



ORGANISED BY THE
CHAIR OF
ARABIC LINGUISTICS
(PROF. DR. VALENTINA SERRELI)



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

ARABIC IN AFRICA

HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES

UNIVERSITY OF BAYREUTH

APRIL 12-14, 2023

ROOMS S120 AND S121, GWI BUILDING, CAMPUS

PROGRAM
AND
ABSTRACTS

DAY 1 (12.04.2023)

08:30 – 09:15 Arrival & Registration + Coffee

09:10 – 09:30 Welcome / Opening

Valentina Serreli (Arabistik, University of Bayreuth)

Rüdiger Seesemann (Africa Multiple Cluster of Excellence)

9:30 – 11:00 Session 1 Chair: L. Souag

- Pantelleria: its Arabic dialect reconsidered
Dominique Caubet (INALCO)
- The Moroccan verbal prefixes /kā-/ and /tā-/: evidence for a single, endo-Semitic origin
Jacopo Falchetta (University of Bergamo)
- Moroccan Arabic *bḥal* and the existence of a multi-pattern correlative structure in Maghrebi dialects
Nadia Comolli (Independent researcher)

11:00 – 11:30 Coffee Break

11:30 – 12:30 Session 2 Chair: C. Miller

- “It’s funny!”. Decline in Use and/or Loss of Prestige for Modern Standard Arabic in Tunisia (ONLINE)
Lilia Ben Mansour (University of Jendouba)
- The standard ideological myth of Arabic as a ‘no-man’s land’: The case of Arabic as a university prerequisite course in Sudan
Elshifa Mohammednour Elamin (Omdurman Ahlia University)

12:30 – 14:00 Lunch at Mensa

13:30 – 14:00 Poster Session 1

14:00 – 15:30 Session 3 Chair: F. McLaughlin

- Gutenberg Reloaded: Ajami, the Hausa Digital Alaramma and Secular Texts in Northern Nigeria
Abdalla Uba Adamu (Bayero University)
- Almost a stillbirth: Development and Use of Ajami in Ilorin Emirate
Aliyu Sakariyau Alabi (Bayero University)
- The encounter of Arabic and Amharic in Ethiopian Islamic poetry
Andreas Wetter (independent researcher)

15:30 – 16:00 Coffee Break

16:00 – 17:30 Session 4 Chair: J. Heath

- Feature pool among migratory populations: variables and speakers from a micro-perspective
Muhadj Adnan, Ajid Lawan Saleh and Jonathan Owens (University of Bayreuth and University of Maiduguri)
- Effects of migration on minority languages: the case of Nigerian (Shuwa) Arabic in the North East Nigeria
Jidda Hassan Juma'a (University of Maiduguri)
- Language variation in the Arabic dialect of Nefza (Northwest Tunisia)
Aleksandra Naddari (University of Vienna)

DAY 2 (13.04.2023)

9:00 – 10:30 Session 5 Chair: D. Caubet

- The Evolution of the Dialect of Casablanca: How a Bedouin-type variety became a basis for a national koine
Terlan Djavadova (University of Vienna)
- Gender distinction in Tunisian Arabic dialects
Veronica Ritt-Benmimoun (University of Vienna)

- Urban and rural: remarks on the classification of Essaouira Arabic (Morocco)

Felipe Benjamin Francisco (Free University of Berlin)

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee Break

11:00 – 12:00 Session 6 Chair: S. Pereira

- La place de l'arabe dans le paysage linguistique des Comores
Ali Abdulhamid (University of Comoros)
- Arabic in Zanzibar: gone but not forgotten?
Sarali Gintsburg (University of Navarra)

12:00 – 13:30 Lunch at Mensa

13:00 – 13:30 Poster Session 2

13:30 – 15:00 Session 7 Chair: V. Serrelli

- From Arabic du'ā' to Bamana dūbabu/dūgawu: the avatars of an Islamic formulaic genre in a West African language
Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn & Francesco Zappa (University of Bayreuth and Sapienza University of Rome)
- Endearment Terms in Egyptian TV Series: A Sociolinguistic Study on Gender Style and Performance
Hasnaa Essam Farag (University of Bayreuth)
- The Cairene jewelers' jargon (*sim is-suyyāġ*): Sociolinguistic questions
Esther Ravier (École Normal Supérieure - LATTICE)

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee Break

15:30 – 17:00 Session 8 Chair: S. Procházka

- Change-of-state BCāD between Arabic and Berber
Lameen Souag (LACITO)
- „Dialectal tanwin" and „intrusive -in(n)-« in Central Asia and Africa
Volkan Bozkurt (University of Heidelberg)

- Thoughts on tense aspect-modelling at the intersection of creole and (African) non-creole varieties of Arabic
Melanie Hanitsch (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg)

19:30 Conference Dinner

DAY 3 (14.04.2023)

9:00 – 10:30 Session 9 Chair: J. Hassan

- Arabic Language and Non-Arab Minorities in Mauritania: A Historical Analysis of the Crisis of Arabization
Taleb Bilal Eli (University of Nouakchott)
- Understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Morocco and Tunisia
Giacomo Iazzetta (University of Essex)
- Language Policies, Debates, and Planning in Morocco: A Socio-Political Approach
Mohamed Bataoui (Hassan I University)

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee Break

11:00 – 12:00 Session 10 Chair: V. Ritt-Benmimoun

- Preliminary Remarks on the Arabic spoken by the Dawwāda (Southwestern Libya)
Massinissa Garaoun & Christophe Pereira (EPHE-LLACAN and INALCO-LACNAD)
- “Settled nomads: The dialect of Ain Bni Mathar (Eastern Morocco)
Evgeniya Gutova (University of Navarra)

12:00 – 13:30 Lunch at Mensa

13:00 – 13:30 Poster Session 3

13:30 – 16:00 Session 11: Roundtable discussion

Chair: Jonathan Owens

- **Jeffrey Heath (*University of Michigan*)**
“Arabic in Africa: a general linguistic perspective”
- **Fiona Mc Laughlin (*University of Florida*)**
“Arabic in Africa: the sociolinguistics of writing”
- **Catherine Miller (*CNRS, IREMAM*)**
“Arabic in Africa: politics, policies and sociolinguistic perspectives”
- **Stephan Procházka (*University of Vienna*)**
“Arabic in Africa – Arabic in West Asia: a comparative perspective”

Open discussion

“Arabic in Africa: why?”

16:00 – 16:30 Closing Remarks

Posters on display

- The French-speaking Maghreb and Language Policies (Role of International Organisations)
Jiří Bedrníček (INALCO)
- A historiography of Arabic language planning in Senegal
Cheikh Modou Badar Diop (Mouhamed-V University of Rabat & Cheikh anta Diop University of Dakar)
- Reverse ‘Ajami? Writing (not only) Arabic in a newly developed West African Script from Burkina Faso
Jannis Kostelnik (University of Bayreuth)
- Notes on the 19th Century Algiers Arabic. Through the Study of a Personal Letter
Esmā Larbi (INALCO)

Abstracts

La place de l'arabe dans le paysage linguistique des Comores

Ali Abdoulhamid (University of Comoros)

La Constitution de l'Union des Comores, petit archipel francophone de l'Afrique de l'Est qui fait partie de la ligue des Etats arabes, reconnaît trois langues officielles : le comorien, langue maternelle de 99% de la population comorienne, le français, langue de l'ancienne puissance coloniale, et l'arabe, langue de la religion (98% de la population est musulmane). L'arabe et le français jouissent officiellement du même statut. Elles sont reconnues comme langues de l'administration et de l'enseignement. En effet, les deux langues peuvent être utilisées dans l'administration. Au niveau de l'Education, la loi d'orientation de l'Education dit que les parents comoriens ont le choix de scolariser leurs enfants en arabe ou en français. Cela suppose que dans toutes les localités du pays il y ait des écoles arabophones et des écoles francophones pour que les parents puissent choisir.

Mais quelle est la place réelle de la langue arabe dans le paysage linguistique de l'archipel ? Force est de constater que, même si ce pays fait partie de la ligue des Etats arabes, la place réelle de l'arabe dans l'archipel est en deçà de ce que prévoient les textes officiels. Si l'arabe est une des langues officielles, rares sont les Comoriens qui la parlent, en dépit du fait qu'elle est enseignée comme langue vivante obligatoire dans l'enseignement secondaire, du début du collège jusqu'à la fin du lycée. Les rares arabophones du pays sont des cadres qui ont fait leurs études dans les pays arabes. Si l'arabe est une des langues de l'administration, nous avons noté un seul service administratif qui travaille exclusivement dans cette langue : celui de la justice islamique. Si l'arabe est une des langues d'enseignement, elle concerne moins de 3% des jeunes du système éducatif du pays.

Néanmoins, il y a un domaine dans lequel son emploi est exclusif, c'est le domaine de la religion : les prières et les cérémonies religieuses sont faites dans cette langue.

En résumé, malgré les efforts déployés par l'Etat, avec le soutien de ses partenaires arabes, pour l'apprentissage de l'arabe, cette langue officielle de l'archipel occupe une place marginale dans le paysage linguistique du pays. Sa valeur est plutôt symbolique. Elle se situe dans la sphère religieuse.

Références bibliographiques :

Abdoulhamid Ali (2015) : La cohabitation entre l'arabe et le français dans le milieu professionnel aux Comores. Colloque international Langues et territoires 2, 29 aout – 5 septembre 2015, Tbilissi, Géorgie.

Abdoulhamid Ali et Said Mahmoud (2010) : Présentation sociolinguistique des Comores, in Le Français dans le monde, Nathan, Paris.

Abdoulhamid Ali (2008) : L'arabo – francophonie aux Comores. Colloque international sur l'arabo – francophonie, 16 – 18 mars 2008, Raleigh, Caroline du Nord, Etats – Unis.

