
STUDIES ON ARABIC DIALECTOLOGY AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Proceedings of the 13th International Conference of AIDA held in Kutaisi in June 10-13, 2019

*Edited by
Guram Chikovani, Zviad Tskhvediani*

ISBN 978-9941-453-88-5

ICCN

AKAKI TSERTELI STATE UNIVERSITY, 2020



AIDA 2019 Kutaisi

TABLE OF CONTENT

Editor's Note..... x

Preface (G. Chikovani) xi

Arabic Dialectology – Linguistic Description

العناصر اللغوية المشتركة بين اللهجة المحلمية واللغة السريانية (دراسة مقارنة)

Yaşar ACAT..... 13-20

FROM INTERDENTAL FRICATIVES TO STOPS IN MALTESE:

A CASE OF LEXICAL DIFFUSION

Andrei A. AVRAM 21-33

DIFFERENTIAL (DEFINITE) OBJECT MARKING IN THE JEWISH DIALECT OF BAGHDAD

Assaf BAR-MOSHE 34-43

GRAMMATICALIZATION OF PRE-VERBAL PARTICLES IN SIIRTI ARABIC

Gabriel BIȚUNĂ 44-51

**DE L'EXPRESSION DE LA LOCALISATION À L'EXPRESSION
DE LA RELATION D'APPARTENANCE:
LE QUASI-VERBE *ʕAND* "AVOIR" EN ARABE ALGÉRIEN**

Aziza BOUCHERIT 52-60

THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF *BƏZZĀʕƏD* (MOROCCO): A PRELIMINARY SKETCH

Cristiana BOZZA 61-73

**SEMANTICS OF CONCESSION IN TRADITIONAL AND NEO-MUṬALLAṬ ARABIC:
OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURE OF THE CONDITION**

Letizia CERQUEGLINI 74-82

**DIALECTOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL ASIA
OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 2018**

Guram CHIKOVANI and Zviad TSKHVEDIANI..... 83-108

**REVISITING THE USE OF FUTURE IN DARIJA:
THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW *A- PREVERB* CONFIRMED**

Dominique CAUBET 109-120

THE ISSUE OF THE FINAL *MĪM* IN THE EGYPTIAN ARABIC DIALECT

Nino EJIBADZE 121-126

**LES CHAINES DE COREFERENCE DANS LE DISCOURS
D'ENFANTS ARABOPHONES (LIBYENS)**

Naima ELTAGOURI 127-135

TWO PHONOLOGICAL COMPETITORS IN A GROWING MOROCCAN CITY

Jacopo FALCHETTA 136-145

**BARKI (B-)YƏMŠĪ L-ḤĀL! A COMPLEX MODAL
(WITH BOULETIC COMPONENT) IN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC FROM SYRIA**

Daniela Rodica FIRANESCU 146- 156

APPRECIATIVE MODALITY IN BAGHDADI ARABIC

George GRIGORE 157-164

**CLAUSE-FINAL VERBAL COPULAE IN KHUZESTAN ARABIC
AND OTHER EASTERN ARABIC VARIETIES**

Bettina LEITNER 165-175

SUR LES FORMES VERBALES DÉRIVÉES 'CROISÉES' DANS LES DIALECTES ARABES

Jérôme LENTIN 176-192

**NOUVELLES VARIÉTÉS 'ROBI' DU MAROC :
DUKKĀLA, ḤMAR, RHĀMNA ET QAL'AT S-SRAGNA. APERÇU PRÉLIMINAIRE**

Issam MARJANI 193-199

**ARABIC-BASED YOUTH LANGUAGE PRACTICES:
A PRELIMINARY STATE OF THE ARTS**

Catherine MILLER 200-213

LE SYSTÈME HYPOTHÉTIQUE DE L'ARABE DE TRIPOLI (LIBYE)

Christophe PEREIRA 214-232

POLAR QUESTIONS IN TUNIS ARABIC

Stephan PROCHÁZKA and Ines DALLAJI 233-240

الكتابات الدارجة على السيارات في مصر
دراسة في أنماط الجملة الاسمية

Saad Sayed Abd EL-REHIM 241-252

**TUNISIA'S LINGUISTIC *TERRA INCOGNITA*:
AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ARABIC VARIETIES
OF NORTHWESTERN AND CENTRAL TUNISIA (TUNOCENT)**

Veronika RITT-BENMIMOUN 253-261

LES EMPLOIS DE 'IND DANS LE PARLER DE BENGHAZI

Aisha SAAD 262-271

**LES PRONOMS POSSESSIFS DU ḤASSĀNĪYYA
ENTRE HÉRITAGE ET INNOVATION DUE AU CONTACT**

Catherine TAINE-CHEIKH 272-282

INFIXED *-nn-* IN NORTHERN EMIRATI ARABIC

David WILMSEN and Fatimah AL MUHAIRI..... 283-294

CLAUSAL ANNEXES IN THE ARABIC DIALECT OF YĀFA (JAFFA)

Amal ZUBI 295-311

***Issues in Sociolinguistics:
Contact and Change, Discourse Analysis,
Cultural Practices, Mixed Styles and Written Sources***

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF *DĀL*:
THE CASE OF THE DAWĀSIR IN DAMMAM, KSA**

Hind AIAODINI 313-319

LANGUAGE AND FEMALE RAP IN THE ARAB WORLD: THE CASE OF MALIKA

Emanuela DE BLASIO 320-333

**DES TRAITS MONTAGNARDS ET DES TRAITS URBAINS DANS LE PARLER D'OUZZANE :
URBANISATION ET VARIATION LINGUISTIQUE D'UN PARLER JEBLI**

Montserrat Benítez FERNÁNDEZ 334-343

ملاح من العامية في "ألف ليلة وليلة"

