

Neue Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

Herausgegeben am Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien
von Rüdiger Lohlker, Markus Köhbach, Stephan Procházka,
Gisela Procházka-Eisl und Gebhard J. Selz

– Band 8 –

Olivier Durand, Angela Daiana Langone,
Giuliano Mion (Eds.)

Alf lahğa wa lahğa

Proceedings of the 9th Aida Conference



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BUKHARA AND QASHQA-DARYA ARABIC DIALECTS. THE MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY OF PERIPHERAL ARABIC DIALECTS

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1.0. Preface

In the 8th century, as a result of Qutaiba's campaign, Central Asia became almost entirely subordinated to Arab rule. The Qashqa-darya region, Zarafshan, Khorezm and other major regions were brought under the influence of the Arabs and the introduction of Islam into the newly conquered regions was successfully continued. Qutaiba attached great importance to the Islamisation of Central Asia and, later, *Arab* and *Muslim* became practically synonymous terms in Soghdia. The Arab influence on Central Asia was further strengthened as a result of the introduction of Islam and the Muslim way of life found its way into the region. Historical sources prove the presence of Arabs from the middle of the 16th century in those regions of Central Asia, which are inhabited by them to this day. Arabic place-names in Bukhara and Samarqand regions are basically linked to the term '*arab (arabōn, arab sarōi, arab rabōt, rabōti arab etc.)*'. Whereas place-names in Qashqa-darya region are based on the names of Arabic tribes: *naukad quraiš, kaxlai, tazi*. This attests to the earlier wave of Arab migration to Qashqa-darya region compared with Bukhara. Linguistic comparison of the Qashqa-darya and Bukhara dialects proves that the Qashqa-darya dialect is the older one and bears more resemblance of Classical Arabic, which may be explained by the long geographic and linguistic isolation of the Qashqa-darya Arabs from the Arab World. We can also find proof, which relates Central Asian Arabs to Bedouins through dress, jewelry and accessories characteristic of Bedouins. Additionally, Central Asian Arabs separate themselves into tribes and they identify themselves with such well known Arab tribes as Qurayš, Hašimī, Šaybānī, Sa'nānī, Ša'banī, etc.

1.1. In the present article the main directions of the research of peripheral Arabic dialects are given on the basis of the linguistic material of Central Asian Arabic dialects. The study of Qashqa-darya (QAD) and Bukhara (BAD) Dialects indicates that we can use new methodology to show the history and development of the different linguistic features of the Arabic dialects as well as to classify them clearly. The complex study of the Peripheral Arabic dialects takes the following directions:

1. *The oldest phonological, grammatical and lexical features of Arabic language, preserved in the dialects, - important from the prospect of the history of Arabic and, in general, Semitic languages.*
2. *Internal development tendencies of Arabic language material isolated from the Arab World Arabic Dialects.*
3. *Development of linguistic peculiarities as a result of contacts with non-kindred Indo-European and Turkic languages.*

4. *The role of extra linguistic factors in the development of Central Asian Arabic Dialects.*

I. The oldest phonological, grammatical and lexical features of Arabic language, preserved in the dialects, - important from the prospect of the history of Arabic and, in general, Semitic languages

2.0. The structure of the numerals of the Central Asian Arabic is different from the Literary Arabic. In the second decade, from eleven to nineteen numerals have the structure: ten + units, which corresponds fully with Ethiopian. Chikovani (2009: 37). We often find the same pattern of construction in Phoenician and Nabatean. Akhvlediani (1985: 47). Brockelmann (1908: 489).

Examples from Bukhara Arabic:

ī fad bōi orba 'ašrāt bint xušrūya kēyin 'anda.

"One Bey had fourteen daughters".

'ašarahašt iōm 'abar.

"Eighteen days have passed".

2.1. In Qashqa-darya Arabic we find the formation of plural with mīm:

adrūn ḥōyiṭ kisīr hamrayām kānat

"There was a lot of gold (golden coins) in the house" (QAD).

ziklonāt hamrayām-tangayām xazuwa, ḡaduwa

"They took gold and silver [and] went away" (QAD).

kokōyata kulla hamrāt xazuwa, kisatumāt-kisayām hašuwa

"The brothers took the whole gold [that was there]; filled the purses" (QAD).

