THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

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Table 2.1 The Arabic consonantal system.
10
The Dialects of Arabic

10.1 DIALECTS OF THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

The Arabian peninsula, the homeland of the Arab tribes, remains the least-known dialect area of the Arabophone world. In pre-Islamic times, there was probably a division into Eastern and Western dialects (cf. above, Chapter 3), but subsequent migrations have changed the geographical distribution of the dialects considerably. All Bedouin dialects in this area now belong to the new type of Arabic, although generally speaking they are more conservative than the dialects outside the peninsula. In the urban centres of the Ḥiḡāz and the Gulf, sedentary dialects are spoken, the latter probably being the result of later migration.

Recent attempts at classification by Ingham (1982) and Palva (1991) distinguish four groups:

1. North-east Arabian dialects: these are the dialects of the Naḡd, in particular those of the large tribes ‘Aniza and Šammar. This group is divided into three subgroups: the ‘Anazi dialects (including the dialects of Kuwait, Bahrain [Sunni] and the Gulf states); the Šammar dialects (including some of the Bedouin dialects in Iraq); and the Syro-Mesopotamian Bedouin dialects (including the Bedouin dialects of North Israel and Jordan).

2. South-west Arabian dialects (dialects of Yemen, Hadramaut and Aden, as well as the dialects of the Shi‘ite Bahārnā in Bahrain).

3. Ḥiḡāzi (West Arabian) dialects: to this group belong the Bedouin dialects of the Ḥiḡāz and the Tihāma, which are not very well known; it is not yet clear what the relationship is between these dialects and those of the urban centres in this area, chiefly Mecca and Medina.

4. North-west Arabian dialects: the dialects of the Negev and the Sinai, as well as those of Southern Jordan, the eastern coast of the Gulf of ‘Aqaba and some regions in north-western Saudi Arabia are sometimes thought to form a distinct group, which Palva (1991) calls the North-west Arabian dialects.

In Chapter 9 (p. 143) we have seen that outside the Arabian peninsula Bedouin dialects in general are characterised by a number of features that set them off clearly from the sedentary dialects in the same area (e.g. the voiced realisation of the /q/, the retention of the interdentals, and the gender distinction in the second and third person plural of the verbs and the pronouns). The Bedouin dialects in the Arabian peninsula are even more conservative than those outside
it in the sense that they do not partake of many of the reducing and levelling innovations that are found outside the peninsula. The most conservative type is represented by Nağdı Arabic; those Bedouin dialects of South Iraq and the Gulf states that are related to them exhibit more innovations. In the peninsula, the nomadic/sedentary dichotomy does not function in the same way as outside, since many tribes also have settled members with whom there is frequent interaction both economically and socially. As a result, all dialects including the sedentary ones exhibit Bedouin features.

Among the conservative features of the Bedouin dialects in the Arabian peninsula, the following three may be mentioned. First, many Bedouin dialects have preserved the use of an indefinite marker -an, -en, mostly as an optional feature, sometimes even as a mere metric device in oral poetry; this indefinite marker clearly derives from the Classical tanwin, which has lost its function as a case marker of indefinite words and has become a marker for indefinite words when these are specified. In the dialects of the Nağdı, the marker is used regularly before modifiers to a noun, whether adjectives, or relative clauses, or prepositional clauses, e.g. bêt-in kibir ‘a big house’, kalmit-in galōhālī ‘a word which they said to me’, giz-in minh ‘a part of it’, as well as in adverbial expressions in Classical Arabic would have the ending -an, for instance matal-in ‘for example’, mbaccir-in ‘early’. Second, some Bedouin dialects preserve the causative as a productive form, for instance in the dialect of the Rwala 'ab'ad/yib'id ‘to move away’; 'aḥbar/yibbir ‘to inform’ [Prochazka 1988: 42, 47]. Third, in some of the dialects, the internal passive is still productive, mainly in the North-east Arabian dialects, for instance in the dialect of the Ḥay'il kitab/ktrib ‘to write/to be written’; ḍarab/qrib ‘to hit, to be hit’ [Prochazka 1988: 28, 116]. This is not a completely exclusive feature of the Arabian Bedouin dialects, since traces are also found in some of the Bedouin dialects of North Africa.

Apart from these conservative tendencies there are also innovations, especially in the North-east Arabian dialects. These have the so-called gahāwa syndrome, a process of resyllabification in the neighbourhood of gutturals. The Nağdı dialect has for instance from the verbs kitab ‘to write’ and hafar ‘to dig’ the imperfects yaktib and yhafir; the latter form has evolved from *yafhir > *yafhir. The gahāwa syndrome is also found in other regions, where Bedouin dialects were brought by migration, for instance, in the Egyptian dialects south of Asyūt.

Most North-east Arabian dialects are characterised by affrication of /g/ < /q/, and of /k/; this affrication is conditioned by the phonetic environment since it only takes place near front vowels (for a similar feature in the gilit dialects of Mesopotamia, possibly under Bedouin influence, see below, p. 157). In Syria and Mesopotamia, the Bedouin dialects have ǧ, ẓ, whereas the Bedouin dialects of Arabia usually have more fronted variants: ǧ', ẓ' [g] for g; t' [c] for k. As examples, we may quote from the dialect of the Rwala Bedouin tiğil ‘heavy’, gilil ‘few’; ċam ‘how much?’; mićān ‘place’ [Classical Arabic taqīl, qalīl; kam, makān].

The West Arabian (Ḥiḡāzī) dialects are not very well known. They include the dialects of those sedentary centres that already existed before the coming of Islam, for instance Mecca and Medina. In Islamic times, many tribes from this area migrated to the west, so that the Bedouin dialects in the Syrian desert, the
Negev and ultimately those in North Africa probably derive from dialects spoken in this area. The dialects of this group are distinguished from the East Arabian dialects by the absence of the affrication of /k/ and /q/. The dialect of Mecca, although related to the Bedouin dialects in the region, has some of the characteristics of sedentary dialects. It has lost the interdentals and the gender distinction in the plural of verbs and pronouns. Meccan Arabic has a genitive exponent (hagg), as well as verbal aspectual particles (bi- and ‘ammâl for the continuous aspect and râyih- for the future), which are not normally used in the Bedouin dialects. The realisation of /q/ in Mecca is /g/ as in the Bedouin dialects. In some respects, the dialect of Mecca seems to be close to the varieties of Arabic found in Upper Egypt and the Sudan.

The dialect map of Yemen is complicated because the geographical fragmentation of the area has produced a great deal of dialect variation. Bahnstedt (1985: 30–2) distinguishes the following main areas: the Tihâma dialects; the k- dialects; the South-east Yemenite dialects; the dialects of the central plateau (e.g. the dialect of Šan‘â'); the dialects of the southern plateau; the dialects of the northern plateau; and the North-east Yemenite dialects. But even this subdivision is not a complete representation of the entire area: there are many mixed zones, and some of the areas will probably have to be subdivided when more data become known.

The area of the k- dialects in the western mountain range (see Map 10.1) is characterised by the use of verbal forms in the perfect with -k- instead of -t-, e.g. for Classical Arabic katabtu/katabta ‘I/ you have written’ katabku/katabka, katabk’/katabk, katabk/katabk, or even katubk/katabk. There is reason to believe that this area has undergone extensive influence from South Arabian. Its settlement may even go back to the period before Islam, when Arab tribes invaded the South Arabian empires and settled there. After this region had come under Islamic sway, its dialect became known as Himyaritic. In al-Hamānī’s description of the Himyaritic language (cf. above, p. 38) this k- ending is displayed prominently in examples such as kunku ‘I was’, bahalku ‘I said’.

The dialects of the Shi’ites in Bahrain, which belong to a sedentary type, are related to dialects in South-eastern Arabia, Oman and Yemen. The linguistic situation in Bahrain is not unlike that in Baghdad. In both areas, the heterodox minorities (in Baghdad Christians and Jews, in Bahrain Shi'ites) speak a sedentary type of Arabic, whereas orthodox Sunnite speech exhibits secondary bedouinisation. The picture is confused, however, since there are considerable differences between the Baharîna dialect of the villages and that of the urban centres. In the villages, for instance, Classical Arabic /q/ is realised as a voiceless post-velar stop /k/, whereas in the capital al-Manâma Baharîna speakers have /g/, just like the Sunnites. This may be due to borrowing from the prestigious dialect or an old trait.