Gutenberg Reloaded: Ajami, the Hausa Digital Alaramma and Secular Texts in Northern Nigeria

Abdalla Uba Adamu (Bayero University, Nigeria)

Any non-Arabic language written with the Arabic alphabet is generally referred to as Ajami. The Hausa of northern Nigeria, having embraced Islam since 13th century, had been using Ajami as a literary device for hundreds of years. However, like the Gutenberg invention of a process for mass-producing movable type in 1436 halted the spread of Arabic writing in the medieval era, the introduction of secular Roman alphabet as part of British colonial educational policies in the north of Nigeria from 1910 also halted the use of Ajami as part of ordinary discourse among Alarammomi (sing. Alaramma), i.e., Qur'anic school teachers, and their pupils. This created a disjuncture in the provision of education in Muslim northern Nigeria, in those millions of pupils who were literate enough in the Arabic alphabet (though not the language) to communicate, but were prevented from doing us in favor of Roman alphabet when Nigeria was formally

created in 1914 as one country. This, in turn, created resistance against Western schooling among this class of civic culture, who linked Western education to evangelization. The British colonial educational policies strongly discouraged the use of Ajami by the Alarammomi, thus killing it as an active process of not only literacy, but also social discourse.

Evangelizing Christian Missionaries in the north of Nigeria, however, realized the power of Ajami, and used its scriptural visuality among Muslims to publish Christian religious texts in Ajami for the purpose of converting Muslims into the Christian faith. Thus, the first Christian Bible in Ajami was published in 1935. When German evangelist Reinhard Bonnke was invited by the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) to a crusade in Kano in October 1991 under the theme of 'Kano for Jesus' – in a city with over 640 years of Islamic history – the posters of the miracles he would perform were written in Ajami to attract Muslims to convert. This caused deadly riots leading to loss of lives on both sides of the religious divide.

Recently, however, renewed efforts were made to use Ajami for Christian evangelization, using a different approach. This was through a TrueType font which was sponsored by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) a Christian NGO based in Dallas, United States. The font, Alkalami (the pen) was innovative in being Warsh style writing. This was the visual style of the Arabic alphabet favored and easily recognized by the Muslim Hausa, over Hafs style which is more Arabian.

This paper chronicles the development of Alkalami and font and its preemptive use on historical and Islamic religious texts in Kano, northern Nigeria. The paper also presents an empirical study of the receptivity of the font among various users. The purpose of non-Christian advocacy of the font would be to stimulate literacy among the millions of young Qur'anic school pupils who were marginalized by the educational system provided by the state. Such marginalization closes their access to knowledge and created conditions for social turbulence in many forms.

Feature pool among migratory populations: variables and speakers from a micro-perspective

Muhadj Adnan, Ajjid Lawan and Jonathan Owens (University of Bayreuth and University of Maiduguri)

Large-scale population migrations nearly always entail new language or dialect contact. Such contact has typically been studied in terms of long-term effects (Labov 2007, Trudgill (2006), new dialect formation (Al-Wer 2007) or specific language behaviours such as codeswitching (Bentahila and Davies 1986) or large-scale calquing (Owens 2020, to appear chapter 8). We propose addressing this issue from a micro context involving the interaction of a small number of participants across a range of interactional situations. Two groups are involved. Both have experienced large-scale social disruption. One is Damascene Syrian and Baghdadi Iraqi refugees who came to Germany in 2015. The other are internally displaced Nigerian Arabs who fled from their rural abode to Maiduguri in 2014. In both cases clearly distinctive dialects are potentially brought together, engendering the question how accommodation (Giles et al.) practices unfold in micro-settings. On the one hand Syrian and Iraqi dialects display a large number of differences (cf. Cowell 1964 vs. Irwin 1963), while the Nigerian dialects have been distinguished as western vs. eastern or alternatively Ngummaati vs. Bagirmi (Owens 1998).

To study this question, we followed two groups of four speakers across two or three interactional settings. In both cases one-on-one interviews were conducted with a sample from each group. In the case of the Syrian/Iraqis, 8 speakers were then selected and asked to participate in two group conversations, each group with two Syrians and two Iraqis. In the case of Nigerian Arabic four speakers participated in two group conversation formats. In each, speakers from the different dialects participated, in one set two speakers, followed by a larger group of four, with two participants from each of the two dialects. The basic format is:

1) *Individual interview*

Syrians = 10

Iraqis = 10

Nigerian Arabs = 10

Syrians/Iraqis 2x2 (twice)

2) *Group interviews*

Nigerian Arabs: 1x1 (twice), 2x2 (once)

This empirical study documents the type of accommodation if any which occurs among the individuals in the mixed groups and the direction of accommodation. For the Iraqi/Syrian speakers and for the Nigerian Arabic four features were codified. All are high frequency variables.

Nigerian: CVCVC stress contrast: *kátab* vs. *katáb* ‘he wrote’, *ʕ/ħa → ʕ/ħe raising, *beher* vs. *bahar* ‘river’; preformative vowel /a/ vs /i/ *taktib* vs. *tiktib* ‘she writes’; 3FPL = -hin vs. -han beet-**hin** vs. beet-**han** ‘their.F house’.

Iraqi: k vs. č: *kam* vs. *čam* ‘how much?’, q vs. g: *laqa* vs. *liga* ‘he found’, 3SG/3PL possessive pronouns: *umm-u* vs. *umm-a* ‘his mother’, lexical contrast: *fii* vs. *aku* ‘there is’

From this feature pool (Mufwene 1996) the prominent result is that all features identified in both data sets vary, but not all speakers show variation. This result is documented, using regression analysis and the issue discussed, how the results of a micro accommodation study is relevant to the issue of the relation between migration and longer-term developments in language, be they change or stability.

Almost a stillbirth: Development and Use of Ajami in Ilorin Emirate Aliyu Sakariyau Alabi (Bayero University, Nigeria)

Wherever Islam is found, Arabic is found and this entails some scholastic endeavours. This means reading and writing in Arabic mostly for religious purposes but it also goes beyond religious purposes into non-religious uses. This then leads to ajamisation of knowledge i.e the use of Arabic alphabet for local languages. The duration of Islam in particular places determines the intensity of the development of ajami as a means of knowledge generation and record keeping. Although Islam first made appearance among the Yoruba speaking people since the 17th century, its development was slow and not wide spread. The emergence of Ilorin as emirate in the early decades of the nineteenth century changed the fortune of Islam and within a century and half, Islam had become a major religion among the Yoruba. Ilorin, a melting pot located in northern Yorubaland, composed of people of diverse ethnic backgrounds, including Yoruba,

Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Baruba, Kanuri, became the lighthouse of Islam, whose identity is first and foremost indicated in being a Muslim, while Yoruba remains the lingua franca. The whole of nineteenth century was devoted to making Ilorin a centre of Islam; scholars were welcomed from all over and by the end of the nineteenth century ajami in Yoruba began to make its appearance, as poems and notes to Arabic texts as a bridge between languages. Not long after its emergence, colonial encounter, its disruption of universal paradigm of Islamic education, leading to the promotion of western system of learning and alphabet truncated the further development of ajami as a means of knowledge generation. In the post-colonial period, there were some efforts to resuscitate and keep alive the flame of ajami but that has remained largely efforts of a few individuals and remains unknown to many Yoruba Muslims. This paper argues that although colonial encounter truncated the full development of Yoruba ajami, its non-usage by Muslim Yorubas has contributed to its near comatose status. Lack of a standard Yoruba ajami orthography, tonality of the language and a focus on roman orthography for Yoruba and standard Arabic for Islamic knowledge have further made the development of ajami difficult. Technology offers a new opportunity for its promotion through ease of recording but without the human agency, ajami will remain under utilised and in danger of extinction as a knowledge tool.

Language Policies, Debates, and Planning in Morocco: A Socio-Political Approach

Mohamed Bataoui (Hassan First University, Morocco)

Language has always been part and parcel of Moroccan nationalist policies throughout the ages. From pre-colonial to colonial to postcolonial times, maintaining Moroccan Arabic linguistic identity and resurrecting it from the shackles of colonialism and imperialism has been central to the Moroccan decolonizing project. Hence, right after its independence, Morocco opted for Arabization as a language policy in education to safeguard and maintain its homogenous cultural identity and national unity. The hegemony of Arabic maintained by Moroccan language policy, however, results in the marginalization of mother tongues as they cannot be learned and are therefore non-transferable to future generations. Ironically, although the kingdom's long-standing official

language is Standard Arabic, it is no one's de facto native language. Moroccan Arabic, the lingua franca of the country, and Amazigh, the native language of Moroccan indigenous inhabitants, are widely spoken in the country. Besides, the linguistic scene in Morocco also includes foreign languages such as French and English which are battling with each other and against the local varieties to maintain a certain position or scale up to a new one. This linguistic richness of Morocco undoubtedly creates a dilemma for any language policy and planning effort to be fully achieved. Besides, the status of standard Arabic in Morocco is further complicated by ideologies of elitism, colonialism/Francophobia, Pan-Arabism/Arabization, and Amazigh activism. Amidst this debate, language policy coupled with its ideological and political underpinnings continues to generate political and social uproar in Moroccan society.

Informed by a socio-political approach, this paper seeks to investigate the divergent views in which the Arabic language has been politically perceived, culturally maintained, and ideologically received in Morocco. Then, it moves on to question and evaluate the validity of Arabic as a standard language in Morocco in light of the challenges, discontents, and discrepancies that characterize the Moroccan linguistic scene in contemporary times. The illusion of nationalism and its failed project, censorship and the repression of minority voices, and the imposition of Arabic as a forcefully mainstream language are also re-assessed to critically negotiate the politicization of the Arabic language and its effects on other minoritized linguistic varieties. Socially, the paper draws attention to current modes of linguistic communication prevailing daily contact between Moroccans, which add another layer of complexity to the situation of standard Arabic in Morocco. Typically, neologisms, hybridization, and contemporary generational individual inclinations and perceptions will be examined to question not only how Arabic is regressing as a standard language in Morocco, but also how it is shifting from a nationalism-rooted perspective to a plural, hybridized and cosmopolitan one. In pursuance of this aim, the study addresses the following research questions: what is the status of Arabic in Morocco? What is the nature of Moroccans' attitudes towards their mother tongues, namely Moroccan Arabic and Moroccan Amazigh? What is the impact of Arabization on the status of mother tongues in Morocco? To respond to these inquiries, the study adopts an interdisciplinary approach whereby it combines both qualitative and quantitative research instruments (surveys and non-participatory observations) to gain a

deeper understanding of the topic through a representative sample of the population.

