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50. Arabic Dialects (general article)

Abstract

This article sketches the historical documentation of Arabic dialects within the different regions. It considers the relationship between ancient and modern Arabic and examines

features of modern Arabic dialects as universal tendencies and as the outcome of grammaticalisation. From the evidence it argues for a polygenetic explanation of the development of modern Arabic dialects. The article then considers different classifications of Arabic dialects and finally presents the linguistic typology of Arabic dialects in terms of phonological, morphological and syntactic features.

1. Introduction

Arabic is the official language of eighteen sovereign states stretching from Mauritania in the west to Iraq in the east. It is also spoken in parts of southern Turkey, by the Maronite Christian community in northern Cyprus, and, to the south, in parts of sub-saharan Africa. Further east, Arabic language enclaves are still found in the Balkh region of Afghanistan, parts of Iran, including Khurasan in the east and Khuzistan in the south, and Uzbekistan. Political and economic conditions in many Arab states, as well as a need for migrant labour at various times in western countries, have resulted in permanent emigration over the decades, such that there are now large Arabic-speaking migrant communities in parts of the United States, Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, France, in particular. Estimates suggest a figure of around 250 million speakers of Arabic today. In terms of numbers of speakers and geographical spread, Arabic is one of the most important languages in the world. These reasons combined with the degree of synchronic and diachronic variation attested in the Arabic dialects makes Arabic the most important Semitic language today. As Jastrow (2002) says, for the student of Semitic, Arabic dialects constitute a living language museum, with almost every type of diachronic development attested in Semitic languages found in one or more dialects of Arabic.

Historically Arabic dialects have developed and diverged as a partial result of two types of movement: a gradual and at times spontaneous sociological movement in terms of lifestyle, resulting in an historical shift from tribal/semi-nomadic society to a settled society with, in many areas, ethnic plurality (Eksell 1995); and small- and large-scale population movements both within and without the Peninsula, effectively since the beginning of time. People from different tribes and sub-tribes were, and continue to be, brought together by religious pilgrimages, trade caravans, the need for new pastures, weekly markets, alliances and, until today, migratory work. This movement has also, as we can see from published lists of non-Arabic loan words (e.g. Prokosch 1983a, 1983b), brought Arabic speakers into linguistic contact with many other languages. With few, if any, exceptions, Arabic dialects, therefore, have never been in a state of total isolation.

2. Geographical areas

Adapting Jastrow's (2002) geographical classifications, the areas in which Arabic is spoken can be divided up into three zones. Zone I is the area where Arabic was spoken before the rise of Islam – the Peninsula, but, following Behnstedt/Woidich (2005) and Holes (2004), excluding the southern regions where South Arabian was spoken; zone

II is the vast expanse of territory into which Arabic moved as a result of the Islamic conquests – the southern areas of the Peninsula, the Levant, Egypt, North Africa, Iraq, parts of Iran; and zone III is the geographical peripheries – linguistic enclaves or Sprachinseln situated outside the continuous Arabic language area. Zone II can be further divided into those areas affected by the first waves of the Islamic conquests – the urban areas – and those affected by later waves of Bedouin, which served to arabise the rural areas and the nomads.

The dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula are by far the most archaic. The depth of their history can only be guessed. The archaic nature of these dialects can be attributed to the shift in the political and administrative centre of gravity following the Islamic conquests to the new Islamic territories (Jastrow 2002, 348). Isolated from the innovations caused elsewhere by population movement and contact, their ancient features were mostly preserved and innovations which did take place often proceeded isolation from surrounding dialect areas. The zone II and III dialects both have an establishable history. The main academic interest of the zone II dialects, Jastrow's 'colonial Arabic', lies in their shared and non-shared innovations. The geographical peripheries of zone III are of two types – the first includes areas conquered relatively early on during the expansion of the Islamic empire from which Arabs later retreated, leaving behind isolated Sprachinseln. This has left isolated Arabic-speaking communities in present-day Iran, Uzbekistan, Central Anatolia, Khuzistan, Khurasan and Afghanistan, and languages which have developed separately from mainstream Arabic dialects in Malta and Cyprus. In Andalusia, Arabic died out altogether, leaving rich historical documentation of a once-vibrant language. The second type of geographical periphery includes areas which were influenced at a later stage by Arabic, principally through trade contacts and in some cases through conquest. This activity resulted in new outreach Arabic-speaking communities, particularly in sub-saharan Africa – Chad, Nigeria. Due to the nature by which Arabic came to sub-saharan Africa and due to the language situation in the region, Arabic came to be used principally as a trading lingua-franca and as one language among many in a polyglottal society.

3. The documentation of Arabic dialects

3.1. The Levant

Most documentation has been done on dialects of zone II, with the Levant particularly well served over the years. Early researchers covered the ground fairly evenly, and included the first atlas of Arabic dialects, Bergsträsser's *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina* (1915), the dictionary by Barthélemy *Dictionaire arabe-français* (1939 – 1955), Bauer's *Das palästinische Arabisch* (1910), and work by Cantineau, *Le dialecte arabe de Palmyre* (2 volumes, 1934) and *Les parlers arabes du Ḥōrān* (2 volumes, 1940, 1946). Work on Damascene Arabic was initiated by Wehr, whose recordings were later published by Bloch/Grotzfeld (1964), followed by two grammars by Grotzfeld (1964, 1965), and a syntax by Bloch (1965). In 1964, Cowell published a comprehensive grammar of Damascene Arabic, including some of the first detailed syntactic analyses of an Arabic dialect. This was followed by a descriptive grammar by Ambros (1977). In more

recent times, work on other Syrian dialects has been conducted by Arnold (1998) on Antiochia, Behnstedt, with studies of Aleppo, Soukhne (1994) and his monumental dialect atlas of the Syrian dialects, *Sprachatlas von Syrien* (1997–2000), and Gralla (2006). Since the latter half of the twentieth century, the dialects of Jordan and Palestinian have been researched by Blanc (1953, 1970), Palva (e.g. 1970, 1984, 1992), Piamenta (1966), Bani Yasin and Owens (1984), Seeger (2009), Rosenhouse (e.g. 1984), Levin (1994), Durand (1996) and Shahin (2000). The most significant descriptive and typological work on Lebanese Arabic was accomplished by Henri Fleisch (1974), who categorised the Lebanon into four dialect areas – north, central north, south and central south. Five monographs exist on the dialects – Féghali (1919) on Kfar ʻAbīda, Jiha (1964) on Bišmizzīn, El-Hajjé (1954) on Tripoli, Abu-Haidar (1979) on the dialect of Baskinta, and Naïm-Sanbar (1985a) on the dialect of ʻAyn al-Muraysa. Other studies include Féghali (1928), Naïm-Sanbar (1985b) and Kallas (1995). Some teaching grammars of Lebanese exist, but, most probably as a direct result of the sixteen-year long civil war (1975–1990), less work has been done on Lebanese in recent years than on the Palestinian/Jordanian/Syrian dialects.

3.2. Egypt and Sudan

Egypt was less evenly covered in the early days (cf. Harrell 1962a). Until Woidich and then Behnstedt/Woidich's work dating from the 1970s, Egyptian Arabic was considered synonymous with Cairene Arabic, with publications such as that of Spitta-Bey in 1880 and Vollers (1896). Their work, which culminated in the six volumes of *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte* (Behnstedt/Woidich 1985–1999) and covered the Delta, the Nile valley and the oases, revealed a rich and variegated dialect landscape. In addition to Woidich's *magnus opus*, *Das Kairenisch-Arabische: Grammatik* (2006a), the pair have also published articles individually: Behnstedt on the dialect of Alexandria (1980), and Woidich (e.g. 1974, 1989, 1993, 1995) on many aspects of Cairene and other Egyptian, particularly oasis, dialects. In 2007, Drop/Woidich published a comprehensive grammar of the oasis dialect of il-Baḥariyya. Since the second half of the twentieth century, work by other scholars has included Harrell (1957) on the phonology of (mainly) Cairene Arabic, Khalafallah (1969) and Nishio (1994) on dialects of Upper Egypt, de Jong on Fayyūm (de Jong 1996) and, in particular, on Bedouin dialects of the northern Sinai (de Jong 1995, 2000), an area which had been under- or unresearched earlier due to the sensitive political nature of the area. Several sociolinguistic works, mainly on Cairene, have also been conducted by Haeri (1996), Miller (2005), and others. Cairene has also been the subject of a number of generative grammatical studies, including the syntax by Wise (1975) and the phonology by Broselow (1976).

Early work on Sudanese Arabic includes sketches by Worsley (1925), Trimingham (1946), and Hillelson (1935). Reichmuth (1983) produced a grammar of the Šukriyya, including one of the first reliable studies of the intonation of an Arabic dialect. Abu Manga/Miller (1992) have conducted sociolinguistic studies in Sudan, and Bergman produced a grammar of Sudanese Arabic in 2002. Working with a Sudanese informant in exile, Dickins most recently published a study on the phonematics of Central Sudanese (2007). Among others (e.g. Tosco 1995), Miller (1983, 2002, 2007) has produced several articles on the Sudanese Arabic-based pidgin, Juba Arabic, spoken in the Equa-

torial province of southern Sudan. Further fieldwork in Sudan since the late 1980s has been hindered practically and morally unworkable by the political and economic situation.

3.3. Mesopotamia

The language situation in Iraq was almost unknown before Blanc's publication on the *Communal dialects of Baghdad* in 1964, in which he described the three main dialects of Jews, Christians and Muslims and outlined the Mesopotamian dialect area with its primary bifurcation into mainly non-Muslim *qəltu* and Muslim *gələt* dialects. Other publications on Baghdadi dialects include Malaika (1963) on the Muslim dialect, Mansour (1991) on the Jewish dialect, and Abu-Haidar on the Christian dialect (1991). Jastrow's extensive publications on the Anatolian *qəltu* dialects (1973, 1978, 1979, 1981, 2003), the Jewish dialects of Arbil and ʻAqra in northern Iraq (1990) and the Jewish and Muslim varieties of Mosul Arabic (1979), together with recent work by Wittrich (2001) on the dialect of Āzəx, and Abu-Haidar on Rabīʕa (2004) have ensured a far better coverage of the minority dialects of Iraq than of the majority Muslim dialects. The areas Jastrow (2002, 351) lists as still awaiting detailed dialectological research, doubtless of enormous scientific worth, will now have to wait as the country continues at the time of writing to be embroiled in a US-inspired civil war of catastrophic proportions.