Khaled Mohamed FRAH 344-353

NOTES SUR L'ACCOMMODATION LINGUISTIQUE ENTRE ARABOPHONES

Julie HALSÉ, Nina van KAMPEN,
Marie-Aimée GERMANOS and Alexandrine BARONTINI 354-365

**THRILLER-HORROR STORIES IN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC FROM *BILĀD AŠ-ŠĀM*:
THE CASE OF THE YOUNG WRITER MAHMOUD SALLOUM**

Najla KALACH 366-377

المحكّية في بادية شمال ظفار، سلطنة عمان: مقارنة لسانية اجتماعية

Amer Adli AL-KATHIRI 378-388

**LINGUISTIC MISPLACEMENT AS A MEANS OF CREATING HUMOR:
THE CASE OF THE POPULAR EGYPTIAN MOVIE “AL-LIMBI FI ZAMAN IG-GĀHILIYYA”**

Gisela KITZLER 389-399

**[+CONSCRICTED GLOTTIS] REFLEXES OF ʔ AND Q IN CONTACT SITUATIONS:
CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGE OR INHERITANCE?**

Shuichiro NAKAO 400-409

**TŪNĪS FĪ ‘ĪNĀYYA BY NĪZĀR AL-ŠĀ‘ARĪ:
AL-DĀRĪĠA AL-TŪNĪSĪYYA BETWEEN RESISTANCE AND HYPERTEXTUALITY**

Cristina LA ROSA 410-421

**FROM DIGLOSSIC SWITCHING TO PURE DIALECT:
GULF ACCENTS IN YOUTUBE ORAL ADVERTISING**

Letizia LOMBEZZI 422-437

LES DÉBUTS DU THÉÂTRE EN DIALECTE ḤASSĀNIYYA

Ahmed-Salem OULD MOHAMED BABA 438-446

**QĀMŪS AD-DĀRĪĠA AL-MAGRĪBIYYA :
RÉACTION MÉDIATIQUE ET PRATIQUES LINGUISTIQUES
DANS LA PRESSE NUMÉRIQUE MAROCAINE**

Rosa PENNISI 447-457

ARABIC VARIETIES IN NASSER’S POLITICAL SPEECHES

Florentina-Laurența PÎRLOG 458-466

**ON THE IMPORTANCE OF COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
BILINGUAL PROVERBIAL FONDS
(BASED ON SYRIAC DIALECT ARABIC AND GEORGIAN MATERIAL)**

Khatuna TUMANISHVILI 467-476

**THE LINGUISTIC CONTACT IN PALESTINIAN ARABIC:
TOWARDS A RESEARCH OF THE STRATA**

Annamaria VENTURA 477-488

LES PREDICATEURS QUI FONT RIRE: DARIJA, RELIGION ET HUMOUR

Karima ZIAMARI and Mohamed LEHDAHDA 489-497

**ANDALUSI ARABIC CATECHISMS AND THE FIRST MALTESE CATECHISM:
COMPARATIVE NOTES**

Martin R. ZAMMIT 498-507

EDITOR'S NOTE

AIDA (fr. Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe) – International Association of Arabic Dialectology / الرابطة الدولية لدراسة اللهجات العربية – is an association of researchers in Arabic dialects, from all over the world.

AIDA was founded in 1992, in Paris, at the initiative of a group of prestigious Arabists, with the aim to encourage and promote the study of Arabic dialects.

AIDA is nowadays the leading international association in this field of research and it has become a center that joins scholars from all over the world who are interested in any aspect of Arabic dialectology, including dialects which have not been described yet, dialectal geography, specific aspects of phonology, morphology and syntax, code-switching, koiné language, pidgin, creole, the lexicon of Arabic dialects, dialectal atlases, comparative and diachronic studies, sociolinguistics, teaching of Arabic dialects, and so on.

AIDA organizes conferences every two years, hosted by well-known universities from all around the world.

AIDA 11 was organized in Bucharest in 2015. Its web site provides many valuable information about Aida members and AIDA publication (<http://aidabucharest2015.ils.unibuc.ro/>).

AIDA 12 was organized in Marseilles in 2017 (<https://aida12.sciencesconf.org/>).

Download the Program of the 12th International Conference of AIDA

https://aida12.sciencesconf.org/data/pages/Programme_1_A3_plie_A_9.pdf

AIDA 13 was organized in Kutaisi in 2019 (<http://aida13.atsu.ge>)

Download the Program of the 13th International Conference of AIDA

<http://aida13.atsu.ge/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/AIDA-13-Final-Program-final.pdf>

Aida's activities can also be followed on its face-book group at:

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/792649064183347/>

Preface

In this collection are presented the Proceedings of AIDA 13th International Conference, which was held in 2019 in Georgia at Kutaisi Akaki Tsereteli State University. The foundation for Arabic language studies was laid in this higher educational institution in 1991. Currently here, at the Faculty of Humanities, Arabic studies are one of the major directions. A group of young Arabists is gathered here. They are engaged in Arabic language teaching and research activities. The subjects are diverse. They include Arabic dialectology (modern and old Arabic dialects), lexicology, Arabic literature (pre-Islamic, classical, new and modern periods), Georgian-Arabic linguistic and cultural-historic relations, Arabic epigraphics, Arabic manuscripts preserved in Georgian museums, Arabic language traditions in the Caucasus and Central Asia.