The French-speaking Maghreb and Language Policies (Role of International Organisations)

Jiří Bedrníček (INALCO, France)

The present paper, entitled "The French-speaking Maghreb and Language Policies (Role of International Organisations)" presented on the occasion of the Arabic in Africa: Historical and Sociolinguistic Perspectives Conference, is aimed at the role of international organisations in shaping language policies in the francophone Maghreb from the period after the independence of France to the post-revolutionary Maghreb since 2011. In its first part, this paper will delineate the boundaries of the francophone Maghreb - Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, and Tunisia - to provide insight into different conceptualisations of the region. Following this division, the concept of the Maghreb as an invention, narrative or idea of the French colonial system must also be considered. The view is then also adopted by various international organizations. And since the political problem is often also the linguistic one (and vice versa), language is a profoundly political tool.

In the second part, the focus shifts to the role of international organisations whose soft power have an important impact on language policy in the region. One of the international organizations examined with important overlap in this regard is UN-UNESCO, which has contributed to the consolidation of strong Arabization policies in the post-independence period, often in collaboration with other organizations and often paradoxically leading to a disregard for the linguistic diversity of the Maghreb. In addition, the paper will focus on the Arab League and its affiliates ARLO, ALECSO and the Francophone OIF. The latter organization will also bring a Francophone perspective. The tendency for French to be replaced by English is an important phenomenon for the OIF, which it follows very closely through strong francophone institutions (French institutes, francophone literary prizes, etc.).

The paper attempts to evaluate two strands from the analysis of the issue. In the first strand, the focus will be on the evolution and approach of the international organizations on the issue of language policies in the Maghreb from the post-Independence to the post-2011 development period. The second one will then try to answer the question which international organization had and has the greatest impact on the spread of language policies - whether in the context of Arabization or the strengthening of the influence of French or other minority languages of the Maghreb? This question raises another and equally important one: under what conditions has this international organisation succeeded. The paper will also present a survey of specific results, implications and try to outline further directions on this question.

“It’s funny!”. Decline in Use and/or Loss of Prestige for Modern Standard Arabic in Tunisia

Lilia Ben Mansour (University of Jendouba, Tunisia)

The sociolinguistic situation of the Arab world is marked by a peculiar case of coexistence of a standard and a dialect belonging to the same language. This linguistic phenomenon came under investigation thanks to Charles Ferguson’s seminal paper “Diglossia” (1959). He described the linguistic situation across the Arab world, whereby two varieties of the same language, H (high) and L (low), co-exist in the same speech community, with each having distinct functions and distinct domains (Fishman, 1965). Post-Fergusonian work argued that the term “diglossia” can be extended to include two entirely unrelated languages in a complementary distribution in a given speech community. Fishman (1967), relying on Gumperz’ work (1961, 1962, 1964a, 1964b, 1966), argues that the very introduction of diglossia allows for the inclusion of languages rather than only dialects. However, a central element to diglossia is the perception of the members of the speech community that the two varieties belong to the same language, and that the L variety does not exist (Ferguson, 1959). The origin of this phenomenon, be it a preexisting condition in the Arabian Peninsula or a product of language contact, remains an ongoing question. What is certain is that, in Tunisia, the H variety used in formal domains is Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), while the L variety used in familiar interactions is Tunisian Arabic (TA). In reference to the

Tunisian context, Sayahi (2014) notes the existence of a Diglossia Paradox displayed in holding a seldom-used variety (MSA) in high esteem, while devaluing a mother tongue transmitted across generations (TA). Sayahi (2014) also notes the changing linguistic situation manifested in the lack of comfort using MSA as it becomes an increasingly marked linguistic choice. A study conducted by Ben Mansour (2022), has shown that abrupt switches from TA to MSA, and to a lesser degree from MSA to TA, result in humorous laughter. This reaction was understood to betray a schematic incongruity (Deckers & Buttram, 1990) where two “normally” separate event schemas (Formality/Informality; MSA/TA) clash. The present paper raises questions stemming from the unexpected findings of the aforementioned experiment. 10% of the participants listening to MSA without any interruptions by TA displayed signs of mirth evident in Duchenne smiles/laughs. The spontaneous reactions considering MSA “funny” (i.e. humorous/strange (Chafe, 2007)) are in contrast to only 5% rating the audio clip with a score corresponding to a face displaying a Duchenne smile indicating enjoyment. These findings have prompted the reflections present in this paper regarding the attitude towards MSA in Tunisia. With the declined use of the variety, by virtue of “leaky diglossia” (Fasold, 1984), its very use became a strange occurrence (i.e. a marked linguistic choice). Moreover, meeting its use with laughter may suggest a shift from the variety’s association with erudition in the past, to an association with detachment from actuality. Indeed, although the Arabic language plays a fundamental role in nation-formation, binding Arabs to each other, its current position triggers a debate around linguistic identity (Suleiman, 2003).

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Arabic Language and Non-Arab Minorities in Mauritania: A Historical Analysis of the Crisis of Arabization

Taleb Bilal Eli (University of Nouakchott, Mauritania)

One of the recurrent issues in modern Mauritania is the crisis of Arabization which in most cases leads to quarrels, disputes and tensions among Mauritians. However, those who follow and have a close attention to the history and relationship between Arabic speakers and non-Arabic speakers find that it reflects the problem of identity and coexistence, which is deepened by a cultural and linguistic schism throughout the modern history of Mauritania. Historically, and since the independence in 1960, the issue of Arabization in Mauritania has been the subject of the political and ethnic debates. A few years after the independence, the former President Moctar Ould Daddah tried to introduce Arabic as a subject in Mauritanian public schools. This latter was not appreciated by non-Arab intellectuals who opposed and rejected the Arabization process, which led to ethnic clashes in which some victims were killed and injured.

Consequently, and since this incident, Arabization has been a source of concern and dispute in the relationship between the Arab majority and non-Arab minorities. Additionally, the military regime that ruled the country after the first

coup d'état in 1978, adopted two systems of education: French schools and Arabic schools. As a result, people were divided based on their ethnicities. For instance, Arabs were to go to the Arabic schools and non-Arab minorities were in French schools. A few decades later, Mauritania witnessed the graduation of these two distinct generations: One is an Arab who were educated in Arabic, and the other is the non-Arab group who received full education in French. Thus, the schism and complete break of these two generations has contributed to what modern Mauritania is witnessing. Significantly, Arabic Language and Non-Arab Minorities in Mauritania: A Historical Analysis of the Crisis of Arabization will try to inspect and unravel the past and present of the crisis of Arabization in Mauritania and its consequences on non-Arab minorities, national unity and social cohesion in the country.

Keywords: Arabic, Africa, Arabizaion, non-Arab minorities, history

"Dialectal tanwīn" and "intrusive -in(n)-" in Central Asia and Africa Volkan Bozkurt (Ruprecht-Karls-University Heidelberg, Germany)

In my contribution to the Bayreuth conference "Arabic in Africa" (April 12-14, 2023), two linguistic archaisms are presented that are common to the Arabic varieties of Africa and Central Asia. In the literature, these are discussed as "dialectal tanwīn", "adnominal linker" and "intrusive -in(n)-". They form a parallel between the peripheral dialects of Africa and those of Central Asia.

The "intrusive -in(n)-" connects a participle active with a suffix, while the "dialectal tanwīn" -in is a ligature indicating the connection of an indeterminate noun with its modifier.

The linker "-in" is well documented in various dialects of Bedouin origin (Ferrando 2018: 97f.).

On the other hand, the "intrusive -in(n)-" of the participle is rare in Arabic dialects. It occurs only in the peninsular dialects and the Arabic peripheral dialects of Africa and Central Asia.

Both linguistic phenomena with "-in" are probably ancient formations that have their origins in the Arabian Peninsula.

According to general opinion, the assumption of a linguistic innovation that arose independently of one another in different dialect areas is not plausible. This is also indicated by an early allomorph -an as a linker in Andalusian Arabic. In some dialects, the ligature also appears as -un.

The participial -in of Central Asia certainly reached this region with the early Islamic settlement. Migration movements from the Arabian Peninsula also brought it to Africa.

For the Central Asian language islands, data are mainly available from Uzbekistan and Afghanistan (Ingham 1994, 2006). Seeger (2002) provides evidence from a Sunni dialect of Khorasan for the first time. Bozkurt (2022) collected new comparative data during field research in Iran. These include the Shia Arabkhane dialects in Khorasan and the previously undocumented Arabic of the Khamsa Arabs of F.rs province, which can certainly be assigned as another representative of the Central Asian type. The works of Reichmuth (1983) and Owens (1993) are available for Africa. Various contributions by Holes and Ingham provide data on the Arabian Peninsula. Recent overviews of Arabic dialectology (Owens 2006, Holes 2018) devote separate sections to the archaisms formed with -in.

The question of origin is also discussed there. In some contributions to the discussion, the assumption is made that the in-forms are remnants of the ancient Arabic nunation (Eksell 1984). This is due to the formal similarity with the tanwīn. On the other hand, Retsö (1988) and Owens (2006: 104-107) postulate an unattested proto-form of older Arabic.

There are regional differences in the use of the "dialectal tanwīn" and the participle extension -in. The "dialectal tanwīn" occurs in Arabic dialects mostly between indeterminate nouns and adjectival attributes. In Nağd, "dialectal tanwīn" also occurs before a verbal form.

Numerous differences are manifest in the use of the "intrusive -in(n)-" in the participle in the dialects of Central Asia, the Arabian Peninsula and Africa (cf. Owens 2006: 160f).

The form and function of the participle forms extended with -in will therefore also be presented in the course of the talk. These include: -in as subject/object carrier, gender/number distinction of the extended participle, restrictions on formation.

The African varieties and new language data from Central Asia will be given consideration.

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Pantelleria: its Arabic dialect reconsidered

Dominique Caubet (INALCO-LACNAD, France)

Judging by the modern Dialecto Pantesco, was the Arabic variety spoken on the island closer to Sicilian Arabic or to North African dialects?

From a historical perspective, according to testimonies of travellers from the 12th c. onwards, and unlike Sicily, Arabic was spoken in Pantelleria from the 9th c., until at least the end of the 17th c. (Galland) and probably the 18th c., even long after the inhabitants had abandoned Islam (probably from 1492, when Christianisation was imposed by Spanish rulers). The Pantescan peasants were still Muslims at the beginning of the 15th c. (de Caumont) and by the middle of the 16th c. had become Christian but still spoke and dressed like "Sarazins" (Fazello).