3.4. North Africa

Research on the coastal dialects of North Africa and Andalusian Spain began relatively early. These countries were easy to travel to, particularly the coastal regions – neither too far in terms of distance nor, as French colonies, administratively opaque. The very earliest works by Pedro de Alcalá (republished in 1928) on the dialect of Granada go back to the early sixteenth century. Works completed in the late-nineteenth, early-twentieth centuries include those by Kampffmeyer (1903, 1905, 1909, 1913) on Moroccan and Algerian, Marçais on Tlemcen (1902) and Tangiers (1911), Cohen on Jewish Algiers (1912) and Stumme on Tunis (1896). Around the middle of the twentieth century fieldwork in North Africa received new momentum and resulted in publications by a number of, again mainly French, scholars, including Brunet (1931, 1952), Boris (1958), P. Marçais (1956), Pérès (1958) on Algerian, Harrell (1962b, 1966) on Moroccan, Cohen (1964–1975) on Jewish Tunisian, Singer (1958) on Tunisian, and Grand'henry (1972, 1976) on Algerian. More recent work on Moroccan Arabic includes publications by Heath (1987, 2002), Caubet (1993, 2000), Vicente (2000), Behnstedt/Benabbou (2002) and Behnstedt (2004, 2005). Recent publications on Algerian Arabic include those by Boucherit (2002) and Souag (2005). Recent work on Libyan Arabic includes Owens (1984) on eastern Libyan, Abumdas (1985) on Libyan Arabic phonology, Pereira (2001, 2003) on Tripoli, and Yoda (2005) on the Jewish dialect of Tripoli. Recent publications on Tunisian include Talmoudi (1980), Singer (1980, 1984), and Behnstedt (1998) on the communal dialects of Djerba. The dialect of Ḥassāniyya

spoken in Mauritania and Mali, with its historical links to southern Yemen, may prove to be one of the most interesting dialect groups; in recent years we have been fortunate to have publications by Cohen (1963), Taine-Cheikh (1988, 2003), including, in the case of the latter, a multi-volume dictionary, and Heath (2003, 2004), in addition to socio- and ethnolinguistic work by Tauzin (1993). To this section must also be mentioned the important work by Corriente, in particular, on the no longer extant Andalusian Arabic (1977, 1989, 2006).

3.5. The Arabian Peninsula

The Arabian Peninsula has for various political, social and administrative reasons held on to its secrets for far longer than dialects spoken around the Mediterranean. Few significant publications appear to have been produced until the second half of the twentieth century, and even now large areas of the Peninsula remain unknown.

The most important works on Saudi Arabian dialects include Schreiber's description of Mekkan (1971), linguistic descriptions by Johnstone (1967), Sieny (1978), Abboud (1979), Ingham (1982, 1994, 2008), sketches by Prochazka (1988a, 1990, 1991) together with his country-wide survey (Prochazka 1988b), and works on the oral narrative by Sowayan (1992) and the most impressive five-volume work of Kurpershoek (1994–2005). In recent years, native speaker researchers have begun to conduct work on the dialects of ʻAsīr (Al-Azraqi 1998, Asiri 2007).

European research on Yemeni dialects began in the south in the late nineteenth century with Landberg (1901, 1905–1913). Since then the most significant publications have included Rossi on the dialect of Sanʕā' and his sketches of rural dialects (1938, 1939, 1940), Goitein (1934), the sketch of Yemeni dialects by Diem (1973), from the 1980s until the 2000s the dialect atlases, dialect sketches and glossaries of Behnstedt (e.g. 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1991, 2006), the syntax of Sanʕāni by Watson (1993), the grammar of Sanʕāni by Naïm (2009), the grammar of Manāxa by Werbeck (2001), the two-volume dictionary of post-classical Yemeni Arabic by Piamenta (1990–1991), and the monolingual dictionary by al-Iryani (1996). We also have article-length sketches of various dialects, including al-Gades by Goitein (1960), Jiblah by Jastrow (1986), Zabid by Prochazka (1987), Dhālaʕ and Yāfiʕ by Vanhove (e.g. 1993, 2004), Ġaylḥabbān by Habtour (1988), word stress in Sanʕāni by Naïm-Sanbar (1994), Baradduni by Bettini (1985, 1986), Ibb by Watson (2007b), the Tihāma dialect area by Greenman (1979) and Simeone-Senelle et al (1994), and dialects of the Ḥaḍramawt by Al-Saqqaf (e.g. 2006).

The earliest publications on Omani dialects include Reinhardt (1894) and the very sketchy description by Jayakar (1889). In recent years, work has been conducted on various dialects by Brockett (1985), Holes (1989, 1996, 1998), Glover (1988) and Kaplan (2006). The Gulf dialects, particularly those of Bahrayn and Kuwait, but also Abu Dhabi, have been treated by Johnstone (1967), Ingham (1982), Procházka (1981), Al-Tajir (1982), Al-Rawi (1990) and Holes (1987, 2001, 2004, 2005).

3.6. Dialect enclaves and sub-saharan Africa

Studies on dialect enclaves have been conducted on Uzbekistan, principally by the Russians Vinnikov (1962, 1969) and Tsereteli (1956), also by Fischer (1961) and Jastrow

(1995, 1998, 2005), Khurasan (Seeger 2002), Khuzistan (Ingham 1973, 1976, 1991), and on the dialect of the Maronite community in Cyprus (Borg 1985, 2004). The Arabic dialects of south-east Turkey were studied by Sasse (1971) and, more recently, Procházka (2002). Studies on the relatively recent Arabic dialects in sub-saharan Africa include, in particular, work on Nigeria by Lethem (1920), Kaye (1982–1986) and Owens (1985, 1993a, 1993b, 1998), and Chad by Hagège (1973), Kaye (1976), Roth (1969–72, 1979), Owens (1985), Zeltner/Tourneau (1986) and Jullien de Pommerol (1990, 1999).

In addition to the works mentioned above, there are, of course, the many dialect sketches in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (2006–2009).

4. Comparative studies of linguistic issues

A number of comparative studies of single linguistic issues within Arabic dialects have been conducted. These include the book-length studies by Fischer (1959) on the demonstratives, Janssens (1972) on word stress, Eksell Harning (1980) on the analytic genitive, Retsö (1983) on the passive, Procházka (1993) on prepositions, Mörth (1997) on the cardinal numbers from one to ten, Cuvalay-Haak (1997) on the verb, Dahlgren (1998) on word order, and Brustad (2000) on aspects of the syntax of four dialect areas. The comparative studies include a number of articles dealing with phonological issues, including reflexes of *q and the old interdentals (Taine-Cheikh 1998), and reflexes of *p̄ / *ḍ (Al-Wer 2004); particles and grammaticalisation, including Taine-Cheikh (2004a) and Versteegh (2004) on different interrogatives, and Taine-Cheikh (2004b) on future particles; the active participle (Caubet 1991); and the behaviour of relative clauses and genitive constructions (Retsö 2004). Areas that have attracted considerable interest from phoneticians and generative phonologists as well as from dialectologists include phonological emphasis in terms of both its phonetic correlates and the domain of emphasis spread (e.g. Jakobson 1957, Ghazeli 1977, Younes 1993, Davis 1995, Bellem 2007), the articulatory phonetics of ʕayn (e.g. Heselwood 2007), and syllabification and syllable structure (e.g. Fischer 1969, Selkirk 1981, Broselow 1992, Kiparsky 2003, Watson 2007a).

Certain comparative lexical studies have been undertaken, particularly in the dialect atlases of Behnstedt (1985, 1987a, 1997–2000) and Behnstedt/Woidich (1985–1999). A comparative study of unmarked feminine nouns was published by Procházka in 2004. However a lacuna in the literature is a comprehensive study of the distribution of basic lexical items throughout the Arabic world. This will be filled by the lexical dialect atlas WAD project currently being undertaken by Behnstedt/Woidich in collaboration with other researchers. With the additional planned uploading of dialect maps onto the Semitic Sound Archive, this project will give researchers an unprecedented means of appreciating links between different dialects and dialect regions.

5. Introductions to modern Arabic dialects

Introductions to modern Arabic dialects as a whole include the initial chapter of *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte* edited by Fischer/Jastrow (1980), introductory volumes

by Durand (1995) and Abboud-Haggar (2003), and a number of articles in handbooks or less widely available publications, including Retsö (1992) and Kaye/Rosenhouse (1997).

6. What is distinctive about Arabic?

Arabic shares with most other Semitic languages a rich consonantal system beside an impoverished vocalic system, but is distinct from these langages in its relatively large number of established verbal forms, commonly labelled by Arabists with the Roman numerals I through to X (including XI in North Africa), quantitative distinction in the vowels, and a set of emphatic coronal obstruents which are, in the vast majority of cases (although cf. below) realised as pharyngealised.

Apart from much of the language enclaves and the new zone III area, Arabic dialects enjoy an at least partially diglossic relationship with the Standard language (cf. Boussofara-Omar 2007), a factor which leads to doublets in many dialects, particularly where an original lexeme may be used in an elevated register in one sense and in a household register in another sense. Examples of such doublets include: Bahrayni ʕarab: *ğidir* 'cooking pot' v. *gidar* 'he was able'; *ytiğaddam* 'he comes forward' v. *yatqaddam* 'he is making progress' (Holes 2005, xxix); Najdi *cān* 'if' versus *kān* 'it was' (Ingham 1994).

6.1. Arabic before the spread of Islam

The position of Arabic within the Arabian Peninsula in the centuries before Islam cannot be totally known. We have evidence from inscriptions that Arabic was used in some register or other in widely separated areas in the Arabian Peninsula in the centuries before the rise of Islam: the oldest Arabic inscription known to date is that of ʕgl bin Hfʕm in Qaryat al-Faw written in Sabaic script, which probably dates from the end of the first century BC (Macdonald 2000). Other inscriptions written in mixed Arabic and Nabataean or Dadanite suggest a period of multilingualism and almost certainly mutual comprehensibility of Aramaic and Arabic – the Aramaeo-Arabic inscription in Mleiḥa (Mulayḥa) in today's United Arab Emirates shows that old Arabic was in use in this area at least in the second century AD. Beyond the Peninsula, to the north, east and west, there is evidence of settlement of groups of Arabic speakers, due primarily to ecological and economic reasons: parts of Syria had, for considerable time, been the summer grazing area of nomadic Arab tribes – reference to this seasonal movement is made in the Qur'ān, sūra 106:1–2 *'īlāfihim riḥlata al-šitā'i wa-l-ṣayfi*. In other areas, including the Bekaa valley and parts of present-day Israel, large groups of Arabs appear to have settled permanently as early as the sixth century. By the mid-seventh century, large groups of Arabic-speaking tribesmen had settled the western edge of Mesopotamia; within Egypt, along the eastern periphery of the Nile valley and into the deserts in the east and northeast, gradual settlement by disparate Arab tribal elements had been taking place over centuries (Holes 2004). Long before the Islamic conquests, there was Arabic contact with Egypt due to movement in search of pastures.

Importantly, all these areas – Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt – were polyglottal on the eve of the Islamic conquests, a factor which would facilitate the introduction of Arabic.