The forms ḥazuwa, ḡaduwa and hašuwa (Comp. with Arabic ḥaša (u)) represent plural forms of the 3rd person (xazaw, ḡadaw, hašaw). With the addition of pronominal suffix we get xazuwa, ḡaduwa, hašuwa.

i.čoyxōna kisīr mōšīnām ademiyāt kānaw.

"In the tea-house there were a lot of people, who came for entertainment (walkers)".

mōšīnām contains the following elements mōš-īn-ām. From the two forms of presented plural one is used with mīm.

Plural mīm construction is typical for northwest Semitic languages – Ugaritic and Hebrew. In Ugaritic, masculine nouns in status absolutes plural have the ending –m [-ūma] in Nominative and –m [-īma] in Genitive-Accusative form. In Literary Arabic we have mīm in the plural forms of pronominal suffixes: -kum// -hum: baytukum – "your house", baytuhum – "their house". Chikovani (2006-2007: 33).

2.2. In the Arab Dialect of Central Asia we separate several morphological elements which have parallels in Semitic languages. It is noteworthy to mention māhu//mōhu, māhi//mōhi in Bukhara and māhu//mōhu, māhi//mōhi in Qashqa-darya dialect. As for the forms māhaw-māhay we find parallels in a new Aramaic dialect. Tsereteli (1941: 140). It is noteworthy to mention halo < hal in Bukhara dialect, which is an indicative pronoun.

The following indicative pronouns in Bukhara dialect: had, hadi, hat, hālān may also have Syrian origins. The adequate form of hālān (< Syr. hālēn) in Literary

Arabic is ha'ulā'i. Rarely we find beside *hal* the form *han*. We find the existence of *hal* as a demonstrative pronoun in Central Asian Arabic very important in Arabic, generally from the viewpoint of establishing the definite article genesis.

The old Syrian or Jacobite (West Syrian) forms are:

hāna (= Arab. hāda)

hāde (,,_ hādihi)

hālēn (,,_ ha'ulā'i)

hānūn (,,_ qālika) in Bukharan haw.

hānēn (,,_ tilka) in Bukharan hānēn.

had, hadi, hat, hal//han demonstrative pronouns represent changed forms of the adequate Syrian pronouns.

We can suppose that the existence of original Syrian forms in Bukhara dialect, as well as in other Arabic dialects (for example in Syrian Arab dialects), is a result of language interactions in the early period of development of Arabic dialects, when Arabic language integrated with local languages and created Arabic dialects. Therefore such dialects represent the speech of non-Arabs. Many people accepted and made it their own Arabic, but also maintained forms from their pre-existent native language.

Arab Dialects were born and were developing in two directions. If Bedouin speech of the Arabian Desert and neighboring lands represents the next step of language development for the pre-Islamic population, then the dialects of Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt as well as of other places of Eastern Arab population represent a result of mix of old Arabic dialects with local languages due to Arab conquests. Tsereteli (1937: 295).

Consequently, it is possible, that the Arabs who settled in Central Asia brought forms of demonstrative pronouns typical of Syrian (Aramaic), which was functional in their dialects.

II. Internal development tendencies of Arabic language material isolated from the Arab World Arabic Dialects

3.0. It is typical for the root structure of nouns and verbs to have a tendency to restore three consonants: kē avbar < ke 'abar - "*lived*", rowd < rōd - "*ground, dirt*", comp. 'arq:

kāin ma kāin fi qadīmi waxt esqe zamōn fad bōy ke avbar.

"Once upon a time there lived one Bey in old times".

hat pōšō ki-sōr, 'ihād abū rowden pošoya insōir i-hankit ġe'ōniya misōr.

"When he became a Pasha, in his father's country was in famine".

3.1. Two phonemes not found in Literary Arabic are encountered in the QAD, these are: p and č. Their emergence should not be ascribed only to the influence of the Tajik and Uzbek languages. This is also caused by the development of corresponding Arabic sounds. That is why p and č occur in words of Tajik and Uzbek origin as well as purely Arabic lexemes. For instance: polišta - "*pillow*", čai - "*tea*", harap < harab - "*fled, bolted, escaped*", uči - "*my face*".

Long vowels in QAD and BAD (ā, ē, ī, ō, ū) do not distinguish phonological length. Occurrence of long vowels in words should be ascribed to various factors. The most important of these, in the present writer's view, is stress. The tendency of preserving traditional pronunciation of Arabic words, handed down unconsciously from generation to generation, should also be taken into account.

