mamlūk History and Historians", Allen, Roger & Richards, Donald S. (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*: *Arabic literature in the post-classical period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 159–170.

Ito, Takao. 2017. "Al-Suyūṭī and Problems of the *Waqf*", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 47–63.

Jackson, Roy. 2006. *Fifty Key Figures in Islam*. London: Routledge.

Jackson, Sherman. 1995. "The Primacy of Domestic Politics: Ibn Bint al-A'azz and the Establishment of the Four Chief Judgeships in Mamluk Egypt", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115. 52–65.

al-Khāzindār, Aḥmad & al-Shaybānī, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. 1983. *Dalīl makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī wa-amākin wujūdihā*. Kuwait: Maktabat Ibn Taymīyah.

Kindinger, Judith. 2017. "*Bidʿa* or *Sunna*: The *ṭaylasān* as a Contested Garment in the Mamlūk Period (Discussions between al-Suyūṭī and Others)", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 64–80.

Landau-Tasseron, Ella. 1989. "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the *Mujaddid* Tradition", *Studia Islamica* 70. 79–117.

Landau-Tasseron, Ella. 1990. "Zaydī Imams as Restorers of Religion: *Iḥyā'* and *Tajdīd* in Zaydī Literature", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49 (3). 247–263.

Lange, Christian R. 2016. *Paradise and Hell in Islamic Traditions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Levanoni, Amalia. 1995. *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)*. Leiden: Brill.

Levanoni, Amalia. 2010. "The Mamlūks in Egypt and Syria: The Turkish Mamlūk Sultanate (648–784/1250–1382) and the Circassian Mamlūk Sultanate (784–923/1382–1517)", Fierro, Maribel (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of Islam*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 237–284.

Levy, Reuben. 1935. "Notes on Costume", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1. 319–338.

Madelung, Wilfred. 1986. "al-Mahdī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2]. Vol. V. Leiden: Brill. 1230–1238.

Makdisi, George. 1981. *The Rise of the Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam in the West*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Margoliouth, David S. 1921. "The Caliphate Historically Considered", *The Muslim World* 11. 332–343.

al-Maṭwī, Muḥammad al-'Arūsī. 1995. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*. Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-islāmī.

Mauder, Christian. 2017. "Al-Suyūṭī's Stance Toward Worldly Power: A Reexamination Based on Unpublished and Understudied Sources", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 81–97.

Mourad, Suleiman A. 2008. "Al-Suyūṭī", Rippin, Andrew (ed.), *The Islamic World*. London: Routledge. 378–383.

Nielsen, Jørgen S. 1984. "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars and the Appointment of four chief *Qāḍīs*, 663/1265", *Studia Islamica* 60. 167–176.

Pagani, Samuela. 2004. "The Meaning of the *Ikhtilāf al-Madhāhib* in 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī's *al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*", *Islamic Law and Society* 11 (2). 177–212.

Petrone, Michele. 2013. "A Note on Authorship in al-Suyūṭī's Works: Observations on the *'Arf al-wardī fī aḥbār al-Mahdī*", Melis, Nicola & Nobili Mauro (eds.), *Collectanea Islamica*. Roma: Aracne. 227–233.

Petry, Carl. 1980. "Geographical Origins of Academicians in Cairo during the fifteenth Century", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 23 (1–2). 119–141.

Petry, Carl. 1993. *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashrāf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Popper, William. 1956. "Sakhāwī's Criticism of Ibn Taghrī Birdī", *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*. Vol. II. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente. 371–389.

Poston, Larry. 2010. "The second coming of 'Isa: An Exploration of Islamic premillennialism", *The Muslim World* 100. 100–116.

Rapoport, Yossef. 2003. "Legal Diversity in the Age of Taqlīd: The Four Chief Qāḍīs under the Mamluks", *Islamic Law and Society* 10 (2). 210–228.

Sa'dī, Abū Ḥabīb. 1993. *Ḥayāt Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, ma'a al-'ilm min al-mahd ilā al-laḥd*. Damascus: Dār al-manāhil li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī'.

Saeed, Abdullah. 2008. *The Qur'an: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

Saleh, Marlis J. 2001. "Al-Ṣuyūṭī and his Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamlūk Times to the Present", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5. 73–89.

Sartain, Elizabeth M. 1971. "Jalal ad-Din as-Suyuti's Relations with the People of Takrur", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 16 (2). 193–208.

Sartain, Elizabeth M. 1975. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background*. Vol. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schimmel, Annemarie. 1942. "Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten", *Die Welt des Islams* 24. 1–128.

Shak'a, Muṣṭafā. 1981. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. Masīratuhu al-'ilmiyya wa-mabāḥithuhu al-lughawiyya*. Cairo: Sharikat maktaba wa maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī.

Shalabī, Muḥammad. 1998. *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. Nādirat zamānih wa mujtahid 'aṣrih*. Beirut: Dār al-jil.

Spevack, Aaron. 2009. "Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī", Lowry, Joseph E. & Stewart, Devin J. (eds.), *Essays in Arabic literary biography 1350–1850* (Mîzân. Studien zur Literatur in der islamischen Welt 17: Essays in Arabic literary biography). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 386–409.

Spevack, Aaron. 2017. "Al-Suyūṭī, the Intolerant Ecumenist: Law and Theology in *Ta'yīd al-ḥaqīqa al-'aliyya wa-tashyīd al-ṭarīqah al-Shādhiliyya*", Ghersetti, Antonella (ed.), *Al-Suyuti, a Polymath of the Mamluk Period: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the First Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)*. Leiden: Brill. 15–46.

al-Ṭabbā', Iyad Khālid. 1996. *Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Ma'lamat al-'Ulūm al-Islāmīyah*. Damascus: Dār al-qalam.

Taleb, Lahouari R. 2020. "The Shādhiliyya: Foundational Teachings and Practices", Ridgeon, Lloyd (ed.), *Routledge Handbook on Sufism*. London: Routledge. 269–282.

Voll, John O. 1983. "Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: Tajdīd and Iṣlāḥ", Esposito, John L. (ed.), *Voices of Resurgent Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press. 32–47.

Young, Michael J. L. 1986. "Review of *al-Aḥadīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān*", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1. 102–103.

WAS ʾILĀ A NOUN IN ARABIC GRAMMATICAL TRADITION?

ALMOG KASHER

Bar-Ilan University

Abstract: This article raises the possibility that several grammarians classified *ʾilā* as a noun (*ism*), at least in certain constructions. First, we discuss the view attributed by later grammarians to ʾAbū Bakr Ibn al-ʾAnbārī, according to which *ʾilā* is a noun, as it may follow the preposition *min*. Secondly, we succinctly address Ibn al-Sarrāj's ascription to Sībawayhi of the classification of *ʾilā* under the nominal category of *ẓurūf*. Finally, and most importantly, we raise the possibility that *ʾilā* in the interjection (*ism fiʿl*) *ʾilayka* was categorized by Sībawayhi as a noun. The discussion of *ʾilayka* in *al-Kitāb* as well as by later grammarians may shed some light on grammarians' conceptions of the noun-ness of the category of *ism fiʿl*.
Keywords: *Arabic Grammatical Tradition, Sībawayhi, ism fiʿl, ʾasmāʾ al-ʾafʿāl, ʾilā, prepositions, parts of speech*

1. Introduction

The title of this article will probably raise quite a few eyebrows among those familiar with Arabic grammar and its medieval grammatical tradition, since the status of *ʾilā* as a particle, the third part of speech alongside the noun and the verb, seems to be uncontested. We find this classification already in the chapter on the genitive in Sībawayhi's *al-Kitāb* (I, 177)*,* where *ʾilā* is subsumed under the category of non-nouns and non-*ẓurūf*, together with other particles (i.e. prepositions), such as *bi-* and *min*.

In the following few pages, I shall discuss three indications for different treatments of *ʾilā*, raising the possibility that it was classified as a noun in several cases by several grammarians. The second section discusses the ascription to the Kūfan grammarian ʾAbū Bakr Ibn al-ʾAnbārī of the view that *ʾilā* is a noun, since it can, for him, follow the preposition *min*. We shall also see that its appearance in certain reflexive constructions challenges, for certain grammarians, its exclusion from the class of nouns. The next section deals concisely with Ibn al-Sarrāj's ascription to Sībawayhi of the inclusion of *ʾilā* under the nominal class of *ẓurūf*. In the fourth, and main, section the classification of *ʾilayka* under the category of interjections of the type called *ʾasmāʾ al-ʾafʿāl* is tackled. Although it is beyond the scope of this article to put forward a comprehensive account of the noun-ness of this category according to the grammarians (namely, what makes these interjections *ʾasmāʾ*?), the discussion of *ʾilayka* will hopefully shed some light on this complicated issue.

2. *min ʾilā*

Arab grammarians frequently state that any word following a preposition belongs to the part of speech *ism* "noun", a test that goes so far as to be occasionally used as a "definition" of this part of speech. Thus, most grammarians maintain that *ʿalā* and *ʿan* are nouns, when preceded by a preposition (almost exclusively *min*), in which case they convey the meanings of the nouns *fawq* and *nāḥiya* (or *jānib*), respectively (see Levin 1987; Kasher 2016 and the references therein). Several relatively late grammarians mention the opinion that *ʾilā* may also be used in such a fashion. In *al-Janā al-dānī*, a work dedicated to particles, al-Murādī (*al-Janā*, 244-245) states that Ibn ʿUṣfūr mentions, in his *Šarḥ ʾabyāt al-ʾĪḍāḥ*, the grammarian ʾAbū Bakr Ibn al-ʾAnbārī's view that *ʾilā* can be used as a noun, as in the sentence *inṣaraftu min ʾilayka*.[1] The ascription of this view (based on the same sentence) to ʾAbū Bakr Ibn al-ʾAnbārī appears in Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī*, II, 391 as well, this time without any mention of Ibn ʿUṣfūr. Ibn ʿUṣfūr's book referred to by al-Murādī was recently edited and published, under the title *al-Miftāḥ fī šarḥ ʾabyāt al-ʾĪḍāḥ*, but, as its editor indicates in his preface, the issue belongs, according to its content, to a chapter in the *ʾĪḍāḥ* that is missing from the single extant manuscript (Ibn ʿUṣfūr, *al-Miftāḥ*, I, 21).