Ancient Arabic, as we know from descriptions of the Arab grammarians, was not a single variety, but had many distinct dialects (Sibawayhi 1982, Rabin 1951, Cadora 1992). This is not disputed. What is disputed, however, is the origin of the modern Arabic dialects. Do all modern Arabic dialects share a single unified ancestor, or do they have many different, but related, ancestors? And if they share a single ancestor, how is this ancestor related to Classical Arabic or to the ʕarabiyya, and are these latter one and the same language? Versteegh (1984) saw the ancient written and spoken language as essentially the same and as the origin of all modern dialects, saying: 'In my view, the only reasonable conclusion to be drawn on the basis of the evidence of grammatical literature is that, essentially, the colloquial and the literary language of the Arab tribes, both before the conquest and for a long time afterward, were identical' (Versteegh 1984, 3).

However, the majority of researchers today do not believe that ancient literary and colloquial Arabic was a single, unified language. The Arab grammarians made reference to the spoken language, and in doing so pointed out salient linguistic differences between the tribes and tribal groups, some of which were regarded as acceptable or neutral, others of which were frowned upon. The fact that they were able to make value judgements that were accepted by other grammarians suggests movement towards a literary koine. Dialect phenomena were given names, such as *ʕanʕanah, kaškašah, taltalah,* and *ʕajʕajah* (Rabin 1951) – today's derogatory reference to Yemenis south of the Sumārah pass as *luġluġī* by northern speakers because of the former's tendency to pronounce qāf as [q] is reminiscent of the ancient labels. Some of the ancient dialect features are preserved in the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīṯ – e.g. *kaškašah* – the Prophet himself is famously recorded as saying the following, using the m-definite article from Tihāmah: *laysa min am-birri m-ṣiyām fi m-safar* 'it is not pious to fast while travelling' (cf. Greenman 1979).

7. The relationship between ancient Arabic and the modern dialects

Over the years, the relationship between the ancient and the modern dialects has been essentially viewed in four opposing ways: the dialects of today are considered to be either the descendants of the ancient Arabic described by the Arab grammarians, or descendants of a modern language which already existed in the western cities of Mekka and Medina before Islam (Vollers 1906; Holes 2004), or the descendants of a post-Islamic koinised language which already possessed many features of modern Arabic dialects (Fück 1950, Ferguson 1959), or separate descendants of many different dialects (Edzard 1998). Corriente (1975, 1976), on the basis of examining the native grammarians' sources, postulates a central region with tribes speaking ancient Arabic dialects and border regions – Northern Ḥijāz, Syria and Lower Mesopotamic – where dialects of a modern Arabic type developed through the gradual disuse of functionally low-yielding devices. This modern variety then spread through drift to Yemen, Ḥijāz and Tihāmah. What many saw to be the relatively unified nature of Arabic dialects, how-

ever, probably due to the focus at that time on the colonial zone II dialects around the Mediterranean, lead to arguments in favour of a monogenetic origin at some stage (cf. Fischer 1995). Fück (1950) believed that the modern dialects developed in the military camps through the smoothing away of dialect-specific features from the ancient dialects. For him, this resulted, most particularly, in the loss of the case system and the erasure of mood differences in the verb. Ferguson (1959) saw the ancient language as comprising different dialects and attributed what he saw as the unified nature of all modern dialects to the koinisation supposed to have originated in the military settlements of Egypt and Syria. He was the first to specifically enumerate features which distinguished all modern dialects from Classical Arabic. The fifteen linguistic features which he claimed to be present in all modern dialects, but absent in the language of the poets and the Qur'an are:

(1) the loss of the dual in the verbs and the pronouns
(2) the sound shift a > i in prefixes (*taltalah*)
(3) the merger of IIIw and IIIy verbs
(4) the analogous treatment of the geminate verbs, which made them indistinguishable
(5) from form II of the IIIw/y verbs
(6) the use of li- affixed to verbs for indirect objects
(7) the loss of polarity in the cardinal numbers 13−19
(8) the velarisation of /t/ in the cardinal numbers 13−19
(9) the disappearance of the feminine elative *fuʕlā'*
(10) the adjective plural *fuʕāl* < *fiʕāl*
(11) the suffix for denominal adjectives (nisba) *-ī* < *-iyy*
(12) the use of the verb *ǧāb* < *ǧā'a bi-* 'to bring'
(13) the use of the verb *šāf* instead of *ra'ā* 'to see'
(14) the use of the indeclinable relative marker *illī*
(15) the merger of /ḍ/ and //

Between them, Cohen (1970), who rejected the monogenetic explanation of the origin of the dialects, and Versteegh (1984), who controversially did not, propose a further twenty features. Versteegh's hypothesis is founded on a belief that the modern dialects are descended from one uniform linguistic entity − not Ferguson's military koine, as we saw above, but 'the essentially uniform language of the Jāhiliyya' − through a complex process of pidginisation, followed by creolisation and then de-creolisation (Versteegh 1984, 6). The additional features − 16−22 from Cohen, and 23−35 from Versteegh − are given as listed in Versteegh (1984, 20−21).

(16) the occlusive realisation of the interdental spirants
(17) the partial or complete disappearance of *-h-* in the pronominal suffix of the 3rd person masc. after consonants
(18) the loss of the gender distinction in the plural of pronouns and verbs
(19) the quadrilateral plural patterns *fʕālil* instead of *f(a)ʕālīl*
(20) the diminutive pattern *f(u)ʕayyal*
(21) the use of a verbal particle with the imperfect verb to indicate present durative
(22) the use of an analytical possessive construction
(23) the loss of the glottal stop
(24) the reduction of short vowels in open syllables

(25) the reduction of the opposition /i/−/u/
(26) the assimilation of the feminine endings *-at, -ā, -ā' > a*
(27) the disappearance of the internal passive
(28) the assimilation of the verbal patterns *faʕula* and *faʕila*
(29) the tendency to re-analyse biradical nouns as triradical nouns
(30) the loss of the IVth measure
(31) the agreement in number between subject and verbal predicate
(32) the nominal periphrasis of interrogative adverbs
(33) the word order SVO in place of VSO
(34) the use of serial verbs
(35) the tendency to use asyndetic constructions for expressions with modal meaning, such as *lāzim* 'must'.

In the years following, however, these features have been shown to be at best tendencies in Arabic dialects, since the more dialect data becomes available the more we find these features are not universally shared and the more difficult it becomes to define an entity called modern Arabic colloquial which contrasts wholly with ancient Arabic (Diem 1991, Behnstedt/Woidich 2005). From the above list, Behnstedt/Woidich (2005, 11−20) examine six phonological features, seven morphological features, three syntactic features, the apparent analytic tendency of modern dialects (cf. Holes 2004) and lexical features. They demonstrate both that at least some dialects fail to exhibit many of these supposed modern Arabic dialect features and that some of these features may have already existed in one or more variety of ancient Arabic, and hence cannot be described as exclusively modern Arabic dialect features. To Behnstedt/Woidich's list, we now know that point 13, the invariable relative pronoun, is not found overall in the Arab world. Recent research by Asiri (2007, 2009) and earlier observations by Prochazka (1988b) point to the use of a gender/number variable relative pronoun in parts of south-western 'Asīr. Thus, in Rijāl Alma', the relative pronoun following a masculine singular head noun is *ḍā*, following a feminine singular head noun *tā*, following a human plural head noun *wulā* and following an inanimate plural head noun *mā* (Asiri 2007, 2009), as in:

antah rayta m-walad ṭā šarad	'have you seen the boy who ran away?'
gābalt im-brat tā lisa yasma'	'I met the girl who can't hear'
gābalt im-'uwāl wulā sarag/u m-maḥall	'I met the boys who stole from the shop'
im-maḥāll mā bana/ha	'the houses that he built'

Increasing numbers of researchers suggest a comparison between Classical Arabic and the modern Arabic dialects to be intrinsically flawed, due to the fact that Classical Arabic almost certainly never reflected the linguistic system of the ancient dialects (Eksell 1995, Owens 2006, cf. already Vollers 1906). The difference between the modern dialects and Classical Arabic is not only one of time, but also one of register − the dialects reflect only the spoken language, Classical Arabic essentially only the written language (Eksell 1995). Eksell argues that there is no evidence in the sources for the development of Arabic dialects for either a koine or a pidgin form (Eksell 1995, 64). In some cases, features which apparently occur in all modern dialects may well have never existed in the spoken ancient dialects, or may have already become functionless due to redundancy. Fischer (1995) examines one feature − the dual in pronouns and

verbal inflections, the absence of which distinguishes all modern dialects from Classical Arabic. He argues, however, that it may never have existed at all in the ancient Arabic dialects. In verbs and pronouns, the Classical Arabic dual clearly shows a secondary character – in the third person verbal forms, the *-ā* dual ending is attached to the singular form (as in *katabā* 'they m.dual wrote' and *katabatā* 'they f.dual wrote') while in the independent pronouns and the second person verbal forms the *-ā* ending is suffixed to the plural forms (as in *humā* 'they dual', *katabtumā* 'you dual wrote' and *antumā* 'you m.dual') (Fischer 1995, 83). This makes the dual appear to be very much a secondary feature. Fischer assumes that the dual endings in pronominal forms were never actually heard, but rather restricted to 'der Herausbildung einer gehobenen Sprachebene' (Fischer 1995, 83). Should Fischer's hypothesis be correct, we could no longer say that the modern Arabic dialects lost the dual, but rather that the spoken ancient Arabic dialects never possessed it.

Some linguistic changes appear to have been already well underway before the main Islamic conquests. Corriente (1975, 53; 1976, 95) argues, on the basis of evidence from Sībawayhi (vol 1/201), *Kitāb al-Aġānī*, the Qur'ān and poetry, that agreement of the verb in number with the subject in all positions, as exemplied by *akalūnī l-baraġīṯ*, apparently exceptionless in modern dialects was already common in pre-Islamic times among the Bedouin and in other types of ancient Arabic. Corriente (1978) and Brown (2007) show that *ḍād* and *ā'* were already in free variation in pre-Islamic times. Diem (1991) addresses the absence of case and mood distinctions and the absence of final vowels or definiteness endings in the modern dialects. He argues that it was not, as traditionally supposed (cf. Fück 1950), the loss of final vowels that lead to the loss of case and mood distinctions, but rather the increasing redundancy of the case system which lead to syntactic change and then to phonetic loss. Papyri dating back to the first half of the first century AH already show an absence of case, indicating that loss of the case system was well advanced before the Islamic conquests, and was thus already a feature of pre-modern Arabic. The choice of the oblique form for the sound masculine plural and dual in, apparently, all dialects can be explained by the fact that the accusative/genitive is far more common than the nominative. Where linguistic forms are generalised, the generalised form is predicted to be that most commonly heard – in this case, the oblique form.