3.2. The plural in the QAD is formed mainly with the suffix - āt. This rule applies both to fem. and masc. nouns. Rarely, to build plurals, masc. nouns take the suffix -in, and fem. nouns - the suffix yām or ām: hamrayām - "gold coins". Broken plural forms: imṭār - "rains" are also preserved in the dialect. The double plural is characteristic too: farasīnāt - "horses", imṭārāt - "rains".

3.3. Indefiniteness in the QAD is expressed by means of the indefinite pronoun - fad - "one", "someone", "somebody". It derives from Arabic - fardun - "one". fad is used in preposition and it agrees with the noun in gender. fad sabī - "one boy", fadhate mōra - "one woman".

3.4. Forms with the endings - in/īn are widespread in the Bukhara dialect, they are found between the modifier and the modified, constituting a certain linking element. For instance: kalbīn kbīr - "big dog", such nunation is typical of the Qashqa-darya dialect as well: ḥoiḥīn ḡdīd - "new house".

3.5. By their structure, decimals differ from the corresponding numerals of Literary Arabic:

- 20 - 'ašrīn
- 30 - salās ašrāt
- 40 - orba ašrāt

3.6. The following are the independent personal pronouns:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
3 m.	haw zōk	zīklōn zīklonāt zōkāṭ
f.	hay zīka	zīklānna
2 m.	inta	intū /intuwāt
f.	inti	intīnna
1	anā	naḥna /naḥnāt

In the 3rd person sing. and pl., also in the 2nd and 1st persons pl. there are the following parallel forms: haw/zōk sing. m. hay/zīka sing. f., zīklōn/zīklonāt/zōkāṭ pl. m., intū/intuwāt pl. m., naḥna/naḥnāt pl.

The functional frequency of haw/hay (sing. 3rd person) is very low. These forms appear in the dialect mostly with the negative particle mā: ma-haw, ma-hay. Usually in the dialect we have zōk/zīka in sing. 3rd person. As for plural, 3rd person, we have three forms: zīklōn, zīklonāt, zōkāṭ. zīklonāt is formed by means of the double plural (zīklōn + āt). As for zōkāṭ, it is formed by adding the plural marker āt to the singular form of the 3rd person zōk.

In the first person we have the alternation of naḥna with naḥnāt. naḥnāt is a double form of plural. In QAD functional frequency of this form is very high.

3.7. In the QAD a group of verbs, we may identify an ablaut which is not characteristic. It includes the group of the verbs for which the second or third radicals are gutturals:

ʔala' ~ iʔla' "to rise"

Some features are also evinced by verbs with the first guttural consonant. Here, in the imperfect, between the first and second radicals and consonants instead of sukun there appears the vowel *a*, more probably *o*. At the same time in the perfect the first consonant may completely disappear. Mainly it occurs with hamza:

'abar ~ i'ōbir "to cross"
xaza ~ iōxuz "to take"

3.8. Fossilized forms of the imperative occur in the QAD: ugūb nazāli gāl – "Then he said to him: descend!" šāfa daxāli mā gāla – "Looked at him – did not say, come in!"

This, mainly, refers to tri-consonantal verbs. Rarely this form expresses a lively imperative: anā gīt, katābi – "I came, write!" muya šarābi – "Drink some water!".

III. Development of linguistic peculiarities as a result of contacts with non-kindred Indo-European and Turkic languages

4.0. In the analysis of the adjective attention is mainly focused on the formation of the superlative degree which differs from Literary Arabic. The element used to build the superlative here is the form ġūdo: ġūdo zen – "the best", ġūdo kbīr – "the biggest". Such formation of the elative must be ascribed to the influence of the Uzbek language. As to the form ġūdo, it is linked with Arabic – ġiddan.

4.1. The category of tense in the QAD is represented with the following groups:

1. Past perfect
2. Past indefinite
3. Present indefinite
4. Present definite
5. Simple future
6. Complex (immediate) future

In the dialect the semantic opposition is obvious between the completed and indefinite past, e.g.: šarabt – "I drank", ma šāribni – "I have not drunk".

The past indefinite is formed by adding a pronominal suffix to the form of active participle. Chikovani (2002: 113).

The present definite conveys a continuous, prolonged action. To a certain extent it resembles the English present continuous. The indicated tense is formed in the QAD by adding active participle forms of the verb nām to a form of the imperfect, e.g.: iʔbux nāyim – "(smb.) is now baking (smth.)", nōkul nāyimīnni – "we're now eating". It should be noted here that the participle of the auxiliary verb nām is frequently supplied with a pronominal suffix.