The context in which this view is pointed out in *al-Janā al-dānī* is of special interest. It is found in the chapter on *ʿan*, where al-Murādī (*al-Janā*, 244) indicates that Ibn ʿUṣfūr[2] adds another (that is, in addition to *min ʿan* – see above) type of construction in which *ʿan* should be classified as a noun, namely, reflexive constructions in which the coreferential subject and object are dependent pronouns, e.g. Imruʾ al-Qays' verse *daʿ ʿanka nahban ṣīḥa fī ḥajarātihi ...* "let thou alone spoil by the sides of which a shouting was raised …" (Lane 1863-1893: II, 518). The reason is that classification of *ʿan* as a particle in this construction would lead to its impermissibility, since the verb whose subject is a dependent pronoun (*fiʿl al-muḍmar al-muttaṣil*) "passes over" (*taʿaddī*, here – through the preposition *ʿan*) to a coreferential dependent pronoun (*... ʾilā ḍamīrihi al-muttaṣil*); this type of *taʿaddī* is forbidden, except with cognitive verbs (*ʾafʿāl al-qulūb*), and verbs analogized to them. That is, the categorization of *ʿan* in *daʿ ʿanka* as a particle is here claimed to render this sentence ungrammatical, since it would thus consist of *taʿaddī* – through a preposition – of a verb to a pronoun coreferential with its pronominal subject. It follows that in such reflexive constructions *ʿan* must be classified as a noun.

This argument calls to mind the grammarians' common rejection of constructions such as **ḍarabtunī* (in the sense of "I hit myself"), where the subject and the object are coreferential and both are dependent pronouns,[3] in contrast with the permissibility of the same construction with cognitive verbs, e.g. *ẓanantunī ʿāliman* "I thought I was learned". In order to form a reflexive construction with a verb that does not belong to the group of cognitive verbs, one must use *nafs*, thus *ḍarabtu nafsī* (see e.g. Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ*, VII, 88 = IV, 333-334). I have been unable to find any discussion of prepositional phrases in this

---

[1] I was unable to find any explanation for the meaning of the combination *min* + *ʾilā* (perhaps something like "away from towards"; on the various senses of *ʾilā*, see e.g. al-Murādī, *al-Janā*, 385-390).

[2] See Ibn ʿUṣfūr, *al-Muqarrib*, 266-267.

[3] Here I shall not further pursue the rules concerning reflexive pronouns.

context in early writings. However, Ibn Yaʿīš (*Šarḥ*, VII, 88 = IV, 333) maintains that constructions in which the subject and object pronouns are coreferential are permissible as long as there is some "difference" (*muġāyara*) between the two, e.g. *mā ḍarabanī ʾillā ʾanā* "no one hit me except for me", where the object takes the form of a dependent pronoun while the subject is an independent pronoun. This rule also explains, for him, the permissibility of *ʾiyyāya ḍarabtu* "me I hit" and *mā ḍarabtu ʾillā ʾiyyāya* "I hit no one except for myself" (Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ*, III, 75 = II, 278; see also Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ*, III, 70 = II, 268; III, 107 = II, 326). Although not explicitly mentioned, constructions that include prepositions may have been subsumed under the latter group of permissible constructions, due to the patent *muġāyara* inhering in them.

Returning now to al-Murādī (*al-Janā*, 244), in order to refute the argument that *ʿan* must be classified as a noun in this reflexive construction, ʾAbū Ḥayyān is said in this text to have evoked the same construction, but this time with *ʾilā*, e.g. *wa-huzzī ʾilayki bi-jiḏʿi l-naḫlati* (Q. 19: 25) "Shake the trunk of the palm-tree towards you" (Jones 2007: 284), based on his claim that no one classifies *ʾilā* as a noun. Ibn ʿUṣfūr's abovementioned ascription of *ʾilā*'s possible noun-ness to ʾAbū Bakr Ibn al-ʾAnbārī is adduced as a reply to ʾAbū Ḥayyān's argument regarding *ʿan*.[4] A similar argument is found in al-Murādī's (*al-Janā*, 471-472) discussion of *ʿalā*, where reference is made to the discussion on *ʿan*.

ʾAbū Ḥayyān's insistence that no one considers *ʾilā* a noun is documented in his own writings, with the same line of argumentation (discussing *ʿalā*) (ʾAbū Ḥayyān, *al-Taḏyīl*, XI, 154-155). However, he also states that al-Farrāʾ and other Kūfans maintain that *min* can be preposed to almost any preposition, including *ʾilā*, and that these retain their status as particles (ʾAbū Ḥayyān, *al-Taḏyīl*, XI, 153-154).[5] This claim goes back to Ibn Qutayba (*Adab*, 504),[6] who dedicates a chapter in his *Adab al-kātib* to *ṣifāt*[7] preposed to one another. Ibn Qutayba quotes al-Kisāʾī's assertion that *min* can be preposed to all *ḥurūf al-ṣifāt*[8] except *bi-*, *li-* and *fī*, followed by al-Farrāʾ's addition of *min* itself to this list. The reason why *min* cannot be preposed to *bi-* and *li-* is said to be that speakers do not "conceive" (*fa-lam yatawahhamū*)[9] a nominal status for them, due to the fact that they consist of only one consonant (*ḥarf*). It is worthy of note that Ibn Qutayba does not address the status of these words after *min* has been preposed to them. The view attributed to ʾAbū Bakr Ibn al-ʾAnbārī is, at any rate, certainly not very different from this "Kūfan" opinion.

---

[4] It is unclear whether al-Murādī himself adheres to this view or merely responds to ʾAbū Ḥayyān's claim of unanimity. Ibn Hišām (*Muġnī*, II, 387-391) also mentions this argument in his discussion of *ʿalā* as a noun, replying that this would entail the noun-ness of *ʾilā* in cases such as the Qurʾānic verse quoted above. However, he rejects a possible solution based on ʾAbū Bakr Ibn al-ʾAnbārī's view, on which he says: *ʾiḏā kāna ṯābitan fa-fī ġāyati l-šuḏūḏi*.

[5] See also al-Murādī, *al-Janā*, 243, 472

[6] As noted by the editor of *al-Taḏyīl*. See also al-Zajjājī, *Ḥurūf*, 77; ʾAbū Ḥayyān, *al-Taḏyīl*, XI, 153.

[7] This term is applied, mostly by "Kūfan" scholars, to locative/temporal nouns, prepositions and prepositional phrases (see Vidro & Kasher 2014: 230 and the references therein).

[8] Members of the class *ḥurūf al-ṣifāt* do not always map into the regular class of particles. For instance, *ʿind* is classified as *ḥarf al-ṣifa* in *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* (al-Ḫalīl, *al-ʿAyn*, II, 43). See also al-Muzanī, *Ḥurūf*, II, 110-118; [pseudo?-]Ibn Qutayba, *Talqīn*, 367.

[9] See Baalbaki 1982.

3. ʾilā as ẓarf

A curious formulation is found in Ibn al-Sarrāj's (al-ʾUṣūl, III, 319 = British Library, Or 2808, 95v) report on Sībawayhi's explanation of the bahavior of kilā/kilay. According to this account, the reason why it takes the form kilā in the nominative when annexed to a pronoun (e.g. jāʾanī ʾaḫawāka kilāhumā "your two brothers both came to me"), but kilay in the accusative and genitive (e.g. raʾaytu kilayhimā "I saw both of them" and marartu bi-kilayhimā "I passed by both of them") – in contrast with its unchanging form kilā when annexed to other nouns – is that it is analogized to ʿalā, ʾilā and ladā, which are ẓurūf[10] that only take the accusative and genitive, but never the nominative; thus, kilā becomes kilay where these three end with -ay instead of -ā (e.g. ʿalayka, ʾilayka and ladayka), but not in the nominative. The basis for this analogy is the fact that kilā must be annexed, just like these three.

In the text of al-Kitāb (at least in its extant versions,[11] see Sībawayhi, al-Kitāb, II, 102-103), only ʿalā and ladā are mentioned as ẓarfāni, although they are mentioned together with ʾilā earlier in the same chapter, which might explain the text in al-ʾUṣūl as mere confusion on the part of Ibn al-Sarrāj.

4. ʾilayka as ism fiʿl[12]

A comprehensive overview of the category of interjections termed ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl is found in Levin 1991, where this term is translated as "the proper names of the verbs" (Levin 1991: 249-252).[13] It should be noted that in Levin's interpretation of the text of al-Kitāb, he relies on later grammarians (Levin 1991: 251), the most explicit among whom is Ibn Yaʿīš, who explains the term as follows (Levin's translation): "[the forms known by this term] were coined in order to denote [various] forms of verbs, just as the names denote [the persons] named by them" (Levin 1991: 250). Accordingly, Levin (1991: 251) translates the title of the first chapter in Sībawayhi's al-Kitāb (I, 102) on this issue (chapter 47) as follows:

> hāḏā bābun min-a l-fiʿli summiya l-fiʿlu fīhi bi-ʾasmāʾin lam tuʾḫaḏ min ʾamṯilati l-fiʿli l-ḥādiṯi wa-mawḍiʿuhā min-a l-kalāmi l-ʾamru wa-l-nahyu
>
> "This is a chapter dealing with verbs which were named by names which are not derived from the patterns [denoting] a verb which signifies an act. The place

---

[10] It is indeed customary in Arabic grammatical tradition to classify prepositional phrases, that is, particles + genitive, as ẓurūf (see Kasher 2016: 117, fn. 11), yet, this is obviously not the case here, as it is manifest from the context that the words ʿalā, ʾilā and ladā themselves are intended, not the entire phrases they head.