8. Features of modern Arabic dialects as universal tendencies

Many of the tendencies listed above, including those which appear to unify the Arabic dialects, can be attributed either to language universal tendencies or to predictable phonological processes. The loss of interdentals found in many, but not all, zone II dialects is not peculiar to Arabic – interdentals are rare in the languages of the world (Maddieson 1984) and often tend to be shifted to dental stops, as in Irish English, or labio-dental fricatives – as in Cockney English. The use of analogy to reduce the number of linguistic forms is attested cross-linguistically, with the more common of two forms being generalised – e.g. IIIw is likely to be reanalysed on analogy to IIIy since IIIw is rare in Arabic and IIIy is the pattern most similar to IIIw. Cluster reduction and syllable contraction in common basic lexemes is attested in all languages –

e.g. English *sju:* 'see you' (Bybee 2001). The formation of verbs from verb + prepositional phrase, as in *jāb* < *jā'a bi-* 'to bring' or from prepositional phrases, as in San'ani *baxxar* 'to make better' < *bi-xayr* 'well', is also attested in other languages. Reanalysis of *t in the numbers between 11−19 as /ṭ/ can be analysed phonologically as /t/ assimilating the pharyngeal element of the following /ʕ/.

9. Features of modern Arabic dialects as grammaticalisation

9.1. Adverbs

Several apparently shared features fall under the category of grammaticalisation − these include the nominal periphrasis of interrogative adverbs (cf. Taine-Cheikh 2004a), verbal preformatives in the imperfect and exponents of the analytical genitive construction. The formation of function words and particles from content words through grammaticalisation is a feature of languages the world over, and affects in particular the formation of high frequency function words (cf. Woidich 1995). The definite article in many languages, including Arabic (Voigt 1998), has developed through the grammaticalisation of demonstratives − elements which are phonologically larger and syntactically more independent than the article. Similarly, adverbs are commonly formed by grammaticalisation: in the case of Arabic, very few words in the Classical language have a purely adverbial function − in most cases, the dependent case is used to indicate adverbialness (Watson 2006). Adverbs are frequently and repeatedly used in spoken language and therefore the requirements of communication are likely to result in innovation. Words or phrases relating to time or place or manner or degree/amount are semantically bleached, often phonologically reduced, and become restricted in use. The English adverbs, *today* and *tomorrow*, are derived ultimately from semantic bleaching and phonological contraction of 'this day' and 'this morrow'. Semantic bleaching without phonological reduction frequently results in doublets − as a content word, the form has one sense, and as an adverb another. In German, *morgen* has both the sense of 'morning' and the adverbial sense 'tomorrow'; in standard Arabic *al-yawm(a)* has both the sense of 'the day [acc.]' and the adverbial sense of 'today'. And grammaticalisation is not a prejorative of modern languages. The grammaticalised form of /ayyu šay'in/ in the sense of 'what' was also known to have been in use since early times, and is recorded variously as *ayš, ayšin* and *ayši* in *Kitāb al-Aġānī* (Corriente 1975, 53). We also see grammaticalisation of *ywm* and *ym* in Sabaic, which adopted the adverbial sense of 'when'.

Consider the following table of interrogative pronouns.

Non-interrogative adverbs result from grammaticalization of nouns or adjectives. Forms for 'now' resulting from the grammaticalisation of (mainly) noun phrases involving, principally, grammaticalisation of cognates of the time words *sāʕa* 'hour', *waqt* 'time' and *ḥīn* 'time' are given in the table below:

Other adverbs formed through grammaticalisation include quantifiers such as the diminutive noun *šuwayyah* 'small thing', which in most non-peripheral dialects has now developed the adverbial sense 'a little'; Cairene *ʔawi*, Yemeni *gawī/qawī* (*qawī 'strong'), which has the sense of 'very' following an adjective, 'much, a lot' following

Tab. 50.1: Interrogative pronouns in Arabic dialects

	When	Where	Why	How	How many?	How much?
Ṣanʕānī	?ayyaḥīn	?ayn	lilmā	kayf	kam	
Cairene	?imta	fēn	lēh	?izzāy	kām	
Damascus	?ēmta	wēn/fēn	lēš	kīf/šlōn	kamm	?addēš
Muslim Baghdad	yəmte/ (i)šwakit	wayn	layš/luwayš	šlōn	bayš/šgəd	čəm/ škəm/ šgəd
Mardin	aymat(e)	ayn	layš	?ašwan		
Cherchill, Algeria	ḏīwqāš	fāyen	ʕalēš/lēš	kifāš/kīš	šḥāl	
Khartoum	mitēn	wēn	lē šnu/lēh	kēf	kam	

Tab. 50.2: 'Now' in Arabic dialects

Dialect	Dialect form	Classical cognate
Baghdad	hassa	*hāḏihi s-sāʕa
Khartoum	hassi / hassaʕ	*hāḏihi s-sāʕa
Damascus	halla?	*hāḏā l-waqt
Jerusalem	hal?ēt	*hā-l-wuqayt
Sanʕā?	ḏalḥīn	*hāḏā l-ḥīn
Najdi	ha-l-ḥīn	*hāḏā l-ḥīn
Cairo	dilwa?ti	*hāḏā l-waqt
Algiers	drūk (dərwək)	*hāḏā l-waqt
Rabat	dāba	*?iḍā bi-
Tunis	tawwa	*taww-an

a verb; *yōm/yawm* (*yawm 'day') has the sense of 'when' in many dialects, including the Omani dialect of Khābūra (Brockett 1985, 225), Yemeni Rāziḥīt, Ḥōrān (Cantineau 1946, 409–410) and əl-ʕAǧārma (Palva 1976, 52); Khābūra *il-ʕām* (*al-ʕām 'the year') has the sense of 'last year' in adverbial contexts (Brockett 1985, 164); Khartoum *gawām*, Damascene *?awām* (*qawām 'support') has developed the adverbial sense of 'immediately'.

9.2. Conjunctions

Further grammaticalisation can take place to produce conjunctions from adverbs and pragmatic particles from conjunctions. Thus, Cairene *aḥsan* has through the shifting of syntactic boundaries acquired in certain contexts the additional conjunctional sense of 'because', as in: *ikkallimu f-ḥāga tanya aḥsan il-ḥīṭān laha wdān* 'talk about something else because the walls have ears' (Woidich 1995). As a pragmatic device, *aḥsan* has developed the sense of 'lest; otherwise', as in: *ibʕid ʕanni aḥsan a'ṭaʕlak widānak* 'get away from me otherwise I'll cut off your ears' (ibid, cf. also Woidich 1991). Similarly the relative pronoun *illi* has through grammaticalisation acquired additional conjunctive functions in the sense of 'that' or 'because' and in the case of zayy illi 'als ob' (Woidich 1988). The shifting of morphological boundaries can also produce suffixes.

This has occurred in the case of Cairene *-ṭāšar* from the teen numerals (e.g. *talatṭāšar* 'thirteen') where /ṭ/ was originally part of the first element (e.g. *talātat*). The remorphologised suffix can now be affixed to non-numeral forms as in *ḥāgaṭāšar* 'some number between 13 and 19' (ibid).

9.3. The genitive exponent

With the exception of some Peninsula Bedouin dialects and dialects of south-eastern Turkey (Procházka 2002), Arabic dialects have a genitive exponent which may be used in place of the synthetic genitive construction (*iḍāfah*). In contrast to Versteegh's (1984) claims, however, work on the analytic genitive by Munzel (1949) and Eksell Harning (1980 , cf. Eksell 2006, 2009) demonstrates not that the analytic genitive has replaced the synthetic genitive, but rather that the choice of the analytic over the synthetic genitive, in addition to being commonly restricted to alienable as opposed to inalienable possession, as in: *laḥmi* 'my flesh' versus *il-laḥm bitāʕi* 'meat that belongs to me [e.g. that I bought]', may at any one time be due to formal reasons to avoid the complexity and ambiguity of the synthetic genitive, or to stylistic and/or rhythmic factors.

Tab. 50.3: Genitive exponents

Dialect	Dialect form	Pre-grammaticalised cognate
Baghdad	māl	māl 'property; possessions'
Upper Egypt	ihnīn	hana 'thing'
Chad	hana	hana 'thing'
Damascus	tabaʕ	tabaʕ 'property'
Jerusalem	šēt	šay' 'thing'
Yemen	ḥagg	ḥagg 'right; property'
Negev	šuġl	šuġl 'work'
Aleppo, Palmyra	geyy/gī	unknown
Cairo	bitāʕ	bitāʕ 'property'
Oman	māl	māl 'property'
	ḥāl	ḥāl 'state'
Tunis (Jews)	ntāʕ, tāʕ, ta-	matāʕ 'property'
Morocco, north-west	d-, dyal	demonstrative element

The genitive exponents have resulted either from the semantic bleaching and, in some cases, phonological reduction of nouns relating to possession or property, wealth, work, thing, or state, or are etymologically related to relative or demonstrative elements. These latter appear to be restricted to parts of Anatolia and the Maghrib. As early as 1900, Kampffmeyer suggested that the *d-* elements in the Maghrib were ancient. *d-* and *ḏ-* elements in South Arabian function demonstratively, relatively and as a genitive exponent and were introduced, Kampffmeyer proposes, with the immigration of South Arabian tribes in the eleventh century (cf. Eksell Harning 1980). Consider the following table showing a selection of genitive exponents.

9.4. Verbal preformatives

Verbal preformatives are said to be typical of most modern Arabic dialects. While the preformative *bi-* is not attested in Classical Arabic, however, the preformative *sa-* for

the future is; thus, while verbal preformatives are common in modern Arabic dialects, they are not the exclusive property of the dialects. The majority of verbal preformatives again result from grammaticalisation. The future prefix in the dialects is the result of various degrees of grammaticalisation of one of six elements (for a table of future particles, see Taine-Cheikh 2004b, 227–233):

(1) Most commonly verbal forms relating to movement, desire or becoming, including *rāḥ* 'to go' > *raḥ, aḥ, ḥ,* √*bġy* 'to wish' > *b-*;
(2) A prepositional phrase (*bi-widd* > *bidd*);
(3) A cognate of *ḥattā* 'until' in the case of Maltese *sa* and Anatolian *tə / ta / də* possibly (Taine-Cheikh 2004a);
(4) The adverb for 'now' in some dialects, including Baghdad and the Karaites of Ḥīt (Khan 1997, 92);
(5) A form of the verb *kān*: the imperfect in Algiers (Boucherit 2006); the active participle in Bukhara.
(6) The verbal inflectional marker of the verb *šā'* 'to want' in the case of dialects of Jabal Rāziḥ in Yemen; thus, *šūk* 'I want' > *šūk asīr* 'I want to go' > *k-asīr* 'I will go' (Diem 1973).