The study of peripheral Arabic dialects in Georgia was initiated by George Tsereteli in the 1930s. His expeditions to Central Asia paved the way for the study of the newly discovered Bukhara and Qashqa-darya dialects (G. Tsereteli, V. Akhvlediani, G. Chikovani, Z. Tskhvediani). In parallel, the study of these dialects was carried out at the University of St. Petersburg under the supervision of Acad. I. Krachkovsky (N. Yushmanov, I. Vinnikov). Based on the published materials of G. Tsereteli, I. Vinnikov, and G. Chikovani, numerous works have been published in this field. The study of Arabic dialects in Georgia has been going on for decades at Acad. George Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi Institute of Asia and Africa, and Kutaisi Akaki Tsereteli State University. During this period numerous doctoral dissertations were prepared in Arabic dialectology. The works were dedicated to the old Arabic dialect of Hijaz (Z. Tskhvediani), modern Arabic dialects of Northern Africa (A. Jhordania), Syria (T. Gagnidze, Shavkat Yusef), and Egypt (N. Ejibadze, M. Korotkova).

The Conference in Kutaisi revealed that the interest in Arabic dialects is increasing in the Arabic Centers of the world's universities. The participation of young Arabists in the research projects and fieldwork is noteworthy. The reports presented by the conference participants cover all levels of linguistic analysis as well as sociolinguistic aspects. It is highly favorable that the researchers are paying close attention to the linguistic changes caused by contacts, as well as to the peculiarities of form-building and word-building.

The articles in this collection are arranged by subjects. This is a traditional approach.

We would like to thank Kutaisi Akaki Tsereteli State University for organizing AIDA 13th Conference and publishing this collection. The members of the Conference Organizing Committee actively participated in the preparation of this publication. I would like to thank them for their work, and especially the Deputy Chairman of the Conference Organizing Committee, Associate Professor of Kutaisi Akaki Tsereteli State University, Zviad Tskhvediani. I would like to emphasize the assistance and support of the President of the AIDA Association, Prof. George Grigore, both during the preparation period and during the conference days.

Guram CHIKOVANI

Arabic Dialectology – Linguistic Description

INFIXED *-nn-* IN NORTHERN EMIRATI ARABIC

David WILMSEN and Fatimah AL MUHAIRI ¹

Abstract: An infix *-nn-* between active participles having verbal force and their suffixed pronominal objects has been noted for the Arabic dialects of the southern Arabian Peninsula, including those of eastern Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman, and the Yemen. It has also been observed in the UAE, but it has not been investigated fully there. This study reports on ongoing work in documenting features of northern Emirati Arabic, derived from analysis of oral histories related by pre-nineteen-sixty residents of the old town of Sharjah, the recordings and transcriptions of which are housed in the Collection of Oral Heritage and Stories of the Sharjah Museums Authority. These are augmented by observations of spontaneous conversations amongst speakers of northern Emirati Arabic and, for comparative purposes, a television serial set in Abu Dhabi. Through this, a systematic view of the features of infix *-nn-* in northern Emirati Arabic emerges: As opposed to the dialects of Abu Dhabi, where an infix *-nn-* is optional, in northern Emirati varieties, it is obligatory when the dative pronoun intervenes, *-nn-* assimilates to *-ll-*; and *-nn-* may rarely appear between verbs and their object pronouns. These observations augment existing work on the peninsular and the few datable extra-peninsular dialects that infix *-nn-* between the participle and its object pronoun. The infix *-nn-* is one of a small bundle of phonological and morpho-syntactic features that have been observed only in southern peninsular dialects of Arabic. Its presence in those dialects as well as the operation of infix *-nn-* in Arabic dialects separated by wide distances and time periods indicates a pre-diasporic southern Arabian origin. To this bundle may be added a rare lexical item, *hintēn* (< *itnayn/tintayn* ‘two’), it, too, shared only amongst Arabic dialects of the southern Arabian Peninsula, including those of the northern Emirates.

Keywords: Arabic active participles, Arabic historical dialectology, Arabic morphological infixes, Arabic object pronouns, northern Emirati Arabic, southern peninsular Arabic dialects

¹ The authors acknowledge with thanks the Sharjah Museums Authority for granting access to its archived recordings of oral history interviews, conducted by FM between 2008 and 2013.

The spoken dialects of Arabic variously express three manners of affixing an object pronoun to an active participle (AP) with verbal force. These are best illustrated in the feminine singular form (Owens and Yavrumyan 2008: 544):

- (1) a. Cairene Arabic
kātb-ā + ha
 having.written.PCPT-F-PRO.FSG
- b. Eastern Libyan and Levantine Arabic
kātb-it-ha
 having.written.PCPT-F-PRO.FSG
- c. Southern and southeastern Arabian Peninsula Arabic
kātb-it-inn-ha
 having.written.PCPT-F-nn-PRO.FSG
 ‘She has written it’

Of these, the infixing of *-nn-* is characteristic of the Arabic dialects of the southeastern Arabian Peninsula from Yemen to Bahrain (Yemen [Landberg 1909, 2:2: 170–173]; Oman [Reinhardt 1894: 139–142]; UAE [Johnstone 1967: 169; Al-Rawi 1990: 110, 156; Qafisheh 1977: 168–171]; Eastern Saudi Arabia [Prochazka 1981: 46–47; 1988: 75]; Bahrain [Holes 2011; 2016: 20–22; 2018: 130–133]). There follows an example from northern Emirati Arabic:

- (2) Emirati Arabic – Kalba (exclave of Sharjah on the Gulf of Oman)
- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>šāyf-inn-ah</i> | <i>ṭāl</i> | <i>šumr-iš</i> | <i>fī</i> | <i>sanit</i> | <i>ṭinēn</i> |
| see.PCPT-nn-PRO.MSG | lengthen.OPT | age-PRO.FSG | CONJ | year | two |
| <i>u</i> | <i>ḥamsīn</i> | | | | |
| CONJ | fifty | | | | |
- ‘I saw it, may your life be long, in the year 52’