From a sociolinguistic point of view, it seems that there was a cohabitation of Pantescan Arabic spoken by the peasants who remained Muslim until the 15th c. and the castle and the small city around it, which was the centre of power, where the authorities and the military spoke a series of Romance languages

The island being so close to the African coast has had permanent contact with the North of Tunisia, friendly or conflictual all along.

In the 19th c. an impressive number of its inhabitants (ca 2000 over est. 8000) migrated to Tunisia, encouraged by the French protectorate, but they were often counted as Italian or Sicilian, rarely Pantescan proper.

Like Maltese, it seems to have had the characteristics of a peripheral dialect judging by the toponyms and technical terms that remain in the present dialecto, rightly compared to Maltese by various scholars (Brincat)

From a historical as well as sociolinguistic perspective and judging by the dialetto from 1960 onwards (Tropea), we'll try to imagine if Pantescan Arabic was closer to Sicilian Arabic (as generally considered) or to (North-)African Arabic.

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Moroccan Arabic *bħal* and the existence of a multi-pattern correlative structure in Maghrebi dialects

Nadia Comolli (Independent Researcher, France)

This talk will be looking at how *bħal* in Moroccan Arabic is one of several markers that instantiate a correlative structure, how it does so following multiple patterns and how taking into account the fixed orientation of the resulting construction *bħal y bħal x* may help understand the grammaticalization of *bħal* in its diverse stages of development.

Variants *bħal* and *fħal* (etym. *b-ħal*, *f-ħal* “in the state of”) can be used as similitive markers¹. Our first focus will be on the availability, in this dialect, of four different patterns to construct *bħal y bħal x* - where *y* stands for what is being measured and *x* for what it is measured against. What gives rise to the four patterns is the fully fledged expression of the elements *x* and *y* as a noun phrase or a suffixed personal pronoun, as well as the possibility of leaving these two elements empty of any material substance. I would argue that, in the latter case, the resulting form *bħal bħal*, is not to be mistaken for the outcome of a reduplication – for *bħal bħal* has indeed been previously described as a reduplicated form (F F), for instance in the EALL article on reduplication (El Zarka 2009) or in Caubet 1993. Furthermore, it is possible to see in such formulations as *ʿad ʿad* or *saʿa saʿa* other instantiations of the same correlative structure, whose correlative component is undifferentiated, that is repeated twice.

We will also consider the particular importance of a form *qadd* in relation to the correlative structure being described. This will lead us to acknowledge the existence of a fifth pattern and a sixth pattern and take into account the partitioning, along a qualitative/quantitative axis, between the respective uses of *bħal* and *qadd* in Moroccan Arabic.

Data for Meknes and for Fes (respectively early 20th c. and 21st c.) show the regularity with which the fixed orientation $y \rightarrow x$ is produced in the corresponding utterances, while revealing that in a subsequent development a different organizing principle seems to counteract it. To conclude this discussion, an attempt will therefore be made to demonstrate that the $\langle bħal bħal \rangle$ relationship underwent two different evolutions and that the last one brought a shift in the semantic value constructed by the segment *bħal*-PRO₁ *bħal*-PRO₂.

When possible, the existence of a similar correlative structure in other Maghrebi dialects will provide a backdrop to the Moroccan data being analyzed.

1. In this text, we use *bħal* as a means to refer to both variants.

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A historiography of Arabic language planning in Senegal

Cheikh Modou Badar Diop (Mouhamed-V University, Morocco, & Cheikh anta Diop University, Senegal)

This study is part of a PhD project aimed to investigate the historical conditions of Arabic policy discourses in Senegal and its symbolic indexicalities. Whether at the level of social and religious practices, or at the level of political

movements and presidential decrees, the study intends to trace the historical trajectory of the Arabic language planning in Senegal. This critical historiography will cover various contextual moments including the Senegalese contact with Muslims, Arabs, and Berbers in the Senegal River Basin, where the economic and commercial activities were dynamic, which led, at the level of communication, to the process of acculturation and civilized dialogue between them and the foreign merchants. I will also inspect the French colonial language policies and post-independence institutional discourses of language policy. It is my contention that without this historiographical contextualization we cannot understand the complex social indexicalities of Arabic and its entanglements with religion and identity in Senegal.

The key questions for this paper include: what is the status of Arabic in Senegal? And what are the historical circumstances in which Arabic emerged in the Senegalese society and state institutions? How are the social and political changes reflected in the structure of Arabic and its organizing discourses? One of the findings of this study is that the current status of Arabic is largely shaped by French colonialism. I will draw on the historical perspective and the conceptual tools provided by colonial linguistics (Errington 2001) and postmodern language planning (Tollefson 1991). The corpus of data includes archival materials and texts of institutional language policies.

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The Evolution of the Dialect of Casablanca: How a Bedouin-type variety became a basis for a national koiné

Terlan Djavadova (University of Vienna, Austria)

This article deals with the development of the Casablancon dialect and provides a comparative diachronic analysis. The research question is: which features have been subject to change in the dialect of Casablanca as described by Kampffmeyer (1912) and, about a century later, by Aguadé (2003).

Kampffmeyer's book, which was subsequently grammatically analyzed by Aguadé (2005), is a collection of phrases for travelers. They are written in an accurate scientific transcription and cover a variety of topics, such as greetings, weather, and daily conversations. The studies by Aguadé (2003) and Caubet (2007) are grammatical descriptions, that describe the contemporary dialect of Casablanca respectively the emerging koiné and thus serve as a basis for comparison

Kampffmeyer travelled to Casablanca at the beginning of the 20th century, when it was nothing more than a fishing village. About the same time, France took control of Casablanca and started turning it into Morocco's most important port: Casablanca grew into a mega-metropolis, where today people from all regions of Morocco live (Adam 2012).

The original population of Casablanca was part of the *Šāwīya* confederation, which consists of partly originally Arab, partly Arabicized Berber tribes (Kampffmeyer 1903: 6). Kampffmeyer assumes that the dialect of Casablanca was similar to the dialects of the *Šāwīya* of the surrounding countryside (Kampffmeyer 1912: VI). The Casablančan variety showed features which were seen as typical "Bedouin" in the Maghreb, e.g. retention of interdental, frequent labialization, no indicative markers and synthetic genitive constructions (Hachimi 2018: 74; Taine-Cheikh 2017: 11). The dialect(s) of the *Šāwīya*, who still live in the Casablanca area today, are often referred to as *ʕrubi*, meaning *rural* but also *bedouin*, often used in a pejorative way (Ech-charfi and Azzouzi 2017). Although the dialect of Casablanca could probably have been called *ʕrubi* in the past, today it is the dialect that contributes significantly to the emergence of a koiné. However, it has also lost some of its original features.

The analysis conducted in this paper is organized in three sections: first, I identify the linguistic features that were typologically labelled as Bedouin in the old dialect of Casablanca and discuss, whether they were retained in contemporary Casablančan. Secondly, I focus on the development of two features: the realization of interdental and the presence/absence of the indicative markers *ka-/ta-*. Thirdly, I refer to some of the preliminary results based on data collected during my last fieldwork campaign in the *Šāwīya* region surrounding Casablanca in March 2022.

This paper thus sheds light on the debate on the typology and development of Arabic in North Africa by both offering new data of the *Šāwiya* region and by providing preliminary insights on the diachronic change of the Casablančan variety which is, nowadays, the normative dialect used in the media (cf. Aguadé 2003: 1) and therefore, contributes significantly to the Moroccan koiné.

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From Arabic *du'ā'* to Bamana *dùbabu/dùgawu*: the avatars of an Islamic formulaic genre in a West African language

Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn and Francesco Zappa (University of Bayreuth, Germany, & Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)

This paper focuses on a genre of communicative exchange that is ubiquitous in the daily life of the speakers of Bambara/Bamanan(kan), one of West Africa's most widespread lingua francas, mainly spoken in Mali. This genre derives, in turn, as its very name (variously spelt as *dùgawu/dùbabu/dùga/dùba*) shows, from a specific kind of Islamic prayer that is widely known by its classical Arabic name *du'ā'*, literally meaning (God's) "invocation" and often translated in scientific literature as 'petitionary prayer'.

In Islamic ritual, *du'ā'*, conceived of as the practice of invoking God in order to address to Him specific demands, concerning either material/this-worldly or spiritual life, both for oneself and for someone else, is opposed to *ṣalāt* (*séli* in Bambara), i.e. ritual daily prayer. While the latter is understood as the principal, compulsory way to express one's submission to God, and is, consequently, performed at five specific moments of the day and with fixed formulas and gestures, *du'ā'*, being a voluntary action, is, at least in principle, completely free both in its wording and in its ritual occasions. However, over time, a specific repertoire of formulas, sometimes drawn from the Qur'an and from practice ascribed to Muhammad, imposed itself as preferential, albeit not exclusive, while theologians and spiritual masters elaborated their own reflections and recommendations on how and when to perform *du'ā'*.

From classical Arabic, the practice of *du'ā'* has crept into the daily exchanges of Muslim (and even non-Muslim) speakers in both Arabic dialects and diverse languages spoken by Muslims, in sub-Saharan Africa as elsewhere, frequently taking on creative forms. We will demonstrate that Bambara *dùgawu* are not only prone to include many lexical Arabic loanwords, but that the entire communicative exchanges are in fact a loan practice, albeit having distinctive features that make them suitable to a variety of interaction contexts. It functions more often as blessing than as prayer, and shows a tendency to secularization, at least in many of its common uses. At the same time, it also clearly shows (in its linguistic structure as well as in its cultural underpinnings) signs of its derivation from classical Arabic scholarly norm, absorbed through exposure to traditional

Islamic teaching, rather than from interaction with native speakers of colloquial forms of Arabic.

This paper also shows how such a deceptively simple, yet hybrid genre of communicative exchange can be more thoroughly understood by combining the competences of a linguist specialized in West African languages and linguistics with those of an Islamic studies scholar with some knowledge of Bambara.