[11] It is interesting to note that in the oldest "layer" of the Milan manuscript of al-Kitāb (Ambrosiana X56 sup., 22r-22v; on this manuscript see Druel 2020 and the references therein), ʾilā is missing in at least one locus, and was only added later. I would like to express my gratitude to Jean Druel for kindly bringing this to my attention and for his insightful remarks on the text.

[12] I would like to deeply thank Beata Sheyhatovitch for discussing the issue of ism al-fiʿl with me and for her significant and helpful remarks on this subject.

[13] See also Mosel 1975: 208-209; Versteegh 1995; Baalbaki 1995: 4-5; Kouloughli 2007: 93-94. See also Sheyhatovitch 2021a and 2021b.

[occupied by these words] in speech is that of [a verb denoting] a command or a prohibition."

Against the identification of ʾasmāʾ al-ʾafʿāl with proper names, Larcher (2002: 256) argues: "Le fait que *ism* forme couple avec *musammā* le désigne comme étant d'abord *name* (au sens sémiotique), avant d'être *noun* (au sens grammatical), mais pas spécialement comme 'proper name'." The exact type of "naming" pertinent to this class is of marginal importance for the present study. What I would like to focus on is the prepositional phrase [*summiya l-fiʿlu fīhi*] *bi-ʾasmāʾin* in the text quoted above from *al-Kitāb*. An examination of other loci in *al-Kitāb* where the verb *sammā* is used reveals that the object of the preposition *bi-* denotes the "original" class to which the name in question belongs. For instance, the rule determining that e.g. *Yazīd* as a masculine proper name is diptote is formulated as follows: *wa-ʾiḏā sammayta rajulan bi-fiʿlin fī ʾawwalihi ziyādatun lam taṣrifhu* (Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, II, 3).[14] It follows that the term *ʾasmāʾ* in our text designates the "original" part of speech of these elements, "prior" to their use as names. It is worthy of note that Versteegh's (1995: 63) translation of the first part of the quotation above reads as follows: "chapter about those verbs which are named by **nouns** that are not taken from the patterns of the actual verbs" (my emphasis).

In the aforementioned chapter of *al-Kitāb* are included, for example, *ruwayd* (e.g. *ruwayda zaydan* "act gently with Zayd!") and *ṣah* ("shut up!"). In chapter 49[15] another subclass is discussed, namely, *ʾasmāʾ muḍāfa*, i.e. annexed nouns, which are opposed to *al-ʾasmāʾ al-mufrada* such as *ruwayd*.[16] The great majority of examples in this chapter are nouns annexed to the pronoun *-ka*, the first three being *ʿalayka zaydan*, *dūnaka zaydan* and *ʿindaka zaydan* "seize Zayd!".[17] That *ʿalā* belongs here should come as no surprise, since Sībawayhi classifies *ʿalā* as a noun, not as a particle.[18] What is of major interest is that one of Sībawayhi's examples in this chapter is *ʾilayka* "go away!". As we have seen above, Sībawayhi explicitly classifies it under the category of non-nouns and non-ẓurūf, that is, particles. For Sībawayhi *ʾilā* is possibly to be classified as either a noun or a particle, as he explicitly states regarding *ʿan* (Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, I, 177).[19] Needless to say, one can also interpret the text here as a case of lack of precision on Sībawayhi's part .

A reference to the grammatical noun-ness of this group is found in al-Farrāʾ's (*Maʿānī*, I, 322-323) discussion of the expression *ʿalaykum ʾanfusakum* (Q. 5: 105) "take care of your souls" (Jones 2007: 125). Al-Farrāʾ states that *ʿalayka* and other *ṣifāt* (see section 2 above), including *ʾilayka*, are used to commend, and that it is impermissible to prepose the constituent to which they assign the accusative, since they are *ʾasmāʾ*, and

---

[14] See also Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, II, 7. On grammarians' explanations of the phenomenon of diptosis, see Druel & Kasher 2019.

[15] Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, I, 105-107. Chapter 48 (Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, I, 103-105) elaborates on *ruwayd*.

[16] Note that grammarians often refer to entire phrases by their heads. On the concept of "noun phrase" in Arabic grammatical tradition, see Owens 1988, *passim*.

[17] Note that for Levin (1991: 248), these "are formed by a combination of a preposition + a genitive pronoun of the 2nd person", in line with his previous study of "prepositions" in Arabic grammatical tradition, in which these are divided into particles and ẓurūf (which are nouns) (Levin 1987). For a different view, see Kasher 2016.

[18] For references to previous studies, see Kasher 2016: 125, fn. 50.

[19] For references to previous studies, see Kasher 2016: 125, fn. 50.

ism does not assign the accusative to what precedes it.[20] Al-Farrāʾ, however, does not explicate his theory of this class here, hence it is impossible to deduce exactly what he means by *ʾasmāʾ*. It should also be noted that al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī*, I, 323) ascribes to al-Kisāʾī the opinion that all *ṣifāt*, as long as they are *mufrada*, to the exclusion of *li-*, *bi-* and *ka-*, can be used in this fashion; it is unclear whether other words that are commonly considered to be particles are subsumed by al-Farrāʾ under this category, and if so, whether or not they are included under *ʾasmāʾ*.

Returning now to the mainstream of Arab grammarians, the problem of subsuming *ʾilāyka* – and, for that matter *ʿalayka*, too, *ʿalā* being generally classified as a particle (see above) – under the nominal class of *ʾasmāʾ al-ʾafʿāl*, did not elude later grammarians. It appears that the fact that for most post-Sībawayhian grammarians *ʿalā* was first-and-foremost a particle, whereas for Sībawayhi it was a noun, played a major role in later grammarians' solutions for what was, for them, a general problem of the inclusion of preposition(al phrase)s under this nominal category (as we shall see presently, other prepositional phrases, besides these two, are occasionally mentioned by grammarians in this context).

A rather perplexing solution to this discrepancy is offered by Ibn al-Sarrāj (*al-ʾUṣūl*, I, 141), who divides these nouns into three subclasses: *ism mufrad* (i.e. not annexed), e.g. *ruwayd* and *ṣah*; *ism muḍāf* (i.e. annexed), e.g. *dūnaka* and *ʿindaka*; and *ism ustuʿmila maʿa ḥarf al-jarr* or *mā jāʾa maʿa ʾaḥruf al-jarr*, e.g.[21] *ʿalayka*[22] and *ʾilayka*. These two formulations leave, so it seems, no room for any interpretation other than that the *ism* referred to here is the genitive pronoun *-ka*.

One of Ibn al-Sarrāj's disciples, al-Sīrāfī (*Šarḥ*, II, 149), the author of a celebrated commentary on *al-Kitāb*, tackles the problem in a different way. He considers *ʿalā* (and most probably *ʾilā* as well) as *ḥurūf jarr* that behave like (*tajrī majrā*) the *ẓurūf*. Moreover, he explicitly asserts that Sībawayhi includes under this class both *ʾasmāʾ* and *ḥurūf* (al-Sīrāfī, *Šarḥ*, II, 150). It follows that for him this class is not restricted to nouns.

As far as I know, Ibn al-Ḥaššāb's (*al-Murtajal*, 248) commentary on al-Jurjānī's *al-Jumal* is the earliest extant text in which it is explicitly stated that the *ʾasmāʾ al-ʾafʿāl* denote (*dawāll*) the expressions (*ʾalfāẓ*) of the verbs, which, in turn, denote the meanings for which they were coined; they are said to be names of these expressions (*ʾasmāʾ li-ʾalfāẓihā*), on a par with the denotation of the noun on its nominatum (*dalālat al-ism ʿalā musammāhu*).[23] Ibn al-Ḥaššāb (*al-Murtajal*, 251-252) puts forward a tripartite division of this class, to *mawḍūʿ* "coined" (namely, coined specifically as *ism al-fiʿl*),[24] e.g. *ṣah*,

---

[20] The question whether such a word order is permissible is one of Ibn al-ʾAnbārī's *Streitfragen* in his *al-ʾInṣāf* (I, 228-235), where he maintains that the Baṣrans, as well as al-Farrāʾ, prohibit this structure. For further discussion see Baalbaki 1981: 12-13, 19.

[21] Although Ibn al-Sarrāj uses *naḥw* here, grammarians generally restrict the subclass of prepositional phrases used as *ism al-fiʿl* to these two. However, see the view attributed to al-Kisāʾī by al-Farrāʾ above, and Ibn al-Ḥaššāb's statement below.

[22] It should be noted that the text of Ibn al-Sarrāj's *al-ʾUṣūl* is self-contradictory as far as the classification of *ʿalā* goes. See Levin 1987: 357.

[23] See also Levin 1991: 250.