The Baharîna dialects have in common the realisation of the Classical Arabic interdentals as /f/, /d/, /d/, for instance in falâfa ( < talâta) ‘three’. They also share the absence of the gahâwa syndrome of the Bedouin dialects (e.g. Baharîna ‘âhdar as against Sunnite hadar ‘green’) and the formation of the feminine third person singular of the perfect verb (e.g. Baharîna šarabat or širbat as against Sunnite šrubat ‘she drank’). A characteristic trait of the Baharîna dialects, linking them with the dialect of Oman and the Arabic of Uzbekistan (cf. below, p. 215),
Map 10.1  The perfect verb in the Yemenite dialects (after Behnstedt 1985: map 68)
is the use of an infix -inn- in the participle with suffix, which is used for a perfective aspect, e.g. šar-inn-eh ‘he has bought it’, msaww-it-inn-eh ‘she has made it’.

Text 1: North-east Arabian, Šammar [after Ingham 1982: 130]

1. ḥādōla iš-šīlgān fa-dōla gazwīn ‘ala ḥwētāy u ḇa’ad ma ḥādaw al-bil ṣnājā w il-hwētāt ‘ala ḥēil u ḥādōham, ḥādōham ʿa’ni ‘ugub ma’raktin tuwilīh
2. u yōm inn hum ḥādōhum u fassu-ḥaw hiṭta ḡāmīmaham, mā ḡallaw ’alēham hidūm
3. ḥāda hawīyyam bin ahīham jīd ar-rubū’ iksumōh il-hwētāy iksumōh mi’rījlu mi’fahādu u gāl: yā hawāli rūhu ana rajjālin abamūt wintam rūhu lahalkam

1. These are the Šīlgān and they were raiding the Ḥūwayṭāt and when they had taken the camels, the Ḥūwayṭāt took them on horses, I mean, they took them after a long fight.
2. And when they had taken them, they stripped them even of their clothes, they did not leave their clothes on them.
3. This was their companion, their cousin Gīd ar-Rubū’, the Ḥūwayṭāt maimed him in his foot, in his thigh and he said: ‘O my uncles, go! I am a man who will die; go you to your families!’

Text 2: Meccan Arabic [after Schreiber 1970: 109]

1. ḥāda kān wāhid riḡgāl wu-hāda r-riḡgāl nassāy marra
2. wu-maratu tibga muṣṣ; gālatlu ḥud ḥādi z-zubdiya w-hāda l-fulūs rūḥ gibli muṣṣ
3. gallaha ’īza nṣīt; gālatlu lā ’inšalla mā tinsa ’inta ṭāl mā timṣi gūl muṣṣ ’aṣan lā tinsa
4. gallaha tayyib; ’aḥad az-zubdiya w-al-fulūs wu-nadar yigūl muṣṣ muṣṣ muṣṣ
5. laga ’itnēn biyiddārubu; wigif yiṭfarīg ’alēhum ’ilēn gallagu l-miḍārabu; yiṭfakkir ’ēś maratu gālatlu yiṣṭari

1. There once was a man and this man was very forgetful.
2. His wife wanted muṣṣ [cottage cheese]. She said to him: ‘Take this bowl and this money and go buy me muṣṣ’.
3. He said to her: ‘If I forget?’ She said to him: ‘No, by God, you won’t forget; say all the way muṣṣ, so that you don’t forget’.
4. He said to her: ‘Good!’ He took the bowl and the money and kept saying muṣṣ muṣṣ muṣṣ.
5. He came across two men who were fighting. He stood there looking at them until they ended their fight; then he thought: ‘What did my wife tell me to buy?’

10.2 SYRO-LEBANESE DIALECTS

The arabicisation of the Syro-Lebanese area began during the very first campaigns of the conquests and was no doubt facilitated by the presence of Arabic-speaking tribes in the Syrian desert and even in some of the sedentary areas. The Arab conquerors settled in the old Hellenistic cities in the area, such as Damascus and Aleppo, and it was there that the first varieties of New Arabic were spoken. These dialects were typical urban dialects with a fast rate of innovation.
There was no time-lag between a first and a second stage of arabicisation as in most other areas: the pre-Islamic pattern of Bedouin migration from the Syrian desert did not stop after the advent of Islam and remained a permanent fixture of the linguistic situation.

Because of the abundance of material, there is more or less a consensus about the classification of the dialects between the Mediterranean and the Syrian desert. Usually, all sedentary dialects in the area covering Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Palestine are assigned to this group, the Bedouin dialects of the Syrian desert belonging to the dialects of the Arabian peninsula. In north-east Syria, dialects of the qaltu group of Mesopotamian dialects are spoken (e.g. the dialect of Dér iz-Zör). Across the border with Turkey, in the former district of Iskenderun [Alexandretta], the present-day province of Hatay, a dialect is spoken that is a continuation of the Syrian dialect area.

Most dialects in the Syro-Lebanese area exhibit the typically sedentary features of voiceless realisation of q as ', stops for interdentalis, loss of gender distinction in the second and third person plural of pronouns and verbs. All dialects have preserved the three long vowels ā, ī and ū. But the fact that they are all sedentary does not mean that they never have Bedouin features. Most Jordanian dialects, for instance, have /g/ for /q/, reflecting contact with Bedouin tribes. In the entire area, the prestige dialects of the capitals (Damascus, Beirut) are rapidly replacing the countryside dialects. This is an ongoing process that will contribute to the regional uniformity of the dialects.

The usual classification distinguishes three groups:

- Lebanese/Central Syrian dialects, consisting of Lebanese (e.g. the dialect of Beirut) and Central Syrian (e.g. the dialect of Damascus); the latter group also includes the dialect of the Druzes; the Maronite Arabic of Cyprus (cf. below, Chapter 13, p. 212) is usually assigned to the Lebanese dialects.
- North Syrian dialects, e.g. the dialect of Aleppo.
- Palestinian/Jordanian dialects, consisting of the Palestinian town dialects, the Central Palestinian village dialects and the South Palestinian/Jordanian dialects (including the dialects of the Hūrān).

The first group is sometimes distinguished from the other two by the keyword byiktub/biktub (third person singular and first person singular of the imperfect of the verb ktb 'to write'); in the other two groups, these forms are biktub/baktub. Thus we have, for instance, in the Central Syrian dialect of Damascus byktob/bāktob 'he writes/I write', but in the dialect of North Syrian Aleppo bāktob/baktob.

A second distinction between the North Syrian and the Lebanese/Central Syrian group concerns the working of the 'imāla. In the North Syrian dialects, 'imāla is a historical process that has led to the change ā > ē in the neighbourhood of an i vowel, e.g. in the dialect of Aleppo lisān > lsēn 'tongue', ġāmi'i > ġēme 'mosque'. This change usually takes place even when the ā follows an emphatic or guttural consonant, e.g. tāleb > tēleb 'striving'. The historical development is to be distinguished from the synchronic rules governing the pronunciation of Classical Arabic /ā/, which ranges from [a] in the neighbourhood of emphatics or gutturals to [æ] elsewhere. We therefore find contrasting pairs
such as ّطلِب ‘striving’ as the regular development of /ā/, and ّطالب [ṭāleb] ‘student’, or ّكتِب ‘writing’ as against ّكاتب [kāteb] ‘writer’, in which the second member is probably a loan from Classical Arabic, since it did not undergo the ‘imāla. In the pronunciation, there is a clear distinction between [e] and [æ].

By contrast, in Lebanese Arabic, /ā/ is realised either as [ã] (‘imāla) or [ã] (taflīm), depending on the context, for instance in the dialect of Bismizzān: māt ‘to die’ as against sār ‘to become’. But the distribution of these two variants is not always clear, since in some contexts both may occur, for instance žā ‘to come’ as against žāb ‘to bring’, which even leads to formal opposition pairs, such as ktāb ‘write!’ as against ktāb ‘book’. In most Lebanese dialects, the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ have been preserved at least in open syllables. In closed syllables, they develop into /e/ and /o/ and become indistinguishable from the two allophones of /ā/, as in Tripoli. Since the context in which original /ay/ and /aw/ occur is not conditioned (for instance, /e/ may occur after an emphatic consonant as in ّسَيْف ‘summer’), the contrast between the two allophones of /ā/ has become phonemic.

The distinctions between the three groups are not clear-cut, however. The exact boundary between the Lebanese/Central Syrian and the North Syrian group cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. Likewise, there is an isogloss separating the Palestinian and the South Lebanese dialects from the rest, based on the behaviour of the short vowels. Palestinian Arabic and most Lebanese dialects have three short vowels, /a/, /i/ and /u/. The other dialects have preserved the opposition between /i/ and /u/ only in unstressed final syllables (often transliterated as e and o), whereas in all other environments they have merged into one vowel phoneme (transliterated as a). The reduction of the opposition between /i/ and /u/ has been reinforced by their elision in all open, unstressed syllables. Thus, we find for instance in Damascene Arabic kutob < kutūb ‘books’, with stress on the penultimate, but tīl < tulū ‘ascent’, with stress on the ultimate, and preservation of the long /ū/. Compare also ّسَرِب ّ< ّشَرِيبا ‘to drink’, with stress on the penultimate, and tīl < taqīl ‘heavy’, with stress on the ultimate, and elision of the short vowel. These two words exhibit yet another change: a > i because of the following i (otherwise the resulting form would have been *ّسَرِب, *ta’i{l, since Damascene Arabic preserves the /a/ in unstressed syllables).

