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On the Sociolinguistic Distribution of [q], [ʔ] and [g] in the Arabic Spoken in Ksar el Kebir

Amal Abdelati

Abstract

The variable /q/ has been one of the most studied linguistic elements in the Arabic-speaking sociolinguistic context, and its various realizations have served as a basis for classifying the different Arabic varieties. The north of Morocco is characterized by the presence of many reflexes of /q/: [q], the most frequent one, [ʔ], also more recurrent than previously thought (Guerrero, 2018), [g], mainly attested in rural villages and [x], when in final position or preceded by /t/. Although the city of Ksar el Kebir is credited with the first three realizations, their distribution varies greatly: Ksar el Kebir has always realized the /q/ as a glottal stop [ʔ] (Martínez Ruiz, 1966), but as a result of urbanization, which has mostly occurred after Morocco gained its independence, the city has become populated by migrants from all over the country, primarily from rural areas and surrounding regions, and that has brought in multiple realizations of /q/, which, over the years, have acquired specific and well-defined sociolinguistic meanings and, along with the influence of frequent exposure to the Moroccan koine through television and social media, has contributed to an ongoing phonological evolution. The aim of this study is to analyze the sociolinguistic factors governing the distribution of the different variants of /q/ in the Kasraoui territory, based on a fieldwork carried out in 2024.

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Notes on Verbal and Nominal Morphology of the Moroccan Variety spoken in Mohammedia

Samera Abdelati

Abstract

Even though Moroccan Arabic has been extensively studied over the years (Caubet, 2008: 274), its historical and geographical context makes the label 'Moroccan Arabic' highly heterogeneous and mixed, since varieties keep changing significantly from one region to another and across different generations.

The present study aims at outlining the primary morphological features of the Moroccan dialect as spoken in the city of Mohammedia, situated between the two mainstream centres of the country: Casablanca and Rabat. This dialect emerged during the 20th century as a result of an urbanization trend that encouraged people from different regions of the country to move towards this new centre. As a consequence, the linguistic landscape of the region can predominantly be considered as a 'mixed urban variety', where various linguistic phenomena have converged (Vicente, 2019: 112-3)

The aim of this analysis is to highlight the distribution of elements of nominal and verbal morphology among speakers of different ages, in order to facilitate an intergenerational comparison. From here it will indeed be possible to highlight those morphological trends which emerge as distinctive features of the speech of older and younger speakers. The data on which this study is based were collected during a three-month fieldwork carried out in the summer of 2024. For a more accurate description, the analysis involves people of different ages and social classes which live in various districts of the city.

This research may provide insights into whether there are shared morphological features among young speakers of the so-called 'mixed varieties' in Morocco, or if the developing linguistic traits are unique to the dialect of Mohammedia.

Keywords: Moroccan Arabic; sociolinguistics; verbal morphology; nominal morphology; age marker.

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Negev Arabic *frūḥ* Songs: Unveiling Women’s Joy

Reem Abushriqi, Letizia Cerqueglini

Abstract

Forty years have passed since the publication of Lila Abu-Lughod’s studies on the *ḡunnāwah*, a traditional Bedouin female oral poetic genre, through which women expressed feelings otherwise considered inappropriate within their socio-cultural context (Abu-Lughod 1986). In rural Egypt in the 1970s, the *ḡunnāwah* manifested among the Awlād ‘Aliy tribe primarily to express painful emotions, such as sadness and grief, as well as political and social messages, including desires for revenge or, conversely, calls for reconciliation. Our research on emotional expression in Negev Arabic—a cluster of Northwestern Bedouin Ḥijāzi tribal varieties (Henkin 2010; Shawārbah 2012)—has revealed the presence of this genre, locally known as *ḡi/annāwih* (pl. *ḡanāwiy/ḡanāniy*; Shawārbah 2012: 392). Among women over the age eighty, the genre is associated with spontaneous singing and improvisation, used to express both positive and negative emotions, with a few fixed formulas. In contrast, among younger women (between approximately seventy-five and sixty-five), in conservative tribal sectors, *ḡi/annāwih* compositions follow fixed formulas and patterns and are performed only on festive family events, such as weddings or graduations, commonly known as *frūḥ* ‘joyful occasions’. This study is based on a corpus of *ḡi/annāwih* compositions collected from women aged sixty-five to eighty-six, from different tribal and socio-economic backgrounds. It aims to describe cross-generational thematic, lexical, and stylistic change in the *ḡi/annāwih* genre, and to contextualize it against the backdrop of the social, cultural, and political transformations experienced by Negev Bedouin society over the past century, and their impact on female identity and women’s roles in private and public spheres. We also compare Negev Arabic *ḡi/annāwih* compositions with male traditional poetic language across different generations, focusing on performance contexts and themes, conservative vs. modern lexical choices, the frequency and complexity of formulaic structures, and the presence/absence of cross-dialectal grammatical features.

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The Arabic Variety of Ḥarbī (Harbiye) in the Province of Hatay/Antioch, Türkiye

Mahmut Ağbaht

Abstract

This study investigates the Arabic variety spoken in Ḥarbī/Harbiye, a small town Turkey's Hatay province. Ḥarbī Arabic, is widely perceived as one of the most distinct varieties among the region's Arabic-speaking communities. Previous studies—Arnold (1998, 74) and Ağbaht (2023, 70, 78)—offer only brief remarks on the variety. Of the twenty-four pausal processes identified in Arabic dialects (Ağbaht 2023, 81–82), at least seven are found in this variety, making pausal phonology a defining feature. These include:

- 1) The *ā in non-final syllables shifts to /ō/ near emphatics; otherwise, it raises to /ē/, known as *ʔimāla* (*xšōra* 'loss' vs. *ḥifyēnīn* 'barefoot (pl)'). In final closed syllables, however, it often reduces to *a* in context; though length is retained in pause and vowel quality also varies: In emphatic contexts it is backed and raised; in non-emphatic environments, fronted and raised: in context *ḵbar* 'big (pl)' and *bnat* 'girls' vs. in pause *ḵbōḥ#* and *bnēḥ#*.
- 2) The /a/ in final closed syllables in non-emphatic environments lengthens and it shifts to [ɛ] in pause (*hallaq* > *hall[ɛ:]q#* 'now'); in emphatic contexts shifts to [o:] (*maṭraḥ* > *maṭṭ[o:]ḥ#* 'place').
- 3) The diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ in Ḥarbī are preserved in open syllables (*baytu* 'his house', *yawman* 'two days'), but in closed syllables, they are monophthongised to /ā/ and /ō/, and often further shortened to *a* and *o* in context (*bāt~bat* 'house', *yōm~yom* 'day'). In pause, their length is retained; however, and rather unexpectedly the /ay/ shifts /ō/ (*bōḥ#*).

Pausal forms in Arabic dialects have been shown not only to reflect innovation and ongoing change, but also to preserve older or more archaic stages of the language (Ağbaht 2023, 82). This raises diachronic questions about the features above: which form—pausal or contextual—represents the earlier stage of Ḥarbī Arabic? Is there a parallel in how *ā, /a/ and the diphthongs are treated, and what might such a parallel reveal about the variety's development?

Drawing on recent fieldwork in Ḥarbī, this paper presents linguistic findings on the variety, focusing on pausal phenomena. It explores their role in language change and contributes to broader discussions of how—and to what extent—pausal phenomena can inform our understanding of the historical development of Arabic (Zuniga 2015, 17; Hobermann 2008, 568-59).

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Reconsidering the Place of Arabic Dialects in L2 Pedagogy: Timing, Rationale, and Parameters of Integration

Muntasir Al-Hamad

Abstract

The question of the timing of introducing Arabic dialects and the mechanism for integrating them into Arabic as a foreign language (AFL) curricula remains deeply contested issue. This paper examines a growing educational dilemma within diverse educational settings: Should dialects be introduced in Standard Arabic (SA) instruction, and, if so, when? How? and to what extent? Or is it educationally more effective to introduce the dialect first, while delaying SA? Under what conditions is this arrangement possible or preferable?

The paper starts from the actual conception of learning in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), and its conceptualization of the language learner as a “social agent”, and argues that determining the timing and nature of dialect inclusion should be based on the learner’s communicative needs, linguistic profile (cf. European Language Profile), and the target communicative domains.

The paper analyzes educational and experimental models from Arabic teaching environments for non-native speakers, focusing on the role of dialect in these programs: Is it a supporting tool? A transitional stage? A parallel component? Or a foundational approach? Through this analysis, a set of flexible educational criteria is proposed to help teachers and designers make informed contextual decisions, including the functional burden of dialect, its social and cultural relevance, its impact on shaping learner identity, and its effectiveness in terms of educational efficiency.

Ultimately, this paper aims to transcend the traditional dichotomy between SA and dialect, toward an integrative and contextual vision for teaching the diversity of Arabic, consistent with international standards for language education, without neglecting the ideological and sociolinguistic specificity of the Arab reality.



Adjectival Neutrality in Bidi Saʿdūn Bedouin Dialect in Northern Oman?

Ahmed Al Saadi, Sara Al Sheyadi

Abstract

This paper investigates a class of morpho-syntactically neutral adjectives in the Bidi Saʿdūn variety of Bedouin Omani Arabic (BSA). Adjectives such as *mirīḍ* ‘sick’ are routinely used with both masculine and feminine nominal singular referents without morphological alternation as in 1a) and 1b):

- 1) a. *hā* *l-ṣiyūz* *mirīḍ*
this.N DEF-old.FSG sick.N
‘This old woman is sick.’
- b. *ha* *r-rayyāl* *mirīḍ*
this.N DEF-man.MSG sick.N
‘This man is sick.’
- 2) *ha* *l-bint* *karīm-a* this.N
 DEF-girl.FSG generous-FSG
‘This girl is generous.’

The fact that such adjectival forms (e.g., in 1a.) do not overtly show singular feminine agreement morphology while others do (e.g., in 2) may strongly indicate a lexically conditioned form of gender neutrality. These adjectives are structurally restricted to a narrow set of patterns (e.g., *fiṣīl*, *ḥaṣīl*, *fāṣīl*, *ḥāṣīl*) and are semantically associated with physical, biological, behavioral, cognitive, emotional, and dynamic properties. In contextualizing this phenomenon, the study draws on Bettega’s (2019) tripartite model of agreement in Najdi Arabic and engages with neutral or default agreement patterns attested in some other languages (e.g., Ravid & Schiff, 2015 [for Hebrew]; Gil & Gutiérrez, 2021 [for Spanish]). While in some languages such neutrality can be attributed to semantic ambiguity or discourse factors, in BSA it emerges as a stable, lexicalized property of specific adjective classes.

The analysis is based on original data, involving 38 neutral adjectives identified by the author, a native speaker of the dialect, who is originally from Bidi Saʿdūn, a village located in al-Miṣinṣa town in the Bāḩina Coastal Plain. All the tokens were approved as grammatical by the elders in the village. The data was semantically and morphologically categorized and validated through speaker judgment tasks.



Preliminary findings indicate that these neutral adjectives are lexically conditioned, and that neutral adjectives describing physical and moral traits are frequent. Some forms seem to be restricted to feminine singular nominal referents, e.g., *ḥalūb* 'high-yielding [camel/cow]', and *fāṭir* 'old'. In addition, these gender-neutral adjectives seems to be more productive among the elderly compared to the younger generation. It is noteworthy that this feature is evident in few other Bedouin varieties in Oman; however, the use of neutral adjectives in these varieties is relatively restricted, showing a much narrower morphological and semantic range and is subject to regional variation.

Key terms: gender neutral adjectives, Bedouin Omani Arabic, gender agreement

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Linking East Arabia

Sara Al Sheyadi, Suaad Ambu Saidi

Abstract

This paper presents further linguistic examination of the historical link that connects the populations in eastern Arabia. It builds on the discussion previously presented by Holes (e.g., 2006, 2011c, 2012, 2016). Holes (2012: 240-41) listed several shared features between the Bahārna village variety of Bahraini Arabic and northern Omani Arabic reflecting a broken 'sedentary' dialect chain extending from the Gulf shores to the coast of Oman and then south-eastern Yemen. This paper explores some of these features further and unveils a few more, Sedentary (S) and Bedouin (B) in type, that could be used to further complete the missing pieces of this link, namely, the null definite article in syntactically definite nouns and NPs (in a Bedouin variety spoken along the Bāṭina coast), the use of TH-fronting, and the occurrence of [-ə] as the question particle in S-type varieties in the hinterland (in Ibri and Samail for the former and Nizwa for the latter). These features have been reported for different Bahraini Arabic varieties (Holes, 2016: 215-13, 2011b: 485, 2011a: 242, 245, 2012: 241 respectively). The following examples illustrate these features:

A) Th-Fronting (S-type):

/falla:ga/ 'fridge', /hajfam/ 'Haitham; proper name', /fle:f/ 'three', /fo:m/ 'garlic', *cf.*
/θalla:ga/, /hajθam/, /θala:θ/, /θo:m/, respectively.

B) The [-ə] question clitic (S-type):

1) bass-ak-əh?

enough-2SGM-Q

'Have you had enough?'

2) fuf-ti:-jə

see.PFV-2SGF-Q

s-sijja:ra

DEF-car

l-gadi:dah?

DEF-new

'Did you see the new car?'

C) The null definite article (B-type):

3) a-tʃo:f

1SG-look.IPFV

ʃa

at

Ø-ba:b

door.SGM.DEF

'I was looking at [the] door.';

cf.

4) ma:-fitaḥ-ni

NEG-open.PFV-1PL

l-ba:b,

DEF-door.SGM

a-fith-i

1SG-open-3SGM

l-ba:b

DEF-door.SGM

'We didn't open the door; shall I open the door?'



It is noteworthy that although quite marked and restricted in distribution, there seems to be evidence of cross-generational transmission of these features in the areas where they are spoken.

Key words: Arabic dialectology, Omani Arabic, northern Oman, eastern Arabia.

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Variation in the Use of Interdentals in the Taif Arabic Dialect: The Impact of Spatiality and Neighbourhood

Najla Alghamdi, Kholoud Al-Thubaiti

Abstract

The variation in the use of plain interdentals (θ) and (δ) across Arabic dialects is a significant factor in dialect classification. Sociolinguistic research in Arabic has identified two primary dialect types. Type I dialects lack interdentals, instead exhibiting stops [t] and [d], while Type II dialects incorporate interdentals [θ] and [δ]. This study investigates the variation in two Saudi dialects—Type I non-tribal and Type II tribal—within Taif city in the western province of Saudi Arabia. The population of Taif consists of tribal groups that use interdentals and non-tribal groups that use stops. Two variables, spatiality (location of Taif) (Britain, 2004) and neighborhood population (i.e., tribal dominant, non-tribal dominant, and mixed), were examined in relation to interdental and stop usage. The researchers hypothesized that, despite over a century of interaction between the two groups, tribal speakers have retained their heritage interdentals, with the spread of stops being constrained by geographical and social factors. Data were collected from 15 female speakers (ten tribal and five non-tribal). The findings corroborate the hypothesis. Due to Taif's unique location, which promotes interdental use, tribal speakers have preserved their heritage-dominant interdentals, preventing the adoption of [t], [d], and [d^ɕ] throughout the city. In tribal-dominant neighborhoods, tribal speakers consistently maintain interdentals, and non-tribal speakers predominantly adopt them. In non-tribal-dominant neighborhoods, non-tribal speakers demonstrate variability in their use of interdentals and stops, even though tribal speakers do not live in these areas. In mixed neighborhoods, both groups variably use interdentals and stops, with a higher prevalence of interdental usage. These results are consistent with the broader trend of interdentals emerging as features of a supra-local dialect in Saudi Arabia (Al-Jehani, 1985; Al-Ahdal, 1989; Al-Essa, 2009; and Alghamdi, 2014).

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Diverging Mechanisms of Language Change Across Arabic Varieties in the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula

Najla Alghamdi, Areej Al-Hawamdeh, Enam Al-Wer, Uri Horesh

Abstract

Traditional dialects of Arabic differ in their consonantal phonemic inventories. It has long been observed, almost categorically, that traditional city dialects in the Levant (e.g., Damascus, Beirut, Jerusalem) have merged the historical non-emphatic interdental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ with the dental stops /d/ and /t/, respectively, while traditional dialects in surrounding villages and Bedouin communities have retained the phonemic distinctions in both cases. The case of the voiced emphatic coronals /ðˤ/ and /dˤ/ is more complex, as most dialects do not maintain a phonemic distinction between these two phones, regardless of their phonetic value.

Migration, mobility, and other facilitators of dialect contact have introduced more variability surrounding this feature. We report on three cases where dialect contact has caused a shake-up of the consonantal inventories. In addition, expanding the long-established merger into additional dialects, we see dialects where even the youngest speakers resist change and refrain from adopting the merged variants.

Data come from three locales: Amman (Jordan), Umm al-Fahm (Palestine), Mecca (Saudi Arabia). Pooling data from different dialects collected over four decades enables us to draw certain overarching conclusions that localised studies may fail to capture. Because differing quantitative methods were available to us over the years, we restrict ourselves here to qualitative, theoretical observations. We argue that these two geographically adjacent regions, the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula, have been diverging in terms of what constitutes linguistic prestige on the one hand and stigma on the other. This, in turn, drives sociolinguistic changes in diverging trajectories.

1. Amman: a newly formed dialect resulting from the establishment and expansion of a capital city for a fast-evolving country. In addition to the traditional, non-merging, Jordanian dialect, an influx of Palestinian speakers, whose traditional urban dialects had the merger, has 'imported' the merger from Palestine to Jordan, leading to variation stratified by age, ethnicity, and gender.
2. Umm al-Fahm: located south of the old Palestinian city of Nazareth, a rapid process of urbanization has caused this historical village to balloon in size and become a significant regional city. Its traditional dialect is of a rural-Palestinian type, which maintains interdentals, as well as other conservative features, e.g., affrication of /k/ to [tʃ]. Both features have – variably – undergone socially motivated, phonologically counterintuitive processes of fortition, from [tʃ] to [k] and from /ð/ & /θ/ to /d/ & /t/.



3. Mecca: Tribal groups have migrated to the city from elsewhere in western Arabia. The traditional city dialect is a merged one, while the tribal migrants' traditional dialect is more conservative. Contrary to expectation, the incoming population has been slow to adapt to the host dialect and has largely maintained some of its traditional features, showing particular resistance to adopting the merger. We know from ongoing research elsewhere in Saudi Arabia and further afield that an even more extreme process of "re- splitting the merger" is emerging.

This study augments previous research by the authors (and associates, e.g., Al-Wer et al. 2022) on diverging patterns of change in the region driven by evolving social norms.

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The Interdentals /θ/ and /ð/ in the Spoken Arabic of Duba

Hind Khalifa Alaodini

Abstract

This paper is a contribution towards an understudied area of northern Arabia, namely the northwestern corner of Saudi Arabia (*cf.* De Jong 2011). In particular, the paper investigates dialect variation affecting the interdentals /θ/ and /ð/ of the Urban community spoken in Ḍuba, a small county in the northern Red Sea coast area, within the province of Tabūk. The main city, which bears the same name as the county, is a seaport that serves the transportation of goods and passengers mainly to Egypt and Jordan. According to Almughrebi (2017), tribes from the *Ḥwēṭāt* and Bani ‘Aṭiyya have historically frequented the port city to trade and export their produce of livestock, ghee and honey to Suez in Egypt. Today, the two dominant dialects in the city are collectively called *Ḥaḍar* (urban) families, as: Alobaidan, Almehallawi, and Jaber and Bedouin (mainly *Ḥwēṭāt*). *Ḥwēṭāt* is one of the huge tribes that their lands stretch from the north of Umluj in the north of Hijaz on the Red Sea and Sinai, and from Taima’a in the South to the north in Karak in Jordan Al-Jaser (1981: 71).

The main bulk of the data come from sociolinguistic interviews with thirteen women adult native speakers and 20 hours of recorded material. The research was conducted during 2022 and 2024 in the county of Ḍuba. Examples of variation in interdentals /θ/ and /ð/: e.g. *biʕθa* ~ *biʕta* and ‘scholarship’, and *ʕuður* ~ *ʕudur* ‘an excuse’.

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لهجة قبيلة البداة الجبلية في شمال سلطنة عمان

Amir Adli Alkathiri

Abstract

تدرس هذه المقالة اللهجة العربية لقبيلة البداة الجبلية في شمال عُمان وهي لهجة لم تدرس من قبل بحسب اطلاع الباحث. البداة هم رعاة شبه مستقرين يعيشون في المناطق الجبلية بمحافظة الظاهرة تحديداً في ولاية ينقل، وفي محافظة شمال الباطنة في ولايتي صحم وصحار، ويتركزون خاصة في الأودية الجبلية المتصلة بين ولايتي صحم وينقل. ويتميزون عن سكان المدن والقرى المستقرة في المناطق الجبلية بأسلوب حياتهم المرتبط بشكل خاص بالرعي وامتلاك الماشية من الأغنام والإبل وأنماط تفاعلهم الاجتماعي ولهجتهم. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى وصف بعض الخصائص الصوتية والصرفية والتركيبية والمعجمية لهذه اللهجة، ووضع النتائج في السياق اللغوي للهجات العمانية بشكل أوسع.

تصنّف المجموعات اللهجية في سلطنة عمان على أساس اجتماعي بشكل عام إلى مجموعتين كبيرتين، هما: المجموعات اللهجية المستقرة مقابل المجموعات اللهجية البدوية، وتستعمل المجموعات اللهجية المستقرة تاريخياً في المناطق الجبلية والأودية المرتبطة بها، في حين تستعمل المجموعات اللهجية البدوية عند البدو والمجتمعات المستقرة حديثاً في الصحاري بمختلف مناطق عمان، وفي عدد من المناطق الساحلية في محافظتي الشرقية وشمال الباطنة. تُظهر هذه الدراسة أنه على الرغم من الخلفية الرعوية للباداة، فإن لهجتهم تتوافق بشكل كبير مع الخصائص اللغوية للمجموعات اللهجية المستقرة في سلطنة عمان التي وصفت في عدد من الدراسات (Holes 1989; Alkathiri, 2021). ومن الخصائص المميزة لهذه اللهجة النفي بحرف الشين في آخر الجملة: "فيش بارض" بمعنى ليست لدي القدرة، وكذلك حذف آخر حرف في الكلمة: "تعا": تعال، "العسا": العسل. ومما يلاحظ أيضاً أن هذه اللهجة لا تزال منطوقة بشكل جيد نسبياً في ولاية ينقل، في حين أن الأجيال الشابة في الولايات الأتنية: عبري وصحار وصحم يميلون إلى استعمال اللهجات المجاورة ذات الهيمنة الثقافية، الحضرية في عبري والبدوية في صحار وصحم، كما أن البداة في البريمي وأبو ظبي والعين قد هجروا لهجتهم الخاصة لصالح اللهجة الخليجية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: لهجة جبلية، البداة، الظاهرة، شمال الباطنة، لهجة مستقرة، هيمنة ثقافية.

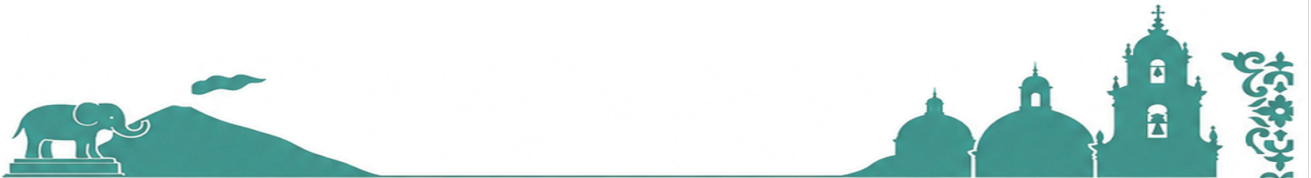
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مشروع 'إثراء المحتوى العُماني في منصات معالجة اللغات الطبيعية': عرض نتائج

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Abstract

تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية إلى تقديم عرض شامل لمخرجات مشروع "إثراء المحتوى العُماني في منصات معالجة اللغات الطبيعية حاسوبياً"، الذي يسعى إلى دعم جهود تطوير الذكاء الاصطناعي اللغوي من خلال إثراء الموارد اللغوية الخاصة باللغات العمانية. يركز المشروع على إنشاء مدونة لغوية موازية لمدونة مشروع MADAR، تتضمن تمثيلاً لغوياً لـ 13 لهجة عمانية من مدن مختلفة، تمثل تنوعاً جغرافياً واجتماعياً داخل سلطنة عُمان، هي: مسقط، صلالة، عبري، جعلان بني بوحسن، المضبيبي، الرستاق، السويق، المصنعة، القابل، شनाव، نخل، صحم، وإزكي. يعتمد المشروع على تجميع بيانات لغوية في مجال السفر، من خلال إنتاج 2000 جملة لكل لهجة، مترجمة من اللغة الإنجليزية بشكل مباشر؛ لتفادي التأثيرات البنيوية والدلالي للعربية الفصحى في الترجمة إلى اللهجات المحلية. اشتمل المشروع على إعداد قاموس يضم 585 كلمة.