[24] This term is most probably used, in this context, as a synonym of *murtajal*, which Ibn al-Ḥaššāb (*al-Murtajal*, 293) defines elsewhere, in his discussion of proper names, as … *ʾannahu wuḍiʿa waḍʿan ʾawwaliyyan wa-lam yunqal min musamman ʾilā ġayrihi* "… that it was coined a primary coinage, not 'transformed' from [denoting] one nominatum to [denoting] another", e.g. *ʿUṯmān* (see also Ibn Yaʿīš,

manqūl "transformed", e.g. *ʿalayka*, *ʾilayka* and *dūnaka*, and *muštaqq* "derived", e.g. *nazāli* "get down!". Interestingly, he asserts that for most grammarians,[25] the group of prepositional phrases which are *manqūl* to the class of *ʾasmāʾ al-ʾafʿāl* is restricted to what is heard from the *ʿarab*; his examples are *ʾilayka*, *ʿalayka* and *ʾanka* "move away!" (Ibn al-Ḫaššāb, *al-Murtajal*, 252-253). The latter is very rarely mentioned by grammarians, posing the same problem posed by *ʿalayka*. These prepositional phrases are said to be *maḥkiyya* (Ibn al-Ḫaššāb, *al-Murtajal*, 257), lit. "quoted", that is, used as they are in their new category.[26]

While Ibn Yaʿīš (*Šarḥ*, IV, 25 ff. = III, 3 ff.) holds virtually the same view,[27] the following points are worthy of note. First, he takes pains to prove that these are nouns, in the grammatical sense, but his proofs pertain only to words of the pattern *faʿāli* and those which can take *tanwīn*, such as *ṣah* (i.e. *ṣahin*) (Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ*, IV 27-29 = III, 4-7). Secondly, he draws on his comparison of these words to proper names (*ka-l-ʾaʿlām ʿalayhā* [sc. the verbs]) to account for their tripartite division into *murtajal*, *manqūl* and *muštaqq* (Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ*, IV, 29 = III, 7).[28]

A unique view is unsurprisingly presented by al-ʾAstarābāḏī (*Šarḥ*, III, 86),[29] who also uses the concept of *naql*, but in a significantly different way. This grammarian holds that the term *ism fiʿl* should not have been applied to what was originally a prepositional phrase, such as *ʿalayka* and *ʾilayka*, since *ruwayd* etc. are *ism*s in consideration of their origin. Yet, they (sc. the grammarians) apply the term to other expressions "transformed" (*manqūl*) to a verbal meaning. It may be inferred from this statement that for him *ism fiʿl* does not mean "a name of a verb", but rather "what was originally a noun, transformed to convey the meaning of a verb". He explains the process these words undergo as follows: *ʿalayka zaydan*, for instance, is originally *ʿalayka ʾaḫḏu* [*zaydin*][30] "you must seize [Zayd]" which latter was shortened. In a similar vein, *ʾilayka ʿannī* is originally *ḍumma ʿulaqaka ʾilayka wa-tanaḥḥa ʿannī*[31] "gather your belongings (lit. to you) and move away from me!", which also was shortened (al-ʾAstarābāḏī, *Šarḥ*, III, 105-106). This conception of "transformation" is substantially different from Ibn Yaʿīš's: whereas for the latter, *ʾilayka* is "transformed" to be used as the name of a verb, just as it could have been "transformed" to be used as the proper name of a person, for al-ʾAstarābāḏī *ʾilayka* was originally part of a sentence, whose other constituents are elided, leaving *ʾilayka* to be "transformed" to conveying the meaning of an underlying verb. In other words, it is not "transformed" to the part of speech noun, but rather to the verbal meaning.

Šarḥ, I, 3 = I, 41). For a recent extensive survey of the term *waḍʿ* in general, followed by an in-depth study of its use by al-ʾAstarābāḏī, see Sheyhatovitch 2018: 74 ff. For *mawḍūʿ* vs. *muštaqq* see ibid., 76-77. On *al-waḍʿ al-ʾawwal* vs. *al-waḍʿ al-ṯānī* (including reference to *naql*), see ibid., 78-81. On *manqūl* vs. *murtajal* proper names, see Carter 1983: 110; Larcher 2013.

25 Against al-Kisāʾī, see above.

26 On "reclassification" with respect to *ʾasmāʾ al-ʾafʿāl*, see Baalbaki 1995: 4-5; Kouloughli 2007: 94 (concerning *dūnaka*(!) and *ʿalayka*, on which he claims: "il n'est guère difficile d'y reconnaître une préposition suivie du pronom suffixe de deuxième personne du singulier").

27 See also Howell 1880-1911: 654.

28 See also Levin 1991: 250.

29 See also Howell 1880-1911: 654 ff.

30 The text reads: *ʾaḫḏuhu*. Earlier in the text: *wajaba ʿalayka ʾaḫḏu zaydin* (al-ʾAstarābāḏī, *Šarḥ*, III, 89).

31 Earlier in the text: *ḍumma raḥlaka wa-ṯaqalaka ʾilayka wa-ḏhab ʿannī* (al-ʾAstarābāḏī, *Šarḥ*, III, 89).

5. Conclusions

As far as evidence for the noun-ness of *ʾilā* is sought, the shortcoming of the data presented in the second and third sections above is obvious. In the former, ʾAbū Bakr Ibn al-ʾAnbārī's view is reported by much later grammarians. One might even raise the possibility that ʾAbū Bakr Ibn al-ʾAnbārī only permitted the combination *min ʾilā* (in line with a view attributed to other "Kūfan" grammarians as well), from which a later grammarian inferred that he had classified *ʾilā* as a noun. The latter section pertains to what might be the result of a confusion on the part of Ibn al-Sarrāj in his report of Sībawayhi's opinion. Nevertheless, the texts presented in these two sections seem to indicate that the view of *ʾilā* as a noun circulated amongst grammarians. Moving on to the fourth section, unless one maintains that the text of *al-Kitāb* suffers from inaccuracy, it seems to me that conceding that *ʾilā* could be classified, for Sībawayhi, as a noun within the category of *ism al-fiʿl* (alongside its classification as a particle elsewhere), would be a better solution than taking recourse to interpretations that involve reading later theories into *al-Kitāb*.

References
Primary Sources

ʾAbū Ḥayyān, *al-Taḏyīl* = ʾAbū Ḥayyān, *al-Taḏyīl wa-l-takmīl fī šarḥ Kitāb al-Tashīl*, ed. Ḥasan Hindāwī. Vols. I-V: Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1997-2002. Vols. VI- : Riyadh: Dār Kunūz ʾIšbīliyā li-l-Našr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2005– (incomplete).

al-ʾAstarābāḏī, *Šarḥ* = *Šarḥ al-Raḍī ʿalā al-Kāfiya*, ed. Yūsuf Ḥasan ʿUmar. Benghazi: Manšūrāt Jāmiʿat Qāryūnus, 1996.

al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī* = ʾAbū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī al-Qurʾān*. Vol. I: ed. ʾAḥmad Yūsuf Najātī & Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Najjār. 2nd ed. [Cairo]: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb, 1980. Vol. II: ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Najjār. [Cairo]: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya li-l-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama, n.d. Vol. III: ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʾIsmāʿīl Šalabī. [Cairo]: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb, 1972.

al-Ḫalīl, *al-ʿAyn* = ʾAbū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḫalīl ibn ʾAḥmad al-Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, ed. Mahdī al-Maḫzūmī & ʾIbrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī, 1988.

Ibn al-ʾAnbārī, *al-ʾInṣāf* = Kamāl al-Dīn ʾAbū al-Barakāt ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʾAbī Saʿīd al-ʾAnbārī, *al-ʾInṣāf fī masāʾil al-ḫilāf bayn al-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn wa-l-kūfiyyīn*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. 4th ed. Cairo: al-Maktaba at-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1961.

Ibn al-Ḫaššāb, *al-Murtajal* = ʾAbū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh ibn ʾAḥmad ibn ʾAḥmad ibn ʾAḥmad Ibn al-Ḫaššāb, *al-Murtajal fī šarḥ al-Jumal*, ed. ʿAlī Ḥaydar. Damascus: [n.p.], 1972.

Ibn al-Sarrāj, *al-ʾUṣūl* = ʾAbū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Sahl Ibn al-Sarrāj, *al-ʾUṣūl fī al-naḥw*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Fatlī. 3rd ed. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1996.

Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* = Ibn Hišām al-ʾAnṣārī, *Muġnī al-labīb ʿan kutub al-ʾaʿārīb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-Ḫaṭīb. Kuwait: al-Majlis al-Waṭanī li-l-Ṯaqāfa wa-l-Funūn wa-l-ʾĀdāb, al-Turāṯ al-ʿArabī, 2000-2002.

Ibn Qutayba, *ʾAdab* = ʾAbū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *ʾAdab al-kātib*, ed. Muḥammad al-Dālī. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, n.d.

[pseudo?-]Ibn Qutayba, *Talqīn* = ʾAbū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb Talqīn al-mutaʿallim min al-naḥw*, ed. Jamāl ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī Muḥaymar. [Cairo: n.p.], 1989.

Ibn ʿUṣfūr, *al-Miftāḥ* = ʾAbū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muʾmin Ibn ʿUṣfūr, *al-Miftāḥ fī šarḥ ʾabyāt al-ʾĪḍāḥ*, ed. Rafiʿ ibn Ġāzī ibn Nāfiʿ al-Sulamī. Riyadh: Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal li-l-Buḥūṯ wa-l-Dirāsāt al-ʾIslāmiyya, 2015.

Ibn ʿUṣfūr, *al-Muqarrib* = ʾAbū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muʾmin ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn ʿUṣfūr, *al-Muqarrib wa-maʿahu Muṯul al-Muqarrib*, ed. ʿĀdil ʾAḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd & ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1998.

Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ* = Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʿīš ibn ʿAlī Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*. Egypt: ʾIdārat al-Ṭibāʿa al-Munīriyya, n.d = Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʾAbū al-Baqāʾ Yaʿīš ibn ʿAlī Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal li-l-Zamaḫšarī*, ed. ʾImīl Badīʿ Yaʿqūb. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2001.

al-Murādī, *al-Janā* = al-Ḥasan ibn Qāsim al-Murādī, *al-Janā al-dānī fī ḥurūf al-maʿānī*, ed. Faḫr al-Dīn Qabāwa & Muḥammad Nadīm Fāḍil. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1992.

al-Muzanī, *Ḥurūf* = ʾAbū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Faḍl al-Muzanī, *Ḥurūf al-hijāʾ*, ed. ʾAšraf Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Qaṣṣaṣ et al. Cairo: Dār al-Našr li-l-Jāmiʿāt, 2010.

Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb* = *Le livre de Sībawaihi*, ed. H. Derenbourg. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1881-1889.

al-Sīrāfī, *Šarḥ* = ʾAbū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Marzubān, *Šarḥ Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. ʾAḥmad Ḥasan Mahdalī & ʿAlī Sayyid ʿAlī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2008.

al-Zajjājī, *Ḥurūf* = ʾAbū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʾIsḥāq al-Zajjājī, *Kitāb Ḥurūf al-maʿānī*, ed. ʿAlī Tawfīq al-Ḥamad. 2nd ed. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1986.