Within the group of the Lebanese dialects, a distinction used to be made between those which elide an unstressed /a/ in an open syllable, and those which do not. This distinction between ‘parlers non-différentiels’ vs. ‘parlers différentiels’, i.e. those which do not differentiate between the treatment of /a/, /u/ and /i/ and those which do, was taken by Cantineau to be one of the main isoglosses dividing the area. It runs through Beirut and constitutes a distinctive marker within the Lebanese dialects. South of Beirut we find, for instance ّسَماكَّه ‘fish’; ّدَارَبَّو ّ< ّدَارَبو ‘they hit’; qataltu > ’atāl’et ‘I hit’, whereas north of Beirut we have ّسَمَكَّه, ّدَابَّو, ’tālt. Subsequent research has shown, however, that the details of the transition between the two areas are more complicated and that there is a large variation in the treatment of the /a/ that is not indicated by this isogloss alone.

Within the third group (the Palestinian/Jordanian dialects), the dialects of south Palestine and Jordan are sometimes distinguished from the others by the keyword
băgūl (first person singular of the imperfect of the verb għal ‘to say’). The voiced /g/ marks this group of dialects as former Bedouin dialects (or later bedouinised). Synchronically, the treatment of consonant clusters in Syrian Arabic contrasts with that in Egyptian and other dialects, since an epenthetic vowel is inserted before the second rather than the third consonant in a cluster -CCC-, e.g. yāktbu < yaktbu < yaktubu, yāhmlu < yəhmlu < yəhmlu (these clusters originate as a result of the elision of u and i in an unstressed open syllable). The epenthetic vowel never receives stress.

In the entire area, the b-imperfect serves as a verbal marker. In Damascene Arabic, it indicates an intended future and is also used for assumptions, general facts and present actions. In combination with the b-prefix, the first person singular of the imperfect becomes baktob, the first person plural mnaktob. We have seen above that in the North Syrian dialects the prefix of the first person singular has -a- instead of -i- > -ə-. The continuous aspect marker is 'am, sometimes combined with b-, the expected future is expressed with the marker laḥ(a), raḥ(a). The verbal paradigm is as in Table 10.1.

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<td>katabna</td>
<td>'aktob</td>
<td>naktob</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.1 The verbal paradigm in Damascene Arabic.

Text 3: Damascene Syrian Arabic (after Grotfeldt 1965: 130)

1. la-nāḥki-lak ʿussat ḥayāti mān waʾt li kānt bānt
2. bal-ʾawwal ʾana, waʾt li kānt zāğre, kān żāsmi ʾdīf kṭir, dāyman ʾana ʾdīfe
3. ʿām waṣaf-li l-ḥakīm šamm al-hawa, maʾ oʾder rūḥ ʾal-madrase kṭir
4. baʾdēn fi ʿali ḥāl b-ẓabal Libnān, ḥūrī, ʿām ʾāl: lāzam trūḥi la-hunāke, tgayyri hawa, taʾdi-lek, la-ʾannu l-ḥakīm manaʾ ʾannek trūḥi ʾal-madrase
5. hunik ḥanēne fāṯīn madrase, w-ʾandōn ṣābyān w-bānāt bal-madrase

1. Let us tell you the story of my life from the time I was a girl.
2. At first, at the time when I was young, my body was very weak, always I was weak.
3. Then, the doctor prescribed me fresh air, I couldn’t go to school very much.
4. Afterwards, I have an uncle in the Mount Lebanon, a priest, he said: ‘You must go there, change the air, you’ll stay, because the doctor has forbidden you to go to school.
5. There, they have opened a school, and they have boys and girls in the school’.

Text 4: Lebanese Arabic (Bišmizzīn) (after Jiha 1964: 90)

1. kān fi marra biz-zāmān ʾḥurmi ʿumra sabʾīn sīni badda titzāwwaz, tifrānī

1. Once upon a time there was a woman whose age was seventy years, who wanted to marry, [but she was] without a penny.
2. Śāfit šabb ‘a zwa’a, ‘Āl: baddi ‘āḥdu, kif baddi ‘i‘mil ta ‘āḥdu!

3. Sār trūḥ tāḥīb ḥuwwārā ṭṭāmml wi-thūtt bi-hās-sandū, ‘aṣr tna’sar yawm t’abbi bi-hās-sandū ta sār yiṭla ‘intārayn

4. Ḥallit ʾis-sāḥs il bitḥubbu ta yumru’, ʾālitlu: ‘māl ma’rūf ḥdāf ma‘i has-sandū’!

5. ʿatt haš-sāḥs yḥarrik bi-hās-sandū, ma fi yḥarrik is-sandū

6. ʾalla: t’i‘l ʾaš fiʾl ʾālitlu: yi tu’burni ya ḥabibi, fi sīgāti w-ḥażāti

2. She saw a young man to her taste and said: ‘I want to take him, what can I do in order to take him?’

3. She went and brought white earth, which she kneaded, and put it in this trunk, ten, twelve days she filled the trunk, until it became two intār.

4. She waited until the man whom she loved came by, and said to him: ‘Do me a favour, move this trunk with me!’

5. This man began to move this trunk, he was unable to move the trunk.

6. He said to her: ‘Heavy! What is in it?’ She said to him: ‘May you bury me, my dear! [i.e. May you live longer than me!] In it are my jewels and my things.’

10.3 MESOPOTAMIAN DIALECTS

Although many of the details about the arabicisation of this area are still obscure, we know that it took place in two stages. During the early decades of the Arab conquests, urban varieties of Arabic sprang up around the military centres founded by the invaders, such as Başra and Kūfa. Later, a second layer of Bedouin dialects of tribes that migrated from the peninsula was laid over this first layer of urban dialects. Since Blanc’s (1964) study of the dialects of Baghdad, it has become customary to regard all dialects of Greater Mesopotamia as belonging to one dialect area. Blanc found that in Baghdad there were three communal dialects, i.e. dialects connected with religious communities: Muslim Bağdādi, Christian Bağdādi and Jewish Bağdādi. He concluded that Muslim Bağdādi belonged to one layer of the Mesopotamian dialect map, Christian and Jewish Bağdādi to another, and indicated them with the terms qāltu and gilit, respectively, after their reflex of the Classical Arabic qiltu ‘I have said’. These two varieties were found to be present all over Mesopotamia in a rather complicated pattern of distribution, illustrated in Table 10.2 (Blanc 1964: 6; Jastrow 1973: 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>non-sedentary</th>
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<td>gilit</td>
<td>gilit</td>
<td>qāltu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Iraq</td>
<td>gilit</td>
<td>qāltu</td>
<td>qāltu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolia</td>
<td>gilit</td>
<td>qāltu</td>
<td>qāltu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.2 The distribution of gilit and qāltu dialects.

According to Blanc, the qāltu dialects are a continuation of the medieval vernaculars that were spoken in the sedentary centres of ‘Abbāsid Iraq. The gilit dialect of the Muslims in Baghdad is probably the product of a later process of
bedouinisation that did not affect the speech of the Christians and the Jews in the city. This has led to the present-day difference along religious lines. It may be added that the Jewish dialect of Baghdad is not spoken in Baghdad any more, since most Jews left Iraq in 1950–1 and are now settled in Israel.

The qaḷtu dialects are further classified by Jastrow (1978) into three groups: Tigris dialects, Euphrates dialects and the Anatolian group (the latter will be dealt with below, Chapter 13). They all exhibit the typical features of sedentary dialects, such as the voiceless realisation /q/ or /ʕ/ of Classical /q/; the reduction of the short vowels to two, /a/ and /o/ < /i/ and /u/; the change of the interdentals into dentals (in the Christian dialect of Baghdad); the loss of the gender distinction in the second and third person plural of pronouns and verbs. All qaḷtu dialects are characterised by the ending of the first person singular of the perfect verb -tu, as in the word qaḷtu. The relationship with the gilit dialects is demonstrated by the fact that the Mesopotamian qaḷtu dialects have the endings -in, -ūn in the imperfect verb, as do the gilit dialects, e.g. in the dialect of Arbîl y[email protected]alūn ‘they make’. They also share with these dialects the genitive exponent mal and a future marker derived from ṭā‘īd ‘sitting’ > qa-.