The standard ideological myth of Arabic as a ‘no-man’s land’: The case of Arabic as a university prerequisite course in Sudan
Elshifa Mohammednour Elamin (Omdurman Ahlia University, Sudan)

Sociolinguistically, it is commonplace that individual identity is a discursive construction from top to bottom. However, one of the institutionalized Arabic linguistic myths (in Harris 1981 sense of the term) is that Standard Arabic is ‘no-man’s land’. That is, standard Arabic lacks ‘native speakers’. This ideological myth conceptualizes Standard Arabic in pure instrumental terms as a ‘neutral medium’ of objective knowledge construction, by comparison to the dialects, which are reserved for the symbolic functions of identity construction (see Suleiman 2003). This institutional diglossic ideology is silent on the question of situationally negotiated individual identities through a standard Arabic (the notion of the ‘standard’ itself is variable, see Ferguson 1959; Badawi 1973). Equally, the question of the symbolic functions of Standard Arabic beyond the construction of a pan-Arab identity is largely erased. This study will test this ideological myth by focusing on the study of Arabic (understood as ‘the Standard’) as a university prerequisite course by multilingual students whose ‘first language is a ‘minority language’.

In multilingual classes, the formal selection of standard Arabic language as a pre-requisite university course might represent problematic challenges for some minority language students. At the level of university study, students who mostly speak other languages as their “native languages” face systemic constraints in dealing with standard Arabic in a form of practice (e.g., writing an essay, delivering a formal presentation). For example, the students socially and intellectually need to know the appropriate way of using standard Arabic, and how

to symbolically organize their social relationships with others across time and place through this linguistic standard. Students with different minority languages are familiar with the structure and functions of their native languages. They grow up with their minority languages spoken at home and in their local community.

The key questions for the study are: How do minority-language students perceive Standard Arabic at the university level? How they negotiate their ‘socially constructed’ individual identities through standard Arabic (whether in terms of ethnicity, gender, etc.)? How the dominant monolingual ideology of Arabic gets reproduced, sustained or resisted in actual practice by these students? To engage with these questions, the study will address the nature of the university language policies on Arabic as a prerequisite course in relation to the local community or home-language policies of the students, and how these policies (whether formal or informal) structure the repertoire of the students. And here the focus will be on the link between standard Arabic and identity in its problematic formulation and use. The actual linguistic practice of students will also be examined in order to detect any lacuna between actual usage and ideology.

With respect to the methodology, the study adopts a toolkit of mixed methods (statistical and discursive) for data collection and analysis. The context of the study is Omdurman Ahlia University –Faculty of Arts (Sudan). The community of the study are students from the Darfur State, where different minorities languages are spoken as native languages. However, the students are not specialized in Arabic language; they are exposed to standard Arabic language as a prerequisite course (about 30 credit hours in four semesters).

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Endearment Terms in Egyptian TV Series: A Sociolinguistic Study on Gender Style and Performance

Hasnaa Essam Farag (*University of Bayreuth, Germany*)

As part of ongoing qualitative research on language and gender in Egyptian TV series (2020-2021), this paper explores the linguistic style of gendered characters through the lens of Egyptian authors. Within this context, a purposive sample of seven couples' interactions from three well-known Egyptian TV series is analyzed linguistically. The study approaches the scripted data as a corpus of performed language demonstrating authors' cultural perceptions of gender linguistic style, which may reflect broader societal perceptions. Research has shown a significant relationship between media makers' perceptions (their focus display) of gender styles in scripted performances and natural speech (Tannen, 1994, p. 139). Societal perceptions can shift the non-performed interactions into performed ones (Schilling-Estes, 1998, p. 53). Therefore, performed speech analysis can reveal similar patterns to natural interactions and provide insight into language production according to societal perceptions (Schilling-Estes: 1998, p. 53). Moreover, there is a strong relationship between gender portrayals in TV series and the stereotypical perceptions of audiences about gender (Jennifer Herrett-Skjellum and Mike Allen, 1996). Also, Behm (2009) states the limitation of linguistic studies on gender in TV series. Unlike previous work on Arabic language and gender that focuses on unscripted data and vernacular vs. standard registers of Arabic, this paper investigates a very young body of work on Arabic language and gender styles of portrayed characters, including the overt expression of emotions and terms of endearment, in fictionalized cultural discourses (TV series), a fertile data source for sociolinguistics. The paper also covers significant aspects of gender portrayals, such as age and social class, to raise social awareness of portraying all class and age groups of gender on screen without framing a specific category as problematic and without constructing cultural stereotypes about gender identities.

Keywords: Gender style, Terms of Endearment, Performance, Stereotypes, Egyptian TV series.

The Moroccan verbal prefixes /kā-/ and /tā-/: evidence for a single, endo-Semitic origin

Jacopo Falchetta (University of Bergamo, Italy & IREMAM, France)

The etymology of a great number of verbal prefixes adding information about tense, mode and/or aspect to the p-stem conjugation in Arabic colloquial varieties is a matter of ongoing debate among Arabic historical linguists. While it seems likely that most of them are to be traced back to different processes of grammaticalisation, the uncertainty revolving around their origin and grammaticalisation pattern is due to two main problems, one formal and the other sociolinguistic. On the formal side, the fact that many prefixes are made of just one consonant and/or one vowel leads to evoking a great number of original (sometimes not just) Arabic lexemes, all possessing that consonant or vowel. On the sociolinguistic one, their status as non-standard features led past writers to avoid their use in the great majority of cases (including in so-called Middle Arabic texts, where few examples are found), which makes it very difficult to gather philological information on their ancientness and grammaticalisation pattern.

/kā-/ and /tā-/ are two of these opaque prefixes; both are virtually found only in Moroccan Arabic varieties with identical progressive, habitual or gnomic functions. A great number of etymologies have been posited for either of them (cf. Cohen 1924; Aguadé 1996; Aguade 1998), with few authors tracing them back to the same origin (e.g. Heath 2002: 211). However, none of the hypotheses has gained wide agreement among Arabic linguists. Moving from Owens (2018), this contribution proposes a new theory on the basis of his considerations and suppositions about Aramaic-Arabic language contact both before and after the Arabo-Islamic conquests. In particular, it is suggested that /kā-/ might be the result of the borrowing and phonetic development of a functionally similar particle /qa/ - which later evolved to /k-/ - found in some ancient and modern varieties of Aramaic. Some linguistic facts that support this theory are the use of this prefix in other peripheral Arabic varieties and the presence of other forms of potentially Aramaic origin in the same Moroccan Arabic varieties in which /kā-/ is most frequent. The switch from /kā-/ to /tā-/ is then argued to be a phonetic one, on the basis of dialectological data which prove that a shift from /k/ to /t/ did take place in some areas in Morocco at a given historical moment. The main weakness of this explanation is its being mainly based on assumptions of past movements of populations which are not entirely documented. However, with respect to

previous theories, it has the advantage of identifying an etyma which is functionally and formally very similar to the modern prefix /kā-/ and outlining a possible historical pattern of diffusion.

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Urban and rural: remarks on the classification of Essaouira Arabic (Morocco)

Felipe Benjamin Francisco (FU Berlin, Germany)

This talk focuses on the description and classification of the Arabic dialect spoken in the medina of Essaouira, a small urban center on the Moroccan Atlantic strip. Once known as Mogador, the city was founded relatively recently in the second half of the 18th century, playing the role of the most important international port in the Moroccan Kingdom. Situated on the limits of the Haha and the Chiadma territories – Tachelhit and Arabic speaking respectively –, the settlement of Essaouira comprehended not only speakers emigrating from the rural surrounding areas above, but also from different parts of the Kingdom, mostly from southern Morocco. A significant number of families came from Agadir, Marrakesh and the Sous region – including *maṣqili* origin tribes –, due not only to the economic importance of Essaouira, but also factors, such as epidemics and famine. The city was also distinguished by its Jewish community, one of the most expressive in the country at some point. Moreover, the movement of the

caravans of the Trans-Saharan trade route may also have impacted on the linguistic landscape of the city, while connecting Western Africa to southeastern Morocco (Tafilalt) as far as Essaouira, from where goods were shipped to Europe. Therefore, speakers with different linguistic backgrounds were in straight contact inside the walls of Essaouira's narrow medina since its foundation. Regarding the information available for Essaouira Arabic, a seminal article by Socin (1893) – based in a single informant – was for a long time the only source for the Muslim variety of the city. This is not the case for the Jewish variety, object of detailed descriptive studies conducted by Lévy (1994, 2009) and Heath (2002). More recently, we could have a new picture of both communal dialects and also of the rural dialects spoken in the neighboring villages, more precisely around Aqermoud, north of Essaouira (Francisco 2022, 2023[forthcoming]). According to the Maghrebi dialectology classification, Essaouira is traditionally considered the limit of the hilāli-type area in the Moroccan Atlantic coast (Colin 1945, 1986). The port city has faced the departure of a significant number of the inhabitants of its medina who spoke a pre-hilāli type variety – mostly Jews –, giving place to rural speakers from the neighboring villages – as observed by Miller (2004, 2007) in other old urban centers in North Africa. Nevertheless, I argue that the *mdīni* dialect of Essaouira among Muslims – and Jews to some extent – differs from its counterparts in cities such as Rabat or Fez, presenting southern features (Taine-Cheikh 2017, Francisco 2021). In order to demonstrate that, I analyze the following traits: (1) realization of *q > [g], [q]; (2) diphthongs in plain contexts and perf. defective verbs; (3) preverbs *ta-* ~ *ka-*; (4) genitive markers *dyāl* ~ *ntāf*; (5) perf.f. suffix *-āt* within strong and hollow verbs; and (6) future particle *b-*. The comparison of these features as found in the communal dialects and the rural (*ṣrūbi*) variety of the area provides us evidence of the limitations of the “hilāli” category to classify the local dialects.

Keywords: Arabic dialectology, communal dialects, Essaouira, Southern Morocco.

Preliminary Remarks on the Arabic spoken by the Dawwāda (Southwestern Libya)

Massinissa Garaoun and Christophe Pereira (EPHE – LLACAN and INALCO – LACNAD)

In the Fezzan Region of Southwestern Libya lives a black endogamous community called Dawwāda (the “worm eaters”; cf. dūd “worm”). They used to inhabit around salty lakes in the confines of the Awbari desert.