لتحقيق هذا الغرض استعان المشروع بمساهمة 16 مشاركاً من طلبة جامعة التقنية والعلوم التطبيقية بصلالة ذكورا وإناثا من الناطقين الأصليين باللغات العمانية، حيث كُلف كل واحد منهم بترجمة 2000 جملة إلى لهجته. يسد هذا العمل فجوة معرفية كبيرة في تمثيل اللهجات العمانية رقمياً، ويهيئ بيانات صالحة للاستخدام في التطبيقات الحاسوبية المتقدمة، كتحليل اللغة، والترجمة الآلية، والتعرف الصوتي.

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Variation and Change in the Use of Ḍād (ض) in Rijāl Alma and Al-‘Abadil, Southwest Saudi Arabia

Essa Alnashib, Khalid Salman J. Qasemi

Abstract

The pronunciation of the voiced emphatic dental stop /ḍ/ has been described by the prominent Arabic grammarian Sibawayh as being produced between the sides of the tongue and the nearby molars, which indicates a lateral pronunciation (Versteegh, 2011). Scholars have varying views on the exact interpretation of Sibawayh's description of this sound, but there seems to be some agreement that what Sibawayh describes is an emphatic lateral fricative [Ḍ^l] (see Al-Wer 2003, inter alia). This is evidenced by the fact that a lateral fricative realisation of Ḍād continues to exist, albeit as a relic realisation in some cases, in several communities in southern Arabia, e.g. Tihamāt Qaḥṭān (see Al-Qahtani 2015), and in one of the communities investigated in this paper, namely Rijāl Alma (see below).

This paper examines variation and change in the realisation of Ḍād across two speech communities in the southwest of Saudi Arabia: Rijāl Alma and Al-Abadil. Traditionally, Almay speakers realise Ḍād as an emphatic lateral fricative [Ḍ^l], while it is realised in the Abdali community as a voiceless affricate [t̪]. These localised forms appear in all word positions. The social factors that seem to influence variation and change found in these communities are age and contact. Most of the older speakers in both communities preserve the localised variants. In contrast, middle-aged and younger speakers, particularly those with high mobility (as a proxy for contact), show significant variation and increasing use of the supralocal variant [Ḍ^s]. Moreover, high level of contact plays a significant role in the shift from using the localised forms to the innovative forms. The variation observed in both communities suggests an ongoing change from the localised variants [Ḍ^l] and [t̪] to the supralocal innovative variant [Ḍ^s], thus aligning with broader urban linguistic norms within Saudi Arabia. The study also sheds further light on the possible historical mechanism of the attested change by analysing the phonemic status of the contrast between Ḍād and /Ḍ^s/ in the speech of those who use both sounds.

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Levelling Out of Lateral Ḍād in a Bedouin Hijazi Dialect: The case of Huḍayl Tribe in Southern Mecca

Abdulaziz Alsudays

Abstract

Levelling out of marked linguistic features is a common linguistic process, particularly in urbanising communities in Saudi Arabia (e.g., Alghamdi, 2022). This is often attributed to contact and linguistic stigmatisation towards minority dialects and their features. The expansion of major cities in Saudi Arabia, including Mecca, brought the neighbouring tribes closer to the city and its suburbs, providing a contact situation between the urban Meccan community and the surrounding tribes. One of those tribes is Huḍayl Al-Yaman, where a lateral Ḍād /Ḍ/, which is likely to be the historic representation of Ḍād (Versteegh, 2005), is attested. This feature was recently found to persist in Asir, south of Saudi Arabia (Alqahtani, 2015). The present paper discusses the northernmost attestation of this variant, in the Meccan suburbs west of Saudi Arabia. In a Meccan context, three other variants of the same phoneme appear: the emphatic interdental fricative /ḏ/, used by other Arabian tribes, the emphatic alveolar stop /d/ and the emphatic voiced sibilant fricative /z/, used by the established urban community in Mecca.

To investigate the change process of this feature, I followed the variationist approach, recording natural speech from over 11 male and 10 female informants from Huḍayl Al-Yaman across 3 different age groups. The frequency of the lateral Ḍād varied based on age, gender, and education. However, across all groups, the preferred target of change was the interdental fricative /ḏ/. This is likely due to multiple reasons, both linguistic and social. Those include phonetic similarity, phonemic inventory including interdentals, and group alignment with other tribes over urbanites. Further research into other tribes in Southern Mecca, as well as the other clan of Huḍayl, Huḍayl Aš-Šhām, would provide greater insight into this variable and the contact situation that may have led to it.

Keywords: Language change; Hijaz; Huthail; Emphatic fricatives; Ḍād.

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The Bedouin Hijazi Dialect of Huḍayl Al-Yaman in Meccan Suburbs: A Preliminary Description

Abdulaziz Alsudays

Abstract

In the Hijaz region, several tribal dialects have been studied, including Ḥarb (e.g., Il- Hazmy, 1975) and Bani Sulaim (e.g., Al Solami, 2022) in northern Hijaz near Madina, and Bani Mālik (Almalky, 2021), Zahrān, and Gāmid tribes in the south of Hijaz near Al-Bāḥa (Nadwi, 1968). However, tribes dwelling in central Hijaz, near Taif, Jeddah, and southern Mecca, are understudied, with only a brief discussion of aspects of their dialects (Alomari, 2023). Studying these tribes will provide insight into the linguistic border between southern Hijazi and northern Hijazi dialects. One of those tribes is *Huḍayl*, which surrounds Mecca and the west of Taif and was reported to be the largest tribe in the area, with 90,000 people in 1910 (Al-Barakati, 2009, p. 133). *Huḍayl* is split into two main clans, *Huḍayl Aš-Šām*, northeast of Mecca, neighbouring northern Arabian tribes, and *Huḍayl Al-Yaman*, south of Mecca, neighbouring other understudied tribes. Previous studies were either a sociolinguistic investigation of one feature (Altafi, 2024), or a discussion of the historic *Huḍayl* dialect (Altayib, n.d.). This paper provides the first description of the *Huḍayl* dialect as spoken by its native speakers. Preliminary notes on the phonetic, phonological, and morphophonemic features of the dialect of *Huḍayl Al-Yaman* are presented, based on recordings of natural speech of 11 male and female *Huḍali* speakers who live in the southern Meccan suburbs. Findings include several southern Arabian features, such as lateral *Ḍād* and /aw/ and /ay/ diphthongs. Meanwhile, northern Arabian features such as alveolar affricates /ts/ and /dz/ and Gahawa syndrome are absent. This suggests that *Huḍali*, which is said to be one of the main dialects used in the standardisation of classical Arabic (Al-Fārābi, 1970), might be a southern-type dialect. This also provides evidence of southern-type features as north as Mecca, 250km north of where Prochazka's description of south Hijazi dialects stopped (Prochazka, 1988, p. 3). More research into *Huḍayl Aš-Šām*, as well as other southern Meccan tribes, is needed to understand the linguistic situation in Mecca and its surroundings.

Keywords: Huthail, Huḍayl, Bedouin, Hijaz, Dialectology, Description.

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Homonymy or Polysemy? A Cross-linguistic Analysis of the Particle da- in Aleppo Arabic

Dennis Arndt

Abstract

As was noted in ARNDT (2025), the particle da- enjoys a wide functionality in the Arabic dialect of Aleppo, ranging from volitive and deontic (“ʔana da-ʔakol mǧāddara?”), over future and optative/hortative to final (“Kəll xamīs yeṭlaʕu da-yāklū hamberger kaza”) and temporal (until) function (“ʔallāk biddi ʔästännā dāyirǧaʕ. Stännā dāyirǧaʕ”). Taking this observed multifunctionality as a point of departure, the purpose of this presentation is to discuss the particle’s possible grammaticalization paths-, in order to explore the question whether said multifunctionality is an expression of one highly polysemous gram or rather two (or more) homonymous grams. The presentation opens with a synchronic perspective and maps the occurrence of da- and its allomorphs də-/di-/d-/ta-/tə-, their grammatical functions as well as their suggested etymologies across various Arabic dialects, e.g. “da-ħəṭṭ əl- lə-ħmār fī vahri w da-tmašša arō” (LAHDO 2009: 167) or “daykūn tannōr bəssēder”(JASTROW 1990: 65). Particular focus is placed on the Mesopotamian-Levantine dialect continuum (TALAY 2014), including Damascus (GROTZFELD 1965) and Hama (LEWIN 1966, KLIMIUK 2025), Cukurova (PROCHÁZKA 2002), Anatolian dialects in Mardin, Āzəx, Siirt, Tillo (PROCHÁZKA 2019, JASTROW 1978, 1969, 1973, TALAY 1999) as well as Mosul (JASTROW 1979, HANITSCH 2019). The section after that then assumes a diachronic perspective and plots two possible grammaticalization paths of bədd and ḥattā, which appear as the two most likely source lexemes due to their large functional overlap and/or their having been proposed as source lexemes in neighboring dialects. The final section re-examines the evidence from a broader typological perspective drawing on linguistic evidence beyond the Semitic language family principally grammaticalization theory and semantic maps (BYBEE AND DAHL 1989, BYBEE et al. 1994, HASPELMATH 1989, 2003)—to make an argument regarding the da-prefix’s high degree of multifunctionality in Aleppo, including the homonymy/polysemy question.

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How to Speak and Appear Meknassi : Representations and Metalinguistic Discourses of Speakers from Meknes (Morocco), Variation and Indexicality

Alexandrine Barontini, Karima Ziamari

Abstract

When studying representations and metalinguistic discourses linked to Arabic speaking variation in Morocco, the main feature associated to Meknes' speech (for its inhabitants as well as for the others) would be the confusion of sibilants and fricatives (Barontini & Ziamari 2022). However, this feature is nowadays highly localized in Meknes itself, it is only in usage in few neighborhoods of the old Medina. According to Meknes' Speakers, they are identified as such by the way they speak, and mostly when they are out of town and interact with people from outside.

To explore the representations and discourses of Meknes speakers themselves regarding the real or supposed linguistic peculiarities of their variety, we will be using a corpus of audio-recordings consisting of conversations on various topics and collected in 2010 and 2013, with the aim of studying linguistic variation and representations. We will complete this material with new recordings from an ongoing survey to gather speakers' reactions to the main emblematic linguistic features of Meknes as well as the stereotypes associated to Meknes speakers in the rest of Morocco.

The aim is to compare the representations held by the city's inhabitants (Young, less young, women, men...), as well as those of the others, with the various indexations (Irvine & Gal 2000, Gal 2013, Ziamari & Barontini forthcoming) associated with the main features cited, in terms of identity, spatiality, conservatism, etc. We will also try to identify these features by asking ourselves about the extent of their use, compared with their prestige or identity, taking into account new perspectives in sociolinguistics linked to Arabic dialectology (Hachimi 2012, Falchetta & Guerrero 2023).

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Variation of t and q in the Spoken Arabic of Tangier

Davide Mario Bazzi

Abstract

The aim of this presentation is to discuss the results of a recent (2025) period of fieldwork research in the city of Tangier, Morocco, during which several hours of recordings of both semi-structured interviews and spontaneous talk were gathered. From the analysis of said data, some interesting findings emerged, related in particular to the two phonemes t and q . These two phonemes' variation is well known in bibliography concerning both Tangier (Aguadé, Salim 2024, Aguadè, Salim 2023, Moscoso 2007, Aguadè 2016, As'ad 1977, Bravman 1960) and Northern Morocco in general (Benitez Fernandez 2023, Vicente 2022, Vicente 2000, Naciri-Azzouz 2021 and Moscoso 2003 limitedly to the variation of q). As far as the pharyngealized dental occlusive $t̤$ is concerned, recent data confirm a tendency to de-pharyngealisation in the spoken variety of Tangier, resulting in $t̤ > t$. (Aguadè, Salim 2024; Salim 2020). As the data presented in this work show, there appears to be a further step towards the subsequent affrication of the dental occlusive resulting from de-pharyngealisation, whereas the most recent bibliography describes the latter as a parallel phenomenon (Aguadé, Salim 2023), excluding the affrication of t resulting from de-pharyngealisation of $t̤$.

The second point of interest concerns the fricative/affricate realization of the uvular voiceless occlusive q . The fricative realization of q in Tangier has been described in bibliography limitedly to the cluster qt (Assad 1977) and the two terms *waqt* and *fuyaq* (Moscoso 2001, Moscoso 2000, Iraqui-Sinaceur 1998). The data presented in this paper show a more complex picture, with affrication appearing both in consonant clusters (with qt being only one of the possible environments, and not the most productive) and in intervocalic and post-consonantal environments. These findings pose interesting questions regarding the sociolinguistic distribution of this phenomenon and the influence of the surrounding varieties on the spoken Arabic of Tangier.

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Rimes subversives et voix plurilingues : le rap marocain comme creuset d'identité et de contestation

Laila Ben Salah

Abstract

Le rap marocain, à l'instar des autres mouvements musicaux mondiaux, est devenu un espace dynamique d'expression linguistique et politique pour la jeunesse urbaine. Né dans les années 1990 et 2000, ce phénomène hybride se distingue par sa capacité à allier ludisme, critique sociale et quête identitaire. Héritier du mouvement hip-hop mondial, il s'inscrit dans une tradition de contestation, tout en prenant ses racines dans des réalités culturelles et sociales locales. En effet, ce genre musical n'est pas seulement un divertissement, mais un véritable vecteur de prise de parole pour des générations entières qui se sentent marginalisées ou oubliées.

À travers une analyse sociolinguistique approfondie, cette étude se penche sur la manière dont les rappeurs marocains utilisent un répertoire linguistique multiforme, incluant la darija, le français et parfois l'anglais, pour aborder les réalités sociales qui les entourent. En jonglant avec les langues, les codes et en inventant de nouveaux termes, les artistes expriment leur vision du monde et contestent les stéréotypes imposés par les représentations dominantes. Le rap devient ainsi un instrument puissant pour dénoncer l'injustice sociale, la corruption, le chômage, la répression de la liberté d'expression, et l'inégalité des chances.

L'analyse de textes « engagés » du rap marocain, au travers de cette recherche, permet de comprendre comment ces discours, originellement porteurs de récréation et de divertissement, se transforment en de véritables prises de position politiques et sociales. Cette étude met en lumière la fonction du rap comme un lieu de résistance linguistique, mais aussi comme un processus de (re)construction de l'identité de la jeunesse marocaine.



Deixis Sociale en arabe marocain : une analyse socio-pragmatique

Montserrat Benítez Fernández

Abstract

Il est bien connu que les formes de civilité -telles que *lālla*, *sīdī*, *mūlāy*, etc.-, les titres - tels que *mʿallim*, *ḥaḏḏa*, *ustād*, etc.- et certaines formes de parenté -telles que *xūya*- peuvent aussi être considérées comme des éléments de la deixis sociale, qui fonctionnent souvent comme vocatives.

En plus de leur sens littéral, ces formes véhiculent certaines intentions communicatives telles que faire émerger le type de relation interpersonnelle établie (Levinson 2004), la mise en évidence des différents degrés de proximité ou des différences sociales existant entre les locuteurs, entre autres.

Partant de ces éléments, cette communication vise à analyser les valeurs pragmatiques et la construction de l'image sociale à travers la deixis en arabe marocain.

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Code-Switching as Satirical Strategy in Late Ottoman Print Culture: The Case of *el-Üfürük*

Ali Benli

Abstract

This paper investigates the deliberate use of mixed-code language—namely a hybrid of Arabic and Turkish—as a satirical and politically subversive tool in late Ottoman print culture. Focusing on the only published singular issue of *el-Üfürük*, a satirical newspaper published on 9 August 1908, the study examines how the paper’s linguistic hybridity functions not merely as parody but as a measured mode of political commentary.

In early modern Ottoman textual culture, examples of Arabic-Turkish mixed-code compositions can be found across both manuscript traditions and oral narrative forms. These texts often adopt Arabic syntactic structures while integrating Turkified lexical items, resulting in an artificial yet rhetorically effective register. While previous scholarship has treated such texts as marginal or stylistically eccentric, this paper argues that they constitute a sociolinguistically rich and ideologically loaded mode of expression—particularly reflective of the Arab-Ottoman elite’s multilingual performance in the imperial center.

El-Üfürük presents a unique and understudied instance of the practice of cod-mixing between Turkish and Arabic. On its cover, the paper self-identifies its language as “a Turkish resembling Arabic,” signaling a conscious engagement with linguistic mimicry. This performative register is mobilized to ridicule figures close to Sultan Abdülhamid II, most notably the Syrian Sufi Sheikh Abu’l-Huda al-Sayyadi. By mimicking the elite’s presumed manner of speech in an exaggerated and awkwardly hybrid form, the newspaper not only mocks individual targets but also undermines the symbolic authority of the Hamidian regime.

Through close textual analysis, this presentation will demonstrate how *el-Üfürük*’s strategic deployment of code-switching creates a layered satire that merges linguistic innovation with political critique—highlighting the interplay between multilingualism, power, and resistance in the late Ottoman public sphere.

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Conditioned Vowel Neutralization and Clitic Allomorphy in the Arabic Dialect of Bšarre and Dayr ʿAḥmar (Lebanon)

Henri Bensaria

Abstract

This paper investigates a systematic, yet atypical, phonological phenomenon in the spoken Arabic variety of Bšarre and Dayr ʿAḥmar: the conditioned lowering and neutralization of preceding long high vowels (/ī/, /ū/) to a long /ā/ when immediately followed by a pronominal clitic whose onset is a semi-vowel (/w/ or /y/). This process is evident across various morphological contexts, including verb endings (e.g., *btōklā-wən* 'you.pl eat them'), noun endings (e.g., *dənā-ya* 'her ears'), and prepositions (e.g., *fā-ya* 'in it'). Crucially, when the same high long vowels are followed by consonant-initial pronouns (e.g., *btōklū-(h)* 'you.pl eat it', *bəǧlī-(h)* 'I boil it'), their original quality is preserved.

This systematic conditioning challenges a simple co-articulatory explanation for articulatory ease, as the standard high long vowel + semi-vowel sequences (*ī-y*, *ū-w*) are considered phonetically natural in the Lebanese Koine : e.g., *bəǧlī-yon* 'I boil them' ; *byēklū-won* 'They eat them'. Instead, we propose that the /ā/ functions as a conditioned allomorph resulting from a deeper vowel neutralization process. This neutralization might resolve an inherent articulatory or perceptual instability of high long vowels immediately preceding glides, leading to a more stable, open vocalic target.

Furthermore, we explore the potential role of prosodic influence in this phenomenon. The dialect's active "constraint and repair" phonology, as evidenced by widespread vowel deletion and epenthesis to optimize syllable structure (Owens 2017), suggests a heightened sensitivity to prosodic well-formedness. We hypothesize that the observed vowel lowering could be a form of reduction or neutralization potentially occurring in specific prosodically "unstable" positions at morpheme-clitic boundaries.

This research aims to contribute to the fine-grained documentation of Lebanese Arabic phonological variation and offers new insights into the complex interplay between phonology, phonotactics and morphology. By analyzing this systematic vocalic adjustment and its observed variability, the study sheds light on mechanisms of sound change and vowel neutralization in Lebanese Arabic, and their implications for understanding phonological processes in the Region.

Keywords: Lebanese Arabic, phonology, vowel neutralization, clitic allomorphy, morphophonology, prosody, phonotactics.

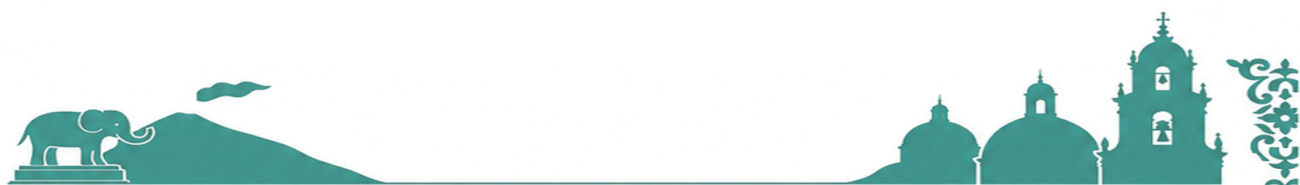
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The Times They are a' Changing (?) - Yet Another Discussion on the Origins of *b-*

Simone Bettega

Abstract

The aim of this presentation is to re-discuss one of the most long-standing issues in the field of Arabic dialectology, namely the origin of the verbal prefix *b-*. This element is attested across a large swath of the Arabic-speaking world and in a great number of dialects, with a variety of functions, most notably marking indicative mood in some varieties (e.g. Cairo Arabic) and irrealis in others (e.g. Gulf Arabic). The controversy concerning its origin can be reduced to an opposition between a monogenetic hypothesis, on the one side, and a polygenetic one on the other. The latter was first proposed as early as 1900 by Kampffmeyer, while the former was first put forward by Feghali in 1928. The dispute lasts to this day, with Retsö 2014 advocating for the polygenetic explanation and Owens 2018 for the monogenetic one (see these two works for a systematic overview and discussion of the existing literature on the topic, as well as a detailed mapping of the distribution and functions of *b-*).

The main argument I would like to make in this presentation is that, after more than a century of scholarly debate on the subject, typological literature concerning the development of tense and modality markers has – quite surprisingly – never been brought to bear. Over the course of the last decades, linguistic typology has convincingly shown that these elements tend to follow common developmental trajectories across the world's languages. Specifically, it is very common for markers of futurity and volition to evolve from verbs meaning 'to want' (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994), and locative elements appear to be the only attested source of grammaticalization for markers of indicative mood (Kuteva et al., 2019). These considerations would seem reinforce Retsö's position, while Owen's hypothesis about how all the modern meanings of *b-* could have originated from a unitary source, while intriguing, is riddled with problematic aspects (to name but two: Owen's theorization of a phase in which *b-* worked as a marker of 'propositional adjacency' seems to be rather ad hoc and knows no typological parallel; conversely, his argument that the nasalization of *b-* in pre-nasal environments in several dialects is further proof of a unitary origin is unconvincing, due to this being a cross-linguistically widespread phenomenon).

It seems to me the only way to defend the monogenetic hypothesis, *pace* Owens 2018, would be to hypothesize the development of the future/irrealis values of *b-* out of its original indicative values. This evolutionary trajectory is rare, but attested (see Haspelmath, 1998). Over the course of this presentation, I will also discuss the merit of such a hypothesis in the specific case of Arabic.

Finally, I will re-consider the whole issue in the light of data from south Arabian varieties, some of which were not yet available at the time of the publication of Retsö's study, and don't appear to be mentioned in the one by Owens. In particular, the existence in some dialects of Dhofar of two distinct prefixes involving a *b-* element (see Davey, 2016), one expressing irrealis mood and the other progressive aspect, would seem to speak strongly in favor of the bi-genetic hypothesis.



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Réfléchi et réciproque en arabe algérien. Emploi et valeurs des constructions analytiques

Aziza Boucherit

Abstract

On sait que l'expression du réfléchi et du réciproque en arabe relève, de manière structurelle, de la dérivation verbale qui marque formellement la relation des participants au procès exprimé par le verbe. Ainsi les formes verbales à affixe (*t* infixé ou préfixé, *n-* et *st-* préfixés) marquent l'orientation du prédicat par rapport aux participants au procès en indiquant l'attitude du sujet dans le rapport *agent-patient*. Sont alors formellement marquées par un affixe différentes significations grammaticales : *passif*, *moyen*, *réfléchi*, *réciproque* ou encore *réfléchi-passif*.