In the gilit dialects, there are three short vowels, /i/, /u/, /a/, but interestingly these do not continue directly the Classical vowels. The vowel /a/ has been preserved in closed syllables, but in open syllables it has changed into /i/ or /u/, depending on the environment, e.g. simaça < samak ‘fish’ as against busaš < basaš ‘onion’. The short /i/ and /u/ have been preserved only in some environments, whereas in others they are both represented by either /i/ or /u/, e.g. hāmid < hāmīd ‘sour’, as against gilit < qaḷtu ‘I said’. In the gilit dialects, the interdentals have been preserved, and the reflex of both /d/ and /ḍ/ is realised accordingly as /ḍ./

Characteristic of all ‘Irāqī dialects is the conditioned affrication of both /q/ > /g/ and /k/ near front vowels (possibly a Bedouin feature; cf. above, p. 149); in the Muslim dialect of Baghdad, however, only /k/ is affricated, e.g. čan < kāna as against yikūn < yakūnu. In the pronominal suffix of the second person singular, this leads to a distinction between masculine -(a)k and feminine -(i)č, e.g. bētak as against bētič ‘your house’.

Where the qaḷtu dialects usually preserve consonant clusters -CC at the end of the word, the gilit dialects insert an epenthetic vowel, i or u depending on the environment, e.g. čalib < kalb ‘dog’, gālūb < qalb ‘heart’, and in the keyword for these dialects gilit < qaḷtu. In consonant clusters -CCC-, an epenthetic vowel is inserted after the first consonant, e.g. yuqrubun > yuqribun > yuqrubun ‘they hit’. The verbal paradigm of the Muslim dialect of Baghdad illustrates this phenomenon, as shown in Table 10.3.

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<tr>
<th>kitab</th>
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<th>yiktbib</th>
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<tr>
<td>kitabit</td>
<td>kitabna</td>
<td>'aktib</td>
<td>niktib</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.3 The verbal paradigm of Muslim Bağdādī.
In the verbal inflection, the Classical Arabic type of perfect verb fa'āl has developed in accordance with the vowel rule given above into fi'āl or fa'āl depending on the environment, e.g. джураб as against sima'. In the inflection of the verb, the endings of the weak and the strong verbs have been levelled to a large degree. In some cases, this has led to the introduction of weak endings in the strong verb, as in many Bedouin dialects, e.g. джурбев 'they hit', kitbaw 'they wrote', in which the ending -aw is derived from the inflection of the weak verb, cf. биш ар 'they cried'. Some of the qalitu dialects go even further in this direction and eliminate completely the distinction between weak and strong verbs (cf. above, p. 100). In the Muslim dialect of Baghdad, the continuous aspect marker is da-, the future marker rah-, as in most Mesopotamian dialects. The participle is used for the perfective aspect (as in Uzbekistan Arabic), for instance in the Muslim dialect of Baghdad wēn ɗamm ‘flūsak ‘where did you put your money?'

Of special interest are the dialects spoken in the Iranian province of Khuzeistan (called in Arabic 'Arabistān). Although the political developments of the last few decades have turned this area into a linguistic enclave, relations between the Arabs living there and their co-tribesmen in Iraq have never been completely disrupted. The Bedouin dialects in this region continue the Arabian dialect area (p. 148), but the sedentary dialects closely resemble the gilit dialects of Mesopotamia, in particular the dialects around Basra. As may be expected, the Arabic dialects of Khuzeistan use many Persian loans, many of them in the administrative domain (e.g. dānīšgāh < Persian dānešgāh 'university'; rāsrā < Persian ēdārē 'office'), but also frequent words, such as ēhsat < Persian ēhsat 'there is, there are'; ḥiṭ < Persian ḥiṭ 'nothing'. In the morphology, the presence of a clitic interrogative-man 'what, who' may be noted, as in šīfīt-man 'who did you see?'; tīd tīštārīman 'which do you want to buy? In some verbal forms, especially before pronominal suffixes, a suffix -an occurs, e.g. ʔaʃāfan 'I see'; ʔāhdanha 'I shall take her'.

Text 5: Jewish Arabic from 'Aqra (after Jastrow 1990: 166–7)

1. ʔazzawīg mālma, ida wēhād kār-rād
   fad bānt, ʕahne 'addna mā kān aku
   yamṣī ma'a, ʔahgl, yamṣī, la'

2. bass kān arāha faz-zāye, zāytayn,
   kān ʔiqalla, kūrīd ʔāgī nētābki
   mēn ʔemmikī w-əbbūkī

3. hiya tēqāllu ... ida hiya kān təskīm,
   hiya kānät rādye, kān yamṣaww
   'end ʔemma w-əbūwā, ēmmu w-
   əbbūhū, w-əhwūtu flān
   yamṣaww, yə'malūn kāvōd,
   yə'malūn qadar wēhād šān əlāh

4. yamṣaww 'end ʔemma w-əbūwā,
   ʔaqallūlam kūrīd bāntkām,
   ʔe'taw-na ʔān ʔbēnna, ʔbēnna
   kūrīda, w-bāntkām-əs kūrīdu

1. Our wedding, when somebody
   loved a girl, it was not the case with
   us that he could go out with her,
   come and go, no.

2. But when he had seen her once,
   twice, he told her: 'We want to
   come and ask for your hand, from
   your mother and father'.

3. She told him ... if she agreed, they
   went to her mother and father, his
   mother and father and his sister or
   sisters went, they honoured them,
   they paid each other respect.

4. They went to her mother and father,
   and told them: 'We want you to
   give your daughter to our son, our
   son loves her and your daughter
   loves him, too'.

1. *halmēlam* sūn *rysawwūna!*
2. 'ala *ṣāṭi* māṭal *ṣatt* farīd makān
   ṣdgūm ṣgīṣṣlak issa'af
3. *'ilḥūs* māla ṣgīṣṣa 'awwal
4. hannōba ḏnābbici *ṭiw̱īdā* yamm
   ṭtānyā lamman ma ssīr hēc mtīl
   *ṭilḥiss*
5. *ṭilḥiss* māṭal mnīladda ṭīṣ'ad
   istrateq yīṣ'ad u ṭīn ymīnīl ḥāda
   ssīmaq yarīṣda bhāda bilmēlam

1. This fishtrap, how do they make it?
2. On the bank of for instance a river,
   a place, you stand and cut off for
   yourself the palm fronds.
3. You cut off their leaves first.
4. Then you fix one beside the other so
   that it becomes like this, like a wo-
   ven garden fence.
5. Then for instance when the high
   tide comes, the fish come up, and
   when the fish go down it catches
   them with the fishtrap.

IO.4 EGYPTIAN DIALECTS

The early stages of the arabicisation of Egypt took place right at the beginning of
the conquests. After the military conquest of the country and the establishment
of a military camp at Fustāt, the urban population in Lower Egypt soon aban-
donied Coptic and adopted the new language. In the countryside and in Upper
Egypt, the linguistic situation did not change for quite some time, and the
arabicisation of this area was much more gradual than that of Lower Egypt. This
part of the country was arabicised in the course of three centuries by Bedouin
tribes that continued to immigrate from the Arabian peninsula to the west.

From Egypt, the Arabic language was brought along the Nile to the south,
into Sudan and Chad. In the middle of the third/ninth century, the Arab tribes
of Rabi'a and Ġuhayna in Upper Egypt pressed on southwards and steadily in-
vaded the lands of Beja and Nubia. The present-day Arabic-speaking nomads in
Sudan claim descentance from the tribe of Ġuhayna, whereas the sedentary
population in the Sudan call themselves Ġa’aliyyūn, after an alleged ‘Abbāsid
scion, Ġa’al. In all probability, they are Nubians who were arabicised at an early
stage, right after the conquest of Egypt and before the Bedouin migration.

Some of the Arabic varieties in Central and West Africa must have arisen in
the course of expansion westwards of the Arab tribes in Sudan. The Arabs called
the transcontinental savannah belt lying between the Sahara desert and the forest
of Central Africa *bilād as-Sūdān* ‘lands of the Blacks’. Along this belt, which
stretches from Sudan through the Central African Republic, Chad and
Cameroon to Nigeria, Arabic and Islam were brought to West Africa, and during
this expansion some of the Chadian Arabic dialects and the Arabic of Nigeria
arose (see Map 10.2). The latter is spoken in the north-east of Nigeria in the
province of Bornu by approximately 200,000 people, who are usually called Shuwa
by their neighbours, but who call themselves Arabs. They probably arrived here
from the east in the second half of the fourteenth century. All dialects in the
savannah belt are Bedouin dialects and belong to what has been called the
*baggara* culture, i.e. the culture of cow-raising nomads who headed the migratory
movement from east to west. Although much is still unknown about the Central
African varieties of Arabic, it is clear that there are many common features linking
Nigerian Arabic, Chadian Arabic and Sudanic Arabic, as Owens (1993) has shown.
Within Egypt, the following dialect groups are usually distinguished:

- the dialects of the Delta; a further division is made between the Eastern dialects in the Šarqiyya and the Western Delta dialects; in some respects the latter constitute the link between Egyptian Arabic and the dialects of the Maghreb, for instance in the use of ni-...-u for the first person plural of the imperfect in some of these dialects (cf. above, p. 134).
- the dialect of Cairo.
- the Middle Egyptian dialects (from Gizeh to Asyût).
- the Upper Egyptian dialects (from Asyût to the south); these are subdivided into four groups: the dialects between Asyût and Nag Hammadi; the dialects between Nag Hammadi and Qêna; the dialects between Qêna and Luxor; and the dialects between Luxor and Esna.