The continuous/habitual verbal preformatives result either from grammaticalisation or from direct inheritance. Thus, reflexes of *d-* and *ḏ-* found in Modern South Arabian (Mehri) in the sense of present continuous appear in some modern Yemeni dialects, in some cases with the additional sense of future or imminent future, including as-Suwādiyya, Yarīm, Uṣāb, al-Qāʕida, Radāʕ and Baynūn (Diem 1973, Behnstedt 1985). The most common verbal particle *bi-* (also *bayn-* in parts of Yemen and for the first person in Sanʕā') is almost certainly related etymologically to *bayn* (or *baynamā*) in the sense of 'in' or 'while' (Fischer/Jastrow 1980, 75). Other present continuous particles which probably at one time had the sense of 'in' include *fā-* and *hā-* prefixed to the active participle in the Yemeni dialect of Rāziḥīt, as in *him hā-gāwlīn* 'they are saying', and to an imperfect verb in a dialect spoken to the south of this area, as in *fā-yisraḥ* 'er geht jetzt' (Behnstedt 2006, 922, cf. also 1426). The grammaticalisation of a prepositional with the etymological sense of 'in' or 'while' to express the present continuous is also attested in languages totally unrelated to Arabic, as we see in the now frozen or obsolete English 'a' coming and a' going' and colloquial German *ich bin beim Lesen, beim Kochen* 'I am reading, cooking'.

In various dialects, present continuous particles are also etymologically related to expressions involving being, doing and sitting (cf. Fischer/Jastrow 1980), as listed below:

(1) Being: *kū* (< *ykūn*) in Anatolian and *kā-* and *ta-* (< *kā'in*) in Moroccan and Algerian;
(2) Sitting: *qāʕid, gāʕid, ǧāʕid, qa-, da-* in dialects of Iraq, Sudan and Jewish Tunisian;
(3) Doing: *ʕammāl*, *ʕam-* in Greater Syria and many dialects of Egypt;

10. Evidence for a polygenetic explanation

The more work is conducted on Arabic dialects, the more differences we see, on the one hand, and the more connections between various central and outer regions become

apparent, on the other. That Arabic dialects emerged and continue to emerge from a heterogeneous dialect landscape can be seen by comparing lexical, syntactic and morphological features across the Arab world, features which reflect temporary and permanent population movements. The comprehensive work of Behnstedt/Woidich (2005) provides maps illustrating shared lexemes or roots between Yemen and Morocco, on the one hand, and Syria and Morocco, on the other. Reflexes of *ğibh* 'Bienenstock' are attested in Yemen and Morocco. Reflexes of √ḍmd for 'yoke' are attested in Yemen, Morocco and Fayyūm. These lexical correspondences reflect population movement and population contact: Yemeni (and Syrian) tribes fought in the Islamic conquests in the west, and Yemeni tribes grazed their flocks in Fayyūm in the spring. Reflexes of √ġyr in the sense of 'only; just; but' are attested in Yemen, Morocco and the Modern South Arabian language, Mehri.

Historical links are also reflected morphologically, reflecting particularly starkly links between Yemen and Southern Arabia and the western Maghrib: the *s*-causative, recorded for some of the epigraphic South Arabian languages (Beeston 1984), remains a feature of Ḥassāniyya in Mauritania (Taine-Cheikh 2003), and in at least one lexicalised example, in the Yemeni dialect of Ibb (Watson 2007b, 22). Reflexes of the *l*-less relative pronoun *ḏī* are attested in parts of Yemen, Modern South Arabian and Morocco (cf. Rabin 1951, 84). Rāziḥīt is probably unique in Yemen for having the genitive exponent *hanī* – other dialects have reflexes of *ḥagg* (cf. table 53.2) – an exponent also attested in slightly different form in Upper Egypt and Nigeria. Lexical and morphological similarities between Central Sudanese and Mekkan are seen as resulting from long-term contacts – perhaps through religious pilgrimage.

Phonological processes may also be shared across distances and languages – Corriente (1989) sees the occasional total assimilation of the coronal /n/ to a following consonant in Andalusian Arabic texts as evidence for connections between Epigraphic South Arabian, where (at least in the case of Sabaic) nasal assimilation became an increasingly common process, and Andalusia. Toll (1983, 11) also notes a few instances of /n/ assimilation to obstruents in the Ḥijāzi dialect of Ghāmid: assimilation to /x/, /š/ and /t/ apparently involving the preposition /min/ 'from', and assimilation to /z/ in the word **manzal* [manzal] 'house'. Before labials and velars, /n/ assimilates in place only (e.g. [jambīya] 'dagger', [zumbil] 'basket', [muŋ kull] 'of all'). Productive total assimilation of /n/ is still attested in the Yemeni variety of Rāziḥīt adding strength to Corriente's hypothesis (Watson, Glover Stalls, Al-Razihi et al. 2006).

11. The classification of dialects

In this section, I consider the extent to which Arabic dialects can be, and have traditionally been, classified – in terms of geography, lifestyle, and religious and sectarian affiliation.

11.1. Geographical classification

Geographically, dialects have traditionally been classified broadly into a western group in the Maghrib and an eastern group in the Orient (Marçais 1977). The dialects of the

Maghrib are marked most obviously by iambic as opposed to trochaic word stress, such that *katáb* 'he wrote' is stressed on the final syllable, often with elision of the (unstressed) initial vowel (> *ktab, ktəb*), in the western dialects. With the exception of Ḥaḍramawt and Dhofār (Janssens 1972, 45–46) and some Bedouin dialects, eastern dialects exhibit trochaic word stress, giving forms such as *kátab* 'he wrote'. In some North African dialects (cf. Abumdas 1985 for Libyan), word stress is at least partially phonemic with nominal disyllabic forms being stressed on the initial syllable, verbal forms of the same pattern on the final syllable. Phonemic stress is also attested in some eastern Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse 2006). Through the Andalusian scribes' consistent habit of marking stressed syllables it appears that word stress was also phonemic in Andalusian (Corriente 2006).

There are also a number of tendencies that mark western from eastern dialects: western dialects tend to show more advanced syllable types through less epenthesis and more syncope of open syllables, while eastern dialects exhibit one of two types of epenthesis (Kiparsky 2003). As a result, western dialects are predicted to have fewer short vowels phonemically than the eastern dialects – two in some dialects, with either a collapse in distinction between the front vowels /a/ and /i/, or the high vowels /i/ and /u/, a single short vowel, /ə/, in others (cf. Fischer/Jastrow 1980). This is, however, only a tendency, and both western dialects are found with three short vowels (e.g. Muslim Tunis) and eastern dialects with two short vowels (e.g. north Mesopotamia) (cf. Fischer/Jastrow 1980). Other phonological characteristics which tend to be associated with western dialects include the instability of syllable structures, the affrication of /t/, as in *tˢikt^{ˤ}ib* 'she writes', and the palatalisation and neutralisation of sibilants such that *s/*š > /š/ and *z/*ž > /ž/.

One of the most salient morphological features which distinguishes western from eastern dialects is the *n-* first singular imperfect prefix with the plural expressed by the suffixation of *-u*, to give *niktib* 'I write' ~ *niktibu* 'we write'. Morphologically, the Maghrib is also marked by use of verbal form XI, fʕāll (e.g. *smānt* 'I became fat', where eastern dialects variously use either the IX form, ifʕall, as in Cairene, or the II form, faʕʕal, as in Sanʕāni, and by productive diminutive formation, with Ḥassāniyya showing fully productive diminutivation of both derived and non-derived verbs, as in: *ekeyteb/yekeyteb* 'écrire d'une petite écriture minable', *meylles/imeylles* 'rendre un peu lisse', diminutive of *melles/imelles* 'rendre lisse' (Taine-Cheikh 1988, 107, cf. Singer 1980). Syntactically salient in the western pre-Hilali dialects is the indefinite construction involving (in some dialects, a contraction of) *waḥd* + definite article, as in: *waḥd əṛ-ṛājəl* or *ḥa-ṛ-ṛājəl* 'a man' (Marçais 1977, 176).

The west–east boundary, however, is not as sharp as it may once have seemed. Large-scale movements of Bedouin from the west at various times in history (cf. Woidich 1993, Behnstedt /Woidich 2005) have ensured that the Egyptian dialects of the western delta and the oases (in particular, Woidich 1993) exhibit a mix of western and eastern characteristics resulting in no fully recognisable border between the Maghrib and the Mashriq (contrary to Versteegh's assertion 2001, 134). Alongside typical western features such as the *niktib* 'I write' ~ *niktibu* 'we write' paradigm in the western Egyptian Delta (Behnstedt/Woidich 2005, 103) and the oases of il-Baḥariyya and Farafra, affrication of /t/ in the oasis dialects, the *il-* verbal prefix (in place of eastern *it-*) in Farafra and south of Xarga, and final stress, a significant number of characteristics are of eastern or, in the case of the oasis dialects, more specifically northern middle

Egyptian, type (e.g. the *bukara*-syndrome). Also, in contrast to the Maghribian iambic stress, final stress is attested irrespective of syllable type in the oasis dialects and only fails to target certain suffixes (cf. Woidich 2006b.

11.2. Lifestyle classification

Dialects of groups that have only recently become sedentarised or that are still semi-nomadic show typological similarities across large distances. Thus the major classificatory division of dialects in the Arab world has traditionally been seen in terms of bedouin versus sedentary − Versteegh (1984), Rosenhouse (1984, 2006), Cadora (1992), Heath (2002) − with a further split, particularly in the Central Palestine/Jordan area, of the sedentary class into ruralite and urban (Cadora 1992, Holes 2004), where the ruralite dialects are spoken by long-established farming communities in villages.

Generally, it is claimed that Bedouin dialects are more conservative, sedentary dialects more innovative. This is because sedentary communities − particularly urban communities − are more likely to be open to new linguistic forms, to come into contact with people from other communities with whom they have to communicate, and thus avoid the more salient features of their dialect. The following features have commonly been said to distinguish Bedouin from sedentary dialects (e.g. Versteegh 1984, 11−12, cf. Holes 1996, cf. Rosenhouse 2006):

Tab. 50.4: Bedouin − Sedentary features

	Bedouin	Sedentary
*t̲ and *d̲	Preserved as interdentals	Realised as alveolar stops/ fricatives
*q	Voiced reflex	Voiceless reflex
*g	Affricate/fricative reflex	Plosive reflex
Internal passive	Preserved	Not preserved
*ay and *aw	Preserved	Monophthongised
*a, *i and *u	Preserved	Merging of two vowel phonemes in some dialects
Plural pronouns/ verbal inflections	Gender distinction preserved	No gender distinction
Verb form IV	Preserved	Replaced usu. by form II
Status constructus	Preserved	Replaced by analytic genitive
Nunation	Vestiges remain	Not attested
Word order	VSO	SVO
Syllable structure	Conservative	Advanced

The Bedouin − sedentary split has, however, been shown to be both an oversimplification and of diminishing sociological appropriacy. Holes (1996), in particular, and others (e.g. Ingham 1982; Toll 1983) have shown that while the nomadic − sedentary lifestyle difference may be reflected in a set of certain linguistic features in certain regions, in others it is not. Indeed, the assumption of the Bedouin − sedentary split may have originated as a result of the focus on zone II dialects, where this lifestyle split was better reflected in the linguistic systems.