On sait aussi que, parallèlement à la dérivation verbale, nombre de dialectes arabes utilisent d'autres procédés pour exprimer l'orientation interne du procès. Pour ce qui est du *réfléchi* et du *réciproque* objets, de cette communication, les constructions relevées en arabe algérien sont de nature différente :

- *réfléchi* : un verbe actif est suivi d'un nom (*ruḥ*, *nəfs* : 'personne, souffle', plus rarement *ras* : 'tête') décliné à l'aide d'un pronom affixe renvoyant au sujet : *nə-ǧsəl ruḥ-i*, lit. 1.SJT-laver-ruḥ-1.OBJ : 'Je me lave' ; *rma ruḥ-u f-əl wad*, lit. jeter-3SJT ruḥ-3.OBJ dans DEF-rivière : 'Il s'est jeté dans la rivière' ;

- *réciproque* : un verbe à affixe de VIe forme, généralement au pluriel (*t-qays-u*, lit. se lancer des pierres-3.SJT.PL : 'ils se sont lancés des pierres')¹, est suivi par les indéfinis *baḥḍ-pr.suf. ... baḥḍ* : 'les uns ... les autres' déclinés avec un affixe personnel : *t-darb-u bḥaḍ-hum-baḥḍ* : 'ils se sont battus les uns les autres'.

Dans le cas du *réfléchi* la dérivation verbale (*ǧmaʕ/ǧt ə maʕ* : 'rassembler/se rassembler') et la construction analytique coexistent et les deux procédés semblent être sémantiquement équivalents ; dans celui du *réciproque*, un élément nominal adjoint à la dérivation verbale semble apporter la nuance de renforcement.

Dans cette communication, nous nous interrogerons sur :

- les modalités d'emploi de ces constructions,
- les nuances sémantiques qu'elles peuvent porter et, si elles en portent, dans quelle mesure les emplois hors *réfléchi/réciproque* des éléments entrant dans ces constructions les influencent-elles ?
- la place qu'elles occupent dans les usages du parler : doit-on considérer qu'il y a un recul des schèmes verbaux à affixe exprimant ces notions au profit de constructions plus analytiques et, par là, un recul du caractère synthétique portée par la morphologie dérivationnelle ?

¹ Au singulier si le verbe est suivi de la préposition *mʕa* 'avec', introduisant un pronom suffixe complément : *t-darəb-t mʕa-h*, lit. se battre-1.SJT.SG-3 avec-3.OBJ.M.SG : 'je me suis battu avec lui'.



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L'adstrat arabe dans le parler amazigh de ksar Mezguida

M'hammed Bouydargui, Moustapha Khiri

Abstract

Cette communication se propose d'analyser la présence du substrat arabe sur le parler amazigh du ksar Mezguida, un ksar de la commune rurale de Rissani, dans la province d'Errachidia (sud-est marocain). Cette région, située au carrefour d'influences linguistiques amazighe et arabe, présente une richesse dialectale encore peu documentée dans les études dialectologiques des parlers marocains.

À travers une approche dialectologique et sociolinguistique, nous mettrons en lumière les traces de l'arabe marocain et de l'arabe classique intégrées dans le lexique, la morphosyntaxe et la phonétique du parler amazigh de Mezguida. Nous examinerons les emprunts lexicaux, les calques morphologiques ainsi que les phénomènes de code-switching qui témoignent d'un contact linguistique ancien et continu entre les deux langues.

La méthodologie s'appuiera sur la collecte de données de terrain sous forme d'entretiens semi-directifs et de questionnaires sociolinguistiques auprès des habitants du ksar, ainsi que sur l'enregistrement et l'analyse de productions orales authentiques. Nous analyserons également les facteurs sociaux favorisant cette interpénétration linguistique, notamment la scolarisation en arabe, la mobilité sociale, les échanges commerciaux, la migration interne et internationale, l'urbanisation, l'exposition aux médias arabophones, et les politiques linguistiques nationales favorisant l'usage de l'arabe. Enfin, nous proposerons quelques pistes de réflexion sur la dynamique actuelle de cette variété amazighe : entre préservation, évolution et hybridité linguistique.



Discourse Markers in Arabic: Where are we at?

Cristiana Bozza

Abstract

Discourse markers (DMs) are linguistic elements that are far from being a peripheral phenomenon of language use as well as language structure. Not only they play a key role in linguistic communication, belonging to the most frequently used expressions in many languages, but they are also an emblem of social and cultural identity, that is, they have sociolinguistic significance (Heine et al. 2021: 1-2).

Interest in DMs has grown significantly in the last decades, and particularly from the 1990s onwards, we witnessed ‘an explosion of research’ (Degand and Simon-Vanderbergen 2011: 288) which has involved a variety of languages besides English (Maschler and Schiffrin 2015: 189-190). As for Arabic, DMs are among the linguistic topics that have only recently attracted attention (Procházka 2021: 215), with the number of works focused on Arabic language and varieties increasing in the last few years (see Bozza and Mion Forthcoming). But, compared to the overall state of research, most studies on DMs in Arabic exhibit some issues, even concerning the very conceptualization of these elements, as highlighted e.g., by Azi (2018). This implies, inter alia, that there are certain phenomena—even among those previously described in the literature—that should be re-framed in terms of DMs, and approached in the light of the current trends in linguistic research on this subject as well.

Based on these premises, in this paper, we first provide a state of the art of scholarship on DMs in Arabic, also discussing the limitations and directions for future research. And, second, starting from the previous works (e.g., Firanescu 2002), we propose an original study of *ba’a* in Egyptian Arabic that is aimed at (re-)considering and describing its status as DM.

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Data Collections and Theoretical Models in Arabic Dialectology. A preliminary attempt at historical investigation?

Dominique Caubet, Catherine Miller, Christophe Pereira

Abstract

For decades, the social sciences have shown how access to historical sources or methods of data collection greatly influences scientific narratives and descriptions. Another major constraint is access to the field during times of war, turmoil, dictatorship, increasing censorship, and the like. Numerous conferences on these topics have taken place in the past ten years (cf. Aldrin et al. 2022; Allès & Perrodin 2024; Calmels 2024, among others). The field of Arabic linguistics—dialectology, sociolinguistics, and anthropological linguistics—is no exception. From the colonial era to the present day, many countries have remained more or less closed to linguistic field research, even for local researchers. Collecting natural data from the field has become increasingly painstaking and time-consuming in a context where researchers are expected to publish more and more quickly.

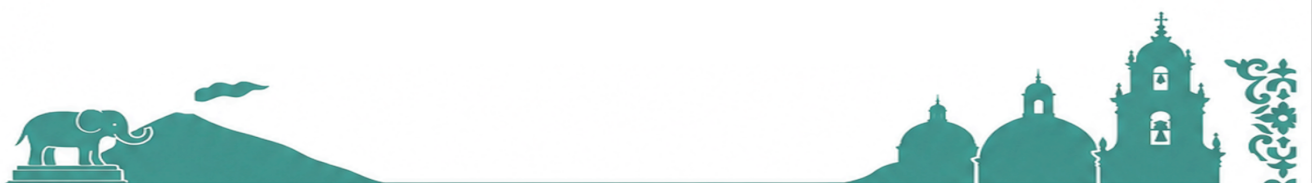
One way of addressing this challenge has been the growing use of online digital data, particularly since the rise of social networks. Access to digital content (TV series, talk shows, social media posts, forums, discussions, videos, etc.) has coincided with the development of more sociolinguistic and anthropological studies focusing on pan-dialectal interactions, as well as linguistic representations and ideologies (Attwa 2022; Hachimi 2017). This shift has led to a significant renewal in the description of Arabic vernaculars, including written production.

However, there is a risk that field research and the collection of natural data will become increasingly rare, and that performance-based data will take precedence over everyday interactions. Drawing on our own experience, as well as on various historical and contemporary accounts, we aim to discuss how methodological choices and ideological positions have shaped—and continue to shape—descriptions of the Arabic language, particularly with regard to the question of discrete language varieties versus linguistic repertoires.

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What was in Jean Cantineau's Questionnaire for His Geolinguistic Study of Algerian Arabic?

Nadia Comolli, Hana El Shazli, Massinissa Garaoun, Esma Larbi

Abstract

In the field of Arabic dialectology, as it pertains to Maghrebi dialects, Jean Cantineau (1899-1956) is well known for his attempt at exploring the linguistic variation within Algerian Arabic, while he taught and then held a chair at the Faculty of Letters of Algiers from 1933 to 1946. As shown by the first paper — entitled “Géographie linguistique des parlers arabes algériens” — in the series he was to publish on the topic, he viewed this enterprise as a foray into linguistic geography. To summarize his findings made on the basis of the data he, and in some locations his collaborators, collected between 1935 and 1939, he envisioned a linguistic atlas loosely modeled after the one by Bergsträsser for Syria and Palestine and to be published by 1941.

It was in fact his atlas on the Arabic dialects in Ḥōrân that got published in 1940. As can be pieced together from different sources, an illustrated study on Maghrebi Arabic that included 150 maps was completed by Cantineau, but never published. We had the opportunity to access a privately-owned remnant of Cantineau's notebooks from his fieldwork in Algeria. The direct result of this is that we can now present the full content of Cantineau's two questionnaires (one being an abridged version of the other). Cantineau's preliminary remarks and maps on Algerian Arabic serve as a reference point in time to understand part of the intricate history of a dialect that remains, to this day, insufficiently documented. It is therefore not a trivial matter to understand what the scope of his observations was.

Through the study of 9 partially filled-in survey notebooks, this presentation explores the fieldwork done in the vicinity of Medea in 1936. We used the data from the *Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer* to geolocate each survey point. Without failing to pay close attention to the regularity with which the various entries are treated, we attempt at generating a picture of the linguistic variation this small collection of data exhibits. The results are then used to assess how much information was (necessarily) left out of Cantineau's series of papers.

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Rethinking *bəš* as a transcategorial morpheme in North African Arabic

Alessia D'Accordio Berlinguer

Abstract

To date, two distinct functions and paths of grammaticalization have been attributed to the morpheme *bəš* and its variants *bāš*, *bīš*, *məš*. The first one results from the grammaticalization of the participle form *māšī* 'going', which would function as a marker expressing values of future tense in Tunisian Arabic (TA) (Mion 2017: 209). The second has been traced back to **b-āš* 'to', and is described as the common adverbial subordinator used to introduce purpose clauses in Maghrebi Arabic (Marçais 1977: 239; Mion 2017: 209). At some point, the two morphemes would have phonetically converged (Mion 2017: 209). Although this paper confirms that *bəš* can fulfill the role of an adverbial subordinator (Kortmann 1997: 71–75) introducing purpose clauses in TA, it proposes a reassessment of the morpheme as a modal marker of irrealis. Assuming that 'purpose relations may be included within the domain of deontic modality' (Cristofaro 2005: 158), i.e. of irrealis (non-actual) events (Chung & Timberlake 1985: 241), the present study argues that *bəš* consistently marks such meanings. Data drawn from TA – particularly from Kairouani corpus (D'Accordio-Berlinguer 2024) – provides pieces of evidence:

- | | | | | |
|------------------|--|------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>mša</i> | | <i>bəš</i> | <i>yu-r-qud</i> | |
| go.PFV.3SG.M | | IRR | 3SG.M.sleep.IPFV | |
| He went to sleep | | | | (D'Accordio-Berlinguer 2024: 236) |
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2. <i>āna</i> | <i>kun-t</i> | <i>bəš</i> | <i>n-xaddəm</i> | <i>fāṭma</i> |
| 1SG | be.PFV-1SG. | IRR | 1SG-hire.IPFV | Fatima |
| I was going to hire | | | | Fatima |
| | | | | (D'Accordio-Berlinguer 2024: 295) |

In (1), *bəš* marks an adverbial modal relation, while in (2) it conveys an irrealis value in combination with the perfective aspect introduced by the auxiliary verb *kunt*. Our findings are supported by evidence from other languages, where the same irrealis marker encodes both purpose clauses and future tense (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 228–230). In addition, this study re-explores the grammaticalization path of *bəš*, considering that motion verbs – such as 'going' (*māšī*) – frequently underlie grammaticalization processes that yield both adverbial subordinators of purpose and future tense markers (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca



1994: 229; Heine & Kuteva 2002: 161–165). Finally, data from Gabes (Gębski 2024: 285–287) and Nefza (Naddari 2024: 112–113) provides further comparative evidence for the use of grammaticalized irrealis markers in TA.

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Rethinking the Nature of First-layer Maghrebi Dialects

Luca D'Anna

Abstract

Maghrebi Arabic dialectology describes the Arabization of North Africa as a two-wave process, involving two typologically distinct layers (Marçais 1956: 7; Marçais 1977: VII–VIII; Pereira 2018: 499). Our understanding of Maghrebi dialects is thus built on a core distinction between sedentary and Bedouin dialects, following a long-standing sociolinguistic typology in Arabic dialectology that has been recently subject to problematization (Palva 2006: 605; Taine-Cheikh 2017; Procházka 2024). The present paper aims at reassessing how much explanatory value the label “sedentary” holds with reference to first-layer Maghrebi dialects and whether different approaches might yield more satisfactory results. At the phonological level, the realization of etymological *qāf* might seem a reliable isogloss, yet the development of the voiced realization appears to have largely occurred after the Arab conquest of the 7th century (Holes 2006: 29–30; al-Jallad 2019: 26). The occurrence of interdental fricatives in many first-layer dialects (Guerrero 2021) makes this isogloss no more reliable, so that one needs to turn to morphology and syntax.

Most of the morphological and syntactical isoglosses characterizing first-layer varieties, however, are textbook cases of contact-induced restructuring, for which the Bedouin / sedentary split is largely irrelevant. To mention but a few examples, the reduction of morphological patterns for the plurals and diminutives of quadrilaterals and the reconstruction of a non-etymological long vowel in the plural of CCy verbs are features that are simply absent from sedentary dialects in the rest of the Arabic-speaking world. Following Trudgill (2009: 174), they would be better explained by shifting perspectives and considering them as instances of increased regularity and reduced redundancy born out of contact.

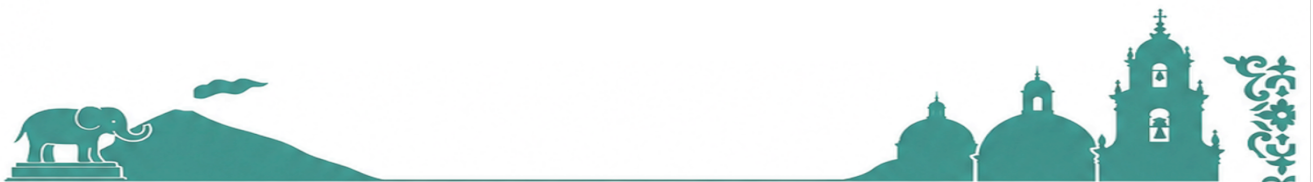
The Bedouin nature of second-layer dialects has led Maghrebi dialectologists to consider first-layer ones, by contrast, as sedentary. The present paper advocates for a change of perspective and for the necessity to evaluate them on their own merits, as the offshoots of Peninsular dialects that reached different parts of North Africa in the 7th century and underwent changes and small-scale koineization based on their internal (dialectal variation) and external (substrate languages) ecology (Mufwene 2001: 30).

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"Gangsta" Language in Arab Rap

Emanuela De Blasio

Abstract

So-called "gangsta rap" falls under reality rap (Krimms 2000) and covers a more specific area, as it describes ghetto life from the perspective of a criminal figure and sometimes narrates the reality of disadvantaged communities. From a linguistic standpoint, gangsta rap employs vulgar, violent, and offensive slang. Levine (2010), through the testimony of an anonymous Moroccan rapper, highlights that Moroccan MCs avoid the glorification of guns, cars, and "bling bling," or the use of vulgar language, as these elements are not part of Morocco and its traditions.

Despite this, there are cases of Arab rappers who use profanity, violent imagery, racist language, and expressions considered taboo, such as sexual references.

The current research has two main objectives: the first is to investigate how widespread the gangsta genre is in Arab rap, and the second aims for a sociolinguistic analysis that considers songs by different Arabic-speaking rappers who, going against social conventions, draw on gangsta rap and thus use particularly offensive or vulgar language.

Such language is not customary or generally considered socially appropriate, in fact, taboo images and vulgar words are primarily used in an intimate sphere, mostly among men, which makes research on profanity a difficult field to investigate, especially since it's predominantly, though not exclusively, oral. In this sense, songs belonging to the gangsta rap genre represent a fruitful field of investigation.

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The Bnī ‘Addās: Language and Identity of a Peripatetic Community in Algeria

Hana El Shazli, Lameen Souag

Abstract

The Bnī ‘Addās (or Bnī ‘dās) are an itinerant group in Algeria, attested at least since the mid-19th century yet virtually unknown in contemporary academic literature, anthropological as well as linguistic. They are stereotyped by the rest of Algerian society as practitioners of begging and fortune-telling, and are frequently likened to—or confused with—the Roma (Gypsies) of Europe.

Across both the Middle East and Europe, itinerant groups typically have distinctive linguistic practices. The Banū Sāsān of medieval Iraq already had their own argot by the 10th century, facilitating secrecy in socially disapproved activities (Richardson 2017), and comparable argots are well documented for modern itinerant groups in Egypt and Sudan (Vycichl 1959). The Dom of the Levant, like the Roma of Europe, speak an Indic language of their own, documented by Matras (2012) and Herin (2012). The linguistic practices of the Bnī ‘Addās and other Algerian itinerant groups, however, have never yet been described in published literature.

This presentation aims to fill this gap by analyzing some recently rediscovered unpublished documentation gathered in the early 20th century by Emile Galtier. This material includes several texts written in the argot of the Bnī ‘Addās, including tales and dialogues, alongside a lexicon and background materials. We propose to present, contextualize, and analyze this corpus, offering the first attempt at a linguistic description of the Arabic-matrix argot spoken by this community. Alongside productive word-deformation strategies ("Pig Latin"), it displays a number of unique lexical items. Despite some ambiguities and many obscure items, this material is sufficient to establish that the core of this argot comes neither from India nor from Europe, but from medieval Iraq.

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Étude de quelques phénomènes dans le parler arabe de Draa (province de Zagora)

Abdelilah Elbazini, Abdelilah Benthami

Abstract

La vallée de Draa, située au sud-est du Maroc, est l'une de ces régions où l'arabe dialectal marocain et l'amazigh, à travers sa variété régionale du tamazight, sont largement utilisés dans le répertoire verbal de la population locale formée de divers groupes ethniques (les Amazighs, les Arabes, les Ait Dra, etc.), ce qui en fait une région à la fois arabophone et amazighophone. Le contact entre ces deux langues a profondément influencé leurs structures aux niveaux phonologique, morphologique, syntaxique, sémantique et lexical. Ces influences linguistiques réciproques se limitent parfois à l'aire géographique de la vallée, ce qui confère aux parlers arabes et amazighs locaux des particularités qui les distinguent au sein du paysage linguistique marocain.

Dans cette perspective, nous souhaiterions, à travers cette communication, mettre en lumière un aspect particulier de ces influences : le substrat amazigh dans le parler arabe des ksour et des oasis de la vallée de Draa. Plus précisément, nous essayerons d'approcher les principales manifestations de l'influence de la langue amazighe sur l'arabe dialectal parlé localement aux niveaux phonologique, morphologique, syntaxique, et lexical, en nous basant sur un corpus de données varié (conversations enregistrées, listes d'emprunts, documents historiques locaux) collecté sur le terrain et soumis à un cadre d'analyse variationniste. Pour mieux atteindre cet objectif, nous nous référerons au fur et à mesure de nos analyses aux études dialectologiques et descriptives ayant traité et décrit différents aspects de l'arabe dialectal marocain et l'amazigh parlés dans d'autres régions au Maroc dans une perspective comparative.

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Grammaticalization and Heterosemy of *ġādi* ('going') in Moroccan Arabic

Paola Esposito

Abstract

It is well known that the active participle *ġādi* underwent a process of grammaticalization leading from the meaning of 'going' to the expression of future tense and other related modal notions (Caubet 2020; Bozza 2024). In addition, *ġādi* is also employed as an aspectual "semi-auxiliary" within a construction that, in other languages, has been defined as continuous periphrasis (not to be mistaken with the notion of progressive; cfr. Bertinetto 1998; 2023). In particular, the construction *ġādi* (+ conjunction) + prefixed form of the verb may express the gradual progression of the event over a period of time. The employment of a verb of motion for the expression of the continuous periphrasis has been observed in certain Romance languages, such as Italian and Spanish, which exhibit constructions of the type *andare/venire* + gerund and *venir/ir/andar* + gerund. While in these languages such periphrases have been extensively investigated as regard their degree of grammaticalization (Giacalone Ramat 1995 for Italian), as well as the aspectual and actional features (among others, Bertinetto 1998), to the best of my knowledge, no studies have been proposed for Moroccan Arabic.

Following the existent literature on the topic, this paper aims at investigating the properties of this semi-auxiliary in Moroccan Arabic, with particular reference to its degree of grammaticalization, as well as its aspectual and temporal features. In particular, the overview of the semantic properties of the subjects compatible with the construction provides insights into the desemantization of the original meaning of *ġādi*, giving evidence of the ongoing grammaticalization. Comparison with other forms expressing analogous notions is also expected.

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“We” Say This and “They” Say That: Personal Pronouns and Linguistic Identity in Urban Morocco

Jacopo Falchetta

Abstract

In the last one-hundred years, Morocco has been witnessing important migration movements from the countryside to the city and among urban centres. For this reason, the populations of contemporary urban communities are very diverse as far as regional origin is concerned. This has an impact not only on language practices, but also on linguistic representations. In this context, this paper will analyse how urban Moroccan Arabic speakers position themselves with respect to linguistically identified groups within Morocco. More precisely, by adopting a discourse analysis approach, it will consider their use of personal deixis (especially the 1st and 3rd person plural markers) to implement what, in studies on language and identity, are called “tactics of distinction”. Typical among these is the individual’s implicit claim (through the 1st person plural) to belong to an in-group, as opposed to an out-group (indicated through the 3rd person plural) which they perceive as speaking differently. The paper thus focuses on representations on Moroccan Arabic varieties collected through one-to-one interviews with native speakers. Since previous analyses suggested that regional origin, place of upbringing and sex influence the individual’s linguistic ideologies, the sample of interviewees includes: female and male residents of the town of Sale (*Sl/a*) belonging to ancient Slawi and immigrant families; residents from the more recently emerged town of Temara; unmarried young migrants living in Rabat. Preliminary results have showed that, in Sale, women with ancient Slawi roots identify themselves as “speaking Slawi” more strongly than men. The latter share with migrants their self-identification with the way of speaking of the wider region to which Sale belongs, rather than with that of the town alone. Further analyses are expected to question essentialist views on the direct link between regional origin and how an individual perceives their own way of speaking. They are also expected to better define the influence of gender-related social expectations about how someone should speak on Moroccans’ linguistic self-identifications.

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Verbal Features of Maghrebi Vernacular Arabic in a Text from Portuguese-Occupied Morocco

Felipe Benjamin Francisco

Abstract

This communication aims to describe the verbal morphology of a western Middle Arabic text (Grand'Henry 1981; Lentin 2012), written in a predominantly vernacular language and dated to the early 16th century. The manuscript, catalogued under *Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç.2, n.32* at the Torre do Tombo National Archive (ANTT), and edited by me (forthcoming), features a largely phonetic orthography, with full vocalization, which enhances the linguistic value of the data described (Zack 2019). Authored by Yehuda, a nephew of the well-known Arabic-Portuguese interpreter Abraão [Ibrahim] Benzamerro (Perceval 1934; Colin 1945), the document consists of a personal letter to different members of the family (male and female), reflecting the speech of a Jew from the first generations of those expelled from Portugal, and settled in coastal cities like Safi and Azemmour—then under Portuguese control (Bouchareb 1984; Tavim 2012). Beyond the use of the Maghrebi imperfective prefixal and suffixal markers *n...-u*, the presentation focuses on the following verbal features: (1) the perfective conjugation, e.g., *-tum* (2PL); (2) defective or weak verbs (e.g., **ibikiw*); (3) hollow verbs (e.g., **iduz*, **qal*); (4) derived verbal forms, with special attention to Form X (e.g., **tšawwaš*); (5) alternation between **rsal* and **sayfaṭ* (“to send”); (6) the absence of imperfective preverbs; and (7) merging of gender in 2S. in the imperfective. A comparative analysis of these features with contemporary Jewish and Muslim Moroccan dialects from further south along the Atlantic coast—as has been done with other documents from the same period and region bearing strong vernacular traits (Guerrero 2023; Francisco 2024)—and with Andalusí Arabic (IISUZ 2013), may shed light on early 16th-century Moroccan Arabic and the understudied connections between Andalusí and North African varieties. The paper also raises broader questions about the vernacular layers, comprehending innovations, and archaisms present in this Jewish-authored text.