Holes (2016:20, n. 63), in an overview of the phenomenon in the dialects of the southern Arabian Peninsula, remarks that its extent in the UAE remains to be investigated more fully. Accordingly, we here present some data from observations of Arabic speakers from the northern Emirates. The data from this study come from a series of recordings that are housed at the Sharjah Museums Authority (SMA), constituting a series of oral histories related by former residents of the old town of Sharjah. These were augmented by observations gleaned from spontaneous conversations between speakers of northern Emirati Arabic varieties of Sharjah, Ras Al-Khaimah, and Fujairah and, for the dialect of Abu Dhabi especially, from observations of the use of active participles in the dialogues of a television serial.² The ultimate aim of these observations is the production of a reference grammar of northern Emirati Arabic. Such a work is a necessary addition to the growing, but withal still incomplete, documentation of Arabic dialects as a whole, especially as local knowledge amongst speakers of Emirati Arabic recognizes differences between the regional dialects of the Emirates. Indeed, our observations are already revealing some of these. More are likely to emerge.

For now, it shall be our purpose here to document usage of the infixed *-nn-* in the little-described northern Emirati dialects of Arabic as compared to those of Abu Dhabi, which have

² Something of an extended public service announcement for the UAE Ministry of Justice, the serial is available on Netflix under the title *Justice* (Ar. قلب العدالة), treating the concerns and court cases (drawn from actual court records) of a family of Abu Dhabi attorneys.

withal enjoyed more attention, such as has been paid them. It happens that usage of the infix (or “intrusive” [Owens 2013]) *-nn-* does, indeed, differ between the two.

We begin with a description of the operation of the *-nn-* infix in Emirati Arabic, comparing usage in northern Emirati Arabic with that of Abu Dhabi and contrasting usage in both with usage in southern Iraq, where a similar infix has been reported with verbs. In the discussion section, we examine the implication of the *-nn-* feature in particular for the proximate dating of the dialects possessing it, noting that it is one of a bundle of features that cluster together in the Arabic dialects of the southern peninsula, adding to that bundle another feature, shared between northern Emirati Arabic and other southern peninsular varieties, the lexeme *hintēn* ‘two (f)’.

1. Commonalities (and a disparity)

The dialects of the northern Emirates and those of Abu Dhabi share in the infixing of *-nn-* between the AP and an object pronoun:

- (3) Emirati Arabic
- a. Sharjah
ana miḥāfiḍ-inn-ah
 PRO.1SG memorize.PCPT-PRO.MSG
 ‘I’m keeping it’
- b. Abu Dhabi
hī miḥtāy-t-inn-ik ha-l-wagit
 PRO need.PCPT-FSG-nn-PRO.2MSG DEM-DET-time
 ‘She needs you [at] this time’

Nevertheless, in Abu Dhabi varieties, it is not obligatory. Compare example (3b) above with (4) below:

- (4) Emirati Arabic - Abu Dhabi
maktab-i miḥtāḡ-ič
 office-PRO.1 need.PCPT-PRO.FSG
 ‘My office needs you’

This is consistent with Qafisheh’s observation in his 1977 grammar of Gulf Arabic, based on the dialect of Abu Dhabi, that active particles may appear with or without an infix *-nn-* between the AP and its object pronoun (1977: 168-170).³ On the other hand, the *-nn-* infix appears to be obligatory in the dialects of the northern Emirates. In the dialects that we are observing, we have not found an instance of an AP with verbal force acting upon an affixed object pronoun without the *-nn-* infix.

1.1 Assimilated *-ll-*

³ Holes (2011: 76-77, n. 11; 2016: 186, n. 116; 2018: 126, n. 33) provides a compelling explanation for a similar phenomenon in Bahrain and the eastern province of Saudi Arabia in which the same phenomenon occurs. Dialects with *-nn-* are those of earlier, indigenous populations, and those without are those of more recent (18th century) arrivals from central Arabia.

A striking feature, previously unreported as far as we know, is that when the idiom of the verb from which the active participle derives requires a dative preposition {*li-*}, the *-nn-* assimilates to the [l]. This is shared by the dialects of Abu Dhabi and the northern Emirates alike:

- (5) Emirati Arabic
- a. Abu Dhabi
ana miḥtāy-t-ill-ik *fī ha-l-wagt*
 PRO need.PCPT-FSG-nn-PRO.2MSG PREP DEM-DET-time
 ‘I need you at this time’
- b. Sharjah
il-ḥukūma kān-at wāḡif-t-ill-hum
 DET-government be.pfv-3fsg standing.PCPT-FSG-nn-PRO.MPL
bi-l-mirṣād
 PREP-DET-ambush
 ‘The government was waiting in ambush for them’
- c. Fujairah
il-wālda msawwi-t-ill-ik riyūg
 DET-mother make.PCPT-FSG-nn-PRO.MSG breakfast
 ‘Mother made for you breakfast’

2. Infixed *-nn-* with verbs

A point that has been mentioned, but always with a certain qualification, is that *-nn-* can be inserted between an imperfective verb and its object pronoun. Holes (2011: 89; 2016: 22; 2018: 131) has collected examples from speech in Omani dialects, a few from colloquial poetry in Bahrain, and many from *nabaṭi* poetry from Abu Dhabi. About Omani usage, he remarks that it occurs unpredictably in the speech of some speakers, speculating that this may mean that it is dying out (2011: 89, n. 45). The implication of his examples from folk poetry would also seem to indicate that its use with verbs is an older form that is no longer productive in daily speech. We have, however, found a few instances of it with verbs in conversation. As in Holes’ observations of such usage in Omani Arabic, it is also rare and unpredictable in Emirati Arabic:

- (6) Emirati Arabic
- a. Sharjah
*yi-ḥuṭṭ-**inn**-ah⁴ (.) ḥarag-ah*
 3-put.IPFV-nn-PRO.MSG burn.PFV-PRO.MSG
 ‘He puts it; it burnt him’
- b. Ras Al-Khaimah
*širka ti-stājir-**inn**-ha*

⁴ Holes (2011: 89, n. 45; 2016: 22, n. 73; 2018: 136, n. 38) cautions that in feminine plural verbs, the *n* is doubled with vowel-initial enclitics. That is not the case with (6a), by which ‘they (FPL) put it’ would be the identical form: *yi-ḥuṭṭ-**inn**-ah*. The context of the conversation militates against interpreting this as such. In it, an herbalist and a practitioner of traditional medicine is explaining *al-ḥiḡāma* ‘cupping’, in which heated cups are placed on the body for purgative purposes. In this regard, he had just said that it would not do for a woman to apply the procedure to a man, context thereby dictating that the verb be masculine singular.

company 3FSG-rent.İPFV-nn-PRO.FSG
 ‘A company rents them’

A few instances with perfective verbs have also been noted:⁵

- (7) Emirati Arabic
- a. *anā* *kallam-t-**inn**-ah*
 PRO.1SG speak.PFV-1SG-nn-PRO.3MSG
 ‘I spoke [with] him’
- b. *ḥabb-ēt-**inn**-ah*
 love.PFV-1SG-nn-PRO.3MSG
 ‘I loved it’

Being both in the 1st person, the latter two examples bear similarity to and may be instances of usage that Ingham (2000: 127) remarks in the dialects of southern Iraq, albeit with imperfective verbs:⁶

- (8) Southern Iraqi Arabic
*a-šūf-**ann**-ak*
 1-see.İPFV-PRO.2MSG
 ‘I see you.’

Because this occurs only in the first person in Iraqi Arabic, Ingham supposes that such constructions derive from “a contraction of the postposed 1st-person pronoun *ana*, as in *a-rūḥ-ana*” (ibid.).⁷ Notably, the *-an* suffix can appear without an object pronoun:⁸

- (9) Southern Iraqi Arabic
- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| <i>a-rīd-an</i> | <i>a-rūḥ-an</i> | <i>a-šūf-an</i> | <i>ib-šēn-ī</i> |
| 1-wish.İPFV-an | 1-go.İPFV-an | 1-see.İPFV-an | PREP-eye-PRO.1SG |
- ‘I want to go to see with my [own] eyes’

If Ingham is correct, the Iraqi construction is of a different derivation from those of the dialects of the southern Arabian Peninsula, where the *-nn-* usually comes between the affixed object

⁵ DW overheard these two examples on separate occasions in a noisy hallway of the American University of Sharjah, where tables and chairs are set up for students to study and socialize. As such, the local origins of the speakers cannot be determined. Indeed, example (7a) may actually have been a participial *mkallimtinnaḥ* ‘having spoken to him’. For its part, however, example (7b) can be nothing other than a perfective verb.

⁶ For an accessible example, see the song *a-ḥibb-an-ha* ‘I love her’ by Iraqi singer Ali Jawhar: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=53cZQ8n93y4>.

⁷ Ingham (ibid, n. 4) notes the similarity of a postponed 1st-person pronoun with that of a perfective verb *šāf* ‘saw’ and a postponed 2nd-person pronoun *ant* ‘you MSG’ in dialect of the Āl Murrah of the Empty Quarter: *šifhant < šif-t ant* ‘saw you?’ (= ‘Did you see?’). A similar phenomenon occurs in the 1st person in some northern Emirati dialects *smišt ana* ‘I heard.’ Perhaps this is a technique for disambiguation between the identical 1st singular and masculine singular 2nd persons of the perfective verb, which can only be distinguished from each other by context.

⁸ This example is from Qasim Hassan, in personal communication, April 2018, but Ingham adduces the selfsame verbs in his discussion of the phenomenon.

pronouns of the AP in all persons.⁹ What is more, in the examples from our data, the infixation of *-nn-* occurs between verbs in the third person and its object pronoun.¹⁰

3. Discussion

Several observers have hazarded proposals about the origins of the participial infix *-nn-* of the Arabic dialects of the southern Arabian Peninsula. Eksell (1984) supposes that it is a remnant of *tanwīn*, developing contrary to prescribed usage as that system began to break down in the parent language. She was labouring under the assumption, prevalent in the day, that the older system remained preserved in the Arabic of writing, with the implication that the modern spoken varieties of Arabic are later developments.¹¹ Retsö (1988) derives it from an original deictic particle *?ann* that is shared by other Semitic languages and has been preserved in southern peninsular Arabic but is lost in most varieties of spoken Arabic. Hasselbach (2006) sees it as deriving from the so-called “energetic” form of the verb in Arabic and other West Semitic languages (Ar. *nūn al-tawkīd* ‘the *n* of assertion’). Owens (2013) counters that the energetic *nūn* in verbs was later a development and that the infix *-nn-* was original to the participle.

As compelling as any of these proposals about the origins of the *-nn-* infix may be, a lingering sense of uncertainty is inescapable with all of them.¹² On the other hand, the proximate origins and relative age of dialects possessing it are easier to assess than are the ultimate origins and the absolute age of the original particle, if those, indeed, could be determined. This goes to the question of Arabic dialect origins, whether they, or rather their modern descendants and some of the features peculiar to them that they do not share with the Arabic of writing, are post-diaspora developments, or whether they and the Arabic of writing together derive from earlier sources and are, as such, sister varieties descended from a common ancestor but diverging from each other as they developed.