Firstly, one of the principal lifestyle changes between the time of the Islamic conquests and today is one from a semi-nomadic society to a settled society with ethnic plurality (Eksell 1995), so few tribes continue to live a fully nomadic existence (Holes 1996, Behnstedt/Woidich 2005). The Bedouin – sedentary linguistic distinction can therefore no longer be used in the literal sense. There is, indeed, also a question of terminology – within Arabia the term Bedouin means membership of an established Bedouin tribe, and does not necessarily imply a nomadic lifestyle (Ingham 1982, 32).

Secondly, a term which can to a certain extent be applied to North African, Mesopotamian and Syrio-Jordanian dialects does not have the same validity in the Peninsula: many communities within the peninsula which have been sedentary for millennia maintain extremely conservative forms and share forms with Bedouin groups (Toll 1983): *tanwīn* is attested in many settled dialects, including those spoken in Oman (Holes 1996), and in and to the east of the Yemeni and Saudi Tihama (cf. Greenman 1979, Ingham 1994, Asiri 2006); interdentals are attested throughout the Peninsula in all but a few port towns – Mekka, Jedda, Aden and Hudaida (Fischer/Jastrow 1980, Taine-Cheikh 1998, 20); the apophonic passive is variably productive, and indeed in Oman and Bahrayn is more productive among inland sedentary groups than among the Bedouins, particularly the Bedouin coastal dialects (Holes 1998); and the majority of dialects in Oman and Yemen retain feminine gender in the plural pronouns. Even outside the Peninsula many 'B' features are attested in S dialects – including the interdentals in villages of Central Palestine, South Lebanon, Palmyra (Cantineau 1934, 35), Algerian Dellys (Souag 2005) and rural and urban dialects in Iraq (Holes 1996), and affricated reflexes of *kāf* in Palestinian fellāḥ dialects (Palva 1991, 155). These are certainly not recent phenomena: in 1946 Cantineau says of the dialect of Ḥōrān, 'malgré le genre de vie des paysans ḥōrānais, qui est celui de sédentaires villageois, leur parler n'est en aucune façon un parler de sédentaires' (Cantineau 1946, 416). In addition, Dahlgren's (1998) comparative study of word order in Arabic dialects has shown that the use of VSO as opposed to SVO often depends on discourse type, with VSO being far more common in many sedentary, including urban, dialects than previously assumed.

Blanc (1964, note 21) wrote that 'while all nomads talk 'nomadic type' dialects, not all sedentaries talk 'sedentary type' dialects'; however, the evidence here suggests that even this is not the case. In some areas, Bedouin dialects exhibit features otherwise described as typical sedentary features – thus, the Bedouin Negev and Sinai dialects have the (sedentary-typical) *b*-imperfect and monophthongs and lack the Bedouin-typical *tanwīn* (Palva 1991, 154–155), and in the Bedouin dialects of large Omani, Bahrayni and Kuwaiti coastal areas the apophonic passive is in recession.

Fourthly, and finally, the claim that Bedouin dialect features are more conservative than sedentary features has rightly been challenged by Fischer/Jastrow (1980) and Holes (1996). The notion that Bedouin features are conservative clearly fails to hold when it comes to phonological features: namely, the syncopation of vowels in open syllables; the affrication of velar plosives, which diachronic and synchronic evidence suggests were first affricated in the environment of palatal vocoids; the pharyngealisation of /l/ (cf. Kaye/Rosenhouse 1997); and, one of the few reliable cross-regional features of Bedouin dialects, the *gahawa*-syndrome, a productive phonological process whereby guttural consonants are avoided in syllable-final position.

We can neither say that features associated with Bedouin dialects are universally conservative, nor that one set of features distinguishes Bedouin dialects, or dialects of

groups who describe themselves as Bedouin (Rosenhouse 2006), from sedentary dialects. 'A Bedouin lifestyle in Iraq will be associated with a very different dialect from a Bedouin lifestyle in Chad or Camaroon' (Owens 2006, 27); however, as discussed above, the features associated with Bedouin or former bedouin lifestyles differ within far smaller areas – between, for example, the inner Peninsula and the coastal edges of the Peninsula. In each case and for each area it is important to recognise the significance and salience of particular contrasts. What is regarded as a bedouin feature in one region may be regarded as a geographical marker in another – for example, the third masculine singular object pronoun, *-u*, is regarded as a 'bedouin' feature along the Euphrates, but within Saudi Arabia distinguishes northern Najdi from Central dialects (Ingham 1982, 32).

11.3. Communal classification

A further classification is made between communal dialects in certain parts of the Arab world (Blanc 1964; Holes 1983; 1987, Walters 2006). In Lower Iraq, in particular, parts of the Levant and dialects of the Maghrib which used to have mixed ethnic-religious groups, dialects have differed along ethno-religious lines – Jewish and Muslim, and Jewish, Christian and Muslim. In some areas, sectarian differences are also reflected linguistically: in present-day Bahrayn, systematic linguistic differences have been noted between the dialects of the two Muslim sects – the Sunni ʕArab and the Shi'ite Baḥārnah (Holes 1983, 1987). In Djerba in Tunisia, the three religious/sectarian communities – the Jews and the Muslim Malekite and Ibadi communities – have saliently differing linguistic systems (Behnstedt 1998).

Blanc made first reference to the significance of communal dialects in his study of the Druze in 1953, where he refers to linguistic distinctions across 'religio-ethnic communities'. His later study, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, published in 1964, has become one of the most important works on Arabic dialectology. Here he argued that the Arabic-speaking world presented a whole spectrum of situations from complete or nearly complete absence of differences between dialects spoken by different religious or ethnic groups to the sharp cleavage seen between Muslim, Jewish and Christian dialects in Lower Iraq and between Muslim and Jewish dialects in Oran and smaller towns near Algiers. The choice of the term 'communal dialects' reflected the fact that communities based on different religions lived segregated lives although they may interact in socially prescribed ways. He wrote of three degrees of differentiation: major, intermediate and minor. Major differentiation is said to both:

a) permeate the whole phonology and grammar of the dialects;
b) correlate fully with community membership (Blanc 1964, 14).

Minor differentiation is, by contrast, marginal to linguistic structure, may not correlate fully with community membership and tends to fluctuate in usage. In his work on Baghdad, Blanc noted the major division between the *gələt* Muslim dialects, on the one hand, and the non-Muslim – Jewish and Christian – *qəltu* dialects, on the other. The Jewish and Christian dialects differed from each other in systematic ways, but less starkly than both from the Muslim dialects – salient features in Christian Baghdad

include the sentence-final copula, a lack of interdental fricatives and imāla is (cf. Abu-Haidar 1991).

The communal dialects of the Sunni ʕArab (A) and the Shi'ite Baḥārnah (B) in Bahrayn also exhibit major communal differentiation (Holes 1983). Differences permeate the morphology and all levels of the phonology, including the reflexes of phonemes (for example, A dialects, but not B dialects, have interdentals), and syllable structure (A dialects exhibit the *gahawa* syndrome, B dialects do not; sequences of short vowels are avoided in A dialects, but permitted in B dialects).

The studies of Blanc and Holes have additionally shown that where two or more communal groups interact, speech accommodation in public areas will favour the dialect of the dominant group. Thus, as protected minorities, *ḏimmis*, the Jews and Christians of Baghdad would speak their own dialect at home and within their own communities, but accommodate to the Muslim dialect in interaction with Muslims. Similarly, the Shi'ite majority in Bahrayn adjust their speech to that of the dominant Sunnis in intergroup interactions.

12. The linguistic typology of Arabic dialects

Linguistically, dialects can be typologised according to phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical phenomena. Many shared phenomena result from historical or long-term contact, some, though, result from parallel development. A number of phenomena appear to be areal and may be due to substrate or adstrate influence. Here I mention the phenomena which have been considered most significant.

12.1. Phonology

12.1.1. The reflexes of phonemes

Differences in the reflexes of the consonantal phonemes show thread-like patterns throughout the Arab world, suggesting similar origins across, in some cases, huge distances, for similar patterns. Most significant are the reflexes of *qāf and *jīm, the presence or absence of interdentals, and the number and reflexes of the sibilants. Within certain geographical areas, the reflex of *kāf, the loss or maintenance of the pharyngeals, and the reflexes of the emphatics are significant.

Qāf has five major reflexes, depending on area and lifestyle: /ʔ/, attested in the major cities of the Levant and Egypt; /k/ or /ḳ/, attested principally in Levantine village dialects, but also in areas of North Africa; /g/, attested in original Bedouin dialects and in much of the Arabian Peninsula; /q/, found in parts of northern Iraq, Oman, Yemen and North Africa; and the affricated /ǧ/ or /dz/ of some of the Eastern Arabian dialects. In some Eastern Arabian dialects, [ǧ] or [dz] are the front-environment allophones of /g/ where [ʧ] or [ʦ] are the front-environment allophones of /k/ (Johnstone 1963). In a few dialects of Middle Egypt (Manfred Woidich p.c.), and in Yemeni Zabīd (Prochazka 1987), qāf is realised as a uvular ejective, although for Yemeni Zabīd this ap-

pears to more restricted than first assumed (Naïm 2008). For a survey of other reflexes and allophones of qāf, cf. Edzard (2009).

Jīm has four major reflexes: /ǧ/ in the majority of eastern Bedouin dialects, in rural dialects of the Levant and Mesopotamia, in the majority of dialects in central Yemen, and in some sedentary dialects in Algeria; /g/ in and around Cairo and in the area between Ta'izz and Aden in Yemen; /ž/ in the urban Levantine dialects, especially Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem, and in many Maghribi dialects; and /j/ in southern Mesopotamian *gələt* dialects of Basra and Ahwāz, the Syrian desert, Khuzistan, Ḥaḍramawt, Dhofar and the Gulf. A voiced palatal stop reflex, /ɟ/, is attested in parts of the Arabian Peninsula, including parts of the Yemeni western mountain range, Upper Egypt and parts of Sudan. For a survey of other reflexes and allophones, cf. Zaborski (2007).

In Bedouin dialects, dialects of Bedouin origin, the rural sedentary dialects of Central Palestine/Jordan, Tunisia and Mesopotamia, and in all but the western coastal city dialects of the Peninsula, interdentals form part of the phoneme inventory. In major urban dialects, the cognates of the interdentals are the plosives /t/ and /d/. In several northern Mesopotamian dialects cognates of the interdentals are sibilants, and in southern Anatolian Siirt the cognates of the interdentals are labiodental fricatives (Fischer/Jastrow 1980, 50).