Keywords: Andalusí Arabic, perfective conjugation, weak verbs, hollow verbs, Moroccan Arabic, Middle Arabic.

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Discours de compliment et stratégies de politesse féminines en dialecte tripolitein : étude socio-pragmatique

Khadija Fshika

Abstract

Cette recherche propose une analyse sociopragmatique du discours de compliment et des stratégies de politesse dans le parler féminin tripolitein. Bien que ces pratiques langagières soient omniprésentes dans les échanges quotidiens, notamment lors des visites familiales, des cérémonies de mariage ou des contextes d'hospitalité, elles restent peu étudiées dans les travaux linguistiques, en particulier sous l'angle de leur dimension interactionnelle, culturelle et genrée. L'objectif principal est d'explorer comment les femmes mobilisent les expressions de compliment comme outil relationnel pour exprimer la bienveillance, l'appartenance et le respect, tout en maintenant l'harmonie sociale. La problématique posée interroge les caractéristiques linguistiques et socioculturelles de ces formes énonciatives : en quoi consistent-elles ? quels sont leurs usages ? et dans quelle mesure peuvent-elles être comparées à des formes équivalentes dans d'autres cultures, notamment la culture française ? Le cadre théorique s'appuie sur la pragmatique linguistique, en particulier la théorie des actes de langage (Austin, Searle) et la théorie de la politesse (Brown & Levinson, 1987), enrichies par une perspective sociopragmatique qui tient compte des paramètres sociaux (genre, statut, culture). L'analyse intègre également les apports de l'ethnographie de la communication (Hymes) et de l'analyse du discours rituel. Sur le plan méthodologique, l'étude repose sur une approche qualitative descriptive : elle s'appuie sur un corpus d'expressions orales spontanées recueillies auprès de femmes dans divers contextes sociaux à Tripoli. Les données sont ensuite analysées à l'aide d'outils issus de la pragmatique et de l'analyse du discours, en prenant en compte le contexte, les intentions communicatives et les fonctions sociales de chaque énoncé. Une ouverture comparative avec des pratiques francophones permet enfin de situer les spécificités culturelles du discours tripolitein dans une perspective interculturelle.

Mots-clés : approche sociopragmatique – compliment – dialecte tripolitein – discours féminin – politesse



When Did Arabic Become a ‘Difficult’ Language? Tracing the Origin of Language and Linguistic Ideologies through Geographical Sources

Laura Gago Gómez

Abstract

This paper explores the (para)linguistic ideologies associated with Arabic in all its varieties from a diachronic perspective. It aims at understanding the origin and historicity of some of the current language ideologies (Brustad, 2017; Lian, 2020) and linguistic beliefs linking linguistic forms and social meanings (vg. ‘deviant’ uses – personal traits). By means of this, it will contribute to a better understanding of the (socio)linguistic thought –diachronically– and the evolution and perseverance of (para)linguistic ideas; thus, putting into perspective findings in contemporary contexts.

To do so, it analyzes two historical genres in which the geographic component is key: Geographic Literature (since IX-X century) and *Riḥ la* (since XII century). Both genres offer passages and texts describing *groups of people* (peoples, nations) and *specific characters* (historical or not) through language/linguistic uses.

Results show early developments of (para)linguistic beliefs and ideologies concerning all Arabic varieties (both negative and positive). Although many of them cannot be understood outside the Standard Arabic-Dialects polarity, other passages and depictions offer an incipient myriad of ideo-linguistic associations outside of this frame.

Finally, from a theoretical Linguistics perspective, this communication (and its findings) will contribute to a better understanding of the linguistic ideologies themselves and the shared -communal linguistic beliefs throughout history.

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Ecolinguistic Insights into Date Palm and Camel Herding Terminology in Al-‘Ulā

Fabio Gasparini, Stefano Manfredi, Stephan Procházka

Abstract

This study traces how ecological knowledge is encoded in the Arabic varieties spoken in al-‘Ulā by comparing two specialised lexicons: date-palm cultivation and camel herding. Working at the intersection between ecolinguistics and ethnoecology, we chart where each vocabulary varies or endures and link these patterns to distinct histories of human–environment engagement.

Date-palm terms display pronounced variation. They diverge along sedentarised–sedentary lines and are further reshaped by the growing presence of migrant agricultural labour, signalling an adaptive—but increasingly fragmented—knowledge system. Conversely, camel terminology remains strikingly conservative: despite the sharp decline of herding as a relevant economic practice after sedentarisation and modernisation, speakers preserve an extensive and finely differentiated lexicon that still indexes cultural identity. We map this stability through a comparative taxonomy spanning life-cycle stages, anatomy, equipment, behaviour, and colour terms.

Situating the findings within wider Arabian-Peninsula evidence (e.g. Ingham 1990; Eades et al. 2013; Al-Saqqaf 2022), we expose both region-wide regularities and local particularities in the co-evolution of language, ecology, and socio-economic change. The analysis demonstrates how specialised vocabularies can serve as sensitive barometers of ecological adaptation and cultural continuity, shedding light on the conditions under which environmental knowledge is conserved, reconfigured, or lost.

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Phonological, Morphological and Lexical Features of the Dialects Spoken by the Sedentarized Populations (ʿAnaza and Bili) of the Al-ʿUlā Oasis

Stanley Kochem, Fabio Gasparini, Jawharah Al Zamil

Abstract

This paper examines the linguistic features of two major sedentarized groups living in and around the Saudi Arabian oasis town of al-ʿUlā: the ʿAnaza and the Bili. Manfredi & Procházka (2025). The population of this region can be categorized into three ecolinguistic types—nomadic, sedentary, and sedentarized. The ʿAnaza and the Bili, who fall into the latter category, traditionally occupy distinct territories with minimal interaction, limiting linguistic influence between them. Their lands are geographically divided by the Wadi that runs north–south through the town: the Bili reside to the west, and the ʿAnaza to the east (Battesti & Marty 2023). However, the separation of their lands as well as the little interaction between these two originally nomadic and semi-nomadic groups is particularly valid until the beginning of their sedentarization in the 1980’s, nowadays it is slowly changing.

The analysis is based on data collected during fieldwork in early 2025, including linguistic questionnaires, field notes, and recordings of spontaneous speech. Although the two dialects are generally similar to each other, they significantly diverge in several domains, particularly phonology. Shared traits include stress on the definite article in specific patterns (e.g., *b-áš-šta* ‘in the winter’), the 2nd person singular feminine suffix *-īn* (e.g., *tāxḏīn* ‘you [fem.] take’), and different types of the gahawa-syndrome (e.g. *ghawa* ‘coffee’ in ʿAnaza Arabic and *náʿağə* ‘ewe’ in Bili Arabic).

Key phonological differences include the affrication of **k* to *č* and *ć* and of **q* to *ğ* in the ʿAnaza speech – *čībīr* vs. *kībīr* (‘big’), *bāćīr* vs. *bākīr* (‘tomorrow’) and *ğəddām* vs. *giddām* (‘in front of’) – a phenomenon absent in Bili Arabic, and on the verge of disappearance among younger ʿAnaza generations.

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The Jewish Arabic Dialect of Houmt Souk (Djerba)

Wiktor Gębski, Maciej Klimiuk

Abstract

This paper offers a descriptive and analytical overview of the Jewish Arabic dialect of Djerba, based on original fieldwork conducted by the authors with speakers from various age groups on the island of Djerba, Tunisia. Nowadays, Djerba is the only place in the Arab world where a traditional Jewish community continues to live in situ—and its dialect is virtually the only Jewish Arabic variety still spoken in the Arab world. This makes it an exceptionally valuable site for studying Jewish Arabic in its original sociolinguistic environment.

The dialect, still actively spoken by members of the Jewish community in the Hara Kebira quarter of Houmt Souk, is particularly notable for its retention of archaic Maghrebi features and its resistance to convergence with surrounding Muslim varieties. Drawing on recordings collected during multiple field visits, the paper outlines the core phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of the dialect, with particular attention to both distinctive and conservative elements. These include an analysis of the vowel system, the use of a marked indicative prefix in the imperfect, and syntactic constructions that reflect older Judeo-Arabic strata.

The study situates the Djerban dialect within the broader typology of Jewish Maghrebi Arabic, highlighting points of contact and divergence with the Jewish dialects of Tunis, Gabes, and Tripoli, as well as the Muslim dialect of Houmt Souk. Special attention is paid to the relationship between linguistic structure and communal identity, particularly in the context of an isolated yet historically stable Jewish community that has maintained its vernacular in the face of considerable sociolinguistic pressure.

The fieldwork also reveals patterns of internal variation, including generational phonological shifts and limited Hebrew-Aramaic lexical influence in ritual contexts. The paper concludes with reflections on the implications of this documentation for theories of dialect contact, minority language resilience, and the classification of Jewish Arabic dialects in North Africa.

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The Semantic Values of *rəžiʕ* in Lebanese Arabic

Marie-Aimée Germanos

Abstract

rəžiʕ is used in Lebanese Arabic both as a full verb (i.) and as an auxiliary (ii.). As a full verb, *rəžiʕ* is usually translated as “to return” or “to go back”; while the auxiliary is ordinarily interpreted as carrying an iterative aspect; see for instance Barthélémy (1936: 271)¹: “6° v. auxil. suivi d’un autre verbe mis au même temps : « re »”, and Kline (2022: 72)²: “The verb *reje3/yerja3* *يرجع/ارجع*, (regular form I), meaning to return/go back, can carry the meaning of repeating an action or redoing something when paired with another verb”.

- i. *ʔana kən-t ʔə-ʔlaʕ maše nəšš səʕa ʕa=l=bēt w ʔə-rʕaʕ*
1SG be.PRF-1SG 1SG-go_up.IPFV on_foot half hour to=ART=home and 1SG-return.IPFV
maše nəšš səʕa
on_foot half hour

“I used to go home on foot for half an hour, and to come return [to the office] on foot for half an hour”

- ii. *b=ət-ʔəl=l=o ʔayyib b=ē-ħud warde la=l=māmā ʔayb OK ħəd-e*
IND=2F.SG-say.IPFV=to=3M.SG well IND=2=take.IPFV rose for=ART=Mom OK OK take.IMP=F
b=tə-rʕaʕ t-ʔəl=l=o ʔayb b=ē-ħud warde la=ʔəl=e
IND=2F.SG.AUX.IPFV=to=3M.SG 2F.SG-say.IPFV=to=3M.SG well IND=2=take.IPFV rose for=for=1SG

“She tells him: ‘well, I’ll take a rose for Mom’ [her father answers] ‘OK, take one’; she says (again) ‘well, I’ll take one for myself’

Drawing from a corpus of conversations, interviews, and TV shows, this presentation aims to show that, more frequently than not, *rəžiʕ* is also used as a sequential auxiliary. This latter use will be described and linked to the other semantic values of *rəžiʕ*, both as a full verb and as an auxiliary.

¹ Barthélémy, Adrien (1936), Dictionnaire Arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie : Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem, Second fascicule, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

² Kline, Richard A. (2022), The Fundamentals of Lebanese Grammar, Routledge [Kindle version].



Metaphorical Names of Plants in Baghdadi Arabic

George Grigore

Abstract

In this paper, I will present an analysis of metaphorical names of plants in Baghdadi Arabic. This analysis is based on a corpus of data I have collected during my visits to Baghdad, in 2024, through direct investigations with the old *‘aṭṭarīn* (traditional herbalists) in Baghdad markets, as main reference. It is supplemented by numerous clips on folk medicine, tales, local proverbs posted on social networks, as well as by dictionaries of Iraqi/Baghdadi Arabic and numerous references from the Iraqi journal *at-Turāṭ Aš-ša‘bī* (The Folk Heritage). Metaphorical names of plants in Baghdadi Arabic often reflect local superstitions, legends, old tales, but also simple visual resemblance. Around these names, a web of symbols has been woven, colored by popular etymologies.

The popular metaphorical names of plants are extremely subjective and are most often known in a limited area. The tendency of speakers who are not directly involved in the field is to refer to plants generically, such as *zahḥa* (flower), *‘išba* (herb), *šaḡara* (tree), etc. instead of *qrinfla* (carnation), *ḥubbēza* (mallow), *ṣufṣāf* (willow). The most frequent metaphors are those based on parts of the animal body: ear, *adān iğ-ğidī* “lamb’s ears” – lamb’s ear (*Stachys byzantina*); had, *rās il-ḥayya* “snake’s head” – Snake-like plants; leg, *riḡil il-ḥamāma* “pigeon’s leg” – fern (*Filix*); mouth, *ḥalg is-saba’* “Lion’s mouth” – common snapdragon (*Antirrhinum majus*); tail, *dēl il-ḥiṣān* “Horse’s tail” – horsetail plant (*Equisetum*); tongue, *lisān it-tōr* “ox tongue” – borage (*Borago officinalis*), etc.

The analogies were made primarily with animal body parts, but also with human body parts, such as *kaff il-‘arūs* “bride’s palm” – (*Erodium gruinum*).

The paper aims to provide an overview of the metaphors used for plant names in Baghdadi Arabic, in relation to other varieties of Arabic and to the metaphorical universals.

Key-words: *Baghdadi Arabic, Names of plants, Metaphorical names, Body parts as metaphors.*

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On Paradigmatic Variation in Arabic Weak-final Verbs: Possible Evidence for a Polygenetic Origin of Maghrebi First-layer Dialects

Jairo Guerrero Parrado

Abstract

Final-weak verbs (also known as *verba tertiae infirmae*) exhibit a remarkable degree of variation in their morphological treatment across Arabic dialects. Consequently, scholars have regarded the different paradigms they display — which do not necessarily tally with those found in Classical Arabic — as a useful morphological variable for the classification of Arabic dialects (see for instance, Holes 2005; De Jong 2009; Pereira 2011).

The present paper intends to look into the conjugation patterns displayed by weak-final verbs in Arabic vernaculars, with the aim of identifying typological and geographic tendencies that may give us some clues on the morphological behaviour of these defective verbs within a broader Semitic context. The data reveal wide-ranging phonological and morphological alternations, such as vowel lengthening and shortening, diphthongization and monophthongization, as well as deletion.

Building on Benkato (2023) and D’Anna (2024), this study also considers the well-attested variation in the morphological treatment of weak-final verbs as additional evidence supporting arguments in favour of a polygenetic origin for Maghrebi Arabic dialects, particularly those stemming from the first wave of Arabicization in North Africa. Furthermore, in light of comparative Semitic evidence, this paper argues that the occurrence of a vowel *-i-* in the imperfective and imperative plural forms of weak-final verbs in several first-layer varieties (e.g.: *yəmsīw* ‘they go’, *təmsīw* ‘you go’, *nəmsīw* ‘we go’, *mšīw!* ‘go!’) should not necessarily be regarded as a restoration of the stem’s final vowel—an interpretation often framed as “paradigm reconstruction” and treated as an innovation in the literature (see for instance Caubet 2008). Instead, it could reflect the retention of an older feature, as attested in some Semitic languages such as Ugaritic (e.g.: *tštyn* [tištayūna] ‘they drink’, cf. Sivan 2001) and Mehri (e.g.: *yəbkīyəm* ‘they cry’, cf. Rubin 2018) where the root vowel is often kept in the imperfective plural forms.

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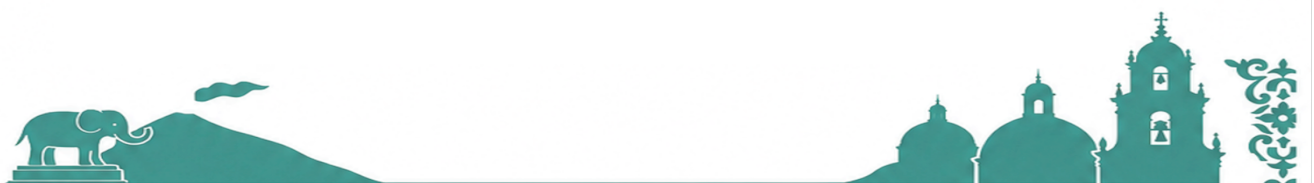


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Sexuality, Vernacular and Identity in Tunisian Literature: Corpus-Based Insights

Elisa Gugliotta, Maura Tarquini

Abstract

Sexuality, Vernacular, and Identity in Tunisian Literature: Corpus-Based Insights

This contribution presents an ongoing project to create a unique Arabic literary corpus, designed for educational and research purposes.¹ The corpus includes texts from pre-Islamic to modern literature, semi-automatically² digitized [11] and available, in multiple versions for different teaching and research needs, via an open-access platform.³

Each text includes a portion annotated with morphosyntactic information, lemmas, and roots [8], to support quantitative and comparative textual analysis. Moreover, six excerpts per text are annotated for academic teaching, aligned with CEFR levels (A1–C2). These annotations range from basic vocabulary [7] in literary contexts (A1) to complex syntactic structures (B2) and rhetorical or metaphorical features (C2). Particular attention is given to linguistic mixing, neologisms, and vernacular usage in literature [10,9,2,6].

As an example of our methods, we present a case study on *Wəld Faḍīla* (2019), a novel by Tunisian writer Amīra Šarf al-Dīn, written entirely in Tunisian Arabic. The novel alternates between monologue and dialogue on LGBTQ+ themes, allowing exploration of the intersection of sexual and linguistic identity to foreground marginality.

The use of vernaculars signals a deliberate sociopolitical stance [3]. Drawing on prior research in queer linguistics and taboo language [1,5], we highlight how sexual vocabulary serves not only as a communicative tool but also as a means of constructing and negotiating identities and power relations. Since Tunisian Arabic terms addressing sexual topics display a rich variation of often derogatory or humorous expressions—including insults, sarcasm, etc.—which reflect complex social attitudes towards sexuality [4], we propose a qualitative analysis of a Tunisian queer glossary, contributing to sociolinguistics, lexicography, and gender studies. Quantitatively, we observe the semantic distribution of the connotative terms, ultimately answering the question: how does the conversational context [12] in *Wəld Faḍīla* influence the selection of sexual lexicon within the narrative?

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¹ The official project page and its contents are available at the following link: <https://github.com/eliguqliotta/RABITA>

² Semi-automatic processes include a manual correction of automatic generated digitization and annotation.

³ The platform is accessible at the following link: <https://h2iosc-training-platform.ilc4clarin.ilc.cnr.it/login>. By the time of the presentation, we will have processed approximately ten novels.



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الأوزان الصرفية المستحدثة في اللهجات العربية السورية: دراسة دلالية وتصنيفي

Eva Gurgenshvili

Abstract

يركز هذا البحث على تحليل الأوزان الصرفية المستحدثة في اللهجات العربية السورية، بوصفها ظاهرة توليدية فاعلة تتجاوز النظام الصرفي التقليدي للغة العربية الفصحى. تهدف الدراسة إلى رصد هذه والمنطقة الساحلية، والمنطقة الشرقية (دير الزور والرقبة)، ولهجات البادية.

تعتمد الدراسة على توثيق عدد من الأوزان غير المعهودة في الفصحى، لكنها مستخدمة على نطاق واسع في اللهجات مثل:

تَفَعَّلَ مثل: تمسكن (الشخص يتصرف كما لو كان فقيرًا أو ضعيفًا فقط ليحصل على تعاطف أو رحمة من الآخرين).

فُوَعَلَ مثل: دُوَقِرَ (أغلق الباب بعنف).

فَعَّلَل: كلبب(ترتيب)

وقد بيّنت المعطيات أثناء الدراسة وجود أوزان جديدة مشتقة من الجذور عبر إضافة أحد حروف الزيادة في مواضع مختلفة:

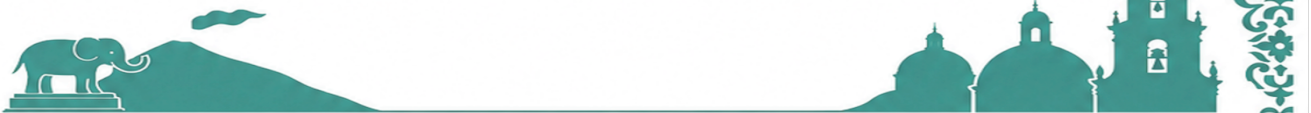
بين الفاء والعين: وزن فَشَعَلَ، كما قَشَلَ (خلع).
نين العين واللام: مثل وزن فَعَّلَلَ، كما في فَشَكَلَ (خبّص).
بعد اللام: مثل وزن فَعَّلَجَ، كما في طَخَّلَجَ (جرّ شيء ثقيل).
وأوزان أخرى مشابهة و لكن بحروف مختلفة.

يركز البحث على تصنيف هذه الأوزان بحسب مجالاتها الدلالية مثل الحالات النفسية، الأفعال الجسدية، الأصوات، الطقس، الحركة، والمهن، مع رصد مدى انتظام العلاقة بين البنية الصرفية والدلالة، بما يتيح اقتراح أنظمة صرفية فرعية مميزة للهجات السورية.

تناقش الدراسة أيضًا التنوع الداخلي بين اللهجات، وتداخل السمات الصوتية والصرفية فيما بينها. وتُبرز النتائج إمكانية قيام نظام صرفي منتج وفعال ضمن اللهجات السورية، يتميز بالمرونة والابتكار، ويعكس طاقة الاشتقاق الشعبي في التعبير عن التجارب اليومية.

لقد جُمعت المادة من معاجم مختلفة، ومن الإنترنت ومن المستجيبين المباشرين. تهدف الدراسة إلى رصد هذه الأوزان، وتنظيمها، وتصنيفها بحسب بُناها الصرفية ومجالاتها الدلالية، كما تظهر في الاستعمال الفعلي اليومي في مختلف اللهجات السورية

الكلمات الدالة: الأوزان الجديدة، اللهجات العربية السورية، الأوزان الصرفية المستحدثة



Operationalizing White Arabic: From Perceptual Labels to Computational Models

A. Iriarte Díez, N. Habash, H. Bouamor, S. Sha'ban Lujain Elmallah, S. Hassan, Z. Hsini, M. Kassem, A. Khater, O. Shehab

Abstract

The metalinguistic label *White Arabic* (WA) has gained visibility in recent years as a label for a supra-dialectal perceived variety used across the Arabic-speaking world, especially in pan-Arab media, social media, and cross-regional communication. As a first step, a recent study (Iriarte Díez et al. 2023) has identified three recurring sociolinguistic understandings of WA based on metalinguistic commentaries and perceptual data: (1) as *Educated Spoken Arabic*, a mixed register combining elements of MSA and colloquial varieties; (2) as an emergent *urban koine*, shaped by dialect leveling and standardization in national contexts; and (3) as a fluid set of *accommodation practices* used in pan-Arab communication to maximize cross-dialectal comprehension. While these definitions attest to both the fluidity and functional relevance of WA, they also evidence the absence of systematic, empirical tools to identify linguistic features (and/or bundles of features) underlying shared perceptions of dialectal neutrality across different conceptualizations.

Building on these sociolinguistic insights and adopting the third WA definition, we present a computational framework to quantify and operationalize WA. Our project introduces three components: (1) the *Shared Arabic Generality Score* (SAGS), a continuous metric of cross-dialectal intelligibility (Sha'ban, 2025; Keleg et al., 2023); (2) the *Benchmark for Arabic Speakers' Meta-linguistic Awareness* (BASMA بصفة), a diagnostic of dialectal awareness; and (3) the *Judgments of Intelligibility and Regional Arabic Neutrality* (JIRAN جيران) corpus, a multi-dialectal selection of MADAR sentences (Bouamor et al., 2018) annotated for perceived neutrality by speakers from across the Arab world. These resources support the development of computational models to predict levels of perceived neutrality. By aligning human judgments with model predictions, this work offers a scalable, data-driven approach to understanding cross-dialectal intelligibility and neutrality in Arabic. All resources and models will be publicly available to support research on Arabic and its dialects.