Secondary Sources

Baalbaki, R. 1981. "Arab Grammatical Controversies and the Extant Sources of the Second and Third Centuries A.H.", W. al-Qāḍī (ed.), *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Ihsan ʿAbbas on his Sixtieth Birthday*. Beirut: American University of Beirut. 1-26.

Baalbaki, R. 1982. "*Tawahhum*: An Ambiguous Concept in Early Arabic Grammar", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45. 233-244.

Baalbaki, R. 1995. "Reclassification in Arab Grammatical Theory", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 54. 1-13.

Carter, M.G. 1983. "The Use of Proper Names as a Testing Device in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*", C.H.M. Versteegh, K. Koerner & H.-J. Niederehe (eds.), *The History of Linguistics in the Near East*. Amsterdam, J. Benjamins. 109–120

Druel, J.N. 2020. "The *Kitāb* of ʾAbū al-Ḥasan ʾAḥmad b. Naṣr: A Non-Sīrāfian Recension of the *Kitāb*", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 71. 29-56.

Druel, J.N. & A. Kasher. 2019. "'Though This Be Madness, Yet There Is Method In't': The *mamnūʿ min al-ṣarf* (Diptotes) in Arabic Grammatical Tradition", *Arabica* 66. 98-136.

Howell, M.S. 1880–1911. *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language, Translated and Compiled from the Works of the Most Approved Native or Naturalized Authorities*. Allahabad: Government Press.

Jones, A. (trans.). 2007. *The Qurʾān*. [Cambridge]: Gibb Memorial Trust.

Kasher, A. 2016. "Is *ḫalfa* a Preposition? On a Subclass of the *ẓarf* in Arabic Grammatical Tradition", *Folia Orientalia* 53. 113-130.

Kouloughli, D. 2007. *Le résumé de la grammaire arabe par Zamaḵšarī : Texte, traduction et commentaires*. Lyon, ENS Éditions.

Lane, E.W. 1863-1893. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. London: Williams & Norgate.

Larcher, P. 2002. Review of: A. Levin, *Arabic Linguistic Thought and Dialectology*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1998. *Arabica* 49, 255-258.

Larcher, P. 2013. "Le nom propre dans la tradition grammaticale arabe", C. Müller & M. Roiland-Rouabah (eds.), *Les non-dits du nom : Onomastique et documents en terres d'Islam : mélanges offerts à Jacqueline Sublet*. [n.p.]: Presses de l'Ifpo (https://books.openedition.org/ifpo/5722).

Levin, A. 1987. "The Views of the Arab Grammarians on the Classification and Syntactic Function of Prepositions", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10. 342-367.

Levin, A. 1991. "The Category of *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl* in Arabic Grammar", K. Dévényi & T. Ivényi (eds.), *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Grammar. September 1-7, 1991* (*The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 3-4). 247-256.

Mosel, U. 1975. *Die syntaktische Terminologie bei Sibawaih*. University of München: Ph.D. Dissertation.

Owens, J. 1988. *The Foundations of Grammar: An Introduction to Medieval Arabic Grammatical Theory*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.

Sheyhatovitch, B. 2018. *The Distinctive Terminology in Šarḥ al-Kāfiya by Raḍī l-Dīn al-ʾAstarābāḏī*. Leiden: Brill.

Sheyhatovitch, B. 2021a. "ʾAsmāʾ al-fiʿl: the Arab Grammarians' views on their classification", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 73. 71-101.

Sheyhatovitch, B. 2021b. "Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects of *asmāʾ al-fiʿl* According to Arab Grammarians", *al-Karmil* 42. 189-217.

Versteegh, K. 1995. *The Explanation of Linguistic Causes: al-Zaǧǧāǧī's Theory of Grammar*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.

Vidro, N. & A. Kasher. 2014. "How Medieval Jews Studied Classical Arabic Grammar: a Kūfan Primer from the Cairo Genizah", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 41. 173-244.

AUX ORIGINES DU ROMAN POLICIER MAROCAIN D'ÉXPRESSION ARABE : MUĞTAMAʿ AL-ṢUDFA (LA SOCIÉTÉ DU HASARD) DE MĪLŪDĪ ḤAMDŪŠĪ

ANGELA DAIANA LANGONE

Università di Cagliari

Abstract: Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī (1947-2019) was a famous Moroccan novelist, one of the outstanding figures of the Moroccan literary scene, generally considered as the pioneer of the Moroccan Noir in Arabic thanks to *al-Ḥūt al-aʿmà* (The Blind Whale) co-written with ʿAbd al-Ilāh al-Ḥamdūšī in 1997. His writing career does not begin with this novel, but a few years earlier, in 1991, with the novel entitled *Muğtamaʿ al-ṣudfa* (The Society of Chance). This article aims to analyze this first novel and questions the very beginning of the detective novel in Morocco.
Keywords: Morocco, Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī, Law & Literature, detective novel, years of lead.

> Bakri est un type théorique dans le sens que donne à cette expression Henri Piéron :
> « *Individu ayant un esprit analytique et une curiosité intellectuelle, aimant observer, étudier, expérimenter…* »[1].

1. Introduction

Cet article se veut un modeste hommage au pionnier du roman policier d'expression arabe, l'une des plus grandes figures de la scène littéraire marocaine : Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī (Miloudi Hamdouchi), récemment disparu, le 30 août 2019, à Dār Būʿazza, dans les environs de Casablanca.

Issu d'une famille modeste, Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī est né à Sīdī Bannūr le 23 juillet 1947. Personnalité éclectique, il a su magistralement conjuguer la discipline du commissaire de police tant avec la rigueur de l'académicien spécialisé en droit et en criminologie qu'avec la créativité de l'écrivain.

Ses polars sont qualifiés par la critique littéraire de *ḫāliṣa* (authentiques) et d'ouvrages écrits *bi-ḫtirāfiyya* (avec professionnalisme)[2], « basés sur des enquêtes que l'auteur a lui-même menées »[3]. Son roman *al-Ḥūt al-aʿmà* (La baleine aveugle)[4], coécrit

---

[1] Cf. Hamdouchi (2010 : 26).
[2] Voir, en particulier, les considérations de Ḫalīfī (2009 : 62-68) et al-Sāwirī (2009 : 69-81).
[3] Simon (2000 : 6).

avec ʿAbd al-Ilāh al-Ḥamdūšī (Abdelilah El Hamdouchi, 1958)[5] en 1997, est souvent considéré comme le premier roman policier arabe[6].

Cependant, sa carrière d'écrivain ne commence pas avec ce roman, mais quelques années auparavant lorsqu'il était encore affecté à la Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale (DGSN). En 1991, en fait, Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī publie *Muǧtamaʿ al-ṣudfa* (La société du hasard) qui représente sa première expérience dans le champ littéraire.

Notre contribution prendra en examen quelques éléments de ce roman (les lieux, les personnages, la police, le crime, le titre) afin d'essayer de tracer les lignes principales de la première production artistique de l'écrivain marocain où le personnage de l'agent de police n'est qu'à peine esquissé et où l'intérêt marqué pour les volets jurisprudentiel et scientifique est patent. L'analyse essaiera également d'insérer ce premier roman de Ḥamdūšī dans le contexte politique marocain du début des années 90, à l'époque des premières réflexions sur les réformes concernant la justice et les droits de l'homme. Finalement, dans une perspective plus large, l'article mettra en exergue les thématiques récurrentes repérées aussi dans les romans plus tardifs de l'auteur marocain tels que les antithèses rationalité/irrationalité, ordre/hasard.

2. Le roman *Muǧtamaʿ al-ṣudfa* : les lieux

À partir de 1997, ce sont surtout les éditions ʿUkāẓ (Okad) de Rabat qui publient les romans de Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī et touchent un nombre important de lecteurs.

Muǧtamaʿ al-ṣudfa, au contraire, est publié en 1991 par une petite maison d'édition, l'imprimerie al-Hazzāz de Fès[7]. Huit ans plus tard la maison d'édition ʿUkāẓ le republie avec une couverture représentant un homme qui cache derrière son dos un couteau sur laquelle y ajoute le sous-titre *Riwāya būlīsiyya* (roman policier)[8]. À propos de ce dernier élément, il faudra toutefois noter que la critique a qualifié le roman de *riwāya hazliyya dirāmiyya* (litt. 'roman ironique et dramatique')[9].

---

[4]   Ḥamdūšī, al-Ḥamdūšī (1997).

[5]   En dépit du nom, les deux écrivains n'ont pas de liens de parenté. Avant de s'engager dans l'écriture, ʿAbd al-Ilāh al-Ḥamdūšī était professeur de langue arabe. Jonathan Smolin a analysé son répertoire et a traduit un de ses romans en anglais, *al-Rihān al-aḫīr riwāyah būlīsiyyah* de 2001 (Voir Hamdouchi 2008). Cobham (1997 : 205-222) a également analysé sa première production littéraire. L'une des interviews accordées par ʿAbd al-Ilāh al-Ḥamdūšī a été récemment publiée dans Drumsta (2021 : 195-206).

[6]   Voir Guldimann (2020 : 81-82) et surtout Smolin (2010 : 82), Smolin (2013a : 698) et Smolin (2013b : 88). Dans ce dernier volume, Smolin propose l'hypothèse d'un lien étroit entre l'essor de la littérature policière d'expression arabe avec une certaine libéralisation du régime marocain qui provoque un changement important dans la représentation de l'institution policière. Sa thèse est reprise aussi par Langone (2016).

[7]   Cf. Ḥamdūšī (1991). Il faut remarquer que l'imprimerie est définitivement fermée et ses locaux sont en vente (je remercie le collègue Issam Marjani de m'avoir fourni cette information au mois de mai 2020).

[8]   Pour cet article, nous nous référons à sa troisième édition de 2017.

[9]   Voir ʿAllām (2002 : 126).

| Couverture de la première édition en 1991, par l'imprimerie al-Hazzāz | Couverture de la republication en 1999, par les éditions ʿUkāẓ |

Lorsqu'il écrit ce roman, Ḥamdūšī est encore commissaire de police, riche d'une vingtaine d'années d'expérience dans les forces de l'ordre, surnommé par la presse marocaine « Colombo », selon le nom du personnage de la célèbre série télévisée, en raison de « sa volonté d'éradiquer le crime et la corruption dans tous les milieux, y compris la police »[10].