The first observation to be made in this regard is that, amongst the Arabic dialects in which an infix *-nn-* appears, the Yemeni and Omani dialects exhibit a complete paradigm, with singular

⁹ Many examples cited in the literature are in the 1st and 3rd persons. Retsö (1988: 86-87) draws similarities between the Arabic and Biblical Hebrew treatment of 1st and 3rd person imperfective verbs, not necessarily positing a genetic relationship between them, but a “similar solution to a similar problem” (ibid: 87). Regardless, we have examples of its use in the 2nd person: *mitli mā inta miṣawwar-inn-ah* ‘as you (2MSG) have envisioned it’; *inti misaww-it-inn-hə* ‘you have made them’.

¹⁰ Holes (2011: 89; 2016: 22; 2018: 131) adduces one example of a 1st-person plural verb from folk poetry. Otherwise, all of his other examples of verbal usage are in the 3rd person. In personal communication (October 2019), he wonders whether Ingham’s delimiting the feature to the 1st person in Iraqi Arabic varieties may simply be a matter of sampling bias.

¹¹ But compare Landberg (1909: 728-729), who doubts that such a “horreur grammatical” could develop, questioning also why it does not appear in central Arabian dialects, where traces of *tanwīn* do occur.

¹² Respecting *-nn-* in particular, along with a few other features (dating to before 100), Owens (2018: 464-465) notes the interpretive difficulties inherent in determining proto-Arabic and proto-Semitic features in the face of little evidence.

and plural active participles requiring an infix *-nn-* between the participle and its object. Holes (2018: 130-131) gives examples of usage with plurals:¹³

- (10) Southern Yemeni Arabic
- a. *ma-ḥna-ši* *šāwz-īn-**inn**-iš*
 NEG-PRO.1PL-NEG need/want.PCP-MPL-nn-PRO.2FSG
 ‘We [do] not want you’
- b. *sāriq-āt-**inn**-ak*
 rob.PCP-FPL-nn-PRO.2MSG
 ‘They will rob you’ (Holes 2018: 130)
- (11) Omani Arabic¹⁴
- a. *kātb-īn-**in**-uh*
 write.PCP-MPL-n-PRO.3MSG
 ‘They have written it’
- b. *il-ḥarīm* *mikaffiy-āt-**in**-hum*
 DET-women manage.PCP-FPL-n-PRO.MPL
 ‘The women can manage them’ (Holes 2018: 130-131)

Northwards of Oman, the dialects of the Baḥārna of Bahrain, according to Holes’ observations (2018: 131), infix the *-nn-* only between the singular participles and their objects. According to his observations and our own, the same is true of the Emirati dialects as well. Because of that, Holes (2018: 130) reasons that applying an infix *-n(n)-* equally to all APs, singular and plural, probably preserves the early state of affairs. This suggests that the feature is original to the dialects of the extreme south of the Arabian Peninsula.

Supporting this is that the *-nn-* infix is accompanied by a small bundle of features peculiar to some Arabic dialects of Yemen, Oman, the Emirates, and Bahrain (Holes 2006: 29; 2016: 18-32; 2018: 125 & 128-132). Two of them are the *-nn-* infix and 2nd-person feminine singular pronominal suffix *-iš* (as seen in examples [1] and [10a]: *šumr-iš* ‘your age’ and *šāwz-īn-**inn**-iš* ‘wanting you’) as opposed to the perhaps more familiar *-iĉ* (as, for example, is to be seen in Qafisheh 1977: 160).¹⁵ These two cluster together.¹⁶ Holes remarks:

The dialects in which these two features, *-iš* and *-in(n)-*, occur are, in Arabian terms, southern and geographically peripheral, forming a broken chain which runs around the coast of Arabia from Bahrain in the east, through the UAE and Oman in the south-east, and then round the southern coast of Arabia to Dhofār and as far west as the western Ḥaḍramawt (see [his] Maps 5.1, 5.2). (2018: 132)

To these, we may add a third: a lexical item, *hintēn* ‘two’. A reflex of the more common numeral *tintēn* ‘two’, exhibiting an unusual sound change from [t] to [h], it is, so far as we know, found nowhere else in Arabic except in the dialects of southern Yemen (Behnstedt and

¹³ Holes’ notation is here adapted to conform to the notation used throughout this paper, that being derived from the Leipzig glossing rules (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>). In one instance, *ši* as a NEG, the English gloss is reinterpreted from Holes’ interpretation of it as ‘thing’.

¹⁴ Notice that in Omani Arabic plurals, the geminate *-inn-* of Yemeni Arabic is reduced to *-in-*.

¹⁵ The features vary between Holes’ three presentations, and he observes, “more could be added to the list” (2006: 29).

¹⁶ See the maps in Holes 2018: 125.

Woidich 2014: 613-614; Behnstedt 2016: 12-13), northeastern Oman (Brockett 1985: 212), Bahrain (Holes 2106: 136), and the dialects of the northern Emirates. In our recordings, all northern Emirates speakers who have occasion to use the numeral ‘two’ in its feminine form pronounce it *hintēn*. This, too, marks a difference between northern Emirati Arabic dialects and those of Abu Dhabi, which, according to Qafisheh (1975: 75), realize the numeral as the more usual *tintēn*.¹⁷

Bundles of features do not by themselves provide incontrovertible proof of generic relationship, especially if the bundle ties together only a few features. Those may have been adopted in the dialects in which they appear through contact with other varieties of Arabic or with other languages. So, too, may they have arisen through independent parallel innovations. Nevertheless, that the three are otherwise rare in Arabic permits drawing the conclusion that the dialects that share them are, indeed, descendants of an original dialect grouping in which all three features were present. It is highly unlikely that any one of such traits, as markedly unusual as these are, may have arisen independently in all of the dialects, much less all three traits together.