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The Multifunctional Auxiliary Verb *gām / ygūm* in Shāwi Arabic

Aozan Hussien, Stephan Procházka

Abstract

This paper analyses the functions of the grammaticalized usages of the verb *gām/ ygūm* as found in the Shāwi-type dialects of the Syrian Steppe and adjacent regions, above all in the minority variety spoken in southeastern Turkey (Harran-Urfa Arabic). In the past, these communities were mostly sheep and goat-herding semi-nomads. Apart from data taken from existing studies, the analysis is based on a corpus of free speech recordings counting >100,000 words. Among these are 470 occurrences of *gām/ ygūm*. As a full verb it is used as the motion verb ‘to stand/get up’, but not as the stative verb ‘to stand’ which is only rendered by *wuḡaf/ yigaf*. As an auxiliary it occurs in the PFV, IPFV and in the ACTPART followed by the main verb in either PFV or IPFV, very rarely in ACTPART.

Although there are claims that *ygūm* + IPFV is absent from Bedouin-type dialects (Fischer 2002:153; Persson 2013:16), such constructions are abundantly found in our corpus, e.g. *b-īdē-hum ṣaṣī w ygūmūn yuḡurbūn ṣala baṣaḡ-hum* ‘They have sticks in their hands and they start hitting each other.’ Among its main functions is the well-known expression of an inchoative action (cf. Firănescu 2003) as in *gām xaḡā-ne ṣala Aqḡaqale* ‘He (set out to) take us to Akḡakale’, which is also found in a less grammaticalized way for expressing ‘to start/begin to’. It is noteworthy that, in Harran-Urfa Arabic the verb *daṣṣan/ ydaṣṣin* is only used as a full verb (‘to begin’), but never as an AUX meaning ‘beginning to’ (reflexes of **badaʔa* do not exist). In contrast to Syrian and many other dialects (Grotzfeld 1965:89-90; Brustad 2000:221), the use of *gām/ ygūm* is not restricted to modify non-stative actions, but also used for durative/iterative actions as in *kull-min gāmaw ysawwūn haṣ-ṣakil hāḡe*. ‘Everybody began to make it like this.’ An interesting function which seems to be not attested in other dialects, is the expression of an unrealized intention as in: *albāriḡ gimīt aḡī-kum bass rās-i yōḡiṣ-ni w-mā ḡdirīt aḡī*. ‘Yesterday I wanted to come to you (PL), but my head was aching and so I could not come.’

Apart from a detailed analysis of the functions themselves and their relative frequencies in the corpus, the paper will also raise the question if the exceptionless use of *gām/ ygūm* as an AUX for expressing the start of an action (i.e. no **badaʔa* etc.) can be regarded as a typical Bedouin trait.

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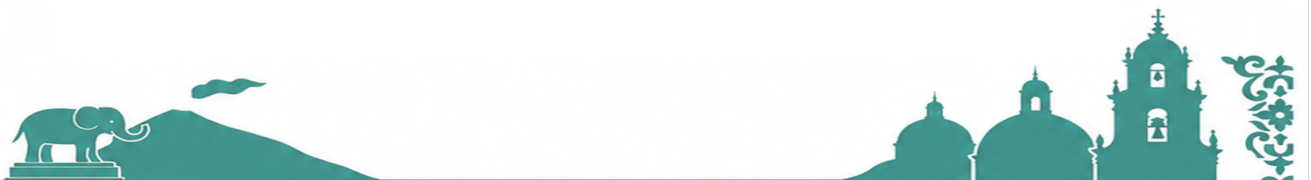
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Sociolinguistic Profile of Arab Students and Language Policy in North-Eastern Italy

Giacomo Iazzetta

Abstract

Students of Arab origin represent one of the largest ethnolinguistic minorities within the Italian education system. Their migratory backgrounds are diverse in terms of timing, modalities, and countries of origin, and this heterogeneity is reflected in their linguistic repertoires, social experiences, and educational trajectories. Processes of social inclusion and exclusion are shaped by a complex interplay of factors, including national immigration policies, local sociopolitical discourses, school practices, and attitudes toward language and cultural diversity. This study aims to analyse the strategies through which Arab-background students negotiate their sociolinguistic profile within the Italian school and social environment, with particular attention to the role of language policy, both formal and informal, in shaping opportunities and constraints. The research adopts an ethnographic approach and was conducted in schools in North-Eastern Italy, a region where strong local identities and linguistic traditions often intersect with representations of migrant communities in complex ways. Drawing on participant observation, interviews and questionnaires with students, the study examines how institutional policies and everyday practices contribute to the (in)visibility of Arabic and the linguistic resources of Arab-background students. Special attention is given to how language policies and ideologies impact on language practices of students of Arab origin and how these in turn affect students' sense of belonging and language maintenance. The study contributes to the broader field of sociolinguistics by shedding light on how young people of migrant background actively engage with and reshape the linguistic and cultural expectations imposed upon them, revealing the tensions and possibilities inherent in multilingual and multicultural educational settings.



Lexicographie et évolution de l'arabe marocain

Zakia Iraqui Sinaceur

Abstract

En dialectologie historique, l'emprunt linguistique peut être considéré comme un indice d'évolution assez pertinent. Son étude reflète les différents contacts et échanges qui se sont produits entre communautés tout au long de l'histoire d'un pays. Elle permet également de comprendre les variations que peuvent générer les politiques linguistiques.

Focalisant sur le phénomène des emprunts, la communication portera sur les principales phases de leur apparition en arabe dialectal marocain : contextes, manifestations, répercussions sur le système sociolinguistique. Des emprunts divers sont apparus dans la langue utilisée au Maroc jusqu'à l'instauration du protectorat français en 1912. Depuis cette date et jusqu'à l'indépendance du pays (1956), un nombre considérable de mots français et espagnols ont été introduits en arabe marocain reflétant des mutations au niveau socio-culturel. Une étude comparative entre les nomenclatures de dictionnaires de l'époque et les recherches de terrain effectuées pour identifier les nouveaux emprunts révèle d'importants changements lexicaux.

Par la suite, le mouvement nationaliste visant à éliminer les termes étrangers qui ont alimenté l'arabe dialectal ainsi que la politique d'arabisation des matières enseignées jusque-là en français et l'influence des mass média ont eu un impact sur la dialectologie marocaine. Parallèlement, les apports de la technologie moderne ont contribué à la circulation de nouveaux emprunts étrangers.

Pour illustrer les différentes étapes de l'évolution lexicale de la darija au Maroc, des exemples précis seront tirés d'un récent ouvrage lexicographique. Le traitement suivi fait ressortir les propositions successivement adoptées et des commentaires sociolinguistiques élucident l'usage actuel des locuteurs avec indication des niveaux de langue et des registres d'emploi.

Si les emprunts ont enrichi le champ lexical de l'arabe marocain, ils ont également impacté le système phonologique (de 3 à 4 voyelles, apparition de voyelles brèves en syllabe ouverte) et le système morphologique (apparition de nouveaux schèmes).



Phonological, Morphological and Lexical Features of the Traditional Dialect Spoken by the Townspeople (ʿAlāwna) of the Al-ʿUlā Oasis.

Ana Iriarte Díez, Stephan Procházka

Abstract

The members of the historically sedentary population of the town of Al-ʿUlā are called ʿAlāwna (singular ʿAlāwī). Their traditional dialect, which is nowadays only spoken by persons above the age of 40, is clearly distinct from the hitherto-described sedentary dialects of Western Arabia, i.e. the varieties of the large Hijazi towns Mecca, Medina and Jeddah (Al-Sasi 1972; Omar 1975). However, the dialect of the ʿAlāwna also differs significantly from the dialects of the formerly nomadic population of the region.

The paper is based on data collected during fieldwork in early 2025. The data include linguistic questionnaires, field notes and recordings of free speech. The dialect exhibits several phonological peculiarities which have not yet been reported for that part of the Arabian Peninsula. Among these are a strong tendency toward affrication of *k to č (*čībīr* ‘big’) and a weaker tendency toward affrication of *g (< *q) as in *ǧiddām* ‘in front of’. Another noteworthy phonological feature is the deaffrication of *ǧ which is reflected as ž (*žizzār* ‘butcher’). As for Arabia proper this is otherwise only attested in the speech of the Ghāmid (Procházka 1988). The existence of the oldest type of the *gahawa*-syndrome (Procházka 2026), i.e. preservation of the original /a/ vowel (*šāʿala* ‘high palm tree’), may be taken as a hint that the ʿAlāwna dialect underwent strong influence by the surrounding nomadic dialects as they were spoken some centuries ago. As for morphology, the dialect possesses numerous interesting features, among them gender distinction in the independent 1SG pronoun, but loss of gender distinction in 2PL. Some lexical items which seem so be typical for the dialect are *fēdas* ‘to finish’, *mšarči* ‘butcher’ and *wšīʿa* ‘fence’. On the whole, the dialect exhibits several features which may be witness of a former sedentary-type dialect along the so-called incense road.

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L'expression des masculinités en arabe marocain : analyse socio-discursive des représentations du corps sportif

Charif Ismaili Alaoui

Abstract

La performativité (Butler, 1990) d'une forme normative de l'identité masculine peut se faire à travers l'incorporation de différents rôles de genre, linguistiquement, socialement et corporellement assignés aux hommes (Ziamari, 2021). En arabe marocain et dans notre corpus, avoir un corps « *mgəddar* » (fort, imposant), l'exprimer de manière virile en étant un homme « *ħərbi* » (combattant, débrouillard), faire preuve d'assertivité dans l'espace public à travers un corps « *wāqəf* » (debout) et mettre en scène une masculinité virile en étant un homme « *səllāx* » (écorcheur) sont des attributs socioculturels que différents hommes marocains doivent assumer afin d'incarner le statut de « vrais hommes ».

Les lieux d'activités sportives, où se déroule notre recherche, constituent des espaces sociaux (Dunning, 1999) privilégiés pour observer et analyser les dynamiques socio-discursives mobilisées dans la socialisation corporelle (Le Breton, 2017) et la construction identitaire de certaines formes des masculinités marocaines (Connell, 1995). Cette étude s'inscrit dans l'articulation entre études de genre, sociolinguistique et dialectologie arabe (Ziamari & Barontini, 2019). Alors, comment la masculinité associée à un corps sportif est-elle mise en mots en arabe marocain ? quel pouvoir les représentations linguistiques exercent-elles dans la mise en discours du corps masculin ? quelles sont les nouveaux concepts (adjectifs, substantifs, ...) en arabe marocain investis d'une nouvelle signification genrée ?

Le corpus se compose de 14 heures et 59 minutes d'enregistrements auprès de sportifs et de sportives qui pratiquent une activité physique à titre récréatif ou professionnel. Ce corpus est le fruit d'une enquête menée entre décembre 2022 et décembre 2023 dans le cadre de notre thèse. Les données sont collectées lors d'entretiens semi-directifs et à travers des observations participantes dans des salles de sport à Rabat et Salé (Maroc).

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References to Dialectal Variation in Al-Azharī's *Tahzīb al-luġa*

Ledi Jalagonia

Abstract

Classical Arabic linguistic tradition provides a valuable insight into the variation. Alongside the works of Sībawayhi, Al-Farrāʿ, Ibn Mujāhid which treat variation (Owens 2019), there is also classical Arabic lexicographical tradition.

Tahzīb al-luġa, as its author spent a long period of time with Arab tribes and collected their dialectal materials, can be regarded as a valuable source for historical dialectology. The scope of this research is the variant forms from the tribal dialects (*luġa/luġāt*) mentioned in the dictionary aiming to analyze the examples of variation in old Arabic dialects.

Some of the revealed examples are: $f > b$ (*ʕukūf > ʕukūb*) in the dialect of Banu Khafaja; $r > n$ (*raġaʕa > naġaʕa*) in the dialect of Banu Sulaym; $ǧ > y$ (*ʔazǧam > ʔazyam*) in the dialect of Tamīm; Metathesis (*ʕamīq > maʕīq*) in the dialect of Hijaz; elision of hamza (*qirʔa > qira*) in the dialect of Hijaz; dissimilation (*ʔiǧǧār > ʔinǧār*) in the Yemenite dialect; So called *ʕanʕana* in the dialect of Tamīm, *kaškaša* in the dialect of Rabia; gender-based variation $l > r$ (*qarqal > qarqar*) in women's speech of Iraq; Lexical variation – *birkiš* vs Hijazi *šuršūr* vs *abu barāqiš* in young Bedouin's speech; Lexical variation between Bedouin and urban Arabic (*ḡabr* vs *jawz*); Interdialectal semantic variation *māʔ ʕidd* abundant water in the dialect of Tamīm, but scarce water in the dialect of Banu Bakr ibn Wā'il, etc.

Aiming to correct/refine (*tahzīb*) the language of his contemporaries and being able to collect data directly from Bedouins, Al-Azharī preserved valuable material on old Arabic dialects including the examples of territorial/tribal, or a gender-based variation, as well as the instances of variation between Bedouin and sedentary speech.

Keywords: Dialectal variation, old Arabic dialects, Classical Arabic lexicography, *Tahzīb al-luġa*.

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Linguistic Notes on Emirati Folktales from Al-Ain by al-Ḍāhirī (2012)

Najla Kalach

Abstract

Comparable to other Gulf nations, storytelling represents a fundamental element of Emirati cultural heritage, intricately linked to both desert and maritime lifestyles. The traditional folktale, locally designated as *ḥarrūfa*, was generally recounted in a *maḡlis*—a ‘sitting place’ where families and tribes deliberated on community issues, hosted visitors, or engaged in social interactions. In addition to its cultural and educational significance, Emirati folktales can also contribute to tracing diachronic changes in vernacular features in the field of Arabic studies (Hurreiz 2002; Kalach 2022). By employing a mixed-methodology approach that combines quantitative frequency analysis with qualitative contextual evaluation (Creswell 2009), this research provides linguistic notes on Gulf Arabic (Johnstone 1967; Qafisheh 1977, 1997; Ingham 1982; Holes 1990; Hoffiz 1995; Leung et al. 2021), particularly in the context of the Abu Dhabi region. It offers a morphosyntactic investigation based on a corpus of 27 Emirati folktales recorded in Al-Ain (*al-ʿAyn*), as appeared in the publication *Ḥikāyāt šaʿbiyya min madīnat al-ʿAyn* by ʿĀʾiša Ḥamīs ʿAlī al-Ḍāhirī (2012).

These narratives are written in vernacular Arabic, with each supplemented by a concise version in Modern Standard Arabic. They provide valuable data for analyzing the linguistic structures and historical elements inherent in this oral tradition. Hence, selected morphosyntactic patterns shall be compared to Abu Dhabi dialectological studies as documented by Johnstone (1967), Qafisheh (1977), and Al-Rawi (1990), with proper attention given to gender and age where feasible.

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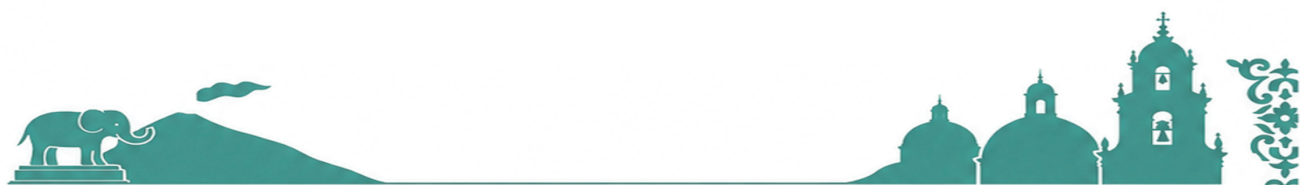


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À propos de la phonétique, la phonologie et la morphophonologie de l'arabe de M'saken (Tunisie)

Sana Khalifa

Abstract

Il s'agira de présenter les principaux résultats de la recherche de Master 1, menée à l'INALCO sous la direction de Christophe Pereira, sur la phonétique, la phonologie et la morphophonologie de l'arabe parlé à M'saken (Tunisie), à partir de 40 minutes d'enregistrements recueillis in situ, auprès de locuteurs natifs. La méthodologie adoptée repose sur une transcription phonétique API, combinée à une analyse dialectologique. L'ensemble des données orales a été intégralement transcrit et traduit en français, assurant ainsi une double lisibilité du corpus. Chaque unité lexicale attestée a fait l'objet d'un inventaire systématique, permettant d'identifier les régularités phonologiques et de documenter avec précision les traits saillants du parler étudié.

Je donnerai un aperçu des principales caractéristiques phonétiques et phonologiques du parler de M'saken, en accordant une attention particulière à la réalisation des phonèmes /q/ et /g/. Une part de l'analyse est consacrée au phénomène saillant de l'imāla. Trois types d'imāla ont notamment été identifiés : une imāla /ē/, une imāla en /ε/ et une imāla en /ī/. Une analyse statistique de leur fréquence d'apparition a été conduite, permettant de déterminer les contextes phonologiques dans lesquels chaque type d'imāla est privilégié. Cette analyse a également permis de mettre en évidence les motivations sociolinguistiques des locuteurs, en lien avec des effets de style, de génération ou de situation d'énonciation.

Du point de vue syllabique, le parler se caractérise par une fréquence marquée de syllabes ouvertes se terminant par une voyelle brève. Considérées comme prosodiquement faibles dans la majorité des variétés arabes. Dans le parler de M'saken, leur présence est néanmoins attestée, lorsqu'elles sont porteuses de l'accent, ce qui suggère une redéfinition des hiérarchies syllabiques en fonction des contraintes rythmiques.

Cette recherche, consacrée à un parler du Sahel tunisien encore non documenté, apportera des données inédites qui viendront certainement enrichir les discussions en cours sur la classification des parlers maghrébins, en particulier celles portant sur la catégorie dite "villageoise".

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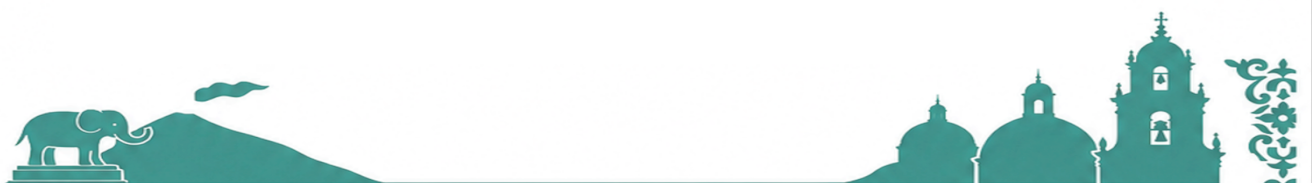


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Broad-Negative Sentences in Tunis Arabic

Taku Kumakiri

Abstract

In Tunis Arabic (Tunisia), like many other Arabic dialects, the basic negation is formed by *ma:-* and *-j* (Singer 1984, Gibson 2009).

- (1) *ma:-xða:-j flu:s*
NEG-he.took-IRR money
“He didn’t take money”

There is a lot of literature on the negation of Arabic dialects and its development (Holes 1995, Lucas 2007, Ouhalla 2008, Chatar-Moumni 2012, Wilmsen 2014, Kumakiri 2019, 2022). In this presentation, I focus on a phenomenon that has received sufficient attention so far.

Usually, a negative sentence is formed by a negative prefix *ma:-* (NEG) and an irrealis suffix *-j* (IRR) sandwiching a verb. In this case, whether the verb is in the perfect or imperfect form, the formation of negations remains the same. In the case of a sequence of semantically related verbs, only the first verb is negated. In other words, the scope of negation extends to subsequent verbs.

- (2) *ma:-ynaʒʒim-j ytfarrd-u: walla: ynaʒʒim yqu:l...*
NEG-can.3sg.m-IRR expel.IMPF.3sg.m-him or can.3sg.m say.IMPF.3sg.m
“He can’t expel him or tell him.”

In (2), the subject of the verbs is the same, but in the narrative text, there are also examples of more complex and broader scope negation. In (3), it is a noun sentence with a different subject that is in the scope of the negation.

- (3) *ma:-tuqʕud-j mali:ka w-qdar-ha: aʕla: min-qdar-hum*
NEG-stay.IMPF.3sg.f-IRR queen and-value-her higher than-value-their
“She is not a queen, and her value is not higher than others.”

This presentation will address complex examples such as (3). The common feature of these broad-scope negative sentences is that the verbs are in the imperfect, in addition to the relevance of the verb meanings.

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Observations on Some Auxiliaries Used in Tunisian Middle Arabic Texts

Cristina La Rosa

Abstract

The verbal system of Mashreqi and Maghrebi Middle Arabic has aroused the interest of several scholars (among which Blau 1966-67 and 1982, Hopkins 1984, Lentin 1996-97, Firanescu 2006-10, Arbache 2008, Bettini 2012, Corriente; Pereira; Vicente 2015, La Rosa 2019).

A number of studies, entirely or partially devoted to some auxiliary verbs employed in Modern Standard Arabic or Neo Arabic varieties and their functions, have been published (see for instance Jelinek 1981, Angheliescu 1991, Eisele 1992, Cuvalay 1994, Vanhove 1994, Pereira 2008, Jemni 2011, Mion 2013, La Rosa forthcoming). In spite of this interest, research on the values of auxiliaries in Western Middle Arabic is still limited in scope.

The present paper investigates the use of some auxiliary constructions—expressing inchoative, durative, causative, and/or existential meanings—attested in Medieval and Modern Tunisian Middle Arabic. Specifically, it analyses selected auxiliary forms found in *manāqib* and historical texts composed in Middle or mixed Tunisian Arabic between the 14th and 18th centuries, employing a comparative and diachronic approach. Where possible, indeed, the study attempts to trace the developments of these auxiliary verbs over time, that is from a historical perspective, examining whether similar forms and uses are attested in other varieties of Maghrebi Middle Arabic—such as Andalusí or Sicilian Arabic—or persist in contemporary mixed varieties used in Tunisia. Such an analysis could help, on the one hand, to deepen the current knowledge of Medieval and Modern Middle Arabic from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives, and on the other hand, to try to date the emergence of certain dialectal phenomena that are either now extinct or still attested in contemporary Tunisian or Maghrebi Arabic.

Keywords: Auxiliary verbs, Tunisian Arabic, Maghrebi Middle Arabic, Historical linguistics, Mixed Varieties and styles



Negation in Sudanese Arabic: A (Near-)Centennial Revisit

Thomas Leddy-Cecere

Abstract

Sudanese Arabic varieties notably fail to display the typical Arabic negation pattern of two distinct, major strategies for the negation of verbal vs. nonverbal predicates, possibly accompanied by more restricted ones for negating pronouns and single constituents (cf. Brustad 2000, Ouhalla 2008). Instead, Sudanese employs *mā* as an “all-purpose” (Bergman 2002:59) or “normal” (Dickins 2007:570) negator, utilized in unmarked fashion across both verbal and nonverbal contexts. Some descriptions acknowledge further strategies involving negated pronouns (e.g., *māni* ‘I’m not’) or the apparently Egyptian-derived *muš* as minor alternates of *mā* in the nonverbal domain (Bergman 2002, Hillelson 1935).

This study refines existing understandings of Sudanese negation using quantitative methods and a diachronic approach. I combine the Currasat Lisan corpus of online discourse (Birzeit University 2023) with radio texts transcribed by Bergman (2002) to analyze 1,322 instances of negation in contemporary Sudanese, and as diachronic comparand draw 222 instances of negation from the early 20th century Sudanese texts presented by Hillelson (1935) and Amery (1905). Analysis confirms the numerical dominance of *mā* (95.2% of total tokens) and its occurrence in all negation contexts across both time periods. However, it adds crucial complication to our understanding of the frequency, functions and diachrony of the negated pronouns and *muš*. Negated pronouns are dominant over *mā* for negation of nonverbal predicates in earlier Sudanese (used in 83.9% of relevant instances), but recede dramatically in contemporary usage (1.0%). Conversely, *muš* – not observed in the early 20th century texts – occurs 45 times in the modern data. Qualitative analysis reveals this appearance not to come in competition with fading negated pronouns, as might be surmised: rather than serving as a generic negator of nonverbal predicates, as in Egyptian Arabic and previously reported for Sudanese, *muš* here serves as a negator of single constituents only. Viewed alongside *mā* as utilized in comparable function, *muš* accounts for 45.9% of modern constituent negations, rendering it a semantically restricted but significant and nativized variable in modern Sudanese.