Very little is known about the Dawwāda, in particular because of the absence of written culture and archaeological remains. Some ethnographic studies were carried out in the middle of the 20th century: they mainly focused on their economic specialization, their pre-Islamic rites, and the description of the lineages to which the Dawwāda claim to belong to (Limouzin 1951; Bellair 1951; Pauphilet 1953; Wellard 1964). Genetic surveys were also carried out: these concluded in the strongly differentiated character of the Dawwāda vis-a-vis the neighboring Arabo-Berbers (Saggese et al. 1963).

Their unusual mores have led the few researchers interested in them to put forward different hypotheses on their origins, ranging from an escaped slave group to relict people who survived the desertification of the Sahara. Certain authors suggest that there is a link between the Dawwāda and the ancient Saharan civilizations, more especially the Garamantes whose vestiges were found in all the valleys surrounding the oasis of Awbari (Bellair et al. 1953).

Until recently, the Dawwāda’s way of life revolved around gathering and the consumption of brine shrimps (*Artemia*) and fly larvae (*Ephydra*), as well as unicellular algae in the oasis. Together with the collection and the marketing of salt, natron and dates, these foodstuffs were sold to the caravans of Tuaregs, Arabs, and other communities who crossed their country. Because of their commercial activities, their vernacular has always been in contact with other languages. Unfortunately, the publications on the Arabic vernaculars spoken in the Fezzan are few and they only concern the varieties of the Gurda and Magarha tribes (Marçais 2001). So, as far as we know, no linguistic study can help us know more about their history and advance on the question of their origin.

The aim of our talk is to contribute to the research carried out on the Dawwāda through the description of their linguistic practices, thanks to a corpus of videos produced by local channels. These videos provide us with more than one

hour of linguistic data collected from men and women from the oasis of Gaberoun, aged over seventy. Through these videos, we have access to the description of their way of life and the glossary which allows to describe the techniques of fishing and food crops.

This data could turn out to be enlightening, both from the point of view of Arabic dialectology and language contacts. Regarding dialectology, we will describe phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical features, allowing to situate the Arabic spoken by the Dawwāda among Libyan and North African varieties. Regarding language contacts, we will focus on the linguistic interferences that result from contact with the Berber (e.g. abūzrīr “gecko”), Kanuri (e.g. gafūli “sorgho”), Hausa (e.g. tāri “net”), etc. (Souag 2013). Through the description of linguistic characteristics and the effects of language contact, we expect to learn more about the history of the Dawwāda. The linguistic part of our talk will be preceded by an anthropo-historical presentation of the Dawwāda based on existing publications.

This research takes on an urgent character. Indeed, between the 1980s and the 1990s, the entire community was deported to the town of Bint Biyah, located in the South of Awbari, and since, their culture, identity and vernacular are highly endangered.

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Arabic in Zanzibar: gone but not forgotten?

Sarali Gintsburg (University of Navarra, Spain)

Zanzibar is one of a few spots in the non-Arabic speaking part of Africa, where presence of Arabic language has a long and quite well documented history. Despite this fact, only few publications have dealt with Arabic in Zanzibar and its varieties: among them, Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Omān und Zanzibar: nach praktischen Gesichtspunkten für das Seminar für orientalische Sprachen in Berlin (C. Reinhardt, 1894), and A Basic Vocabulary in Zanzibar Arabic (A. Nakano, 1994). The scarcity of research on Arabic in Zanzibar can be attributed to a chain of political, social, and economic upheavals that transformed this former territory of Oman, as well as the policies of Tanzanization and Swahilization implemented by Tanzanian authorities. As of today, the reference literature doesn't seem to have an agreement on whether Arabic language should be listed as one of the languages, spoken in Zanzibar, or not. For instance, Encyclopedia Britannica omits Arabic, while Ethnologue mentions both Standard and Omani Arabic among languages spoken in Tanzania.

In my presentation, I will offer to revisit this issue by doing the following: 1. Present a historical overview of the presence of Arabic on the island; 2. Present a historical overview of the varieties of Arabic used/spoken on the island (Classical Arabic, Omani Arabic, Hadhrami Arabic); 3. Discuss the current status of Arabic language contrasting it against the main players, i.e., Swahili and English; and 4. Suggest possible scenarios of the future of Arabic language on the island. In addition to relevant academic sources (please see references for some of them), my analysis will be based on presential qualitative interviews I conducted during a fieldwork session in Zanzibar in 2015 and phone qualitative interviews I conducted in 2022 and will feature: 1. interviews with Zanzibari population of Omani and Yemeni origin (both speakers and non-speakers of Arabic); 2. interviews with Omani Arabs who now live in Oman and come to Zanzibar for

holidays; and 3. Interviews with Zanzibari population of non-Arab origin (mostly Bantu or from the Indian Peninsula).

Keywords: Arabic language, East Africa, multilingualism, Arabic as L2

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"Settled nomads": The dialect of Ain Bni Mathar (Eastern Morocco)

Evgeniya Gutova (University of Navarra, Spain)

This paper presents the study of the dialect of Ain Bni Mathar, a town in the Jerada province (Oujda region, Eastern Morocco, 36 km from the Algerian border). Although Ain Bni Mathar is a relatively small town (population of 16,289 in 2014), it is a commercial hub of its region. Different ethnic groups (traditionally called *tribes*) live here, including Bni Mathar (reflected in the town's name), Bni Gil, Awlad Sidi Ali Bu Shanafa, Awlad Sidi Abd al-Hakim, etc., but also people from the Souss and the Sahara. Bni Mathar and some other tribes in this region presumably originated from Oran in Algeria (Lazarev 2008). Some families around this town still maintain a (semi-)nomadic lifestyle, practice mobile livestock

breeding and live in a tent. At the same time, some of these families also have a house in town, so that they can send their children to school. In other words, the simple nomad-sedentary dichotomy is not always applicable to the groups under investigation. Similarly, their dialect cannot easily be classified as “sedentary” or “Bedouin”.

The present paper is based on linguistic fieldwork conducted by the author in Ain Beni Mathar in 2011, with speakers from different ethnic groups. Eastern Moroccan Arabic has not been sufficiently described yet. Linguistically, it occupies the position somewhere between the (Western) Moroccan Arabic and the (Western) Algerian Arabic. Indeed, as the paper will demonstrate, there is no clear border between “Moroccan” and “Algerian” dialects and some features of this dialect could be categorized as “Western Algerian”.

The paper discusses the characteristic features of Ain Beni Mathar dialect, covering different linguistic levels: phonology, morphology, and lexicon. It also demonstrates how the speech habits of our informants are mixed, containing both Eastern and Western, rural and urban features. This can be attributed to the growing influence from the Arabic varieties spoken on the Rabat-Casablanca axis, which make up the core of the alleged Moroccan koine. This development is accompanied by the tendency of former cattle-breeding steppe-dwellers towards sedentarisation and urbanisation (Kreuer 2019). Their speech can be described as the speech of “settled nomads”. Some of the features discussed include:

1) phonology:

- loss of interdentals *ṭ*, *ḍ*;
- the use of *g* vs. *q*, e.g. *gal* ‘he said’, *gelbi* ‘my heart’, *gemra* ‘moon’.

2) morphological features:

- the use of special pronominal suffixes, e.g. 3MS *-ah*;
- retention of gender distinction in the second person singular verb forms;

3) lexical items, e.g. *drwek*, *durk* ‘now’, *waš(ta)* ‘what’, *z-zrudiya* ‘carrots’, *imta* ‘when?’, *n-nuw* ‘rain’, *mlih* ‘good’, *ruh* ‘go’; *kabuya* ‘pumpkin’, *ħenna* ‘grand-mother’, *(n)taε* ‘of’, *geed* ‘sit, stay’.

The paper includes two texts – a joke and a fairy tale – transcribed from the recordings, translated and annotated.

Keywords: Arabic dialectology, Eastern Moroccan Arabic dialect, Eastern Morocco, Ain Bni Mathar, Eastern Moroccan Arabic, oral literature, fairy tales

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Thoughts on tense aspect-modelling at the intersection of creole and (African) non-creole varieties of Arabic

Melanie Hanitsch (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)

African Creoles of the Makro-Sudanic belt, among which the Arabic Creoles Juba Arabic and Ki Nubi, mostly share the striking peculiarity (as against Creoles in other parts of the world) of a striking “split” in the tempo-aspectual reference of the bare verb: Verbs expressing dynamic “states of affairs” (Sachverhalt) have a past or perfective reading (depending on the theoretical framework), while verbs expressing states have a present or imperfective reading, e.g., *ana endu arabiya* 'I'ai une voiture' vs. *uo agara inglizi* 'Il a étudié l'anglais' (Manfredi 2017:96-97, cited in Lang [in preparation]). This situation finds a distant yet striking parallel in the participles of the Arabic dialects which, as is commonly known, have undergone a particularly thoroughgoing integration into the tense-aspect systems of their relative varieties, e.g. *huwwē 'ātel 'ašara* 'he has killed ten', *hiyye 'ākle* 'he has eaten' (Resultative) vs. *huwwē nāyem* 'he is sleeping (right now)', *hiyye 'ā'de* 'she is sitting (right now)' (Damascus Arabic). But also at a more general level, the tense-aspect systems of the Arabic dialects reflect a high relevance of the same basic distinction in lexical aspect as the Creoles, only with a different “output”, given the difference in verbal morphology, namely the presence of a prefix- and suffix conjugation and an active participle, e.g. dynamic verb *'akal* 'he ate' (and is consequently not eating anymore, right now') vs. *'a'ad* 'he sat down (and may

now, by inference, be sitting). In the light of the presence of very similar structures across Non-Semitic Afroasiatic languages (or language families) of northern Africa (Berber, Ancient Egyptian, Cushitic), the question may be raised as to how the basic aspectual traits of the Arabic Creoles emerged. Are they substrate-induced (as proposed by Lang)? Are they simplifications from the systems of the Arabic lexifier languages? Or does the breakdown (or depletion) of verbal morphology in the course of creolization only reveal a basic propensity—that would then be typical of larger parts of the northern African continent—to strongly conceptualize “states of affairs” in terms of the dynamic/stative distinction or other closely related concepts. The goal of our presentation is to make a contribution to this “substrate vs. lexifier vs. universal tendencies debate” by addressing the question of an adequate aspectual modeling of both the Arabic dialects and the Arabic-lexified Creoles. We will explore what is required of a temporal-aspectual model in order to adequately capture the similarities and differences of the tense-aspect systems of Arabic dialects and Creoles, in order to assure true comparability between the several described systems and thereby constitute a useful tool for a diachronic interpretation of the observed diversity. A focus will be put on the question of aspectual tests. Moreover, we will present a tentative typology of the various degrees to which Arabic dialects in Africa have integrated (or grammaticalized) the participle as a marker of grammatical aspect.