Until recently, only the Cairene dialect had been studied relatively well. Yet, in spite of the wealth of information about the dialect of the capital, its history and its formative period are still unclear. If one compares the present-day dialect of the capital with descriptions of 'Egyptian' (i.e. Cairene) from the nineteenth century and with dialect texts from that period, it turns out that there is a considerable difference. Cairene from that period exhibits a number of features that have disappeared from the modern dialect, e.g. the passive with the prefix in- instead of it-; the pausal 'imāla -e instead of the modern ending -a; the form of the pronominal suffix of the third person singular masculine in forms such as mā šafuhš 'they did not see him' instead of modern mā šafuhūš, as well as a number of lexical items, most striking among which is mašra, which used to mean 'woman' and did not have the modern connotation of 'woman of ill repute, slut'. Features such as these are still found in the rural dialects, although not all are connected to the same dialect region.

According to Woidich (1994), the Cairene dialect of today must be regarded as a mixed dialect whose formative period was the second half of the nineteenth century, when there was an enormous influx of people from the countryside. As a result of this immigration, a number of features that until then had been current in the capital came to be stigmatised because they were identified with the low-prestige rural dialects of the new inhabitants. This process of stigmatisation remained operative in the twentieth century. In the movies of the 1920s and 1930s, the elite frequently use forms that nowadays would be regarded as vulgar, for instance the plural ending of verbs in -um, which is now restricted in educated Cairene speech to the verb 'to come' (gum 'they came'), but in the poor quarters of Cairo can still be heard in other verbs. Another example is that of the interrogative adjective anho 'which?', which in educated speech has been replaced by ayy under the influence of the standard language. The process of mixing of dialects in the nineteenth century not only led to the disappearance and stigmatisation of rural forms but also to the emergence of completely new forms as a result of hyperurbanisation and overgeneralisation, for instance in the case of the loss of the pausal 'imāla.

With the growing influence of the mass media, Cairene speech has spread all over the country. This prestige of the speech of the capital is not a recent phenomenon. We have seen in Chapter 9 (p. 138) that on dialect maps of the
Delta the historical influence of Cairene Egyptian can still be traced following the ancient trade route that led from Cairo to the old port of Damietta (Dumyat) in the Central Delta along the eastern branches of the Nile.

Egyptians themselves usually call all southern varieties of Egyptian Sa'idi, in contrast with the prestige dialect of Cairo. One of the distinctive markers between the two groups is the realisation of Classical /q/ and /g/: in Cairene Arabic these are realised as /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, while in Upper Egypt they are pronounced as /ɡ/ and /ʒ/ (or /ʒ/ or even /d/). Another distinctive feature between the dialects of Cairo and some Delta dialects, on the one hand, and the Upper Egyptian dialects, on the other, is the system of stress assignment. In Cairene Arabic and in the Delta, the last heavy syllable (i.e. a syllable containing a long vowel and ending in a consonant or a syllable ending in two consonants) is stressed, e.g. ma‘zūm ‘invited’, māt‘am ‘restaurant’, bīnti ‘my daughter’. When this syllable is followed by more than one vowel, the vowel immediately following it is stressed, e.g. mādrasa ‘school’, bintāha ‘her daughter’. When there is no heavy syllable, the first vowel is stressed, e.g. bāraka ‘blessing’. This stress system is often called the mādrasa type, which contrasts with the mādrasa type of the Egyptian dialects south of Cairo. A long vowel before the stress is shortened, e.g. tālib ‘student’, but feminine tāliba; singular ma‘zūm ‘invited’, but plural ma‘zūmin. Unstressed /u/ before or after stress are elided, unless they are word-final, thus: ‘ārif ‘knowing’, but feminine ‘ārfa, plural ‘arfin.

The dialects of the western parts of Egypt form the boundary with the dialects of the Maghreb, not only in the Delta, but also in the western oases. The dialects of the latter (Farafra, Bahariyya, Dahla and Harga) are not very well known. Since they exhibit some West Arabic traits, it has been surmised that they are in some way related to the Arabic dialects of the Maghreb group. In Farafra, for instance, /t/ is pronounced affricated [ct], as in many Maghreb dialects. Both in Farafra and in Bahariyya, we find the typical pronominal suffixes for the first person of the
imperfect verb \( \text{niktib}/\text{niktibu} \), that are usually regarded as the hallmark of Maghreb dialects. Besides, there are lexical similarities, e.g. the verb \( \text{dÄ±r}/\text{ydÄ±r} \) 'to make, to do'. On the whole, however, the dialects of the oases seem to be much more related to the dialects of the Nile valley, especially the Middle Egyptian dialects. We have seen above (Chapter 9) that the structure of these dialects was the result of dialect contact. Originally, the inhabitants of the oases came from the Nile valley, and some of the features of their dialects may be regarded as archaic traits that were once present in the Middle Egyptian dialects but disappeared from them as a result of innovations. In the periphery, these traits remained and were not replaced by the later innovations. The features which these dialects have in common with the Maghreb dialects were probably introduced by later invading Bedouin from the west, in particular the Banu Sulaym on their migrations back east. During this process, too, the oasis of Siwa received its Berber dialect: it is the only place in Egypt where Berber is spoken.

In the Sarqiyya (Eastern Delta) and the Sinai, various Bedouin dialects are spoken. Recent research (de Jong 1996) has shown that some of the dialects in the Northern Sinai belong to the group of the Sarqiyya, whereas the dialects in the Eastern Sinai continue the Bedouin dialects of the Negev. Both groups are related to the dialects of North Arabia (cf. above, p. 148), most of them having arrived here in the first centuries of Islam, some perhaps even before the Islamic conquests.

In spite of the numerous differences, there are some common traits distinguishing the Egyptian Arabic dialects in Egypt from other dialect groups. All Egyptian dialects preserve the three short vowels of Classical Arabic, but \(/i, u, u/\) are elided in open and unstressed syllables. There are five long vowels \(/\text{a}, \text{i}, \text{u}, \text{e}, \text{o}/\), which are shortened in unstressed position, in Cairo even in stressed position before two consonants, as in the form 'arfa mentioned above. Consonant clusters are treated differently in the various dialect groups; in Cairene Arabic in a cluster -CCC-, an epenthetic vowel is inserted before the third consonant, e.g. is-sabr\(^t\) tayyib 'patience is good'. Historically, the epenthetic vowel sometimes received stress in accordance with the stress rules of Egyptian Arabic, as for instance in the verbal form \( \text{yiktitbu} < \text{yiktibu} < \text{yiktbu} < \text{yiktibu} \).

The position of the demonstratives and the interrogatives in Egyptian Arabic is characteristic of this dialect, as well as of the related Sudanese Arabic dialects. The demonstratives for the near-deixis in the Egyptian dialects are variants of Cairene \( \text{da, di, döl} \), and always occur in postposition, e.g. (Cairene) \( \text{ir-rágil da} \) 'this man', \( \text{il-fellahin döl} \) 'these peasants', sometimes even critically as in innaharda 'today'. The position of the interrogatives is remarkable, too: whereas most Arabic dialects front the interrogatives, in Egyptian the interrogative retains its structural position in the sentence, e.g. \( ñ\text{suf ti mën} \) 'whom did you see?'; \( \text{alullak et} \) 'what did they tell you?' As an explanation for this phenomenon, Coptic substratal influence has been invoked (cf. above, p. 106).

In all Egyptian dialects, the imperfect has modal meaning, combined with an aspect marker \( \text{bi} \). (Cairo, Delta) it expresses continuous or habitual aspect, combined with \( \text{ha} \) it expresses future tense. The participle is an integral part of the verbal form. In a few verbs of perception or movement, it has present or future meaning, e.g. \( \text{ana šayfo} \) 'I see him (now)' (contrasting with \( \text{ana bašāfo kull yóm} \) 'I see him every day'); in the other verbs it has resultative meaning, e.g. \( \text{ana} \)
wākil 'I have eaten, I am satisfied'. The verbal paradigm of Cairene is as in Table 10.4.