As to their age, Holes cites as “evidence for the antiquity of the *-in(n)-* infix in the suffixed AP ... the surviving Arabic *Sprachinseln* of Transoxania, brought there by the Arab conquests of the early eighth century AD” (2018: 132). Specifically, the same feature is found in the peripheral Arabic varieties of eastern Iran and Uzbekistan (Tsereteli 1956, Fischer 1961, Vinnikov 1965, Seeger 2002 & 2013), the area that was known as Khorasan (as the eastern province of Iran still is). Arabophone populations began moving into those locations as early as 671-672 (Agha 1999: 215), that is, only four decades after the beginning of the Arab diaspora. This predates the start of the codification of the Arabic variety that was to become classical Arabic, the parent of modern written Arabic, by a century or more. Whether the ancestors of the Arabophone populations first moved into Transoxania in late seventh century (Agha) or the early eighth (Holes), the infixed *-nn-* feature would already have been present in the some of the parent dialects of the Transoxania Arabic varieties of today. Those contributing infixed *-nn-* to them must originally have hailed from the southern peninsula.

The *-nn-* infix is also found in an Arabic dialect of the Sudan (Reichmuth 1983: 234) and in other peripheral Arabic dialects spoken in Chad, Cameroon, and Nigeria (Owens 2013: 218-220). The ancestor populations to the speakers of those dialects migrated into the areas of sub-Saharan Africa that they now inhabit in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This indicates that it is a persistent trait, surviving in the parent populations of the Arabian Peninsula until that time, its properties being, as Owens describes them, “quite uniform among contemporary Arabic dialects ... where it occurs” (2013: 218).

It also appears a few times in Wetzstein’s (1868) texts from the Syrian Plateau, for example, *šāyf-inn-uh* (1868: 75, line 10) ‘*hatte ihn gesehen* [had seen him]’, analogous to the same construction in (1). The Syrian usage is exceptional for its being anything but uniform, it being rare and withal inconsistent in his texts (cf. *ğāyb-ak* ‘having brought you’, which occurs on line 13 of the same page). Wetzstein offers no explanation for its presence, even while commenting upon it (ibid 191-192, n. 2).

¹⁷ Holes (2016: 28 & 31) also includes in the bundle *f < t* in such lexemes as *ifnēn* ‘two’ and *falāfa* ‘three’, remarking, however, that it occurs in a few words only. We have not encountered any instances of it.

An explanation for Wetzstein's sporadic attestations may be envisioned: It is known that groups from Yemen migrated in the centuries before the beginning of the Islamic era or by the 7th century at the latest, into what is now Oman, the UAE, and points northwards (Holes 2011: 86). Owens' (2013) summation of the history (and prehistory) of infix *-nn-* is apt:

Relying only on dialectal information, the occurrence of the *-n* would have the following history. It can be tracked to the Southwest Arabian Peninsula in pre-Islamic times. ... From the southwest part of the peninsula, populations moved into the southeast, or what is now Oman From there populations moved up the coast, to the present Emirates and Bahrain. In Islamic times tribes from this area moved into Iraq, ... whence the Arab armies moved eastward into Khurasan and what is now Uzbekistan, two areas where the *-n* is still attested. In the west the movement was into Upper Egypt and then into the Lake Chad area Each migration brought the speakers into contact with other populations, producing leveling of various types, particularly in the post-Islamic era. (2013: 239)

By these lights, the infix *-nn-* that Wetzstein finds in an Arabic dialect of the Syrian plateau of the 19th century would be a relict form, surviving since the migration of speakers of southern Arabian Arabic dialects into Mesopotamia and the hinterlands of the Fertile Crescent in the pre-Islamic or early Islamic era. Lengthy contact with speakers of other *in-situ* Arabic dialects, more or less indigenous to the area, levelled the use of the AP with its pronominal object suffixes to the more conventional usage of the surrounding dialects, with an occasional infix *-nn-* appearing as a survival from the original southern Arabian parent(s).

Conclusion

Determining the ultimate origin(s) of the infix *-nn-* in the spoken Arabic active participle is fraught with uncertainty, but fixing the relative age and geographical origin of the dialects possessing it is less so. The participial infix *-nn-* is one of the few exclusively dialectal Arabic features datable to the early Islamic era. It clearly was present in dialects of Arabic of southern Arabian origin in the early decades of the Islamic era, and it was likely present in Arabic varieties of the southern Arabian Peninsula before the seventh century.¹⁸ Much of this had already been decided, based upon the little that is known of pre-Islamic tribal migrations from southern to eastern Arabia (Holes 2006).

We have elaborated some corroborating evidence from Emirati Arabic, in which the feature had heretofore not been examined in depth. Notable in the usage of the *-nn-* infix in varieties of Emirati Arabic is that in some of them the infixing of the *-nn-* is optional. We concur with Holes' assessment (2011: 76-77, n. 11; 2016: 186, n. 116; 2018: 126, n. 33) that the infix option is indigenous to the dialects that were in place before the arrival of migrants from central Arabia, the latest of whom came in the 18th century. The central Arabian migrants brought with them the more common Arabic manner of affixing an object pronoun to the active participle without the *-nn-* infix. That distinction in Emirati Arabic varieties is not as marked as it is in those of the Baḥārna varieties that Holes documents, wherein the local varieties of Arabic either possess the *-nn-* infix or they do not, marking the disparate dialect origins between the Saudi and Bahraini Baḥārna and local speakers of other peninsular dialects.

¹⁸ In Owens' most recent statement on the matter (2018: 462-463), he reasons that it may date to earlier than 100, and at least earlier than 600.

With some speakers of Emirati Arabic – notably those from Abu Dhabi – the *-nn-* infix on the active participle is optional. In that respect and others, Emirati dialects as a whole, exhibit an amalgam of indigenous and imported features. Yet have the northern Emirati dialects, with their obligatory infixed *-nn-*, retained intact a feature of the earlier variety or varieties of Arabic spoken along the Arabian Gulf littoral at the beginning of or before the Islamic era prior to the more recent pulses of migration into the region from central Arabia.