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Nominaux d'appoint à la quantification dans les dialectes proche-orientaux

Jérôme Lentin

Abstract

On constate, dans plusieurs dialectes proche-orientaux, l'utilisation de nominaux divers (*bḏāʕa*, *zamān*, *dīn*...) pour modifier des quantificateurs indéfinis (comme *ši* ou *kam* 'quelques', *hiṭṭa*, *naqfe* 'un peu de'...), en leur conférant un degré de définitude supplémentaire ainsi qu'une caractérisation sémantique d'ordre qualitatif, qui reste cependant relativement vague. Ces nominaux peuvent être postposés au syntagme Quantificateur + Nom(quantifié), par exemple (Damas) *nam-lak ši sāʕtēn bḏāʕa* "fais-toi un petit somme de deux heures" (Salamé Lentin 144), *ʕabbī-l-na ši ʕaḥʕn zamān* "remplis[-en] nous une belle assiette", ou être combinés avec le quantificateur et apparaître alors avant le nom quantifié : (Tripoli) *ʕamaltelli naʕfet dīn ʕazīme* 'j'ai fait une super invitation', (Damas) *ʕalēha naʕfet dīn ʕyūn* "elle a de sacrés beaux yeux", (Le Caire) *hiṭṭit dīn ʕabaʕ dandurma* "an absolutely super dish of ice cream" (Badawi-Hinds 317).

On tentera de dresser un premier inventaire de ces nominaux, peu décrits dans la littérature dialectologique, pour ces dialectes mais aussi pour d'autres, en caractérisant d'abord ce qui les unit du point de vue sémantique au départ, en examinant leurs emplois éventuels dans d'autres constructions où ils ont déjà acquis une valeur particulière (*ʕala dīn əl-kēf* "aussi bien qu'on peut le rêver", *mən dīno* "de toutes ses forces et avec un engagement total"), puis en examinant les valeurs qu'ils prennent dans les constructions objet de l'étude, du point de vue sémantique (intensificateur, mélioratif, péjoratif, etc.) comme du point de vue stylistique (plus ou moins familier, etc.). On étudiera aussi le lien syntaxique qui unit le quantifié à son modificateur, plus apparent dans la deuxième construction, mais pouvant apparaître aussi dans la première : (Damas) *ʕaṭī-ni ši sigāreṭ bḏāʕa* "donne-moi une cigarette".

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Competition of Maltese Superlative Constructions

Nataliya Levkovich, Thomas Stolz

Abstract

Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) assume three options for Maltese superlative constructions. The parameters are:

- (a) **synthetic vs analytic:** A closed sub-set of (Semitic) Maltese adjectives boasts inflectional comparatives like *tajjeb* 'good' → CMPR *itjeb* 'better'. The proclitic definite article is added to express the superlative (SUP *l-itjeb* 'the best'). This synthetic pattern competes with an analytic equivalent that involves an adverbial degree marker hosting the definite article as e.g. *interessanti* 'interesting' → CMPR *iżjed interessanti* 'more interesting' → SUP *l-iżjed interessanti* 'the most interesting'. This construction type holds for the bulk of loan-adjectives.
- (b) **linearization:** The synthetic superlative places the adjective's definite comparative form on the left of the modified noun (e.g. *l-itjeb student* 'the best student') whereas there is positional variation with the analytic superlative. The definite degree marker and the adjective either follow the head noun (e.g. *il-ktieb l-iżjed interessanti* 'the most interesting book') or a discontinuous construction is chosen with the definite degree marker occupying the pre-nominal position and the adjective the post-nominal position (e.g. *l-iżjed ktieb interessanti* 'the most interesting book').

Another parameter is the choice of the degree marker. The Korpus Malti 3.0 (January 12, 2025) reveals that *aktar* (19,037 hits) and *iktar* (13,132 hits) are more frequently attested than *iżjed* 'more' (1,652 hits). Figure 1 shows how the tokens relate to the two possible linear orders of the analytic superlative. There are quantitative differences that need to be assessed qualitatively. The goal of the talk is to determine whether and what syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and/or stylistic factors have a say in the choice of superlative construction with a focus on the competing analytic options. The data are taken from the Korpus Malti 4.2. The results will be interpreted typologically (Gorhsenin 2012).



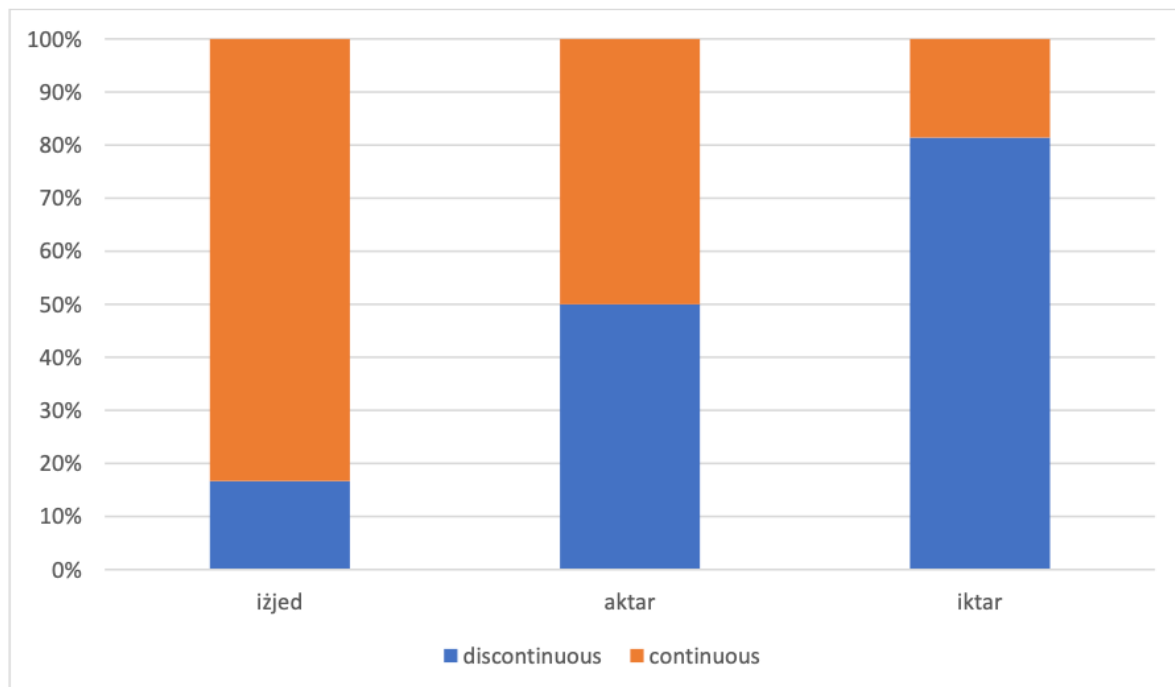


Figure 1: Share of analytical construction type per degree marker

Abbreviations

CMPR = comparative (degree), SUP = superlative (degree)

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Le parler arabe des femmes de Tafilalet (Sud-Est du Maroc) : marqueur d'appartenance et vecteur de transmission

Nadia Lkhalidi, Mustapha Khiri

Abstract

Tafilalet, située au sud-est du Maroc, se distingue par ses ksour où se mêlent traditions, mémoire collective et pratiques linguistiques spécifiques. Les femmes occupent une place centrale dans la préservation et la transmission des savoirs locaux particulièrement à travers la langue.

Notre contribution se propose d'examiner le parler arabe des femmes des ksour de Tafilalet en tant que véritable marqueur d'appartenance sociale et vecteur de transmission culturelle. Cette variété locale négligée constitue un terrain fertile pour une étude où se croisent sociolinguistique variationniste et anthropologie linguistique.

Les données sont recueillies lors d'une enquête qualitative basée sur des entretiens semi-directifs, et des observations directes dans des situations de communication (quotidiennes, familiales, rituelles, etc.). L'analyse se fera en deux phases : analyse des formes linguistiques récurrentes dans ledit parler et analyse discursive.

Les résultats préliminaires montrent que le parler des femmes se distingue par un lexique spécifique, des tournures syntaxiques et des formes phonétiques qui incarnent à la fois un héritage historique et une charge symbolique. Néanmoins, ce parler est souvent stigmatisé notamment par la jeune génération et les non natifs, ce qui provoque une tension entre préservation et changement linguistique, notamment à travers l'influence croissante des médias, de la scolarisation et de la migration des jeunes filles vers les villes. Certes, ces facteurs tendent à homogénéiser les pratiques langagières. Cependant, certaines femmes, notamment les aînées, revendiquent une langue locale comme signe de distinction et de fidélité à un mode de vie traditionnel. Ce choix linguistique, participe à la préservation d'un héritage culturel et affectif transmis de génération en génération et reflète une volonté de se démarquer d'un modèle dominant perçu comme extérieur, parfois même menaçant pour la mémoire et les valeurs locales. Ainsi, la langue devient un vecteur de positionnement social et culturel, mais aussi un outil de résistance face à l'effacement des spécificités régionales dans un contexte de globalisation des pratiques langagières.

Mots-clés: parler des femmes, Tafilalet, ksour, héritage socioculturel, transmission intergénérationnelle

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Al-‘Ulā as a “Dialect Accretion Zone”

Stefano Manfredi

Abstract

This paper presents the findings of the LEAIUla project and offers a comprehensive account of the linguistic ecology of the oasis of Al-‘Ulā (KSA). Adopting an ecolinguistic framework (Haugen 1972; Mühlhäusler 2003), it examines how ecological constraints, production systems, and demographic trajectories have shaped the stratified linguistic landscape of the region. Located at the intersection of two major Arabic dialect subtypes (i.e., Najdi and Hijāzi), Al-‘Ulā might be expected to function as a convergence area where varieties belonging to different subtypes develop similar features because of mutual influence. Instead, this oasis constitutes a ‘dialect accretion zone’, a historically layered contact space where genetically and typologically distinct Arabic varieties have coexisted with a low degree of structural convergence. By applying the Nomadic–Sedentarized–Sedentary (NSS) trichotomy (Manfredi & Procházka 2025), the study traces the distribution of linguistic features across local socioeconomic groups. The adoption of the NSS trichotomy on a small scale reveals how the oasis’s linguistic stratification results from the interplay of ecological and social factors. Geographic barriers, along with historical patterns of economic specialization and kinship endogamy, have limited interaction between groups and reinforced distinct paths of language transmission in a context of minimal bilingualism. At present, the historically stable linguistic diversity of Al-‘Ulā is being reconfigured under pressure from national language norms, socio-economic change, and demographic expansion (Battesti & Marty 2023). In this overall context, this paper offers both a foundational documentation of that diversity and a model for its ecolinguistic analysis.

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On Vocalism in the 'rōbi Varieties of Rḥāmna and Šrārda (Morocco).

Issam Marjani, Giuliano Mion

Abstract

This research investigates the production of vocalic elements in some rural (or 'rōbi) varieties of Moroccan Arabic spoken in the regions of Rḥāmna (Centre-North) and Šrārda (North). The analysis proposed is purely empirical and data were obtained through the use of the software PRAAT. In particular, the qualitative analysis of the formant structure (F1 and F2) allowed the identification of both the value of vocalic segments and of the contextual phonetical (or phonological) phenomena (labialization, pharyngealization, etc.) affecting their quality.

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Interdialectal accommodation in Public Service Interpreting in Brussels: micro-analysis and preliminary trends

Juliette Michaud

Abstract

Brussels is, like many other cosmopolitan European cities, home to a large number of Arabic-speaking populations from various countries. In addition to a Moroccan community, present for decades for historical reasons, recent events affecting several Arab countries have generated migratory flows from Syria, Iraq, Sudan, and the Palestinian Territories, among others. In order to access public services, and/or throughout their asylum application, part of this Arabic-speaking population has to rely on (professional and lay) interpreters or the assistance of plurilingual practitioners.

All varieties combined, Arabic is by far the most requested language in social interpreting services (up to 43% of all demands in 2025 for one of the main service providers). However, adequately responding to this demand presents numerous challenges given the polyglossic reality of Arabic itself and the multiplicity of intervention contexts, which span a wide range of (in)formal communication situations and involve participants with varying levels of education and linguistic backgrounds.

While various studies have examined strategies of interdialectal accommodation among Arabic speakers (Abu-Haidar, 1994; Abu-Melhim, 2014; Chakrani, 2015; Haslé et al., 2019; Soulaïmani & Chakrani, 2024), none have examined these dynamics in the context of public service interpreting, where misunderstandings can have particularly serious impacts. This presentation will analyse which accommodation strategies are employed by two young interpreters of Moroccan origin who grew up in Europe when they communicate with Syrian and Palestinian interlocutors in public services. It will focus on the mobilization of linguistic resources across standard and dialectal varieties and on the hybrid forms that emerge from the contact between these varieties. This analysis being part of a larger participatory linguistic ethnography (Rampton et al., 2004; Copland & Creese, 2015), preliminary trends from the full corpus will also be sketched out.

Keywords: *interactional sociolinguistics, code-switching, code-mixing, public service interpreting, Arabic polyglossia, urban multilingualism*

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Beyond the Norm: Playing with Verbs in Maghrebi and Andalusí Written Arabic

Estefanía Valenzuela Mochón

Abstract

Studies of early and medieval Arabic written sources have documented the alternation between classical and dialectal verbal systems as a common feature across a variety of texts—such as papyri (Hopkins 1984), Christian Arabic (Blau 1966–67), Judeo-Arabic (Blau 2002; Wagner 2010), and Levantine manuscripts (Lentin 1997). Within this variation, the marked use of the 2nd- and 3rd- plural verbal endings *-ūn* and *-ū* has emerged as a recurrent trait of non-classical premodern written Arabic, documented in both Eastern and Western varieties. (Lentin 1997, 2008, 2008(a); Brustad 2024).

Building on this body of scholarship, the present contribution explores verbal variation in a corpus of Arabic manuscripts from the Islamic West. The analysis focuses on narrative texts composed in non-standard or non-classical varieties of premodern written Arabic. Specifically, it examines the simultaneous presence of classical and dialectal verbal forms as a strategy that allows the writer to “play” with the linguistic repertoire of the speech community, indexing specific semantic and pragmatic values and engaging with the audience.

Three main phenomena are analyzed in detail:

1. The marked functions of the plural endings *-ūn* and *-ū*,
2. The alternation of masculine and feminine plural suffixes with human/animate feminine referents, and
3. The use of first-person singular/plural verbal forms *n-af‘al* and *n-af‘al-ū*, characteristic of Western dialects.

The corpus includes six manuscripts from al-Andalus and the Maghreb, comprising three Western *riḥla* works (Al-Garnāṭī, Al-Ma‘āfirī, Al-Qalaṣādī) and three tales of popular literature (*The Tale of Ziyād ibn ‘Āmir al-Kinānī*, *1001 Nights*, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā’*).

This study has a twofold aim: first, to offer a preliminary description of classical/dialectal verbal alternation across narrative genres in Western varieties of premodern Arabic; and second, to shed light on the role that this type of linguistic variation played in shaping written Arabic beyond the classical norm.

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Les insultes corporelles sur Instagram : entre difformité physique et morale

Ikram Moufid

Abstract

La violence verbale, ou l'impolitesse linguistique, définie comme l'emploi d'un ensemble de mots et d'expressions comprenant insultes, menaces, humiliations et reproches, constitue une pratique en ligne encore peu étudiée. Cette étude se base sur des insultes corporelles en arabe marocain portant notamment sur la laideur corporelle (*rās əl-ḥəllūṭa* 'tête de chêne', *bū-rās mṛəḥḥə* 'cette tête carrée', *wžəh əl-məqla* 'visage de poêle') ou morale (*wžəh əs-šəxṭ* 'visage de l'indignation', *wžūh əš-šə* 'figures de mal'), souvent à connotation obscène. Ces insultes portent une charge blessante en stigmatisant soit des traits physiques soit des caractéristiques morales, tout en s'inscrivant dans des dynamiques plus ludiques. Notre analyse porte sur un corpus en arabe marocain comportant des commentaires en ligne produits par des interactants sur le réseau social Instagram.

L'analyse de la violence verbale en arabe marocain est menée selon une approche d'analyse discursive et s'inscrit dans le contexte numérique tout en mobilisant la notion de la *face* (Goffman : 1973). Celle-ci permet aux participants à l'interaction de produire des représentations de soi positives par des mécanismes d'affirmation de leur image et de dénégation de celle d'autrui. Les normes sociales et culturelles, les idéologies et les stéréotypes identitaires peuvent également éclairer certains aspects spécifiques de cette pratique sur Instagram. Comme nous allons voir, la difformité physique ou tout tabou relatif à la corporalité ; qu'elle soit physique ou morale, n'est pas perçue comme un simple trait caractéristique, mais devient un objet de stigmatisation de l'individu jusqu'à prendre un air de rire et de moquerie.

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Vers les marqueurs d'alignement et d'évaluation : mwalli et baʕd ~ baʕʕ en arabe ḥassaniyya de Mauritanie

Amina Naciri Azzouz

Abstract

Les marqueurs pragmatiques constituent une catégorie linguistique difficile à définir, comme en témoigne la diversité des termes utilisés pour les désigner (marqueurs discursifs, particules discursives, connecteurs, etc.), ainsi que la multiplicité des approches théoriques et des taxonomies proposées. Cette étude s'inscrit dans le cadre de la définition proposée par Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg (2006 : 2), selon laquelle les marqueurs pragmatiques « are not only associated with discourse and textual functions but are also signals in the communication situation guiding the addressee's interpretation ». Dans cette perspective, l'analyse porte sur deux marqueurs de l'arabe ḥassāniyya parlé en Mauritanie : *mwalli* et *baʕd ~ baʕʕ*.

L'étude repose sur un corpus d'environ dix heures d'enregistrements de groupes de discussion et d'échanges informels, réalisés dans plusieurs quartiers de Nouakchott entre 2023 et 2024. Les données ont été recueillies auprès de locuteurs monolingues et multilingues, âgés de 19 à 40 ans, abordant des thématiques variées telles que la situation linguistique en Mauritanie, la jeunesse ou la musique.

L'objectif est d'analyser comment, par des processus de grammaticalisation et/ou de pragmatization, les fonctions de *baʕd ~ baʕʕ* (Taine-Cheikh 2016 : 7-8) et *mwalli* se sont élargies pour assumer le rôle de marqueurs d'orientation de topic (cf. Fraser 2009). En les envisageant également comme des marqueurs de *stance* ou de prise de position (cf. Sakita 2013, Traugott 2020), l'étude met en évidence leur rôle en tant que ressources linguistiques d'alignement, déployant des fonctions modales, notamment en tant que marqueurs évaluatifs et d'alignement interactionnel.

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From Geonomastics to Human History: *ṣiqillī* in the Maghrebi Varieties of Arabic and Maltese.

Aldo Nicosia

Abstract

I try to analyze the spacial distribution of *ṣiqillī* (Sicilian, as adjective or noun), in a diachronic way, at least the last five centuries. This term has travelled around the Western south part of the Mediterranean, till Morocco and Libya//Egypt, eastwards. In Morocco the only recognized form, as a surname or simple adjective, is *ṣqallī*, very common in the extrem north of the country, while in Tunisia it has generated at least 3 popular forms, as surnames, just as how *ṣaklī*, *ṣqallī* or *zqollī*. They are widespread in the northeastern part of Tunisia, the closest one to Sicily (Kelibia, Korba, Menzel Temime).

In Maltese the singular *sqalli* (pronounced with q as glottal stop, with few exceptions) becomes in the plural *sqallin* but the form *skala* (or *scala*) is probably documented by the name of the village Marsascale, in the southeastern part of the island of Malta.

I also investigate not only the processes behind the variations of standardization of *ṣiqillī*, but also its semantic shifts, due to many cultural factors. Among them, I refer to the role played by some historical characters that have connected the history of people of Tunisia with Sicily.



Chants religieux ḥassān : les louanges au prophète. Étude des traits linguistiques et lexicaux

Ahmed-Salem Ould Mohamed Baba

Abstract

Chacune des composantes de la population mauritanienne (arabes, berbères et africains) a contribué à la formation de la culture du pays et cela se reflète clairement dans le cas spécifique de la musique des ḥassānophones connu sous le nom d'*aḥawān*. C'est une musique que le musicologue français Guignard qualifiait de « musique savante ». L'*aḥawān* est généralement réservé aux chanteurs professionnels traditionnels, les *Īgāwān*. Mais il existe aussi une autre variété musicale populaire appelée *madḥ ʿan-nabi* "louanges au Prophète" qui est surtout chanté (en chœur) par des groupes non professionnels appelés *maddāḥa* (singulier : *maddāḥ*). Les séances de *madḥ ʿan-nabi* ont lieu généralement la nuit du vendredi (jeudi soir). Les textes du *madḥ* "louanges au Prophète", appelé *krəz* (singulier : *kərza*), évoquent les différents aspects de la biographie du Prophète (*as-sira an-nabawiyya*), notamment son enfance ; ils décrivent ses vertus prophétiques, ses exploits militaires lors des campagnes d'expansion de l'Islam (*al-ġazawāt*). Ils ajoutent également à cela quelques exemples de la bravoure, la noblesse et le dévouement de ses compagnons (*aṣ-ṣaḥāba*). Le plus souvent, le poème (*kərza*) se termine par une demande d'intercession de la part du chanteur dans laquelle il prie pour le salut de son âme, de celle de ses proches et du reste des croyants. Le *madḥ* est généralement accompagné par le tambour et parfois par la flûte. L'objectif de cette communication est d'esquisser les caractéristiques sociolinguistiques de ces chants basés sur des textes poétiques dialectaux (dialecte ḥassāniyya) et d'analyser leurs traits linguistiques et lexicaux. Nous nous concentrerons particulièrement sur les caractéristiques archaïques de certains de ces poèmes.

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Corpus de *krəz* (singulier : *kərza*) "poèmes" de *madḥ ʿan-nabi* "louanges au Prophète" inédit recueilli par l'auteur de cette communication (avec translittération, traduction et analyse des principaux traits linguistiques).



Grammaticalizing the Verb, Performing Identity: Evidence from Moroccan Diasporic Digital Discourse

Rosa Pennisi

Abstract

This paper examines the grammaticalization of high-frequency verbs in Moroccan Arabic (*Darija*) as they appear in digital discourse produced by speakers in diasporic communities across Europe, especially in Italy and the broader Mediterranean. While research on Middle Arabic in the Maghreb has rarely addressed grammaticalization processes, recent studies (Taine-Cheikh 2013; Guerrero 2023, among others) offer important diachronic insights into the development of verbal auxiliaries and syntactic modernization in premodern Maghrebi Arabic. This diachronic backdrop provides the basis for analyzing how similar processes are reactivated and re-functionalized in contemporary usage.

Drawing on the framework of Hopper & Traugott (1993) and Lehmann (1995), the present study approaches grammaticalization as a layered, context-sensitive, and socially indexed process. It further integrates insights from Caubet (2022), Bozza (2024), and Vanhove, Miller & Caubet (2009) on grammatical change in Maghrebi Arabic varieties.

Combining morphosyntactic analysis with discourse pragmatics, this study investigates how verbal items such as *ġādi*, *bġā*, *xṣṣ*, *kān*, *willā*, and *ħallā* show signs of ongoing grammaticalization— semantic bleaching, syntactic fixation, and participation in emerging periphrastic constructions.

The analysis is based on a corpus of diasporic digital materials—social media posts, podcast, audiovisual content, and online newspapers—produced by Moroccan users inside and outside Morocco. The study's aim is twofold: first, to identify patterns of grammatical change as they emerge in vernacular digital practices; second, to show how these forms are pragmatically exploited to convey stance, irony, affect, and diasporic subjectivity.

By addressing how grammaticalized verbs function as identity resources and pragmatic markers in online communication, this paper contributes to bridging grammaticalization theory with sociolinguistic approaches to digital discourse. It highlights how contemporary linguistic strategies in *Darija* reflect dynamic processes of change, indexicality, and linguistic innovation shaped by online interaction and diasporic positioning.