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<tr>
<th>katab</th>
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<td>niktib</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.4 The verbal paradigm in Cairene Arabic.

Text 7: Cairene (after Woidich 1990: 337)

1. ihna fi l-'id safirna yomen wī-
ba’dēn lamma rgn‘a kunna
ma‘zumīn ‘ala l-gada, ṭābi’ yōm il-
‘id, ‘andī ḥaltī

2. fa-ruḥna ‘ana w-gōzi id-ḏuhri ta’ribān
is-sā’a talāta, wi-sta‘bilūna ba‘a
stī’bāl gāmil giddan, bi-t-tirḥāb
ba‘a wi‘ahlan wi-sahlan wi-anis-
tūna wi-ṣāṛqaftūna wi-l-bēt nawwar

3. huwwa kida dayman, il-‘a‘ilāt il-
maṣriyya thībbī t‘ūl kalīmah kitīr
‘awi lī-t-taḥīyya ya‘nī

4. il-muhīmī‘ ‘a‘adna natabādal
ba‘a kalīmah it-tarḥīb diyyāt li-
gāyīt lamma ḥaltī ya‘nī ḥaddarī-
līna l-gada

1. During the feast we travelled two
days and after that when we returned
we were invited for dinner, the
fourth day of the feast, at my aunt’s.
2. We went, my husband and I, in the
afternoon around three o’clock, and
they received us, a very beautiful re-
ception, with welcome and ‘hello’
and ‘you have made us happy’ and
‘you have honoured us’ and ‘may the
house be illuminated’.
3. It is always like that, Egyptian
families love to say very many
words, in greeting, that is.
4. The important thing is, we ex-
changed those words of welcome
until my aunt brought us dinner.

Text 8: Upper Egyptian [id-Dalawīyya] (after Behnstedt and Woidich 1988: 168)

1. kān fi ṭādīl ša‘īdi, w ḥabb izūr
innabi

2. fa lamma ṭāh izūr innabiyy, tarak
filbēt ibnuw, wu l‘abde, w marantu

3. w tarak im‘āhum farrūde

4. fa lamma tarak ilfarrūde, fyōm
t‘abb ṭādīl takrūnī, saha‘r ibmārātu,
w gāwwāha

5. ittakrūnī da, ša‘īdi, ittakrūnī miš-
ša‘īdīn min giblī gawi

6. innāma ṭādīl da grayyib šwayye,
ģēr dukha

1. There was a man from Upper Egypt
and he wished to visit the prophet.
2. And when he went to visit the
prophet, he left at home his son, and
his servant and his wife.
3. And he left with them a chicken.
4. And when he left the chicken, one
day a Sudanese sorcerer came, be-
witched his wife and made her fall
in love with him.
5. This sorcerer was an Upper Egyp-
tian, the sorcerer came from Upper
Egypt, from the deep South.
6. But this man was somewhat from
the North, not like that one.
7. fa lamma saharlhe, ġwitu, w ġwihe
8. fa da fyōm w gallha: ihna ‘ayzin nidbaňu Ifarrūde

7. And when he bewitched her, she fell in love with him, and he fell in love with her.
8. And he [came] one day and said to her: 'We want to slaughter the chicken'.

10.5 MAGHREB DIALECTS

In no other area of the Arabophone world has there been such a marked separation in time between the two stages of arabicisation. During the Arab conquests in the second half of the seventh century, the sedentary areas of North Africa were overrun by a relatively small group of invaders who settled mostly in existing urban centres, or in some cases in newly-established military camps, whence the new, urban varieties of Arabic were spread over the surrounding area. Some of the Jewish varieties of Arabic in North Africa go back to this early period, such as the Jewish Arabic of Tunis and Algiers. The greater part of the countryside remained entirely Berber-speaking. The second stage of arabicisation took place centuries later in the course of the invasion by the Banū Hilāl [tenth and eleventh centuries, cf. above, p. 96]. During this stage, the Arabic language reached the countryside and the nomadic areas of North Africa, although it never managed to oust the Berber language completely [cf. above, p. 96, and see Map 10.3].

The group of the Maghreb dialects includes the dialects of Mauritania (Hassāniyya), Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. In the literature, the dialects belonging to the two stages are often referred to as pre-Hilālī and Hilālī dialects, respectively. All pre-Hilālī dialects are sedentary dialects, spoken in cities and in those areas outside the cities that were arabicised early on, such as the Tunisian Sahel, and the regions north of some of the large urban centres, Constantine, Tlemcenc and Fes. Usually two groups are distinguished:

- the Eastern pre-Hilālī dialects, spoken in Libya, Tunisia and eastern Algeria; these dialects are characterised by the preservation of the three short vowels.
- the Western dialects of the pre-Hilālī group, spoken in western Algeria and Morocco; these have only two short vowels and have developed an indefinite article from the Classical Arabic numeral wāhid, e.g. in Moroccan Arabic wāḥd al-ma’ra ‘a woman’, always used in combination with the definite article, possibly in analogy to the construction of the demonstrative with the article.

The Bedouin dialects of North Africa represent the Hilālī dialects; they are divided into the Sulaym in the East (Libya and southern Tunisia), the Eastern Hilāl [central Tunisia and eastern Algeria], the Central Hilāl [south and central Algeria, especially in the border areas of the Sahara] and the Ma’qil [western Algeria and Morocco]. One group from the Ma’qil confederation, the Banū Hassān, settled in Mauritania, where the local dialect is still known under the name of Hassāniyya (see below, p. 167). Bedouin dialects are spoken not only in the rural areas, but also in some of the cities that were bedouinised at a later stage, for instance Tripoli.
Libya is largely Bedouin-speaking, even the sedentary dialects of the urban centres such as Tripoli have been influenced by Bedouin speech. Tunisia is a transitional zone; its Bedouin dialects are related to those in Libya. Algeria is heterogeneous: in the Constantinois, both Bedouin and sedentary dialects are spoken, and this area is linked with Tunisia and with the Algérois; the Algérois is predominantly Bedouin; the Oranais has one important sedentary centre in Tlemcen, while the rest is Bedouin-speaking. In Morocco, Bedouin dialects are spoken in the plains and in recently-founded cities such as Casablanca; for the sedentary dialects, Rabat and Fes are the most important centres. In Mauritania, as we have seen, a Bedouin dialect is spoken. The dialect that was spoken in Spain (al-‘Andalus) during the period of Islamic domination belonged to the Maghrebian dialects, and so does the language of the linguistic enclave of Malta, which was conquered from Tunisia (cf. below, Chapter 13, p. 209).

The long coexistence between Arabic and Berber that is continued in the present countries of North Africa has marked these dialects (cf. p. 104). There has been a lot of discussion about the degree of interference in the Maghrebian dialects, but the presence of loanwords from Berber is unmistakable, sometimes even in the use of certain nominal patterns. Of the latter, the pattern tafa’alat is the most frequent; it serves to indicate professional activities, e.g. tâhabbazzat ‘the profession of a baker’. The Hassaniyya dialect in particular has taken over a large number of Berber words, some of them together with their original plurals, e.g. ārāgāţ/ārwağūţ ‘man’, ādrār/idrāţan ‘mountain’, tāmūrt/timūrțţtan ‘acacia forest’, with the typically Berber prefixes ā-/ā- (masculine) and tâ-/tâ- (feminine).

In spite of the linguistic diversity of North Africa, it may be regarded as one dialect area because of the common features shared by these dialects, which set them apart from the rest of the Arabophone world. There is one morphological
feature in the verbal system that has served to classify the Maghreb dialects as one group: the prefix n- for the first person singular in the imperfect verb (cf. above, Chapter 9, p. 134), for instance Moroccan Arabic nakṭab ‘I write’/nkāṭbu ‘we write’. The boundary between the n- dialects and the Eastern dialects lies somewhere in western Egypt (cf. above, p. 137).

All Maghreb dialects (except the Eastern sedentary dialects) have a very simple vowel system, with only two short vowels, /a/ (< /a/ and /i/) and /u/, and three long vowels, /ā/, /ī/, /u/. In the dialect of Cherchell, this development has gone even further, with only one short vowel remaining.

Another striking feature in the phonology of all Maghreb dialects is the stress shift in words of the form fa’al, which among other things function as perfect verbs. Assuming that the original primary stress was on the penultimate, we may reconstruct the development as follows: kātab > katāb > ktab ‘to write’, and likewise ṭāb < ṣābal ‘mountain’, ṛāb < ḍārab ‘Arabs’, with elision of the short unstressed vowel. The only Maghreb dialect that has not undergone the stress shift is Maltese (cf. Maltese kiteb, gibel ‘stone, hill [in place names]’, both with stress on the penultimate).