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Effects of migration on minority languages: the case of Nigerian (Shuwa) Arabic in the North East Nigeria

Jidda Hassan Juma'a (University of Maiduguri, Nigeria)

This study on Migration of Nigerian (Shuwa) Arabic speakers in Maiduguri who moved from different parts of Borno, show considerable linguistics variations, loss of vocabulary and loan words integrations. The Nigerian (Shuwa) Arabic attested variations is found across different Arabic varieties spoken in Maiduguri, such as Standard Arabic and Chadian Arabic, with loan words from Hausa and Kanuri

languages. The linguistic variation in the form of phonology, loss of vocabulary and integration of loan words from different languages, are cutting across generations of the language speakers studied in this research. The study reveals, that migrant language speakers, are subjected to social adjustment in their new places of settlement where they constitute an insignificant members of the local community and are therefore susceptible to stable variation that may gradually leads to linguistic change in the new environment/settlement.

Understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Morocco and Tunisia

Giacomo Iazzetta (University of Essex, UK)

Since the 1970s, studies on language policy (LP) have considered the socioeconomic aspects of LP and its role in establishing inequalities (Rubin & Jernudd 1971; Tollefson 1991; Phillipson 1992; Shohamy 2005; Makoni 2016; Pennycook 2017). Interest in educational institutions as the main place of action for LP has increased in recent years (Tollefson 2015, 2016; Cushing 2019), driving the need for ethnographic research that connects language practices within the school environment with the broader analysis of socio-historical context (Cooper 1989; Hornberger & Johnson 2007; Ricento 2015; Tollefson & Pérez-Milans 2018; Spolsky 2021). The socioeconomic implications of LP have not received enough attention in studies on Morocco and Tunisia, multilingual and postcolonial contexts where language issues have always been at the heart of the debate on identity and social rights.

This project employs a mixed methods approach that analyses the ways in which the socioeconomic status (SES) is shaped in and through language policy in education in the Moroccan and Tunisian context. The political metamorphosis that took place after the '2008 economic crisis' and the social protests and revolts in 2010-2011 affect the LP of the countries through the education system and I identify the political, economic and ideological factors influencing the LP and the SES of the Moroccan and Tunisian population after that period with a focus on the higher education field. I investigate the ways in which the language planning established by the Moroccan and Tunisian governments influence the language attitudes, ideologies and practices of university students and professors and thereby contribute to the construction of their socioeconomic status. Two

ethnographic studies analyse the ‘real’ language policies of the communities (Spolsky 2012), the Tunisian and Moroccan sociolinguistic contexts and through surveys and interviews with linguistic ‘influencers’ (Badwan 2019) in the university context, I analyse and describe the relationship between various hierarchical levels of language policies (Hornberger & Johnson 2007) and the relationship with the SES of the participants. It will be noticed that even in the higher education context, three inter-related but independent components (Spolsky 2004) such as language practices, language ideologies and language planning reflect socioeconomic hierarchies. The comparative analysis of these two case studies allows to identify new models of language policy that can be considered by the policymakers in order to reduce the inequalities that have increased since 2008 and it can contribute to develop other LP analysis in other multilingual and postcolonial contexts.

The data collected show that there is a substantial difference between the de facto LP and the de jure LP. The quantitative analysis of the questionnaires uses the participants' SES as an independent variable and shows us how participants from similar social classes share recurring patterns of language practices, ideologies and planning. The general trend sees a situation in which the lower social classes and the mother tongues (Moroccan, Tunisian, Amazigh varieties) are at a disadvantage due to language planning reflecting language ideologies that put Arabic, French and English on the podium.

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Reverse 'Ajami? Writing (not only) Arabic in a newly developed West African Script from Burkina Faso

Jannis Kostelnik (University of Bayreuth, Germany)

Literacy traditions in 'Ajami, i.e. writings in languages other than Arabic in the Arabic Script, are found among many languages of the world, also and especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. The practice of writing Arabic in other scripts, however, is more rarely encountered, with the Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts of e.g. the Cairo Genizah serving as a historical example, and the Arabic Chat Alphabet or *Arabizi*, in which Arabic is written in the Roman Alphabet with the aid of Hindu-Arabic numerals that bear visual resemblance to Arabic letters, as a recent example. On the African continent, Gori (2019) has documented a collection of Arabic manuscripts, produced by Harari authors, and written in the Ethiopian Script, dating back to the 1990s.

Additionally, the continent is also home to several non-Latin, non-Arabic scripts which have been created by L1 speakers of African languages – often not linguistically trained or even illiterate – and which so far have been subject to comparatively little research. While these scripts exist in all parts of the continent, West Africa is by far the region in which most of these scripts have been developed and in which they enjoy the greatest success. In the past decade, another such script has emerged from Burkina Faso, called the *minim biisi* (“Letters of Knowledge” in Mooré) by its creator Mahamadi Ouédraogo (*1982), an Islamic scholar originating from the western fringes of the Mooré-speaking area in Burkina Faso’s Hauts-Bassins Region. Visually and conceptually, Ouédraogo’s script partly draws on other West African Scripts, especially the Adlam Script (Guinea) and N’ko (Manding-speaking areas, especially Guinea & Mali). A distinctive element of the Minim Script is that its creator has, in addition to his first language Mooré, envisaged for his script to serve as a means of writing Arabic.

Drawing on my fieldwork with the script creator and some of his closest adherents in Ouagadougou, this presentation seeks to demonstrate how Ouédraogo elaborated a way in which his script could be used for writing Arabic with the same set of letters a user of the script would employ to write Mooré, despite the largely differing phonemic inventories of both languages. Additionally, considering linguistic as well as extralinguistic factors, the Minim Script as employed for Arabic is examined with reference to a theory proposed by Dalby (1968) who saw a possible connection between West African Scripts and secret alphabets which he calls “Sub-Arabic Scripts”, used in occult practices such as talismanry and divination, but also as cryptographic devices.

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Notes on the 19th Century Algiers Arabic Through the Study of a Personal Letter

Esma Larbi (INALCO)

Diachronic studies of Algerian Arabic in general and Algiers Arabic in particular are rare. This can be explained by the scarcity of written documents able to inform us about the ancient states of Algiers Arabic variety (Boucherit, 2006). That is why we think it is wise to share, when we discover them, any document that might enlighten us at the linguistic level. This paper will attempt to shed light on the linguistic level of this letter and its relevance in the study of this variety of Algerian Arabic.

In North Africa, vernacular writing is very rare since speakers generally switch to scholarly variety as soon as they correspond in writing except for the Zianid dynasty (1235-1556 CE), which occasionally corresponded in vernacular Arabic with its Spanish counterparts during the first half of the sixteenth century, as demonstrated by Esma Larbi (to appear).

The letter we propose to study comes from Mohamed Brahim Ben Mustapha, the son of one of the last 'deys' (Ottoman administrators of the Regency of Algiers). It is written in a very dialectalised middle Arabic and is intended for his son *عومار* *ʕūmār*. The author belongs to an ethnic group now integrated into the general population, the 'Kouloughlis', descendants of Ottoman soldiers and indigenous women. As we put this study in a socio-historical perspective, we will compare the data to the various descriptions of Algiers variety by Marcel Cohen (1913), Pierre Georgin (1980), Lies Mairi (1981), Carmen Barceló (2005) and Aziza Boucherit (2011).

The characteristics described do not seem to correspond, at least with regard to the notation of long vowels, to what Barceló describes, namely a notation of *y* using the graph of the *ʔalif maqṣūra* and the quasi-absence of long vowels. However, the *hamza* is never noted and the alveolar fricative and the corresponding pharyngealized are swapped which correlates with the observations of Barceló. And as is often the case in Maghreb manuscripts, even those dedicated to Arabic grammar, the surrounding pharyngealized alveolar and interdental are inverted ; we note vowel lengthening in the first name **ʕumar* < *ʕūmār* and the preverbal marker *ʔa-* to express the perfect or the prospective. We

also take note of the use of an archaic lexicon such as *kāzīṭa* ‘gazette’ and *bryr* ‘april’ that are both now out of use.

Keywords: Algiers – Correspondence - Middle Arabic – Kouloughlis – Diachrony

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Language variation in the Arabic dialect of Nefza (Northwest Tunisia)

Aleksandra Naddari (University of Vienna, Austria)

My contribution, which will be presented as a talk, aims at presenting an analysis of language variation in the Northwest Tunisian Bedouin dialect of the Nefza region, based on data collected during the project “Tunisia’s Linguistic *terra incognita*: An Investigation into the Arabic Varieties of Northwestern and Central Tunisia” (TUNOCENT) financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF). My linguistic corpus comprises data from the dialects of the town of Nefza as well as the five surrounding villages Touila, Umm Labid, Zaga, Hbeba and Ouled Bou Ali.

The analysis will include variation of phonological, morphological and lexical features. Regarding the factors for this variation, the study focuses on differences found in the speech of speakers of different ages as well as between rural and urban speakers. Besides, it will – to a lesser extent – touch upon gender-specific differences found in Nefza Arabic (henceforth NA).

The study will examine variables which represent important distinguishing features between rural and urban speakers of NA on the one hand and between young and old speakers on the other hand, including the medial and final *imāla* of *ā*, the imperfect forms of the verbs *ʔ-k-l* and *ʔ-x-d*, the independent personal pronouns, the internal plural patterns *C1C2āC3iC4* vs. *C1C2āC3iC4*, the negative copula and the future marker.

Moreover, variables mentioned by Gibson (2002: 25ff.) and Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun (2022: 262) as distinguishing features of Tunisian Bedouin dialects as opposed to Tunisian sedentary dialects, such as the reflexes of Old Arabic *q*, the conjugation of final-weak verbs and the second person singular gender distinction in personal pronouns and verbs, will be included as well.