L'action du roman se déroule à Fès, l'une des villes où il a été affecté. Mais la ville n'est pas un simple nom, elle est loin de n'être qu'un décor. Dès le début du roman, Ḥamdūšī ouvre au lecteur les portes de Fès : sa médina est décrite comme une ville chargée d'histoire[11], aux maisons adossées les unes aux autres « comme si elles s'entre-aimaient »[12]. Il flâne avec son lecteur dans le quartier de Fās al-Bālī dans ses ruelles comme celle d'al-Qabbābīn (El Kebbabine, « les fabricants de seaux en bois employés au hammam »), au marché al-Raṣīf (Errassif).

Pour faire pénétrer le lecteur dans l'atmosphère fassie, l'auteur parsème le roman de quelques mots typiques de la *dāriǧa* locale, tels que par exemple *səqlābīya*[13] et *ḫlīʿ*[14]. Certaines localités des alentours de Fès sont également citées, ainsi la ville thermale de Moulay Yaâcoub et les sources de Sidi Harazem et d'Aïn Chifa, sites très appréciés par les Fassis pour les pique-niques d'été. Toutefois, c'est Fès qui reste le lieu incontesté du roman, avec son histoire mais aussi avec ses légendes et ses superstitions[15].

C'est justement à travers cette ville que l'écrivain introduit le personnage principal du roman, monsieur Tamīmī :

---

[10] Cheikh (2017 : 53).

[11] « Celui qui ne connait pas les artères et les ruelles de Fès ne connait pas l'histoire, n'a pas senti l'arôme du passé et n'a pas erré dans le labyrinthe de son âme » et « A Fès, le visiteur sent les souffles de l'histoire et en engloutit son air lourd, goûte ses empreintes gravées sur les hauts murs, sur les fenêtres étroites, sur les portes ciselées ». Voir Ḥamdūšī (2017 : 5 et 7).

[12] Ḥamdūšī (2017 : 10).

[13] Une chambrette éclairée par une lucarne servant généralement de débarras ; on y emmagasine les provisions pour l'année.

[14] Viande de bœuf découpée en lanières et séchée au soleil, puis cuite dans la graisse et l'huile, et mise en réserve pour l'hiver.

[15] « Dans chaque coin de Fès, une légende se cache, dans chaque maison habite un ouï-dire et sous chaque lit dort une superstition ». Voir Ḥamdūšī (2017 : 11).

La Fès historique n'est pas la Fès de Tamīmī. A chaque promeneur sa Fès. Son regard n'est pas attiré par l'architecture de la ville ni par la beauté de ses maisons, mais c'est le regard de l'escroquerie et de la fraude[16].

3. Les personnages

Né et élevé dans la médina de Fès, Sī Tamīmī est un marchand âgé très avare. Obsédé par l'argent, son activité principale est d'accumuler des richesses. La description de ce personnage amène le lecteur à penser à l'une des anecdotes tirées du *Livre des Avares* d'al-Ǧāḥiẓ (776-868). En effet, Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī donne de ce personnage une image caricaturale, voire grotesque.

Toujours hyperactif et agité, Sī Tamīmī ne prend jamais de vacances et rêve toutes les nuits de gagner de l'argent. Paranoïaque, il se croit persécuté par ses proches capables, d'après ses idées délirantes, de tout risquer pour s'emparer de son argent, et se méfie de tout le monde, même de ses enfants. De taille moyenne, ridé, il porte une barbe blanche qu'aucun barbier n'a jamais soignée. Il se montre sourd ou bien entendant en fonction des circonstances : s'il doit payer, il entend mal, s'il peut gagner quelque chose, alors ses oreilles sont comme des radars qui captent les moindres chuchotements. Il s'oppose à toute activité qui pourrait lui faire sortir de l'argent des poches, y compris les œuvres de bienfaisance. Il se fâche contre sa femme lorsqu'elle lui demande quelques dirhams pour acheter de la farine, de la viande et des légumes et conçoit une nouvelle philosophie : si tu donnes peu d'argent à ta femme, elle aspirera à davantage. Alors la règle qu'il propose est la suivante : ni peu ni beaucoup, mais rien du tout et que les femmes pleurent leur destin ! Au cours de ses pérégrinations dans la ville de Fès en quête d'argent, Sī Tamīmī est souvent accompagné par le courtier Sī ʿAlī. Liés par un rapport fluctuant, Sī Tamīmī perd parfois son calme et bat de son bâton recourbé le courtier qui essaie de se volatiliser dans les ruelles de la médina. Mais lorsque les deux trouvent "un gros gibier", au lieu d'insultes et d'injures, Sī Tamīmī abreuve Sī ʿAlī de louanges et de compliments ; ce dernier devient alors son acolyte et son cher ami.

Les complices de Sī Tamīmī et de Sī ʿAlī sont certains habitants de la médina qui acceptent de délivrer un témoignage mensonger en échange d'une contrepartie financière. Comme dans une *masraḥiyya*, ils se réunissent devant Sī ʿAlī pour répéter avant le procès : ils font semblant de participer à une séance de la Cour avec Sī ʿAlī dans le rôle du président, un des spectateurs joue le rôle du parquet, un autre interprète la défense, et un autre encore incarne l'accusation.

4. La police

L'agent de police occupe une fonction très limitée dans le roman. La première image que l'auteur en donne est celle d'un commissaire qui entre dans son bureau, boit un café et

---

[16] Voir Ḥamdūšī (2017 : 12).

commence à lire les différents dossiers provenant des tribunaux, parmi lesquels la plainte déposée par Lālla Zuhūr contre son mari, Sī Tamīmī.

Aucune description physique ou psychologique n'est donnée du personnage. Ḥamdūšī n'attribue pas non plus de nom à son commissaire ni à ses collaborateurs. Ce personnage se réduit essentiellement aux actions qu'il accomplit en tant que chaînon de la machine judiciaire : il est chargé de l'enquête, il reçoit les plaintes et les dénonciations, il constate les infractions et rassemble les preuves.

Ce n'est que plus tard, dans la production littéraire ultérieure, que l'écrivain marocain inventera des personnages ronds, comme par exemple l'officier de police al-Bakrī, chef de la 4ème Section judiciaire, patient, incorruptible, tenace, obsédé par la perfection et amoureux de la vérité, accompagné de ses fidèles collaborateurs, Mīrī et Raṯmī. À l'instar du Commissaire Maigret pour Georges Simenon ou du Commissaire Montalbano pour Andrea Camilleri, al-Bakrī sera donc le personnage central du répertoire plus mûr de Ḥamdūšī, le héros d'une série de romans écrits en arabe ainsi qu'en français[17].

5. Le crime

Dans une interview accordée le 23 août 2001 au quotidien panarabe *al-Šarq al-awsaṭ*, Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī précise que le crime n'est pas un simple synonyme de meurtre mais que le mot « criminalité » embrasse un plus large éventail d'actions qui enfreignent la loi. À ce propos, il mentionne justement son roman *Muğtamaʿ al-ṣudfa* dans lequel il aborde des délits de droit commun tels que la fraude et l'escroquerie[18].

Dans le roman, Sī Tamīmī viole la loi à deux reprises. Il falsifie des documents et émet un chèque sans provision. Pour ce délit, il est poursuivi et condamné à une année de prison avec sursis et une amende égale au montant du chèque en bois. Il peut bénéficier de la mesure de suspension de la peine en raison de son âge et parce que, jusque-là, son casier judiciaire était vierge.

De fait, le roman aborde la mesure du sursis qui constitue une peine dissuasive. Sī Tamīmī aurait pu se racheter. Mais, ce marchand âgé récidive en se convertissant en faux *fqīh* aux pouvoirs extraordinaires exploitant la superstition des personnes pratiquement dépourvues d'esprit critique, persuadées d'être l'objet d'un sortilège ou d'une malédiction.

À la suite de la plainte d'un certain Sī Hāšimī, l'une des victimes dupées par le *fqīh*, Sī Tamīmī doit se défendre au tribunal une deuxième fois mais la Cour le condamne à six mois d'emprisonnement ferme et à une amende. La citation des articles de loi est très précise : pour le délit de fraude (*naṣb*), on renvoie à l'article 540, pour les circonstances atténuantes aux articles 146 et 149 du code pénal marocain. La sentence prononcée, la

---

[17] Parmi les romans de Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī où le commissaire al-Bakrī est le protagoniste : *Les griffes de la mort* (2003) ; *Meurtres à Mazagan* (2010) ; *al-Sikkīn al-ḥarūn* (2014) ; *Ḍaḥāyā al-faǧr* (2002). A propos de ce dernier roman, voir l'analyse de Smolin (2014 : 291-292). Pour une analyse détaillée du personnage du commissaire al-Bakrī, nous renvoyons à Langone (2019).

[18] « Le mot crime est une description générale de tout ce qui est contraire à la loi […]. Dans mon œuvre, j'ai abordé plus d'une fois les délits de droit commun, comme dans le roman *La société du hasard* où je me suis occupé d'une fraude qui a eu lieu dans la ville de Fès ». Voir ʿAnkar (2001).

peine est immédiatement appliquée : Sī Tamīmī est envoyé dans un établissement pénitentiaire. Finalement, dans l'épilogue du roman, le coupable, les larmes aux yeux, se rend compte de ses erreurs et apparaît terrifié à l'idée d'entrer dans le monde déshumanisant de la prison.