With regard to syllable structure, many Maghreb dialects have undergone a restructuring in sequences of the type CvCC, which was changed to CCvC, for instance in qabr > qābr ‘grave’; saqf > saqf ‘roof’. Since in many dialects there is a constraint against short vowels in open syllables, when such a sequence is followed by a vocalic ending the vowel ‘jumps’ back one position, e.g. *ktabt > kōbat ‘she wrote’; *hmara > hāmra ‘red [feminine]. The constraint against short vowels in open syllables also operates in forms such as the second person plural of the imperfect verb, *taktab-u ‘you [plural] write’; in Moroccan Arabic this becomes tkāb-u. In other Maghreb dialects, the outcome of this rule is different. Some of them, such as the dialect of the Muslims of Tunis, elide the vowel (takbu), or reduplicate the first radical, such as the dialect of the Muslims of Algiers (yākkāṭbu); other dialects have chosen still other solutions (yākkāṭbu, tākāṭbu, yēkāṭbu, yēkāṭbu; cf. Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 254–6). The verbal paradigm of Moroccan Arabic demonstrates the effects of the phenomena mentioned above, as shown in Table 10.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ktab</th>
<th>kābu</th>
<th>yāktāb</th>
<th>ykāṭbu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ktabt</td>
<td>kāṭbu</td>
<td>tāktāb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktabti</td>
<td>ktabtiw</td>
<td>tāktāb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktabt</td>
<td>ktabna</td>
<td>nāktāb</td>
<td>nkāṭbu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.5 The verbal paradigm of Moroccan Arabic.

The system of derived measures has achieved a greater symmetry in the Maghreb than in the Eastern Arabic dialects. In Moroccan Arabic, for instance, the most frequent derived measures are the second measure (‘allam ‘to teach’),
the third measure [qatāl 'to fight'] and the eighth measure [štgál or štagál 'to work']. From all measures, including the stem verb, a passive may be derived in t-, tt- or n-. Most Moroccan dialects have tt-, e.g. ttaktab 'to be written', ttšaf 'to be seen', ttqara 'to be recited', from the verbs ktab, šaf, qra. Passives with n- occur mostly in the north and in Jewish varieties of Arabic. In some dialects, a wide variety of combinations occurs, for instance in the dialect of Skūra tt-, n-, ttan-, ttna-, so that various forms have variants, e.g. ttnaktab/ttaktab 'to be written', ttassahsan/nassahsan/ttnassahsan 'to be approved' [Classical istahsana].

The origin of these new passive formations is disputed. Since they occur in the stem verb as well, they must be new dialectal formations, possibly on the analogy of the Classical Arabic fifth measure tafa'ala in the case of the t-forms, and from the Classical Arabic seventh measure infa'ala in the case of the n-forms. But it has also been proposed that these forms represent earlier Semitic categories, since a similar t-form occurs in Ethiopian and Aramaic. There may also be a connection with the Berber passive formation in t-, as Aguadé (1995: 66) suggests.

A special position is taken up by the Ḥassāniyya dialect of Mauritania. It has all the characteristic features of a Bedouin dialect, but apart from that we find here a series of unique innovations. In the phonological system, the dialect has a voiced /v/ that continues the Classical Arabic /ɣ/, e.g. vīl < fil 'elephant', tvila 'girl'. The voiceless /f/ is restricted to certain environments: it occurs before a voiceless consonant, e.g. fsad 'it was corrupted', in gemination, e.g. waffa 'he terminated', and at the end of a word, e.g. 'raf 'he knew'. Both consonants have an emphatic allophone in certain environments, just like most of the other consonants. As in all Arabic dialects, the two Classical phonemes /d/ and /ʒ/ have merged, and since the dialect is a Bedouin dialect the resulting phoneme is interdental, /ð/. But in a number of words there is a phoneme /d/ as the reflex of Classical /d/, e.g. qādi 'judge', ramadān 'Ramadan'. These examples could be regarded as borrowings from the Classical language, but other words such as vadl < fadl 'favour', mrod < marida 'he became ill' seem to be original dialect words. In that case, Hassāniyya would be the only Western dialect to preserve traces of the original distinction. A third interesting feature is the presence of three palatalised phonemes, /ʔ/ , /ð̪/ , /n̪/ in a small number of words, most of them of Berber origin. Their phonemic status cannot be doubted, but their role in the language is minimal. Examples include kāwkt̪ām 'to strike with the fist', kand̪'a 'syphilis', Bān̪̪ūg ['proper name'].

In the verbal system of Ḥassāniyya, apart from the usual derived measures there is a special measure with the prefix sa-, e.g. sagbāl 'he went south', sahmar 'he made red', sāktāb 'he made someone his secretary'. The most probable explanation for this verbal form is a back-formation from tenth-measure verbs, e.g. from stāslām 'to become a Muslim' a new form was created sāslām 'to make a Muslim'. This new measure then spread to all verbs. Another innovation is a new passive form that has developed for the second and third measure of the derived verb, and for the sa- forms (see Table 10.6). An unusual feature is the presence of a diminutive pattern for verbs, e.g. ākāytāb from ktāb 'to write', āmāyšā from msā 'to leave'. Such forms are mostly used in combination with a diminutive noun subject.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active</th>
<th>passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>bahhar</td>
<td>ubahhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to perfume’</td>
<td>‘to be perfumed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>ibahhar</td>
<td>yubahhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>gäbel</td>
<td>ugäbel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to confront’</td>
<td>‘to be confronted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>igäbel</td>
<td>yugäbel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>sagbål</td>
<td>usagbål</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to go south’</td>
<td>‘to be directed south’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>isagbål</td>
<td>yusagbål</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.6 The formation of the passive in Hassaniyya.

Text 9: Moroccan Arabic [after Caubet 1993]

1. gäl-l-ha: hákda! ëwa glës hna! žbød al-flüs u-‘tä-ha u-gäl-l-ha: hna tgalšlma ma- tomsiw-šhëta ngül-l-kum äži w’and-i
2. mša dår wählad-al-bra ‘and-al-ferrän, gäl-l-u: dir al-ferrän yoshon, yoshon bezzáf, bazzafi, gäl-l-u: wálha!
4. ëwa, ya ñiči, bqa ka-yttahreq hëtta mät dák-al-’abd

Text 10: Hassaniyya [after Cohen 1963: 252]

1. ya qèr rkabnähôm m’a ššbäh mën ‘and liyâm, madkurâna hayya v zorr Äftût mën tall sarg; hâda nhâr, nhâr mtin
2. rkabna m’a ššbäh u gälna ‘anna là baddâna mën ngayyûlu dik lhayya vih ärwağığ gâ ašhâb ânna u vih zâd sâdiqât ašhabât omni’walli

1. He said to her: ‘So? Then sit here!’ He pulled out the money and gave it to her and said to her: ‘You sit here! Don’t go until I tell you: come to me!’
2. He went to send a letter to the [attendant of the] oven, and told him: ‘Heat it up, heat it up, very much!’ He said to him: ‘Alright!’
3. Then he called two policemen, and told them: ‘Take this box!’ They took this box and brought it to the oven, they brought it and threw it into the fire-place.
4. Yes sir, it kept on burning until that slave died.

1. But we rode in the morning from the tents, a camp site had been mentioned to us near Äftût (‘the large plain’) in the north-east; this is a day, a long day.
2. We rode in the morning and we said to ourselves: ‘We have to take a rest in that camp site’. In it were men that were friends of ours and there were moreover female friends, too.
3. ṭkaḥna mān vamm u gūmna mḥarr-<br>rikīn; ḥma ẓannāt; ḥāda wa’gāb<br> ẓḥṣayj, ẓannārāt māḥūm ḥāmyīn<br> ya qe’r ẓḥṣams ẓhaya
4. mne’n ḥma ẓlīna ẓannāt, brāk<br> ẓawsaṭīn, mnayn brāk tbrākna<br> māḥ u gām

3. We rode from there and we got<br> moving; the day became hot; it was<br> the end of the summer, the days<br> were not hot, but the sun was<br> strong.
4. When the day became at its hottest,<br> our young animal broke down;<br> when it broke down, we took care<br> of it, and it stood up.

FURTHER READING

The most complete handbook of Arabic dialects is that of Fischer and Jastrow<br> (1980); the progress in our knowledge of the Arabic dialects is obvious when we<br> compare this handbook with the sixteen-years-older survey by Brockelmann<br> (1964) in the Handbuch der Orientalistik. Fischer and Jastrow give a general<br> survey of the structure of Arabic dialects, followed by a discussion of each indi-<br> vidual dialect group, with sample texts of the most important dialects. There is<br> a rather short historical introduction. Short introductions to the Arabic dialects<br> are available in Polish [Danecki 1989] and in Italian [Durand 1995]. On dialect<br> atlases, see above, Chapter 9.