The analysis consists of three parts: The first part examines traditional NA features which are reduced or given up in the speech of young and urban middle-aged speakers and replaced by counterparts from the sedentary Tunisian dialect of Tunis. In the second part, linguistic phenomena which are attested for young female speakers only will be presented. Lastly, in the last section of the presentation, the possible reasons for the dialect shift among young speakers will be illustrated, with reference to Abdelfattah/Ritt-Benmimoun (2022), a study on language attitudes and their implication for the dialects spoken in the Northwest Tunisian governorates of Siliana and Jendouba. Their results reflect the language situation in Nefza, which also belongs to the economically disadvantaged region of Northwest Tunisia.

Furthermore, a comparison will be drawn to the studies of Gibson (1996, 1998, 2002, 2012), which deal with the dialect shift towards sedentary features among young educated Tunisian Bedouin dialect speakers. Similarly, Procházka/Ritt-Benmimoun (2008) attest the current tendency among Tunisian Bedouin dialects to change towards their sedentary counterparts, and the dialect of the capital Tunis in particular. Furthermore, factors that influence dialect leveling described by Bassiouney (2008: 10-12) will be compared with the situation found in NA.

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The Cairene jewelers' jargon (*sīm iṣ-ṣuyyāġ*): Sociolinguistic questions Esther Ravier (École Normale Supérieure – LATTICE, France)

The Khan al-Khalili area of Cairo is the historical center of the city's gold and silver craftsmanship activities. It is associated with the use of a professional jargon referred to as *sīm iṣ-ṣuyyāġ* "the jewelers' jargon", or sometimes as *luġit ḥān il-ḥalīli* "the language of Khan al-Khalili".

This jargon is mentioned in Rowson (1983), who reports a few words from the *sīm iṣ-ṣāġa* in Cairo. Ṭāsa (1988) studies it along with other "secret languages" in Egypt, with a focus on Alexandria, and Khan (1997) lists what remains of this argot among Cairene Jewish goldsmiths who migrated in Israel. The most complete description is that of Rosenbaum (2002), who gathers data about Cairo, Alexandria, Tanta,

Damanhur, as well as Egyptian goldsmiths in Israel. A similar jargon was described among goldsmiths in Damascus (Barbot 1974, Wolfer 2011).

These descriptions share general characteristics : the jargon is mainly, if not only, composed of lexical items, with a clear influence of Hebrew, particularly in numerals ; it is not restricted to technical vocabulary, but extends to words of jewelers' everyday life, the most frequent lexemes being common to Damascus and Cairo (*yāfet / yāfit* "good", *dēfaš / dafš* "man", numerals).

To this day, Khan al-Khalili is home to many silver and gold shops and workshops, in close contact with each other, who are an important component of the life of the neighbourhood. In this setting, the jargon is still in use, and is familiar even to those business workers who don't practice it regularly.

As part of a research aiming at documenting the jargon, fieldwork following interview-based methodology was carried out in Cairo between November 2022 and January 2023. I propose to present its results as a talk during the conference.

The first elements I found indicate a certain amount of variation within the Cairene lexicon :

dafš ~ *dabš* "man"
ħimiššin wi mišt ~ *šuffšin* "seventy"
ħamišša ~ *ħamišša* "five"

Some of it corresponds to geographical variation according to Rosenbaum (2002), and yet are used by jewelers who have always worked in Cairo ; other cases are absent from the descriptions.

I offer to form hypotheses to account for such variation by exploring some sociolinguistic characteristics of this jargon. Based on respondents' statements, audio-visual documents, and details of fieldwork conditions, I will discuss several aspects of the situation of this jargon today : the diffusion of its use and knowledge in different neighbourhoods and types of businesses, and to the general public ; the modalities of transmission and acquisition ; the representations about its origins, functions and current use ; and perceptions of variation.

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Gender distinction in Tunisian Arabic dialects: A comparative study Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (University of Vienna, Austria)

Though it is a well-known fact that one of the most distinctive features between urban and Bedouintype Tunisian dialects is gender distinction in verbs and pronouns - with the urban ones showing no distinction, and the Bedouin ones retaining it - there is no detailed comprehensive study on this morphological variable which would include all available data for Tunisian Arabic dialects. Our knowledge remains to a large degree dependent on Marçais' 1950 publication which was taken up by other scholars like Singer (1984), and on Gibson's sociolinguistic studies which he conducted mainly with students in France and England (Gibson 1996, 1998, 2002, 2012). In his tentative classification of Tunisian dialects, Marçais (1950) further claims a differentiation within Bedouin dialects resulting in an S (for Sulaym) and an H (for Hilal) group. Some representatives of the former are supposed to show gender distinction not only with verbs and the independent pronoun but also with suffixed pronouns and even in the plural, whereas the latter do, according to Marçais' short description, neither differentiate between m. and f. in the plural nor in the singular for suffixes.

Based on this information and on publications on various Tunisian dialects (mainly of the sedentary type like Tunis, Sousse, and Takrouna) we will try to challenge these general remarks and strive to complete or re-arrange Marçais' picture by making use of our TUNOCENT-data from about a hundred locations within seven Tunisian governorates where mainly dialects of the Bedouin type are spoken. Thereby we will consider the following aspects of gender distinction:

- Gender distinction in the second person singular of verbs in perfect and imperfect
- Gender distinction in the independent and suffixed pronoun of the second person singular
- Gender distinction in verbs and pronouns in the plural
- Gender distinction in suffixes attached to various particles, most of all the particles *hā* and *rā*, the interrogative *šbī* and the negation marker *miš*.

Newly or almost published studies for the dialects investigated within the TUNOCENT-project (Abdelfattah & Ritt-Benmimoun 2022, Ritt-Benmimoun in print) have their focus on the gender distinction of verbs in the 2nd p.sg. and brought to light that some dialects in the North, mainly those of Beja and Tebourouk, do not differentiate between m. and f. In many places in Sidi Bouzid speakers do differentiate between m. and f. in the perfect but not in the imperfect. Our current study should complement these interesting findings by focusing also on pronouns and particles.

Due to the large area covered by our research our presentation will mainly be an areal-linguistic one though to a certain extent also socio-linguistic factors, especially the age of the speakers, will be of relevance as well.

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Change-of-state BCāD between Arabic and Berber

Lameen Souag (LACITO, France)

A highly distinctive isogloss separating Western Arabic from other Arabic varieties is the use of a pattern **BCāD* for deadjectival change-of-state verbs. Classical Arabic has Form IX/XI (*iBCaDDa/iBCāDDa*) for quality/change-of-state verbs corresponding to colour/defect adjectives (m.sg. *ʔaBCaD*), with scattered reflexes in most Arabic varieties. The expected regular Western Arabic reflexes, **BCaDD*/**BCāDD* respectively, are not found; instead, *BCāD* is typically used in such cases: thus Algerian *ħmār, y-əħmār* ‘turn red’ vs. Classical *iħmarra, ya-ħmarr-u*. *BCāD* has accordingly long been analysed as the regional reflex of Form XI (Brockelmann 1908: 517; Cohen 1975: 122). However, rather than being limited to colours and defects, Western Arabic **BCāD* has a far wider range of application: for instance, Algerian Arabic *smān, y-asmān* ‘get fat’ semantically corresponds to Classical Arabic Form I *samina, ya-smīn-u*, for which no hypothetical Form IX or XI is derivable.

The Western Arabic pattern appears isolated not only within Arabic but within Semitic more broadly; *pace* Retsö (2000), it has no plausible cognate in Aramaic, which uses regular reflexes of Form I in corresponding contexts. It does, however,

have what looks like a perfect match in Berber varieties of the Tunisia-Libya border region, occurring there with Berber and Arabic roots alike. In Tamezret (southern Tunisia), for example, we find *y-əmlal* ‘turn white’, from Berber *a-məllal* ‘white’, alongside *y-əšyan* ‘turn bad’, from regional Arabic, cf. Classical *šayyin* ‘ugly, shameful’ (Ben Mamou 2005). (Note that, throughout northern Berber, all vowels other than schwa regularly map to Arabic long vowels.)

The match is certainly to be explained by contact, but the direction of contact is less clear than it might seem. Within Berber, the Tunisia-Libya border varieties stand out for the depth of Arabic influence in the adjectival domain, extending even to the borrowing of elative morphology (Souag 2020). Yet the forms in question also fit fairly well into wider patterns within Berber that appear unlikely to result from contact: the use of VBCVD patterns for change-of-state/quality verbs can reliably be reconstructed for proto-Berber (Prasse 1972), and their second vowel is in many cases *a*, e.g. Tamahaq *imlal* ‘become white’ (stative/perfective *məllul* ‘white’). In view of the inescapable irregularity of the generally accepted Arabic-internal account, it appears necessary to explore the possible role of early bilingualism in Berber in the development of Western Arabic *BCāD*; Prasse’s Conjugation IV offers a promising point of comparison.

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The encounter of Arabic and Amharic in Ethiopian Islamic poetry

Andreas Wetter (Independent Researcher, Germany)

Islamic manuscript literature from the Wollo region of Ethiopia includes a considerable body of literature in Amharic. This literature was produced in the social context of Islamic scholarship, where a “learned register” (Brenner and Last 1985) is spoken that is highly influenced by classical Arabic. This register is closely related to the variety used in Amharic religious poetry, which is characterized by the use of a large number of Arabic loanwords. The simultaneous use of the two languages Amharic and Arabic in these poetic texts leads to an “an intricate mixture of languages” (Drewes 1976: 194). This refers to the observation that the role of Arabic goes beyond the purely lexical level. Due to the high number of Arabic loanwords, morphological forms of both languages are combined, such as the combination of Arabic broken plurals with suffixed plural markers of Amharic or the derivation of new verbs from Arabic nouns or verbs.

On the written level, the orthographic conventions of Arabic coexist with the Arabic-scripted Amharic (locally called *ajām*). The use of Arabic orthography, i.e. for example, the correct spelling of emphatic and pharyngeal consonants, which do not exist in Amharic, indicates the articulation of these consonants in the learned register mentioned above. This variety or „religiolect“ (Hary and Wein 2013) is thus characterized by particular phonetic, morphological and lexical features. In the talk I will analyze and discuss the morphological, orthographic and phonetic-articulatory peculiarities of this Amharic ‘learned register’.

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