The behaviour of the sibilants is significant in North Africa and in parts of western Saudi Arabia (Behnstedt/Woidich 2005). Whereas most dialects have maintained the plain sibilants /s, z, š/, in several dialects in the Maghrib, in the oases of Egypt and in isolated dialects in the 'Asīr there is no phonological distinction between *s* and *š*, on the one hand, and *z* and *ž*, on the other. Some dialects exhibit only the palatalised sibilant, others only the non-palatalised. Within North Africa and Asīr, a number of dialects have an apicalised /ś/ where mainstream dialects have either /s/ or /š/.

The reflex of kāf is significant in the Levant and in parts of the Arabian Peninsula. In the vast majority of dialects it is /k/. In ruralite dialects of the Levant, the reflex /č/ is mainly attested, irrespective of the phonological environment, and in some Peninsula Bedouin dialects, in parts of Jordan and Iraq, the reflex is either /č/ or /ts/ or [č] or [ts] as the front-environment allophone of /k/.

The pharyngeals are present in the majority of mainstream Arabic dialects. The Arabic pidgins and creoles and sub-saharan dialects of Nigeria, Camaroon and Chad, however, exhibit no pharyngeals (Owens 1985, 1993b), rather laryngeals, as in: *hamu* 'heat', *bahalim* 'I dream' and *ni''āl* 'shoes'. The Yemeni Tihāmah lacks a voiced pharyngeal. Lexemes which in other dialects are realised with /ʕ/ are realised in the Tihāmī dialects with /ʔ/ (Greenman 1979), within Yemen a particularly salient feature of Tihāmī Arabic. The voiced velar or uvular fricative /ġ/ is attested in the majority of dialects, but not in certain parts of western and southern Yemen (Diem 1973; Fischer/Jastrow 1980, 106; Vanhove, 2009), where it has been replaced by a velarised laryngeal, or by ʕayn, which in dialects spoken on the edge of the Tihāmah may be replaced by hamza.

The reflex of the emphatics is, in the vast majority of modern Arabic dialects, some type and degree of pharyngealisation, a factor which distinguishes (almost) all mainstream Arabic dialects from other Semitic languages. In Saudi Arabian Faifi (Yahya Asiri p.c.) and parts of northern Yemen to the west of Ṣaʕdah, the reflex of *ṣād* and,

in fewer cases, *ḍād* is an affricate (or reverse affricate), as in: *stayfin* 'summer' and *mast/yamist* 'to suck', *ĉafaʕ* 'cow pat' and *ĉiris* 'molar' (Behnstedt 1987b; cf. also Steiner 1982).

12.1.2. Pausal phenomena

Arabic dialects show an array of pausal phenomena, phenomena which appear to be restricted to particular areas. While dialects in many different regions are reported to exhibit a degree of devoicing in pre-pausal position, devoicing in certain regions is variously accompanied by glottalisation or aspiration (Watson/Asiri 2008). Dialects in central Yemen and up into 'Asīr exhibit pre-pausal glottalisation, while Cairene exhibits pre-pausal aspiration. Some dialects in Middle Egypt and Antiochia exhibit degrees of pre-glottalisation and devoicing of /ʕ/ and/or of final vowels, but not of other obstruents, as in *simi'ḥ* 'he heard', *bā'* 'he sold' (Arnold 1998, Behnstedt/Woidich 2005). Glottalisation of both pre-pausal vowels and consonants is also attested in some zone III dialects, including Nigerian Arabic, as in: /márag/ > *márak'* 'he went out' and /waṣalna mafá/ > *waṣalna mafáʔ* 'we reached Mafa' (Owens 1993a, 22).

Dialects of the Levant exhibit diphthongisation of final long high vowels in pause, a feature also attested in some Egyptian oasis dialects (Woidich 2006b) and central Yemeni dialects (Jastrow 1984, Werbeck 2001). The following examples are from Sanʕāni: /iftaḥū/ > *iftaḥaw* or *iftaḥow* 'open m.pl.!' and /antī/ > *antej* or *antaj* 'you f.s.' A particularly salient feature of many Levantine dialects, also attested in central Egyptian oasis dialects, is the exaggerated lengthening of final syllables, as in Central Dakhla /šabābīk/ > [šibabiyyik] in men's speech, [šibabayyik] in women's speech, /ʕarīs/ > [ʕariyyis] / [ʕarayyis] (Woidich 2006b).

Many dialects of the western Yemeni mountain range exhibit nasalization of final high vowels − of /ū/ and /ī/, in some dialects, of only /ī/, in others, as in Jiblah *wallīⁿ* 'he went' (Fischer/Jastrow 1980, 111; cf. also Watson 2007b). Most of these dialects exhibit at least limited glottalisation in pause of consonants. In dialects of the Central Daxla oasis, final /a/ is nasalized and may also be raised and dipthongised, as in [sum'mẽĩ] 'Lolch (bot.)', [sum:'hã] 'ihr Gift' and [sum:ɪ'hĩ] 'ihr Gift' (Woidich 2006b); nasalisation of /a/ also attested in dialects in Antiochia (Arnold 1998). In Farafra, nasalis ation is due to the loss of final /n/, as in /sākin/ > [ʃɛ̃kĩ] (Woidich 2006b). In Farafra, Daxla and Antiochia, in contrast to dialects in Yemen, nasalisation is no longer restricted to pre-pausal position and is often (as observed with the above example) attested within the word.

12.1.3. Syllabification patterns

In terms of syllabification, dialects can be classified according to whether, and if so, where, the epenthetic vowel is inserted when three consonants are brought together through morphological concatenation or phonological process. A typical case of the former would be where a perfect verb in the first singular inflection takes a consonant-initial suffix, as in the possible form: *simiʕt+kum* 'I heard you m.pl.' Dialects have one of three choices: an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the second and the third

consonant − *simiʕtikum*; an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the first and the second consonant − *simiʕitkum*; or no epenthesis takes place − *simiʕtkum*. Kiparsky (2003) has named these dialect types CV-, VC-, C-dialects respectively (Kiparsky 2003; Watson 2007a). In CV-dialects, epenthesis occurs to the right of the second consonant, as in Cairene /?ult-lu/ *?ultilu* 'I/you m.s. told him'. In VC-dialects, epenthesis occurs to the left of the second consonant, as in Iraqi /gilt-la/ *gilitla*. In C-dialects, no epenthesis takes place. Thus, *qəltlu* 'I/you m.s. told him' surfaces in Moroccan Arabic with a three consonant cluster.

The C-dialects are clustered around the western Maghrib, the CV-dialects in parts of Egypt and the Peninsula, and the VC-dialects in the eastern regions of the Maghrib, the Levant and Mesopotamia, parts of Egypt and parts of the Peninsula. Sudanese dialects (Shukriyya, Central Urban Sudanese) prominently display both VC- and CV-epenthesis patterns, which can probably be attributed to the different origins of the Arabs who conquered the area. Some dialects, such as Libyan Tripoli (Pereira p.c.), exhibit epenthesis in certain morphological environments, but not in others − thus /xubz+na/ is most likely to be realised as *xubzna* 'our bread' and /bint+na/ as *bintna* 'our daughter', but in final position consonant clusters may be broken up by epenthesis, thus: *ma-tkəlləmt-əš* or *ma-tkəlləmt-š* 'I didn't speak', *xub^{e}z* or *xubz* 'bread'.

12.1.4. Syllabification phenomena

Syllable-related phenomena that are often cited in the characterisation of dialects include the *gahawa*-syndrome, attested in many Bedouin dialects and dialects of Bedouin origin (Rosenhouse 2006, 262), and the *bukara*-syndrome (de Jong 2006), a feature of Middle Egyptian and Bedouin Sinai dialects.

In dialects which exhibit the *gahawa*-syndrome, guttural consonants may not occur in the syllable coda and are hence resyllabified through epenthesis as the onset of an inserted syllable, as in:

0 > a/ h_C….

In a number of dialects, the inserted vowel is stressed and the (unstressed) vowel of the initial syllable may be deleted (examples from Fischer/Jastrow 1980, 109):

*gahwah > *gaháwah > ghávah
*aḥmar > *aḥámar > ḥámar

The *bukara*-syndrome has a good phonetic motivation, since the tap /r/ cannot be pronounced without at least a fleeting preceding vowel. This syndrome, however, is phonological rather than phonetic since it involves insertion of a full vowel before /r/.

0 > V/…C_rV

The epenthesised vowel assimilates the quality of the vowel following /r/, as in the following examples from de Jong (2006):

*bukra > bukara	'tomorrow'
*ḥamra > ḥamara	'red' (Middle Egyptian)
*yigrib > yigirib	'he comes near'
*bakraj > bakaraj	'coffee pot' (Sinai)

12.2. Morphology

Most dialects have a two-way gender distinction − masculine and feminine. Nouns show gender, with the unmarked gender being masculine. In most dialects, adjectives inflect for gender to agree with a head noun or a noun subject. Gender distinction in the plural personal pronouns is attested in all regions, most particularly, but not exclusively, in dialects of Bedouin origin. Where gender distinctions are exhibited in the plural pronouns, masculine is most commonly expressed with /m/ or /u/, and feminine by /n/. Thus, Afghanistan has *hintu* 'you m.pl.' and *hintin* 'you f.pl.', *duklaw* 'they m.' and *duklan* 'they f.' (Ingham 2006), Upper Egyptian BʕēriI has *huṃṃa* 'they m.' beside *hinna* 'they f.', and Ṣanʕāni has *antū* 'you m.pl.' and *antayn* 'you f.pl.', *hum* 'they m.' and *hin* 'they f.'.

Some dialects which distinguish gender in the plural personal pronouns also distinguish gender in the plural demonstrative pronouns, with feminine tending to be expressed either by (pre-)final /n/ or by the mid front vowel /ē/. Thus, the rural *gələt* dialects have *haḍōl(a)* 'these m.' beside *haḍinni* 'these f.' in Kwayriš, *haḍann* in Šāwi, whereas the urban *gələt* dialects only have a gender-indifferent form *haḍōl* or *ḍōl* 'these'; Yemeni Jiblah has *hāḍum* 'these m.' and *hāḍēn* 'these f.' (cp. the gender-indifferent *hāḍawlā* or *ḍawlā* in Ṣanʕāni); and Egyptian il-BiʕrāI has *dōl(a)* 'these m.' and *ḍēl(a)* 'these f.' (cp. Cairene gender-indifferent *dōl*).

In some western Yemeni dialects, the first person singular pronoun has two gender-differentiating forms, even, in the case of the Yemeni Tihāmah, in some dialects which do not distinguish gender in the plural second and third persons. In these dialects, *ana* or *anā* refers to first masculine, and *anī* to first feminine (Behnstedt/Woidich 2005, 171).

12.3. Syntax

There are a number of ways in which dialects can be typologised syntactically. Here I focus on word order patterns, the copula, and the indefinite article. The syntactic features considered here pattern regionally − and, in some cases at least, are clearly attributable to substrate or adstrate influence.