A few monographs may be mentioned that concern themselves with general<br> features across all dialects: Fischer (1959) on the deictic system; Janssens (1972)<br> on the stress patterns; Eksell- Harning (1980) on the genitive construction;<br> Czapkiewicz (1975) on the aspectual system.

For each of the dialect groups mentioned in this chapter, we shall indicate the<br> most important grammars, dictionaries and monographs.

Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula

The classification and structure of the North-east Arabian dialects is relatively<br> well known, the best survey being that of Ingham (1982); for the dialects of<br> Eastern Arabia and the Gulf states, see Johnstone (1967). A reference grammar of<br> Gulf Arabic is Holes (1990). For the Bedouin dialects outside the Arabian penin-<br> sula, see the older study of Cantineau (1936, 1937); more recent studies are by<br> Rosenhouse (1984, general survey), Blanc (1970b, the dialects of the Negev) and<br> de Jong (1996, the dialects of the Sinai). Palva (1991) proposes a new classifica-<br> tion of what he calls the North-west Arabian dialects.

About the position of the Shi‘ite dialects in Bahrain, see Prochazka (1981),<br> Holes (1983, 1984, 1987) and Al-Tajir (1982). The dialect of Oman, which is<br> important because of its expansion to Zanzibar and its contacts with the<br> Swahili-speaking inhabitants of East Africa, is still known primarily through<br> the old description by Reinhardt (1894); and see Brockett (1985).

The dialects of Central Arabia are dealt with by Prochazka (1988) and Ingham<br> (1982); a reference grammar of Nağdi Arabic was produced by Ingham (1994b),<br> from whom the Nağdi examples were taken. The dialects of the Hijaz are less<br> well known; on the sedentary dialect of Mecca, see Schreiber (1970), Ingham<br> (1971), Bakalla (1979) and Sieny (1978); on the Bedouin dialects, see Toll (1983).
The dialects of Yemen used to be one of the most neglected topics in Arabic dialect geography; apart from the older literature such as Rossi (1939), there was only a sketch of some of the dialect features by Diem (1973b). Recent publications by Behnstedt include a dialect atlas (1985) and a glossary (1992); there are some monographs on individual dialects (sketch of the dialect of Sa‘ dah by Behnstedt 1987; syntax of Ṣan‘ā’ Arabic by Watson 1993; dialects of the Central Tihama by Greenman 1979). On the whole, the situation in North Yemen has been studied more extensively than that in South Yemen. A learning grammar of Ṣan‘ā‘ Arabic was published by Watson (1996).

Syro-Lebanese Dialects

Syria and Lebanon are probably the best-researched dialect area in the Arab world. A classic article on the classification of Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian dialects is Cantineau (1938).

There are two books on the Syrian dialect of Damascus in the Richard Slade Harrell Arabic Series: a reference grammar (Cowell 1964) and an English–Syrian Arabic dictionary (Stowasser and Ani 1964). A comprehensive dictionary of Levantine Arabic is that of Barthélemy (1935–69); a supplement was published by Denizeau (1960). The dialect of Damascus has been the subject of a detailed description by Grotfeld (1964), who also wrote a number of texts together with Bloch (1964). A syntactic study of Damascene Arabic was published by Bloch (1965). The dialect of Aleppo is described by Sabuni (1980), from whom the examples were taken. On the dialect of the province of Hatay in Turkey, see Arnold (1996).

For the Lebanese dialects, see Fleisch (1974), a collection of dialect geographical studies. An older syntactic study of the Palestinian dialects is that of Feghali (1928). Individual dialects were described by El-Hajjé (1954, the dialect of Tripoli), Jiha (1964, the dialect of Bishmizzīn) and Abu-Haidar (1979, the dialect of Baskinta). The data about the isogloss of /a/ loss in unstressed syllables are to be found in Janssens (1972: 108–14).

For Palestinian dialects, on the syntax of Palestinian Arabic see Bauer (1909), Blau (1960, the dialect of Bir Zet) and Pianta (1966).

For Jordanian Arabic, on the classification of the Jordanian dialects see Cleveland (1963) and a sociolinguistic study by Suleiman (1985).

Mesopotamian Dialects

For the dominant dialect of Baghdad, there is a complete set of materials in the Richard Slade Harrell Arabic Series: reference grammar (Erwin 1963), basic course (1969) and dictionaries (Clarity, Stowasser and Wolfe 1964; Woodhead and Beene 1967); a grammatical sketch in Malaika (1963).

The classic work on the communal dialects of Baghdad is Blanc (1964). Our main source for the qalatu dialects is Jastrow’s two-volume study on these dialects, their classification and their characteristics, accompanied by a large collection of texts (Jastrow 1978, 1981); for a survey, see Jastrow (1994). The same author has also published extensively on individual dialects of this group, for instance his study on the dialect of Mosul (1979) and on the Jewish Arabic of
'Aqra and Arbîl (1990). A study on the verbal syntax of a Mesopotamian dialect, the dialect of Kwayriş, is by Denz (1971). For the qaltu dialects of Anatolia, see Chapter 13, p. 224.

On the Arabic of Khuzestan, there are three studies by Ingham (1973, 1976, 1994a).

Egyptian Arabic

One of the oldest dialect grammars is that of Spitta-Bey (1880) of Egyptian Arabic; it represents an effort to describe the Egyptian (Cairene) dialect as it was actually spoken at the time. Later grammars include Tomiche (1964), a reference grammar, and Mitchell (1962), Salib (1981) and Ahmed (1981), which are intended as learning grammars with conversations and exercises. A complete course developed in the Michigan series is Abdel-Masih, Abdel-Malek and Badawi (1978–9). Woidich (1990) is a manual for the Egyptian dialect, because of its empirical basis, it contains many aspects of Cairene grammar not included in the reference grammars. A transformational grammar of Egyptian Arabic was produced by Wise (1975). On the phonology of Cairene Arabic, see Broselow (1976, 1979).

Monographs on individual dialects are by Woidich (e.g. 1979, 1980, the dialect of il-'Awâmra, 1993, the dialects of the oases). On the history of Cairene Arabic and the formative period of this dialect, see Birkeland (1952), Woidich (1994, 1995) and Woidich and Landau (1993: 49–75). A dictionary of the Cairene dialect was published by Badawi and Hinds (1986).

Sudanese Arabic is much less well known than Egyptian Arabic; on the dialect of Khartoum, see Tringham (1946), a dictionary of colloquial Sudanese is by Qâsim (1972); there is a monograph on the Bedouin dialect of the Sukriyya by Reichmuth (1983). On the Arabic of Chad, see Kaye (1967), Roth (1979), Owens (1985) and Tourneux and Zeltner (1986). A dictionary of Chadic Arabic is by Roth-Laly (1969).


Maghrebi Dialects

A general study of the Maghreb dialects is Ph. Marçais (1977). Most of the available didactic materials concern the Moroccan dialect. There is a complete set of manuals in the Richard Slade Harrell Arabic Series: reference grammar (Harrell 1962), basic course (Harrell 1965) and dictionaries (Harrell 1966; Harrell and Sobeliman 1963). A complete handbook of Moroccan Arabic is Caubet (1993). The Dutch–Moroccan/Moroccan–Dutch dictionary of Otten (1983) deserves special mention because of its consistent orthography, which could be regarded as a step towards standardisation of the dialect. This orthography is also used in a recent course for Moroccan Arabic in Dutch (Hoogland 1996).

Other varieties of Moroccan Arabic are described by Singer (1958a, 1958b, the dialect of Tetouan) and Aguida and Elyaacoubi (the dialect of Skûra). For
Algerian, see Ph. Marçais (n.d., the dialect of Djidjelli) and Grand'henry (1972, the dialect of Cherchell). For Tunisian, see the manual by Singer (1984) and Talmoudi (1980, 1981, 1984b, the dialect of Sousse). For Libyan, there is a reference grammar of Eastern Libyan by Owens (1984), on the dialect of Cyrenaica, see Laria (1996). For the early history of the dialects of the Maghreb, Corriente's (1977) study of the Arabic dialect of al-'Andalus is an important contribution.

Of special interest are the dialects of the Jewish communities in North Africa, e.g. the dialect of the Jews of Tunis (D. Cohen 1964, 1975); the dialect of the Jews of Algiers (M. Cohen 1912); the dialect of Tafilalt (Heath and Bar-Asher 1982). The Hassāniyya dialect is described by D. Cohen (1963) and Zavadovskij (1981); a study on this dialect was published by Taine-Cheikh (1994); there is an extensive dictionary in course of publication by Taine-Cheikh (1988–).