Key-words: Grammaticalization - Moroccan Arabic (*Darija*) - Digital Diasporic Discourse - Sociolinguistic Identity - Middle (Maghrebi) Arabic

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Smugglers Arabic: Mixed Arabic and Vernacular Interferences in Irregular Sea-Crossing Advertisements Posted Online

Giuseppe Pensabene Perez

Abstract

This presentation examines thirty short texts allegedly written by smuggling networks based in Libya and Tunisia to advertise irregular sea crossings to the Italian coasts. These texts feature a distinctive mix of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and various vernacular varieties, revealing patterns of code mixing and dialectal interference influenced by the sender's linguistic background, the intended audience, and the content of the message (Albirini 2011, Gunvor 2011). Indeed, communication between alleged sea smugglers and potential users of the service represents a vivid informal communicative context between Arabic speakers from different vernacular communities, characterised by the use of specific terminology and mixed Arabic usage (Augustova, Carrapico & Obradović-Wochnik 2023). The texts analysed in this study are drawn from a corpus of vernacular Arabic interactions related to migration, compiled as part of the author's doctoral research on Arabic migration-related technical terminology. During the presentation, the texts of the alleged smugglers will be analysed with the aim of highlighting the sociolinguistic and dialectological connotations that can be inferred from the use of language and the choice of technical terminology (Udina & Stepanova, 2018, Saglio & Loumpet-Galitzine 2022, Keshavarz & Khosravi. 2022). Vernacular interference within the utterances, or the choice of a particular variety, provide clues about the origin of the authors of the texts or the potential target customers to be intercepted. For example, texts written in a form of Arabic attributable to the Syrian variety but including orthographical inconsistencies or Libyan words may provide information about the migratory dynamics of the territory and the communities involved. Similarly, another source of sociolinguistic information is the choice of technical terms, such as those relating to the boats used for the crossing.

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Sentential object complements following *bədd-* /*bidd-* in Syrian and Damascene Arabic

Maria Persson

Abstract

Data covering several varieties of Syrian and Damascene Arabic (as defined by Behnstedt, 2011; Lentin, 2011), shows that complement clauses following *bədd-* /*bidd-* with similar meaning assume various forms including use of a complementizer (a); the particle *yā-* (b), fronted subject (c), and pronoun switch between *bədd-* and the following verb (d):

- (a) *'iza kān ma biddek 'inni rūḥ, ma brūḥ* (Bergsträsser, 1924, p. 95)
- (b) *biddi yyāč tištarīli ṭabəl* (Behnstedt, 1994, p. 366)
- (c) *mā bidd-on masalan ən-nās byənšrō masalan ġasīl barra* (Kalach, 2016, p. 169)
- (d) *bəddek ʔḥḍall 'aḥbāb w-sədaqa, lā tāḥdi 1-bənt!* (Sabuni, 1980, p. 239)

Most descriptions of Syrian/Damascene Arabic mention the use of *bədd-* to express future tense and deontic/epistemic modality. Syntactic information, when provided, relates to the pseudoverb's nominal/verbal characteristics. Few thorough analyses are available; foremost Salamé and Lentin (2010), using Salamé's Damascus Arabic corpus, Mitchell and El-Hassan (1994) using the Leeds Educated Spoken Arabic corpus and Vanhove et al. (2009), building on these.

Our project surveys the relationship between syntax and semantics regarding *bədd-* in Syrian and Damascene Arabic with the aim of reaching a deeper synchronic and diachronic understanding of the pseudoverb. We have analysed all instances and forms of the pseudoverb in a variety of published narratives from the past century (see reference list for works included thus far). We compare our findings with the Syrian Arabic of social media/blogs (Qwaider et al., 2018). For example, (d) above appears more frequent in the Shami corpus than in our narrative corpus.

In this paper we present complement clauses after *bədd-* in our data and discuss choice of structure from pragmatic, semantic and diachronic perspectives. Previous works mention these clauses only briefly (Mitchell & El-Hassan, 1994, p. 39; Salamé & Lentin, 2010).

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Irony in the Public Egyptian Discourse

Florentina Laurenta Pirlog

Abstract

This paper deals with the communicative strategy of irony and the use of it in the Egyptian public discourse. The irony is described in Grice's theory (1989) as a flout of the truthfulness maxim ("do not say what you believe to be false") meaning that the addressee should deduce the speaker's intended meaning by inferring the opposite of what is said. The violation of the maxim generates a conversational implicature if the hearer and the speaker are observing the Cooperative Principle. In the analysis of political discourse in Egypt, sometimes leaders flout the truthfulness maxim in order to achieve rhetorical and political aims. For instance, Gamal Abdel Nasser uses irony in his speeches in order to criticize his opponents in a way that stimulates participations in the discourse in the form of laughing and shouting derisive commentaries. During the speech delivered on 21 December 1965, Gamal Abdel Nasser recounts a meeting with the Supreme Leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. In his address, Nasser critically engages with the political program and ideological tenets espoused by the organization, employing irony as a key communicative strategy to underscore their perceived shortcomings. Notably, he criticizes the ideals promoted by the organisation which prompts the audience to refer to the group as *il-'iḥwān iṣ-ṣayāṭīn* (Satan's Brotherhood) a satirical reinterpretation of their official name that serves to ridicule their claims. Within this discourse, the former Egyptian president responds with irony to the Brotherhood's claim that they embody the ideal model of Muslim believers, an assertion he frames as patently exaggerated and accompanies with a humorous tone. This communicative strategy engages the audience in the discourse by turning it into a complicit and by prompting it to make a judgement. As far as the language is concerned, it is worth noting that the whole extract is delivered in Colloquial Arabic not in Standard Arabic. The choice of the colloquial is not random and is determined by the subject, which is derisive, and by the fact that Nasser targets a population heterogeneous from the educational point of view.

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Combining Verbs Across Arabic Dialects – Inherited Structures or Independent Innovations?

Adam Pospíšil

Abstract

The landscape of Arabic varieties is known to display a vast range of strategies to combine multiple verbs into a single predicate (Brustad 2020, Drozdík 2008, Díez 2021). In descriptive and typological terms, the various multiverbal constructions call into play various structural notions like serial verbs (Haspelmath 2016, Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006), constructional auxiliaries (Siegl 2024) or pseudocoordination (Ross 2020). The present paper departs from an analysis of different types of multiverbal constructions found in a range from Arabic varieties towards the implications it can have on our understanding of their historical development. It primarily targets constructions in which a lexical verb acquires a (partly) grammatical function when combined with another lexical verb.

In some cases, one finds in multiple dialects constructions sharing the particular verbal lexeme, like e.g. the narrative use of *rāḥ* followed by another verb in Syrian and Egyptian varieties. In other cases, one observes analogical structures with different lexical content, like e.g. the inchoative-like use of verbs bearing the lexical meaning ‘enter’, which appears across several varieties, as shown in (1) and (2) (Author 2025).

(1) Tunisian

Bi-t-tawfiq *li-žamīʿ li* *bəš* *yədḥl-u* *yə-qr-u*.
with-DEF-success for-all REL FUT 3-enter.IMPF-PL 3-study.IMPF-PL
‘Good luck to all who will start school.’

(2) Palestinian

ʔana *b-a-dʿam-ku* *ʔa-fūt*
I PRES-1SG-support.IMPF-2PL.DO 1SG-enter.IMPF
‘I’ll support you.’ („I’ll engage myself into supporting you.“)

While the first case seems to point to a shared historical development (but can also be accidental), the other is an instance of independent development in the individual dialects, resulting into structures which are to a high degree isomorphic. The paper investigates structural and functional properties of the various construction types and classifies them according to their validity for dialectological historical considerations on one side, and general typological tendencies operating independently across the dialects on the other. The analyses are based primarily on natural data gathered by the author and material obtained in elicitation sessions.

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Mapping Arabic Dialects: Digital Linguistic Profiles in the VICAV Framework.

Engler V., Sramó K., Mörth K., Rausch-Supola M., Romary L., Schopper D., Procházka S.

Abstract

This paper presents recent advancements in the digital linguistic documentation of Arabic dialects, achieved through various projects of the VICAV (Vienna Corpus of Arabic Varieties) project cluster. It explores the application of digital humanities methodologies to dialectological research, focusing on the conceptual modelling of linguistic profiles and the standards and tools required to render linguistic data digitally processable, comparable, and reproducible.

VICAV is a long-term digital documentation project which originates in a curated bibliography of Arabic dialect research. It offers diverse data types, including georeferenced information akin to the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS), supporting diatopic linguistic analysis. By integrating language technology and text-oriented digital humanities approaches, VICAV addresses the challenge of representing heterogeneous data through a modular, sustainable technical infrastructure.

A central feature of this infrastructure is its collection of over 100 standardised linguistic profiles. These concise texts include glottonyms in English, Modern Standard Arabic, and Dialectal Arabic, followed by a classification based on a formalized typology. The applied taxonomy (https://vocabs.dariah.eu/vicav_dialects_taxonomy/en/) categorizes varieties by geographic region (e.g., western vs. eastern), linguistic subgroup, and sociolinguistic traits (e.g., sedentary vs. Bedouin). Each profile also provides contextual information such as research history, bibliographic references, and available resources like audio data, grammars, and dictionaries.

The paper emphasizes the conceptual and methodological challenges in developing these profiles, including the identification and representation of dialectal features, naming conventions, and sociolinguistic context. VICAV's text-oriented approach is grounded in the Guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), ensuring consistent encoding, sustainable workflows, and long-term accessibility. A key methodological focus is the harmonization of diverse linguistic traditions into an interoperable schema that supports both human-readable and machine-processable formats.

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Uses of *ya* in Egyptian Arabic

Esther Ravier

Abstract

In search of a cross-linguistic characterisation of what a « vocative » is, scholars have offered different definitions based on a variety of criteria (Sonnenhauser and Noel Aziz Hanna 2013). In particular, distinct types of vocatives have been delineated based on pragmatic functions such as call vs. address (Schlegoff 1968) or on semantic operations such as Schaden's (2010) triad identification-predication-activation.

Arabic *ya* is usually defined as a vocative particle (e.g. Woidich 2006: 239), but a detailed approach to corpus data shows that this needs further specification: on the one hand, many vocatives do not require *ya*; on the other hand, many expressions with *ya* are not clearly vocatives (*ya salām*, *ya ḥarām*; also *ya ṣaḇāḥ il-ḥēr*). Specific uses such as sellers' calls, for example *salīm ya ḡaṣab* "whole [i.e., in one piece] O sugarcane" (Fahmy 2020: 45) also question the nature of this particle.

Furthermore, some structures with vocatives with *ya*, in particular repetition and combination with second person pronoun, convey specific pragmatic functions, as in: *yabni nta ṭawīl ḡawi yabni!* "Hey son, you're very tall son!" (i.e., step aside so we can see) expressing irritation, or *baḡullak ē ya wād yabu sabṣīn inta...* "Let me tell you boy who [asks for] 70 [pounds]..." expressing disagreement at the start of a bargaining sequence.

The present paper offers to analyse the contextual use (or absence) of *ya* in a corpus of fieldwork data gathered in Cairo, to establish a typology of its uses and functions. Such a typology partially correlates with the general classification mentioned above, with a distinctive pattern in cases of "calls", and brings out particular uses that put into perspective the link between *ya* and the notion of vocative.

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New Linguistic Data from Northwestern, Central and Southern Tunisia

Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun

Abstract

The fieldwork conducted in the realm of the TUNOCENT-project and the analysis of the data brought to light many linguistic characteristics that have hitherto been unknown to exist in Tunisian dialects. Recent studies focused on Nefza, Tozeur, Kasserine, Kef, Sidi Bouzid or described certain linguistic aspects comparatively (e.g. Zarb 2023, Naddari 2024, Ritt-Benmimoun 2014). It was shown, for instance, that the dialect spoken in the Southeastern part of the Kasserine Governorate is characterized by archaisms and interesting innovations (Ritt-Benmimoun 2024). In our study, we will not limit ourselves to a certain Tunisian dialect, but we will cover Northwestern, Central and South Tunisia, i.e. the whole region investigated during the TUNOCENT-procect. Based on systematic questionnaires and on free speech texts recorded in various fieldwork campaigns, some striking characteristics typical of certain dialects spoken in these regions will be presented that have hitherto remained to a large degree uninvestigated. We will include for instance: (A) in phonology: (1) the loss of interdentials which is attested for some locations in Gafsa (and has hitherto within Tunisia only be known for the town of Mahdia and Jewish Arabic dialects); (2) word-internal and word-final imala, the former occurring in Central Tunisia and the latter in Northern and Southern Tunisia; (3) retention of short vowels in open unstressed syllables (which was thought to exist only in Southern Tunisia); (4) affrication of *t* in some locations in the governorate of Gafsa (previously attested for Tozeur, and also for Nabeul); (B) in morphology: (1) III-weak verbs showing a form like *yibik* 'he cries' in the governorate of Kasserine; (2) certain forms of the negative copula that are reminiscent of Algerian and Moroccan forms; (3) temporal and local adverbs; (4) the preposition *ʕigda/ʕagda* 'at; to'; (5) gender merging in the 2SG of the perfect towards the original feminine form; (C) in syntax: the use of forms originating in the verb *ḍall* 'to stay' as copula and auxiliary. Our study is of areal-linguistic nature showing the geographical distribution of certain linguistic phenomena. Some of them may turn out to be relevant for the classification of Tunisian dialects in general, and for an intra-Bedouin classification in particular.

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The Talk of Foreigners and Foreigner Talk: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Arabic Forms Developed by Non-Native Speakers in Libya

May Rostom

Abstract

Since the 1960s, Libya has been a destination for immigration, circular migration and seasonal migration, and more recently a hub for transnational human mobility. Depending on their needs, many mobile speakers develop communicative uses of Arabic while in the country.

As part of a doctoral sociolinguistic research examining Arabic language practices elaborated during mobility from West Africa to and through Libya, this talk will present some of the Arabic forms developed, and discuss common restructuring tendencies, based on a corpus composed from qualitative interviews with speakers who learned Arabic in Libya, as well as social media content featuring commentary on Arabic use and filmed interactions between native and non-native speakers.

These Arabic forms will be situated within Libya's 'sociolinguistic economy' (Blommaert et al., 2005), alongside patterns of mobility (Bredeloupe & Pliez, 2011) and, most importantly, types of contact with locals and native speakers. It will argue that accommodation strategies employed by locals, or 'Foreigner Talk', play a key role in shaping these emerging linguistic forms. This hypothesis will be examined in relation to existing research on the influence of Foreigner Talk on other Arabic varieties (e.g. Bizri, 2010; Avram, 2014)."

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Linguistic Choices and Practices in Metalinguistic Discourse in Tunisia

Marta Sala

Abstract

In the Arabic-speaking communities, *fuṣḥā* and Colloquial Arabic features can occur within the same discourse or utterance, resulting in stylistic variation along the diglossic *continuum* in both written and spoken productions (Mejdell 2006; Pennisi 2023). Such variation is shaped by multiple factors, including topic, setting, participant roles, formality, and medium, as well as users' individual choices (El-Hassan 1978; Bassiouney 2009). This paper explores the linguistic practices of university students and professors in Tunisia within metacommunicative written and oral productions. Data were collected through one-to-one interviews, and a multilingual questionnaire comprising multiple-choice and open-ended questions, allowing each informant to choose the linguistic variety of compilation, including *fuṣḥā* or Tunisian Arabic. Both interviews and questionnaires focused on informants' own language use in higher education settings. The analysis was conducted using quantitative and qualitative methods. Findings suggest that linguistic choices may be influenced by informants' role within the university context, with professors generally avoiding the use of Tunisian Arabic in both interviews and questionnaire completion. Interviews further reveal specific features of spoken production, such as the emergence of Tunisian phonetic characteristics even within *fuṣḥā* utterances, as well as the mixing of Tunisian and *fuṣḥā* morphological, phonological, and lexical features in the speech of students and professors, sometimes serving specific rhetorical purposes. Furthermore, in passages where there is extensive use of Tunisian Arabic, linguistic resources from other languages within speakers' repertoires often emerge. Regarding medium, the written modality occasionally triggers the use of standard features, as seen in answers produced partially or entirely in *fuṣḥā* within questionnaires compiled in Tunisian Arabic. Finally, the responses to the open-ended questions from the questionnaires and the interviews provide insights into the different ways in which Tunisian Arabic and *fuṣḥā* features are mixed in oral and written productions.

Keywords: Tunisia, metalinguistic discourse, linguistic choice, higher education

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Discourse Management Markers in Egyptian Arabic

Valentina Serreli

Abstract

This paper proposes a preliminary discussion of “Discourse Management Markers (DMMs)” (Fraser 2009) in Egyptian Arabic. Examples are:

1. *ʕala fikra* (as DMM often clause-internal and clause-final)

A: binḥaḍḍar ʕašān niʕmil bitza

We are preparing to make pizza

B: ana xassēt ***ʕala fikra***

*I lost weight **by the way***

A: wi ana kamān

Mee too. (CALLHOME, 4950, simplified)

2. *il-muhimm* (as DMM always clause-initial)

B: xadit šaḡqa fi madīnat naṣr tamlik

She bought a flat in Naser City

A: fi fi almāza kān biyʔulli [...]

In... in Al-Māza she was telling me [...]

il-muhimm inta axbārak ēh

But how are you?

B: ahu ilḥamdulilla

Here I am, all good. (CALLHOME, 5421, simplified)

DMMs “signal a meta-comment on the structure of the discourse” and include “discourse structure markers”, “topic orientation markers” and “attention markers” (Fraser 2009: 893). It is well established that pragmatic markers are characterized by multifunctionality. In the examples provided, *ʕala fikra* (1) and *il-muhimm* (2) function as topic orientation markers. In (1) *ʕala fikra* has the meaning of “speaking of which” and introduces a digression from the current topic; in (2) *il-muhimm* means “on a different note” and introduces a new topic. My discussion aligns with Traugott’s (2020) suggestion to consider DMMs as “stance-to-text markers”, with a view to acknowledging the relationship between pragmatic markers and stance markers. As for stance, I follow Du Bois’ (2007) dialogic perspective and his definition of stance as encompassing the three key elements of positioning, evaluation and alignment. Data come from the Egyptian Arabic CALLHOME corpus, based on telephone conversations between Egyptian Arabic speakers from Cairo (Gadalla et al. 1997) and are complemented by data from group conversations and interviews collected by the author in Egypt over the last decade. The informal conversational style of both corpora renders the data an appropriate source for the study of pragmatic markers.

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Code-switching and Code-Mixing in the Greek Dialect of Susa (Apollonia) and Shahat (Cyrene) in Libya

Angeliki Sigourou

Abstract

OVERVIEW | This paper offers a preliminary description of the linguistic variety currently used by the Greek-speaking, Muslim population of Susa and Shahat, in northern Libya. Based on results from field research conducted in the area in October 2024, the paper examines the code-switching and code-mixing patterns (cf. Mazraani 1997, Bassiouney 2020, a.o.) attested in the everyday speech of the bilingual Muslims of Cretan (Greek) origin of the two Libyan towns.

FIRST EVIDENCE | This is the first ever documentation of the Greek variety spoken by Muslims of Libya. Although no prior linguistic studies exist on this dialect, historical and anthropological sources confirm the migration of Cretan Muslims to Libya during the Ottoman Caliphate (Najem 2003, Lorenz 2021) and their continued presence in several towns in eastern Libya, including the coastal town of Susa –the ancient Greek Apollonia– and the upper town of Shahat –the ancient Greek Cyrene– (Dupree 1958, Sepetcioğlu 2020).

THE CURRENT STUDY | The study reveals that the Cretan variety spoken in Susa and Shahat is a Greek, Cretan dialect, used among the inhabitants of the region only in oral discourse. The Greek-speaking community is of great interest, as it constitutes an ethnic and linguistic minority group. Our research focusses on the phenomenon of language contact manifested by the Greek-speaking users of the area, namely, on the alternation of two colloquial varieties in conversation, the Libyan Arabic and the Cretan Greek. We provide examples of instances of code-switching and code-mixing at the morphosyntactic and lexical level in the speech of both male and female informants in their daily, informal conversations. We also discuss different levels of code-switching, according to various socio-linguistic factors. The emerging picture is of great importance, especially given the fact that the number of the native speakers of the variety has been significantly reduced in the recent decades.

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Stative Verbs in Maltese

Michael Spagnol

Abstract

This paper investigates the typology and morphosyntactic behavior of stative verbs in Maltese, predicates that express static conditions, qualities, or relationships rather than actions or events. Building on theories of lexical aspect (Vendler 1957; Dowty 1979; Binnick 1991; Smith 1991), I identify four main categories of stative verbs in Maltese:

- perfectless verbs such as *jaf* 'to know' and *jixbah* 'to resemble', which typically lack a perfect form
- pseudo-verbs, including prepositional stems and nominal elements like *fih* 'to contain' and *moħħni* 'to have one's mind on', which share key morphosyntactic features with canonical verbs
- semi-perfectless verbs, such as *jizen* 'to weigh' and *jaħraq* 'to be hot', which possess a perfect form but avoid it in stative contexts
- verbs with perfect forms, such as *ħabb* 'to love' and *xtaq* 'to wish', which behave statively but participate fully in tense-aspect paradigms.

The classification draws on diagnostics including compatibility with the progressive aspect and the obligatory use of the auxiliary *kien* 'to be' in modal and future constructions (Spagnol 2009). The analysis shows how Maltese encodes stativity through a range of morphosyntactic strategies, often blurring the boundary between lexical and grammatical categories. These findings contribute to cross-linguistic discussions of lexical aspect and Aktionsart, and raise comparative questions about how stative meaning is morphosyntactically encoded across Semitic languages, particularly in contact-influenced contexts such as Maltese.

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Speak Your Own Dialect!” Policing Linguistic Assimilation in the UAE

Corinne Stokes

Abstract

The United Arab Emirates is home to a multilingual population that includes speakers of many varieties of Arabic. Long histories of trade as well as recent waves of economic migration have led the UAE’s Arabic speakers to develop a diverse linguistic repertoire and an unusual degree of sociolinguistic competence across multiple Arabic varieties. Although state policies promote non-integration among Arabic-speaking migrants, many members of the second generation, in particular, are proficient speakers of Emirati Arabic.

This article investigates a recent social media debate over ownership of Emirati Arabic, triggered by a language policy introduced in April 2025 restricting the use of Emirati Arabic in advertising to Emirati citizens. Drawing on a corpus of videos and commentary collected from TikTok and Instagram, I analyze metapragmatic commentary related to use of the Emirati dialect by citizen and non-citizen speakers to ask questions about popular ideologies of linguistic citizenship, national identity, dialect ownership, and authenticity. I find that while content creators perceived as non-citizen speakers of the Emirati dialect are rewarded for their linguistic competence, they are also subjected to intense grassroots prescriptivism for transgressing the ideological boundaries of national identity. I argue that this prescriptivist discourse is evidence both of ongoing linguistic assimilation among ‘new’ speakers of Emirati Arabic, and of active ideological processes of linguistic differentiation and exclusion.

The article contributes to sociolinguistic work on language ideology and language ideological change in the linguistically diverse cities of the Gulf.

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Studying Social Identity (De)Construction in a Palestinian Refugee Camp through the Distribution of Three Linguistic Variables

Roberta Stracquadanio

Abstract

This paper aims to investigate the link between language variation and the concept of social identity within the al-Azza refugee camp in Bethlehem. Founded in 1950, the camp has been home to four generations of refugees who were expelled from twelve villages, primarily in the Hebron and Jerusalem districts. Although all the inhabitants had a rural lifestyle and spoke a 'rural' dialect, their dialects appear to differ from one another, and this variability is passed down through the generations.

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews conducted between 2023 and 2025. With the help of four local Palestinian mediators, inhabitants of the camp and the city of Bethlehem were asked to talk freely about their lives and their perceptions of the dialects spoken around them. Using a corpus-driven approach, language variation is studied by considering three variables: the realisation of the etymological /q/; the adverbs 'here' – 'there', *hān(a)* – *hanāk* vs. *hōn* – *hunāk*; and the adverb of time 'now', *halla'* vs. *(h)al-hīn(e)*. These features are documented in descriptive works (e.g. Bergsträsser 1915; Bauer 1926; Palva 1984), in which the distribution of the traits is based on geographical location (central-southern Palestine, Jerusalem, Hebron, etc.) and social criteria (Bedouin, rural, urban). From a sociolinguistic perspective, both axes have undergone substantial changes due to the Nakba and the massive urbanisation of Palestine. Therefore, the question arises: what has happened to these socio-geographical features in the context of a refugee camp established 75 years ago on the outskirts of a growing town that has become an overpopulated neighbourhood of the city of Bethlehem? The author considers indexicality (Milroy 1987; Eckert 2004, 2008; Holes 2018) to be the most suitable theoretical framework with which to study the process of meaning construction, by focusing on the language of the youngest generations in the refugee camp.