References:

- Al-Rawi, R. 1990. *Studien zum Arabischen Dialekt von Abu Daby*. Heidelberg: Julius Groos.
- Agha, S. S. 1999. “The Arab Population in Ḥurāsān during the Umayyad Period: Some Demographic Computations”, *Arabica* 46/2. 211–229.
- Behnstedt, P. & Woidich, M. 2014. *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. Band III: Verben, Adjektive, Zeit und Zahlen*. Leiden: Brill.
- Brockett, A. A. 1985. *The Spoken Arabic of the Khābūra on the Bāṭina of Oman*. *Journal of Semitic Studies* Monograph, no. 7. Manchester.
- Eksell, K. 1984. “On participial constructions with *n*-element in some Arabic dialects”, *Studia Orientalia* 5/22. 395-409.
- Fischer, W. 1961. “Die Sprache der arabischen Sprachinsel in Uzbekistan”, *Der Islam* 35. 232-263.
- Hasselbach, R. 2006. “The Ventive/Energic in Semitic: A Morphological Study”, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 156. 309–28.
- Holes, C. 2006. “The Arabic Dialects of Arabia”, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 36. 25-34.
- Holes, C. 2011. “A Participial Infix in the Eastern Arabian Dialects—An Ancient Pre-conquest Feature?”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 38. 75-98.
- Holes, C. 2016. *Dialect, Culture, & Society in Eastern Arabia: 3 Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style*. Leiden: Brill.
- Holes, C. 2018. “The Arabic dialects of the Gulf: Aspects of their historical and sociolinguistic development”, Holes, C. (ed.) *Arabic Historical Dialectology: Linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches*. Oxford University Press. 112-147.
- Ingham, B. 2000. “The Dialect of the Mi‘dan or ‘Marsh Arabs’”, Mifsud, M. (ed.) *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of AIDA, Malta 1998*. Sliema, Malta: Salesian Press. 125-30.
- Johnstone, T. M. 1967. *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Landberg, C. von. 1909. *Etudes sur les dialectes de l’Arabie méridionale II. Daṭinah*. Leiden: Brill.
- Miller, K. 2010. “The Morpheme /-in(n)-/ in central Asian Arabic”, Farwanah, S. & Ouali H. (eds.) *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XXIV–XXV*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 91-118.
- Owens, J. 2013. “The Historical Linguistics of the Intrusive *-n in Arabic and West Semitic”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133/2. 217-247.
- Owens, J. 2018. “Equilibrium, punctuation, dia-planar diffusion: Towards understanding early Aramaic-Arabic contact”, *Al-Qantara* XXXIX/2. 391-475.
- Owens, J. and Yavrumyan, M. 2008. “Participle”, In Versteegh, K. Eid, M., Elgibaly, A., Woidich, M., & Zaborski, A. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics*. Leiden: Brill. 541-546.

- Prochazka T. 1981. "The Shī'ī dialects of Bahrain and their relationship to the eastern Arabian dialect of Muḥarraḡ and the Omani dialect of al-Ristaḡ", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 6. 16-55.
- Prochazka T. 1988. "The spoken Arabic of Abu Thōr in al-Ḥasa", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 18. 59-76.
- Qafisheh, H. A. 1977. *A Short Reference Grammar of Gulf Arabic*. Tucson: University of Arizona.
- Qafisheh, H. A. 1975. *A Basic Course in Gulf Arabic*. Tucson/Beirut: University of Arizona Press/Librarie du Liban.
- Reichmuth, S. 1983. *Der arabische Dialekt der Sukriyya im Ostsudan*. Berlin: Olms.
- Reinhardt, C. 1972 [1894]. *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Oman und Zanzibar, nach praktischen Gesichtspunkten für das Seminar für orientalische sprachen in Berlin*. Amsterdam: Philo Press [Stuttgart: Spemann].
- Retsö, J. 1988. "Pronominal Suffixes with -n(n)- in Arabic Dialects and Other Semitic Languages", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 18. 77-94.
- Seeger, U. 2002. "Zwei texte im dialekt der Araber von Chorasān", Arnold, W. & Bobzin, H. (eds.) "Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!": 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik: Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz. 629-646.
- Seeger, U. 2013. "Zum Verhältnis der zentralasiatischen arabischen Dialekte", Kutý, R., Seeger, U., & Talay, S. (eds.) *Nicht nur mit Engelszungen. Beiträge zur semitischen Dialektologie. Festschrift für Werner Arnold zum 60. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz. 313-322.
- Tsereteli, G. 1956. *The Arabic Dialects of Central Asia*. Vol 1. *Bukhara Arabic Dialects*. Tblisi: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR.
- Vinnikov, I.N. 1965. "Materialen zur Grammatik des Dialektes der Kashka-Darjiner Araber: Paradigmen der Verbalformen", Segert, S. (ed.) *Studia Semitica philologica necnon philosophica Ioanni Bakoš dicata*. Bratislava. 261-276.
- Wetzstein, J. G. 1868. "Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Wüste", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 22. 69-194.

Abbreviations

AP	active participle
CONJ	conjunction
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
F	feminine
FPL	feminine plural
FS	feminine singular
IPFV	imperfective verb
MPL	masculine plural
MSG	masculine singular
NEG	negator
PFV	perfective verb
PCPT	participle
PREP	preposition
PRO	pronoun
OPT	optative
SG	singular
SMA	Sharjah Museums Authority
1	first person
2	second person

AUTHORS

David WILMSEN

American University of Sharjah - dwilmsen@aus.edu

Fatimah AL MUHAIRI

Sharjah Museums Authority