12.3.1. Word order

The position of the verb in most mainstream Arabic dialects is either first or second position, giving rise to VSO or SVO patterns (Dahlgren 1998). In the dialects of Afghanistan, Uzbeskistan and Khorasan, through the influence of neighbouring languages, however, the verb occurs in final position, to give SOV patterns. In Cicilian, although the most frequently attested patterns are VSO and SVO, some examples of SOV are attested through the influence of Turkish (Procházka 2006). Examples of SOV structures in Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Khorasan are given below:

Afghanistan

šīryiyya li-xōja šāfu 'Shīrwiyya saw Khōja'

sīmurġ li-dūk saġīr šāftu 'the phoenix saw that child' (Ingham 2006)

Uzbekistan

sowiyān šuġlu kullu qōlu ‘he told the whole affair which he had done’

fat ādami šuk-mebīʕ kon ‘lit: one man wood-seller there was’ (Jastrow 1995)

Khorasan

aḥne fiğ-ğidīm māldār kunne ‘wir waren vor langer Zeit Hirten’ (Seeger 2002)

In most Arabic dialects, the demonstrative may be postponed for stylistic or rhythmic reasons; thus, Sanʕāni *al-bint tayyih* ‘*that* girl’ contrasts stylistically with *tayyi l-bint* ‘that girl’; in the dialects of the Nile valley through to Sudan, and in the Ḥaḍramawt, however, in the unmarked case the demonstrative follows the noun, as in Cairene: *il-bēt da* ‘this house’, *is-sitti di* ‘this woman’, *il-ḥagāt di* ‘these things’ and *ir-riggāla dōl* ‘these men’; Sudanese: *az-zōl da* ‘this man’, *al-bitt di* ‘this girl’, *fi ʾīdak di* ‘in your m. hand’; Ḥaḍramawt: *el-bēt ḏā’* ‘this house’ (cf. Fischer 1959). For dialects of the Nile valley, this word order pattern has been attributed to the syntax of the substrate language, in this case Coptic (Bishai 1962). Post-position of the demonstrative in dialects of the Ḥaḍramawt can probably also be attributed to influence of the adstrate Modern South Arabian languages, where the unmarked order is noun − demonstrative, as in the following examples from the eastern Yemeni dialect of Mehri spoken in Jōdäb:

näšḥōt ḏīmäh ‘this bat’

ṣōwar ḏikmäh ‘that stone’

tīwi ḏäkm ‘that meat’

ġrēf lyäkmäh ‘those rooms’

12.3.2. The copula

The majority of dialects construct nominal sentences without a copula, a feature of Arabic that has attracted particular attention from generative syntacticians since the 1970s (cf. the article on the copula in *EALL*). The *qəltu* dialects, and dialects of Afghanistan, Khorasan and Christian Baghdad, however, are marked by the presence of a copula. This is almost certainly due to influence from the neighbouring languages − Persian, Turkish and Kurdish − all of which are marked by a final copula. In the majority of the dialects, the copula follows the predicate, as in the following examples from Khorasan (Seeger 2002):

(uhū) mašġūl hū ‘er arbeitet’

(inte) mašġūl haṯṯi ‘du f. arbeitest’

(intu) miṯalmān haṯṯīn ‘ihr f. seid Muslime’

In Christian Baghdadi, the copula is optional and often serves to emphasise the predicate (Abu-Haidar 1991, 122):

həyyi ḥəlwi or *həyyi ḥəlwi yāha* ‘she is (indeed) pretty’

ənta šātəġ or *ənta šātiġ yāk* ‘you m.s. are (indeed) clever’

In the Anatolian dialect of Siirt, the copula precedes the predicate, as in: *ūwe fə-l-bayt* ‘he is in the house’ (Jastrow 2006). In a number of dialects, the copula is cliticised to

the predicate, as in Mardin *fə-l-bayt-we* 'is in the house' (Jastrow 2006), Afghanistan *ismak iš-wa* 'what is your m. name?' and *ana afġōn-inni* 'I am Afghani' (Ingham 2006) and Uzbekistan *hint mīn-inak* 'who are you?'.

12.3.3. The indefinite article

The indefinite article is a feature of the western Maghribi dialects, on the one hand, and Mesopotamian and Uzbekistan dialects, on the other (Edzard 2006). In Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania and some Libyan Bedouin dialects, the indefinite article takes the form of a reflex of *wāḥid* + definite article (cf. above), as in: *ḥa-l-mṛa* 'a woman'. In Cypriot Arabic, *éxen/éxte* functions as the indefinite article (Borg 1985, 2004), and in many eastern dialects, *wāḥid* can be used before an indefinite (usually animate) noun in the sense of 'a certain' or 'one', particularly in story narratives; in these latter cases, however, the reflex of *wāḥid* is more noun-like, less grammaticalised and does not have the same distribution as the indefinite article in the Maghribi dialects. Marçais (1977, 163) attributes the robustness of this syntactic construction in the Maghrib to the presence of a similar syntactic construction − indefinite article + definite article + noun − in Berber.

The indefinite article in Mesopotamia and Uzbekistan, described by Blanc (1964) as the 'characteristic Mesopotamian 'indefinite marker'', is etymologically related to *fard* and realised as *farəd* in Muslim Baghdad, *faġad* in Jewish Baghdad and *faġəd* in Christian Baghdad, with the phonologically reduced form *fadd* in all dialects. It tends to have the sense of 'one' or 'a particular' and in some contexts 'some', as in the following examples from Christian Baghdad (Abu-Haidar 1991, 111−112):

faġəd ġəğğāl	'one man, a particular man'
faġəd bənət	'a specific girl'
fad waqət	'sometime'
fad yōm	'some day'

The reflex *fat* is attested in Uzbekistan, as in: *fat ādami šuk-mebīʕ kon* 'lit: one man wood-seller there was' (Jastrow 1995, 100). Blanc (1964, 119) sees the indefinite article construction 'one' + noun as an areal feature, which is also attested in neighbouring Semitic and non-Semitic languages: Turkish *bir*, Persian *ye(k)* and North East Neo-Aramaic *xa*.

13. Conclusion

The Arabic dialects of today almost definitely had a number of different ancestors, and have been shaped by the interaction over millennia of varieties of Arabic with adstrate and substrate languages. A comparison of dialect material across widely geographically separated areas shows both long-distance effects due to population movement and local effects due to interaction with the original local languages. Examples of the former include Andalusia and Ḥassāniyya exhibiting South Arabian influence, and shared basic lexical items between dialects of the Maghrib and either Syrian or

Yemeni dialects. Examples of the latter include the use of a copula suffix in dialects spoken in Afghanistan, Khorasan and parts of Anatolia, a feature not attested in standard Arabic but characteristic of the other languages of the region. And the more dialects come to light, the more variety becomes apparent, rendering comparative reconstruction impossible (Miller 1986, 56) and leaving us rather with more or less isolated linking threads and jigsaw-like patterns.

14. References

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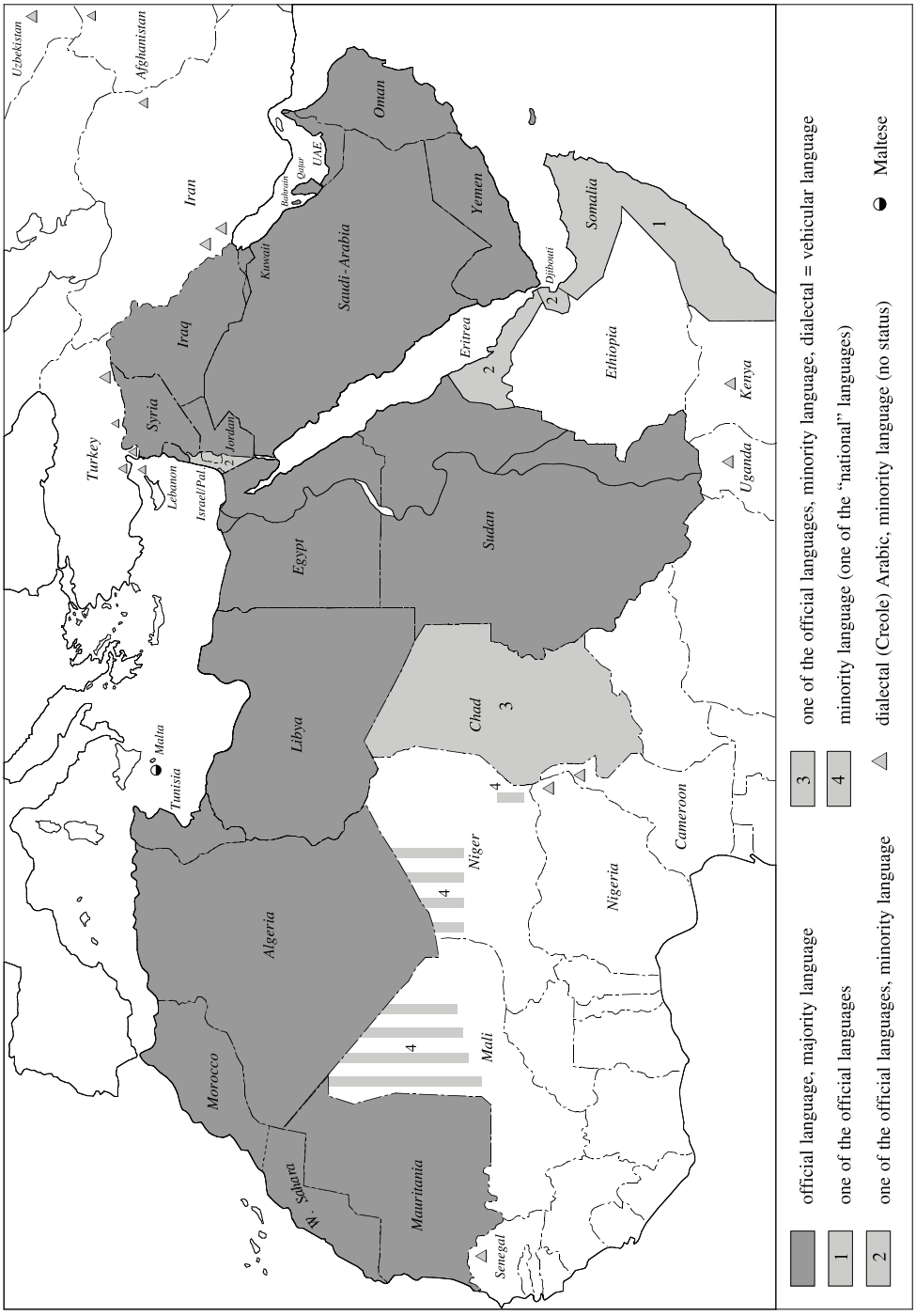

Map 50.1: The Arab speaking world (map by Peter Behnstedt)