6. Le titre du roman

Le caractère inexorable, la rigueur et l'objectivité de la machine judiciaire contrastent avec l'irrationalité des « clients » du *fqīh* Sī Tamīmī. Devant le « bureau » de ce dernier, en effet, une longue file de personnes attendent leur tour. Le *fqīh* abuse du désarroi des solitaires, des ratés de la vie et des paumés, quel que soit leur âge ou leur appartenance sociale. Tous cherchent le *fqīh*, l'érudit comme l'ignorant, la femme comme l'homme. Le narrateur qualifie ce microcosme de proies faciles de « société du hasard », expression employée justement comme titre du roman. Cette société ne répond pas aux critères fixés par les théoriciens pour définir la collectivité : ses membres ne sont pas liés par un contrat ni par des règles, il n'y a entre eux ni cohésion ni limites. Seul le désir est leur dénominateur commun.

Le binôme rationnel/irrationnel se révèle un thème très cher à Ḥamdūšī qui opposera encore, dans ses romans successifs[19], la loi en tant qu'expression de la rationalité et de la pensée scientifique à la superstition, à la sorcellerie et aux croyances populaires transmises de génération en génération et qui sont fondées sur la crainte ou l'ignorance.

7. Le genre

C'est justement l'intérêt que porte Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī à la « société du hasard »[20], aux coupables, mais surtout aux rouages de la justice, dans les différentes phases de l'enquête et des débats du procès, qui nous conduit à considérer la nature de son premier roman comme judiciaire[21].

Cet intérêt pour l'enquête judiciaire découle de la passion de l'auteur pour les études de droit : titulaire d'une licence en littérature française, il s'est inscrit de nouveau à l'Université et obtient une deuxième licence en droit, suivie, en 1985, d'un Diplôme d'Études Supérieures en droit public à l'Université de Casablanca[22]. Avant 1991, il s'est déjà adonné à la recherche en publiant des articles scientifiques, parmi lesquels *L'interrogatoire policier*[23]. Il obtient un premier doctorat à l'Université Hassan II de Casablanca dans les années 90, puis un deuxième doctorat en 2001 à l'Université de

---

[19] Pour une analyse plus détaillée du binôme rationnel/irrationnel dans les romans de Ḥamdūšī, nous renvoyons à Langone (2020).

[20] « Il n'y a rien de mal à essayer de comprendre la société du hasard en remettant en cause les sentiments ». Voir Ḥamdūšī (2017 : 52).

[21] Pour les éléments de classifications, voir Ceserani (1995 : 9-19) et Ceserani (2010).

[22] Le titre de son mémoire de DES est *Le statut de la Sûreté nationale marocaine : quelques aspects sociojuridiques*.

[23] Hamdouchi (1987 : 141-150).

Perpignan, avec une thèse intitulée *Le délit de presse : droit marocain et droit français*. Il occupera un poste d'enseignant, spécialisé en droit pénal et criminologie, à la Faculté des Sciences Juridiques, Économiques et Sociales de l'Université Hassan II de Casablanca, où il formera des générations d'étudiants. Il deviendra, en outre, avocat aux barreaux de Casablanca et de Paris.

Pendant son activité de commissaire à Fès et parallèlement à ses études académiques, Ḥamdūšī découvre aussi son penchant pour la littérature à travers ses fréquentations avec l'*intelligentsia* fassie, notamment avec le poète et romancier al-Mahdī Hādī al-Ḥamyānī (El Mehdi Hadi El Hamiani), le dramaturge Muḥammad al-Kaġġāṭ (Mohamed Kaghat) et le sociologue ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl Ḥalīm (Abdeljalil Halim).

Cet intérêt sera davantage cultivé après sa démission, en 1993, de son poste de commissaire de police à Tanger, où il avait été nommé en septembre 1992. Dans cette ville qui représente une plaque tournante du trafic du *kīf* vers l'Europe, le commissaire se fera remarquer pour son côté « trop curieux » et pour avoir incarcéré plusieurs notables et élus locaux pour « association de malfaiteurs ». Ne parvenant plus à gérer les tensions dues à sa profession, seule l'écriture des romans policiers parviendra à lui apporter un vrai soulagement qu'il trouvera aussi dans la compagnie d'intellectuels tels que Tahar Ben Jelloun, Jean-Pierre Koffel, al-Ṭayyib al-Ṣiddīqī (Tayeb Saddiki), Muḥammad Zafzāf (Mohamed Zafzaf), Muḥammad Šukrī (Mohamed Choukri) et, notamment, ʿAbd al-Ilāh al-Ḥamdūšī avec qui il entamera l'expérience du polar marocain d'expression arabe à proprement parler.

Ainsi, les prodromes du polar marocain seraient à rechercher dans ce premier roman judiciaire de Ḥamdūšī. Le roman judiciaire anticiperait par conséquent le roman policier, à l'instar des littératures française[24] et italienne[25] où les écrivains considérés les « pères du polar » écrivent *de facto* des romans judiciaires. Maurizio Pistelli trouve dans le roman judiciaire le chaînon manquant entre le roman-feuilleton et le roman policier[26], tandis que certains chercheurs préfèrent d'ailleurs ne pas trop distinguer entre les catégories de « roman policier » et de « roman judiciaire », mais les considérer ensemble à l'intérieur du champ plus large de la « littérature criminelle »[27].

8. Le contexte

Le roman policier est indissociablement lié à la société où il se construit et il s'avère un véritable sismographe du réel qui enregistre les mutations en cours au Maroc. L'écrivain Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī comprend justement ce lien étroit entre l'essor du roman policier et le contexte sociopolitique lorsqu'il affirme que « la liberté, c'est la condition *sine qua non*

---

[24] Le roman judiciaire représente un moment important dans l'histoire du roman policier français à travers, notamment, la production d'Etienne Emile Gaboriau (1832-1873). Voir, entre autres, Sándor (2016 : 6).

[25] Emilio De Marchi (1851-1901) est un des précurseurs du genre policier en Italie, avec son roman *Il cappello del prete* (publié en 1887). Voir Adamo (2005). Les romans de l'autre représentant majeur du protopolar italien, Jarro (alias Giulio Piccini, 1849-1915), présentent des éléments rapportables à la structure du roman judiciaire. Jarro représente le cas dans lequel le passage du judiciaire et policier se déroule à l'intérieur de l'œuvre du même auteur. Voir, entre autres, Facchi (2017).

[26] Voir, à ce propos, Pistelli (2006).

[27] Voir, par exemple, Kalifa (2005 : 144) et Berré (2017).

pour toute expression créative » et que « le lecteur marocain a tout le droit de posséder sa propre littérature policière plongée dans sa réalité et enregistrant ses sensibilités »[28].

Ce sont surtout les éléments absents dans *Muǧtamaʿ al-ṣudfa* qu'il faudrait interroger davantage : il n'y a ni un cadavre, ni un traitement approfondi du personnage de l'agent de police, ni une description de l'établissement pénitentiaire.

Lorsque Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī écrit ce roman en 1991, le Maroc vient de sortir de la période sombre des années de plomb (*sanawāt al-raṣāṣ*). L'année 1990 est considérée comme un tournant d'un point de vue politico-judiciaire[29].

En décembre 1990, le Maroc a connu les affres d'une grève générale qui s'est achevée dans un bain de sang. C'est justement dans la ville de Fès, la capitale spirituelle du pays, que se cristallise la confrontation entre les forces de l'ordre et les manifestants. Tombés sous les balles de la police, plusieurs corps sont enterrés secrètement dans deux cimetières de Fès. Les émeutes incitent le régime à adopter une approche plus libérale.

Les premiers signes de changement datent de mai 1990, quand le roi Hassan II annonce la création du Conseil Consultatif des Droits de l'Homme (CCDH), institution nationale indépendante, par décret royal, le dahir n. 1-90-12. C'est la réponse de la monarchie à la multiplication des critiques et des pressions aussi bien locales qu'étrangères, notamment celles d'une partie de la société civile et de la classe politique françaises[30].

Sous les pressions d'Amnesty International qui publie en février 1990 un rapport très sévère[31] et préoccupée, en outre, d'un possible effet domino suite à la chute du mur de Berlin qui allait changer les équilibres internationaux, la monarchie introduit une dose de démocratie. Toutefois, la libéralisation du régime a été très graduelle. La première tâche du Conseil Consultatif des Droits de l'Homme (CCDH) est d'étudier et d'aligner les textes législatifs et réglementaires nationaux avec les conventions internationales sur les droits de l'homme que le Maroc a ratifiées[32].

En outre, l'État s'emploie à dresser progressivement un rempart de normes juridiques face aux violations des droits humains. Le processus de la réforme débute par la réécriture de certaines dispositions de la procédure pénale. La loi de 1991 réussit, comme Amzazi (2015 : 877) le souligne, à « minimiser les effets négatifs de quelques-unes des modifications intervenues en la matière depuis le début des années 60 ». Une attention particulière est accordée à la promotion de la culture des droits de l'Homme dans les programmes de formation des agents chargés de l'application de la loi, principalement la magistrature, de la Police et de la Gendarmerie Royale.

Le silence est brisé sur certains sujets tabous comme l'existence du bagne de Tazmamart, prison secrète pour détenus politiques surnommé l'« Alcatraz marocain », qui sera définitivement fermé en 1991. Abrāhām Sirfātī (Abraham Serfaty), l'écrivain ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Šāwī (Abdelkader Chaoui) et les membres de la famille Ūfqīr (Oufkir) sont les dissidents les plus célèbres libérés en 1991.

---

[28]   ʿAnkar (2001).

[29]   Sur ce sujet, nous renvoyons à Amzazi (2015 : 874).

[30]   Voir par exemple le livre-scandale de Perrault (1990), dont la sortie provoque un séisme.

[31]   Dans ce rapport, le gouvernement est accusé de « recourir systématiquement à la torture et aux mauvais traitements contre les personnes maintenues en garde à vue ». Cf. Dalle (2011 : 284).

[32]   Sur la mission du CCDH, nous renvoyons à Pacifici et al. (2011 : 27).

C'est cette petite lueur de démocratie et de plus d'attention aux droits de l'homme qui permet à Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī d'écrire son roman axé sur le fonctionnement de la justice au Maroc. C'est cependant un roman sans cadavre, sans une description de l'établissement pénitentiaire, avec un criminel qui fait par moments sourire, un policier à peine esquissé, en arrière-plan, dépourvu de nom et de sentiments, pour lequel il est impossible de susciter l'empathie du lecteur. Ḥamdūšī n'arrive pas à se livrer aux jeux littéraires subtils consistant à mettre en cause la réalité, parce qu'il est encore au sein du système.