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Évolutions sémantiques et polygrammaticalisation du verbe ʿād

Catherine Taine-Cheikh

Abstract

Dans les dialectes arabes, plusieurs verbes expriment un mouvement de retour en un lieu, les plus fréquents étant dérivés des racines RĜĜ, WLY et ʿWD (voir Behnstedt & Woidich 2014: 75-81).

Le verbe "revenir" de racine ʿWD peut être de forme nue (*ʿād ʿiʿūd*), mais cette valeur est fréquemment portée par l'une des formes dérivées (*ʿawwad, ʿāwad, ʿawād...*), *ʿād* tendant alors à être employé avec une autre valeur.

Le changement peut porter simplement sur le sémantisme du verbe. Ainsi *ʿād*, à Takroûna (Marçais & Guiga 1958-1961 : 2730), a-t-il plusieurs valeurs distinctes : "revenir à (au sens moral), se rapporter à" ; "revenir" (en parlant du temps) ; "en arriver à" ; "recommencer" et "devenir".

Dans le cas de "devenir", cependant, l'évolution sémantique s'accompagne d'un changement de statut, *ʿād* devenant un auxiliaire de prédication, usité avec des prédicats de diverses natures et avec des valeurs d'inchoativité et d'ingressivité (Cohen 1963 : 114, Grand'Henry 1977 : 237- 239) ou même de futur (Watson 2009). *ʿād* se présente aussi souvent comme un auxiliaire de sens répétitif ou continuatif (celle de "(être) encore" ou, avec la négation, de "ne plus (être)") – des valeurs liées au sème originel de retour ou de recommencement.

Enfin, *ʿād* (ou *ʿūd*) présente de très nombreux cas de figement qui ont abouti à des emplois de particules verbales, adverbiales et énonciatives dont le sens est plus ou moins liée aux valeurs de l'auxiliaire *ʿād* (voir notamment Abu Haidar 1994, Caubet 1994, Holes 2001: 367-368,

Leitner 2022: 231, Piamenta 2002, Vanhove 1997).

Les valeurs modales des particules figées ont été souvent relevées, mais des valeurs de ce type s'observent aussi quand *ʿād* est un auxiliaire verbal. C'est plus particulièrement à celles-ci, insuffisamment étudiées à mon avis dans certains parlars, que je souhaite m'intéresser de près, après avoir opéré un classement morphosyntaxique et sémantique de l'ensemble des usages.

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Linguistic and Orthographic Variation in Informal Written Arabic Texts.

Vicente Martí Tormo

Abstract

The traditional interpretation of the sociolinguistic reality of the Arabic language typically distinguishes between a "high" variety—historically associated with writing and formal speech—and a range of "colloquial" or "vernacular" varieties, generally confined to informal spoken interactions. This dichotomy, while never entirely accurate, has become increasingly untenable in light of recent technological developments, the widespread adoption of the internet, and the consequent democratization of written communication.

Since the early 2000s, numerous studies have explored written Arabic communication on social media from a variety of perspectives, addressing linguistic phenomena such as code-switching, orthography, and the role of language in identity construction, among others.

Within this framework, the present paper aims to analyze a corpus of written exchanges between banking institutions and their customers on Facebook. The corpus comprises commercials, posts, and comment threads collected from the Facebook profiles of banks operating in Morocco, Egypt, and Lebanon—contexts in which Standard Arabic and local dialects frequently coexist, often in a highly interwoven manner.

The primary objective of this study is to assess the extent to which Arabic dialects are employed in what may be described as a "semi-formal" written context, and to examine how users orthographically represent their spoken language. Additionally, the analysis seeks to shed light on several key questions: Which variety of Arabic do customers tend to use when contacting their banks? Do clients of Islamic finance institutions show a preference for Classical Arabic? And finally, which writing systems are favored by users across different national contexts in these interactions?



The Functions of the Discourse Particles *mar*, *mār ~ mēr* and *yār* in the Dialect of the Bani Şaxar (Jordan)

Antonella Torzullo

Abstract

This study explores the functions of the particles *mar*, *mār ~ mēr* and *yār* in the dialect of the Bani Şaxar tribe in Jordan.

As for *mār* and *mēr*, they are documented in various Bedouin-type dialects with both adversative and consecutive functions (Bani Şaxar: Palva 1980:133, Rwala: Musil 1928:670, Ingham 1995:122; Sinai: Stewart 1988 II:248, Najdi: Ingham 1994:184). The form *mar* (i.e. with a short vowel /a/) often carries a consecutive meaning, particularly when preceding the imperfective or imperative, i.e. “then” or “behold”, a usage also attested among the Rwala (Musil 1928:212).

The particle *yār*, by contrast, is newly documented in the Bani Şaxar variety. It appears with an “obvious connecting function” (Fischer 2006:39), close in meaning to *mādām / madām* “since”, as in:

- *yār hī mawǧūde, lēš mā trūḥ l-eh?*

“Now that she is there, why do you not go to her?”

In another usage, *yār* functions with the meaning “look” or “behold,” serving to attract the listener’s attention or, alternatively, to express blame or reproach. In its attention-getting function, it appears with a short vowel /a/, as documented by Behnstedt (2006, II:1331), where forms such as *yar*, *yārī*, and *yarū* are attested and even show conjugation. In its second, more affective usage, it resembles *yah*, the Najdi exclamation used to convey disbelief or disapproval (Ingham 1994:186).

It sometimes appears with *inn-* plus a suffix pronoun, and parallels *tara* and *tarā-ni* in function.

We propose that *yār* may derive from a grammaticalisation of *yarā* “he sees”, possibly akin to *tara*, and occurring in utterance-initial position in natural discourse. Eventually, we will compare the use of *yār*, *mādām*, and *tara* in the corpus to identify points of convergence and divergence in their functions.

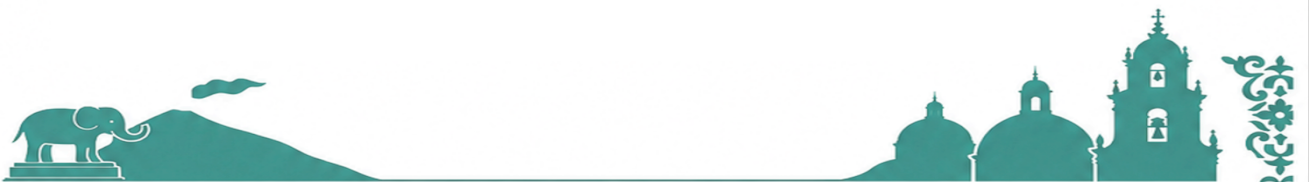
Keywords: discourse particle – particles’ functions– Jordanian Arabic – Bedouin-type Arabic

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Arabic Dialects of Central Asia: Changes in the Vocalic Structure of the Noun

Zviadi Tskhvediani

Abstract

The documentation and study of peripheral Arabic dialects of Central Asia (specifically the Bukhara and Qashqa-darya dialects) have been the subject of numerous works by Acad. G. Tsereteli and Prof.

G. Chikovani. Today, a wealth of dialectological material is available.

In the gradually declining dialects of Bukhara and Qashqa-darya, linguistic changes are primarily driven by two factors:

1. Centuries-long functioning in an environment of unrelated languages (Iranian–Tajik and Turkic–Uzbek) leading to language contact, and
2. Internal linguistic/dialectal developmental trends and changes.

This paper examines the tendencies of change in the vocalic structure of noun word-forms, taking both of these factors into account.

In terms of the vocalic structure of nouns in Central Asian Arabic dialects, several word-form patterns are distinguished:

$C_1VC_2C_3$, $C_1VC_2VC_3$, $C_1VC_2V:C_3$, $C_1V:C_2C_3$, $C_1VC_2VC_3V:n$, $C_1VC_2C_2V:C_3$,
 $iC_1C_2V:C_3$, $C_1VC_2C_3a$, $C_1V:C_2$, $C_1V:C_2V$, etc.

Examples of the $iC_1C_2V:C_3$ structure include *ilḥāf* – ‘coverlet’, ‘eiderdown’ and *iḥmōr* – ‘donkey’.

The $C_1VC_2VC_3$ structure is, in some cases, the result of the emergence of an anaptyctic vowel (vowel harmony), e.g.: *gutun* < *quṭn* – ‘cotton’.

Changes in the vocalic structure of word-forms are also noteworthy in pausal and syntagmatic positions. The specific vowel within a syllable is determined by either the factor of language contact or internal phonetic changes, and reflects general dialectal tendencies. For example, in the $C_1V:C_2VC_3$ structure: *bāgir* – ‘bull’, *bōṭen* – ‘belly’.

Keywords: Central Asian Arabic, noun, vocalic structure

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Demonstratives as a Sociolinguistic Variable among Palestinian Speakers in Beirut

Nina Van Kampen

Abstract

Previous studies on Palestinian Arabic (PA) and Beirut Arabic (BA) have identified a myriad of demonstrative forms used pronominally or adnominally and indicating proximal or distal deixis. Both dialect groups feature the invariant contracted form *ha-l-* and the longer form *hāy*, the latter documented as either the singular feminine demonstrative for proximal deixis or an invariant form used primarily pronominally. The principal point of variation between BA and PA demonstratives lies in the presence or absence of /ay/: BA typically employs a set with /ay/ : *hayda* (sg. m.) – *haydi* (sg. f.), whereas PA typically uses forms with /ā/ such as *hāda* (sg. m.) – *hādi* (sg. f.). Within Palestinian dialects, variation is documented in the realization of *ḏ in the demonstratives, showing forms with /d/, /d̪/, /ḏ̪/, and /ḏ/, with the latter two velarized variants being characteristic of rural and Bedouin varieties (Naïm 2011; Geva-Kleinberger 2004; Behnstedt et Geva-Kleinberger 2019; Zu‘bi 2023).

This paper explores the variation in the use of demonstratives among Palestinian speakers in Beirut, investigating internal and external factors alongside dialect contact influences. Data collected between 2018 and 2022 comprise 710 tokens from 24 speakers across different age groups, residing both inside and outside Palestinian refugee camps and originating from different localities in historical Palestine. The data present almost all variants cited above: demonstratives from both the BA set with /ay/ and the PA set with /ā/ are used, alongside *ha-l-* and *hāy*. Putting the latter two aside, which are prevalent in both dialect groups, the distribution between the BA and PA sets appears mostly unaffected by internal (linguistic) factors. The data suggest a strong influence of the place of residence, with the BA set being nearly absent among camp residents. The presence of 43 instances of *hāda* with velarized /ḏ̪/, characteristic of rural and Bedouin PA varieties, is particularly interesting since it goes against the well-documented trend of leveling out the most localized and marked features in dialect contact situations (Trudgill 2004, 89-93).

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The *imāla* or palatalization of /a/ as a Gender Index in the Rural Arabic Varieties from Northwest Morocco

Ángeles Vicente

Abstract

The *imāla* is a phonetic phenomenon that has always existed in the Arabic language, as it was described in the works of early grammarians. They used this term to refer to the shift of the long vowel /ā/, and only rarely to the short vowel /a/. In the current Arabic-speaking world, many specialists also consider the raising of the final /a/ a type of *imāla* (Levin 2007).

This phonetic change is one of the characteristics of some of the best-known varieties of Eastern Arabic (Horesh et al 2022), but in relation to Maghrebi varieties it is not considered a common feature, even though many synchronic descriptions refer to the existence of this feature in varieties from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia (for instance, Rahmouni 2014, Naddari 2024).

In this presentation, I will make a comparison between the diachronic information found in written sources about both types of *imāla* in some extinct Maghrebi varieties, such as Andalusí Arabic (Ferrando 1996), and the information provided by oral sources about the appearance of the *imāla* in Moroccan Arabic varieties.

Data provided by our fieldwork in the northwest region and other information collected in the scientific literature on other Arabic varieties, both synchronous and diachronic descriptions, will be used.

Our objective is to verify if the raising of /a/ is socially marked, the degree of perception by the speakers of this variation and its current social value as a gender index. The study of this variable in Moroccan Arabic is an interesting element to know the social meanings of the variation and to explain the linguistic attitudes of the speakers.

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La būqāla à Bejaïa. Enquête sur une tradition poétique en sursis

Mourad Yelles

Abstract

For almost a century and a half, the oral tradition of women's poetry in North African cities has been the subject of a certain number of studies and publications. Research has focused mainly on some ancient urban centers: Rabat, Fez, Tlemcen, Algiers, Blida, Tunis and Tripoli.

Curiously, to date, despite its historical importance as political et cultural capital of the Hammadid kingdom, we have virtually no documentation concerning Bejaïa. While the Bougiote, as local dialect, is rapidly disappearing, women's repertoires produced and transmitted in this variant of Maghrebian Arabic are also in serious danger of extinction. In particular, the tradition of poems associated with certain collective ritual practices such as *bûqâla* and *ḥawfī*. Hence the urgent need for collecting, archiving and comparative analysis.

Our presentation will focus on some preliminary results of an ongoing project in this field.

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Beyond the ḍ – ḍ̣ merger: A Typology of Emphatic Obstruents in North African Dialects

Islam Youssef

Abstract

This paper presents a synchronic typology of “primary” obstruent emphatic consonants in North African Arabic (NAA), examining phonological systems across Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania. Drawing on a wide range of dialect descriptions, the study analyzes variation in the realization of emphatic obstruents—particularly the reflexes of Classical Arabic *ḍ and *ḍ̣ , which surface as interdental $/\text{ḍ̣}/$, dento-alveolar $/\text{ḍ}/$, or $/\text{z}/$ in different dialects (Fischer & Jastrow 1980).

Methodologically, the typology is based on contrastive and distributional behavior rather than diachronic affiliations. Five core emphatic systems are identified (cf. Cohen 1963; Bellem 2014), ranging from conservative triadic inventories ($/\text{ṭ} \text{ṣ} \text{ḍ}/$) to symmetrical four-member systems ($/\text{ṭ} \text{ḍ} \text{ṣ} \text{z}/$) and the five-member inventory of Ḥassāniyya Arabic ($/\text{ṭ} \text{ḍ} \text{ṣ} \text{z} \text{ḍ̣}/$). Minimal pair evidence confirms the phonemic status of these obstruents across systems, even in dialects with innovations such as $/\text{z}/$.

The study challenges the adequacy of traditional dichotomies – such as sedentary vs. Bedouin or pre-Hilālī vs. Hilālī (Aguadé 2018) – and instead proposes a typology grounded in current linguistic reality. Notably, several dialects defy conventional expectations: some urban and pre-Hilālī varieties (not only in Tunisia) retain interdentals, while others (both sedentary and Bedouin) have developed new emphatics through lexical diffusion and contact (see Guerrero 2021). The *ḍ – ḍ̣ merger, often treated as a categorical historical change, is shown to yield a range of synchronic outcomes, including the coexistence of $/\text{ḍ̣}/$ with $/\text{ḍ} \text{z}/$ in some transitional and mixed systems.

By advocating a synchronic, contrast-based approach, this study captures the diversity and fluidity of emphatic systems in NAA. In doing so, it highlights the limitations of binary taxonomies and supports a more dynamic, empirically driven model of phonological variation (Hyman 2018).

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Of Falcons and Field Hoes: Linguistic Innovation in Archaeological Field Diaries from Early Twentieth-century Egypt

Liesbeth Zack, Wendy Doyon

Abstract

This presentation builds on the authors' preliminary overview of new and ongoing research on a collection of 73 Arabic field diaries documenting the Harvard University-Boston Museum of Fine Arts excavations in Egypt and Sudan, written by archaeological foremen from Qift, Upper Egypt (known as Quftis), between 1913 and 1947 (AIDA 2024). The diary manuscripts are a unique primary source for historians and archaeologists, as well as for linguists, because they are written in a mixture of Standard Arabic, Egyptian Arabic of Cairo, and Upper Egyptian Arabic. In this paper, we will focus on the processes of linguistic innovation applied by the Quftis in creating a new Arabic lexicon for archaeological materials, tools, objects, and concepts. This new lexicon was created by applying new meanings to existing Arabic words, both from the local dialect of Qift and from Cairene and Modern Standard Arabic, based on functional similarities. Examples include *mixadda* 'pillow', which the Quftis applied to the ancient Egyptian headrest made out of wood or stone, *azmīl* 'chisel', which got the new meaning of 'axe blade', *qāma* 'fathom' to define the space of a burial chamber, and *ṭuriyya* 'field hoe', an agricultural tool that was adopted as an archaeological tool. Local terminology, rather than that of the dialect of Cairo, was sometimes used to refer to ancient Egyptian concepts. For instance, the Upper Egyptian word *sagāw* 'falcon, or other small bird of prey' was used for the falcon as a representation of the god Horus, rather than *ṣaqr*. This paper will discuss examples from several different categories of excavation terminology, drawing from five different archaeological sites excavated during the first decade of diary production (1913–1922), to identify patterns of dialectal innovation relating specifically to the practice of archaeology by a marginalized language community from rural, southern Egypt.

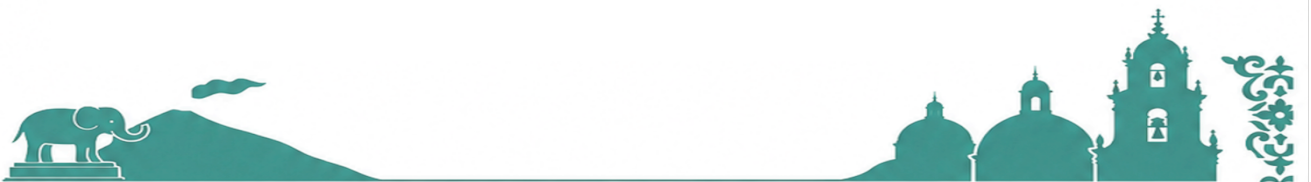
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Perceiving Dialect, Constructing Tribe: Language Ideologies among the Rašāyda Bedouins

Maria Rebecca Zarb

Abstract

A considerable body of research in Arabic dialectology has explored speakers' language ideologies and perceptions concerning linguistic variation. These perceptions frequently involve evaluative stances toward particular dialects, framing them as more or less "good" or "bad" (Hachimi 2015), as well as sociolinguistic dynamics regarding which speakers are expected to accommodate to others, and the legitimisation of ridicule directed at certain dialects (Hachimi 2013). Beyond emotionally charged evaluations of dialects, language ideologies also encompass classifications grounded in socio-geographic factors, such as the identification of a dialect as Bedouin, urban, or rural, as well as the subjective attributes speakers ascribe to their own vernaculars (Laaber 2025). Moreover, the emerging concept of "White Arabic" sheds light on how speakers perceive the trajectory of their own idiolects, potentially influencing how the broader collective (particularly in relation to the speaker's social identity and affiliations) dialect is shaped (Iriarte Díez, Laaber, van Kampen, Benítez Fernández 2023).

This presentation centres on self-perceptions rather than that of the others, by exploring the language ideologies of *Rašāyda* tribe members concerning the characteristics and boundaries they attribute to their own dialect. Drawing on fieldwork conducted in Saudi Arabia, which is the tribe's ancestral homeland, as well as Kuwait and Jordan, the study investigates whether these perceptions align with observable linguistic patterns, and what sustains the persistence of certain linguistic perceptions even when they diverge from the empirical evolution of the dialect's development. The *Rašāyda* present a particularly interesting case because despite centuries of geographic separation between different branches, they maintain active contact and cultivate a strong sense of unity through various communal initiatives. This unity and its linguistic implications are already briefly mentioned by Ingham (1986), and building on this, I argue that the *Rašāyda*'s linguistic perceptions, regardless of how they mirror actual linguistic change, reflect a broader understanding of language as a symbol of tribal cohesion and historical identity. This, in turn, offers valuable insights into the role of "tribe" as a category in contemporary dialectological classification.

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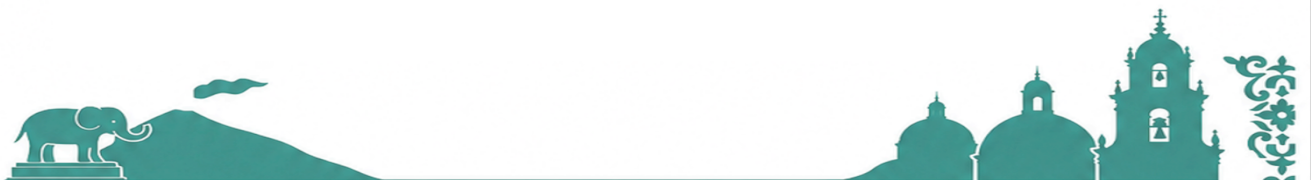
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Triggered Codeswitching among Egyptian Migrants in London

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Abstract

The aim of the study is to examine aspects of triggered codeswitching between Egyptian Arabic and English in the spoken communication of Egyptian migrants in London.

Triggered codeswitching typically occurs in response to “trigger words.” Clyne defines these as cognates, borrowings, proper names, and hybrid forms (Clyne 1967, 2003). Due to the high level of formal and semantic overlap in both languages, these lexical items increase the activation of the non-primary language of communication, which can ultimately lead to codeswitching. Evidence for the occurrence of triggered codeswitching has so far been found in various language pairs — Dutch — Moroccan Arabic (Broersma and de Bot 2006), Dutch — English, Russian — English (Broersma and Insurin 2019), Welsh — English (Broersma et al. 2019).

The current study focuses on analysing triggered codeswitching and its sociolinguistic correlates, such as gender and education (including private vs. public), as well as individual proportions of cognates and codeswitching in the speech of participants. The problem is studied both quantitatively and qualitatively. The study involved 26 bilingual individuals aged 20–38, from various social backgrounds, who declare that codeswitching is their natural way of communicating with their environment. The interview design favored speech that was initially sparse and later rich in cognates.

While the research is ongoing, a significant statistical relationship has been found between cognates and codeswitching, as well as notable differences among individual participants. The final results of the study will be presented at the conference.

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Investigating Linguistic Feature Distribution in North African Arabic: A Quantitative Perspective on the Phonology and Morphology of Maghrebi Varieties

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Abstract

The classification of Arabic dialects into “Maghrebi” and “Mashreqi” varieties, and within the Maghreb into “pre-Hilāli” and “Hilāli” dialects, has long shaped Arabic dialectology. The isoglosses which are frequently cited as being distinctive of these dialect areas are, however, only a few and it remains difficult to anchor these classifications in a stable set of diagnostic features. A case in point is the imperfect 1SG *n-* and 1PL *n-...-u* isogloss, often said to define Maghrebi dialects, which also occurs in the Sudanic and Egyptian dialect areas. The traditional classification of Maghrebi dialects into pre-Hilāli and Hilāli, linked to the 11-century Banū Hilāl migration, has also been challenged on various grounds (e.g. Taine-Cheikh 2017, Benkato 2019). In the present work, the classification of Maghrebi dialects is tackled from an alternative, quantitative perspective. The study investigates to what extent Maghrebi dialects — and, within Maghrebi, “pre-Hilāli” and “Hilāli” dialects — form cohesive groups, with the main goal of determining what linguistic features are most exclusive and representative of these dialects. This question is tackled by applying a statistical method termed normalised Pointwise Mutual Information (nPMI, Sung and Prokić 2024) to a dataset including roughly 100 morphological and phonological features for over 50 African Arabic varieties. Preliminary findings suggest that Maghrebi varieties form a relatively coherent cluster based on shared internal innovations, but that the most frequently referenced 1SG/1PL imperfect marking does not emerge as being the most distinctive feature of this cluster. The pre-Hilāli/Hilāli distinction, on the other hand, appears hard to capture through feature distribution. This suggests the difficulty of tracing specific linguistic features to tribal genealogies, in line with recent scholarship which has emphasised the importance of contact, mobility and ecological factors in shaping the distribution of linguistic features across North African Arabic varieties (Magidow 2021, Manfredi and Procházka 2025). By combining computational techniques with historical-linguistic interpretation, the study contributes to our understanding of dialect variation in the Maghreb and illustrates both the promise and limits of quantitative methods for assessing long-standing taxonomies in Arabic dialectology.

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