Peu de temps après, ce contexte d'ouverture sur le respect des Droits de l'Homme aura un impact sur la quantité de textes relatant l'expérience carcérale, ce qu'on appelle *adab al-suğūn*[33].

Ce n'est pas un hasard si le premier polar en arabe apparaît au Maroc en 1997. C'est une période où le Maroc vit des changements plus profonds dans le domaine des droits de l'homme, des médias, de la liberté d'expression et du rôle de la police dans la société et où le pays affronte courageusement une partie de son histoire occultée. C'est alors le moment propice pour l'essor d'un véritable roman policier dont Ḥamdūšī sera l'architecte, apportant un traitement approfondi au personnage de l'agent de police, dont l'image sort redorée et est désormais presque lointaine des atrocités et des exactions commises dans les années noires du Maroc.

Bibliographie

Adamo, Sergia. 2005. "Il cappello del prete : il romanzo giudiziario e il racconto della giustizia", Cremante, Renzo (éd.), *Emilio De Marchi, un secolo dopo. Atti del convegno di studi, Università di Pavia, 5-6 dicembre 2001*. Rome : Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 125-156.

'Allām, 'Abd al-Raḥīm. 2002. *Sīrat al-kitāba*. Casablanca : Dāru l-taqāfa, 2002.

Amzazi, Mohieddine. 2015. "1990-2012 : évolutions pénales", Dupret, Baudouin (éd.), *Le Maroc au présent*. Casablanca : Centre Jacques-Berque. 873-881.

'Ankar, Ḥalīm. 2001. "Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī : al-riwāya al-būlīsiyya lā yumkin an tazdahira fī l-buldān al-diktātūriyya". *al-Šarq al-Awsaṭ*, 23 août 2001.

Berré, Alessio. 2017. "Judiciaire ou policière ? Vers une redéfinition de la littérature criminelle post-unitaire", *Cahiers d'études romanes 34*. 31-42.

Camera d'Afflitto, Isabella. 1998. "Prison Narratives : Autobiography and Fiction". Ostle, Robin, & de Moor, Stefan (éds.), *Writing the Self. Autobiographical Writing in Modern Arabic Literature.* London : Saqi Books. 148-156.

Ceserani Remo. 1995. "Il gioco delle parti", Scarfoglio, Edoardo (éd.), *Il processo di Frine*, Palerme : Sellerio. 9-19.

Ceserani, Remo. 2010. *Convergenze. Gli strumenti letterari e le altre discipline*. Milan : Mondadori.

Cheikh, Mériam. 2017. "De l'ordre moral à l'ordre social. L'application des lois pénalisant la sexualité prémaritale selon des lignes de classe", *L'Année du Maghreb 17*. 49-67.

Cobham, Catherine. 1997. "Sufism and Irony : al-Taslīm by Abdelilah al-Hamdouchi", *Oriente Moderno 77*. 205-222.

Dalle, Ignace. 2011. *Hassan II entre tradition et absolutisme*. Paris : Fayard.

Drumsta, Emily. 2021. "Interview with 'Abdul' ilāh Ḥamdūšī", Ghosn, Katia, & Tadié Benoît, *Le récit criminel arabe/Arabic Crime Fiction*. Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz Verlag. 195-206.

El Ouazzani, Abdesselam. 2004. *Le récit carcéral marocain, ou le paradigme de l'humain*. Rabat : Editions Imprimerie La Capitale.

---

[33] Parmi les ouvrages faisant partie de la littérature carcérale, voir Oufkir (2003). Pour une vue d'ensemble sur l'écriture carcérale marocaine, nous renvoyons à : Zekri (2011) ; Elinson (2009) ; El Ouazzani (2004) ; Slymovics (2015) ; Moukhlis (2008) ; Orlando (2010) ; Hassan (2006 : 332-334). Sur la littérature carcérale dans le monde arabe : Camera d'Afflitto (1998).

Elinson, Alexander. 2009. "Opening the Circle : Storyteller and Audience in Moroccan Prison Literature", *Middle Eastern Literatures 12*. 289-303.

Facchi, Francesca. 2017. "Entre enquêtes et mystères. La représentation de Florence dans les romans judiciaires de Jarro", *Cahiers d'études romanes 34*. 53-73.

Guldimann, Colette. 2020. "Abdelilah Hamdouchi's *Whitefly*: Transnational Crime, Globalisation and the Arabic Police Procedural", Piipponen, Maarit, & Mäntymäki, Helen (eds.), *Transnational Crime Fiction. Mobility, Borders and Detection*. London : Palgrave MacMillan. 79-85.

Ḥalīfī, Šuʿayb. 2009. "al-Taḫyīl wa-luġat l-tašwīq: muqāraba fī l-bināʾ al-fanniyyi li-l-riwāyat al-būlīsiyya fī l-adab al-ʿarabī", *Fuṣūl 76*. 62-68.

Hamdouchi, Abdelilah. 2008. *The Final Bet*. trad. Jonathan Smolin. Le Caire/New York : The American University in Cairo Press.

Hamdouchi, Miloudi. 1987. "L'interrogatoire policier", *Revue Marocaine de Droit et d'Economie du Développement 14*. 141-150.

Hamdouchi, Miloudi. 2003. *Les griffes de la mort*. Rabat : Okad.

Hamdouchi, Miloudi. 2010. *Meurtres à Mazagan*. Rabat : Okad.

Ḥamdūšī, Mīlūdī. 1991. *Muġtamaʿ al-ṣudfa*. Fès : al-Hazzāz.

Ḥamdūšī, Mīlūdī. 2002. *Ḍaḥāyā l-faġr*. Rabat : ʿUkāẓ.

Ḥamdūšī, Mīlūdī. 2014. *al-Sikkīn al-ḥarūn*. Casablanca: ʿUkāẓ, 2014.

Ḥamdūšī, Mīlūdī. 2017. *Muġtamaʿ al-ṣudfa*. Rabat : 'Ukāẓ.

Ḥamdūšī, Mīlūdī, & al-Ḥamdūšī, 'Abd al-Ilāh. 1997. *al-Ḥūt al-aʿmà*. Rabat : 'Ukāẓ, 1997.

Hassan, Kadhim Jihad. 2006. *Le roman arabe (1834-2004)*. Arles : Actes Sud.

Kalifa, Dominique. 2005. *Crime et culture au XIXe siècle*. Paris : Perrin.

Langone, Angela Daiana. 2016. "Why so late an Arabic Detective Novel ?", Khomitska, Olena, & Horvat Bohdan (eds.), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the History of Arabic Literature*. Kyiv : Tars Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. 107-118.

Langone, Angela Daiana. 2019. "Mīlūdī Ḥamdūšī e l'elogio della ragione", Avino, Maria, & Barbaro, Ada, & Ruocco, Monica (eds.), *Qamariyyāt : oltre ogni frontiera tra letteratura e traduzione. Studi in onore di Isabella Camera d'Afflitto*. Rome : Istituto per l'Oriente. 335-344.

Langone, Angela Daiana. 2020. "Le polar marocain du troisième millénaire. Tradition, mondialisation et représentation de l'espace", Traglia, Lora, & Jeanneret, Sylvie, & Viegnes Michel (éds.), *Les lieux du polar. Entre cultures nationales et mondialisation*. Neuchâtel : Livreo-Alphil. 215-238.

Moukhlis, Salah. 2008. "The Forgotten Face of Postcoloniality : Moroccan Prison Narratives, Human Rights, and the Politics of Resistance", *Journal of Arabic Literature 39*. 347-376.

Orlando, Valéry K. 2010. "Feminine Spaces and Places in the Dark Recesses of Morocco's Past : The Prison Testimonials in Poetry and Prose of Saida Menebhi and Fatna El Bouih", *The Journal of North African Studies 15*. 273-288.

Oufkir, Raouf. 2003. *Les invités. Vingt ans dans les prisons du Roi*. Paris : Flammarion.

Pacifici, Francesca. 2011. "Il Regno di Mohammed VI : la sfida della transizione democratica e del riformismo", Pacifici, Francesca, & Cociancich, Maurizio (eds.), *Il Marocco nelle nuove dinamiche mediterranee*. Rome : Alpes Italia. 25-35.

Perrault, Gilles. 1990. *Notre ami le Roi*. Paris : Gallimard.

Pistelli, Maurizio. 2006. *Un secolo in giallo. Storia del poliziesco italiano (1860-1960)*. Rome : Donzelli.

Sándor, Kálai. 2000. "Pratiques sérielles dans le roman judiciaire. Le cas de Gaboriau", *Belphégor* [en ligne], 14 (2016).

al-Sāwirī, Bū Šuʿayb. 2009. "Mufāraqat l-intāğ wa-l-talaqqī fī l-riwāya l-būlīsiyya al-ʿarabiyya", *Fuṣūl 76*. 69-81.

Slymovics, Susan. 2015. "The Moroccan Prison in Literature and Architecture", *Middle East Research & Information Project 275*. 26-31.

Smolin, Jonathan. 2010. "Political Malaise and the New Arabic Noir", *South Central Review 27*. 82-90.

Smolin, Jonathan. 2013a. "Didactic Entertainment : the Moroccan Police Journal and the origins of the Arabic Police Procedural", *International Journal of Middle East Studies 45*. 695-714.

Smolin, Jonathan. 2013b. *Moroccan Noir. Police, Crime, and Politics in Popular Culture*. Bloomington : Indiana University Press.

Smolin, Jonathan. 2014. "Anxious Openings : Globalization in the Moroccan Arabic Police Procedural", *Middle Eastern Literatures 17*. 283-298.

Zekri, Khalid. 2011. "Ecrire le carcéral au Maroc", *Les Cahiers de l'Orient 102*. 59-79.