As for the complex (immediate) future, it has resource to the prefix –ta, e.g.: tanōḡdi – "let's go", "we'll go right now", "we've already set out". Tsereteli (1941: 142).

4.2. As a result of the influence of the Uzbek language syntactic construction – Turkish *Izafet* has developed in the QAD. Tsereteli (1941: 146). In the Turkish *Izafet* the modified is in postposition and is equipped with a pronominal suffix: *āfāndi morta* - “*the effendi’s wife*”, literally: “*the effendi - his wife*”; *hawliōy şöbu* - “*the owner of the farmhouse*”, literally: “*the farmhouse - its owner*”, *waladak farasu* - “*your boy’s horse*”, literally: “*your boy - his horse*”; *zōgī bīntu* - “*my husband’s daughter*” i.e. my step-daughter, literally: “*my husband - his daughter*”.

Modifying of a noun by another noun is regarded by A. Kononov as a characteristic of this construction in the Uzbek language, where the modifier is in preposition and without changing its form can express the quality and type of a thing. The modified in Turkish *Izafet* is added the suffix expressing the third person (-u, -cu). e.g.: *Синф журнали* – “*class register*”, *китоб магазини* - “*bookshop*”. Examples from Uzbek: *болалар бофчаси* - “*kindergarten*”, *оталар сузи* - “*proverbs*”, literally: “*fathers*” (ancestors) words.

Examples from the Qashqa-darya dialect: *na’ağāt şöbha* - “*the owner of the sheep*”, literally: “*the sheep - their owner*”; *šurabāt gidira(h)* - “*the pan of soup*”, literally: “*the soup - its pan*”.

4.3. Code Switching

As a result of the scientific mission to the Qashqa-darya region during a recent period of time instances of code-switching were identified, where the Turkish *Izafet* is borrowed by informants as a loan translation.

Numerous instances of the use of two-component syntagmas of the Uzbek language have been revealed:

The modifier takes the Genitive case suffix – *нинг*, and the modified is added the third person suffix – *у, су*:

waladān i_zgīr i_darb ʔalaʔ, i_hama medrese ġada-mad, zōka dil-murōdning kitōbi xazamad.

“*The younger son set off, he went to the madrasah, he took a book by Dil-Murod (literally: Dil Murod – his book) with him*”.

pošō i_ġappāt i_bōi ġudō xairōn sōr, usmaning otasi sayah. ugūb zōka ihamzōk sayal:

– *usmaning otasi agar inta, li mā gulta?*

“*The Pasha was very surprised at the Bey’s words, [he] called Usman’s father (literally: Usman - his father). Then he asked him: - if you are Usman’s father, why didn’t you say (this) [before]?*”

ileynā i_ġeynāu болалар боġčasi hast

“*There is a kindergarten here in Jeinau (literally: children - their garden)*”.

The determinative composite is an *Izafetic* construction, the first component of which is the modifier, and the second – the modified. Analogous constructions are typical of the Indo-European languages and their existence in Central Asia Arabic should be ascribed to the linguistic contact with the Tajik language. Examples:

wai šahariyya bōi i_bozōr mad. laḡam mibīḡ i_zōka ġāl: farasak wenu?

“*In the morning Bey went to market. The vendor of meat asked him: Where is your horse?*”

hamsōyta i_norbōn mibīḡ ġawāb mā nṯa

"The neighbour did not answer the seller of ladders"

4.4. The Structure of the Sentences

The most characteristic types of sentence in QAD are the following:

1. SPO (Subject-Predicate-Object):

pōšō gāl i_walad

"Pasha said to the boy"

2. SOP (Subject-Object-Predicate):

bōy i_bint xušrūya gāl-ki

"Bey said to the beautiful girl"

3. OPS (Object-Predicate-Subject):

mōrati i_hama mānfi-gāl-ki

"He said: I don't give him my wife".

The type SOP is spread most of all in QAD.

Such free word order in the sentence can be explained by the linguistic contact with the Uzbek language. The phrase structure in the QAD often is not based on the subject and its action. On the contrary, the object is underlined in the sentence and hence the attention is focused on the process of the action. Thus, the construction OV can be regarded as one of the basic syntactic peculiarities of Central Asian Arabic. Constructions of this type are found both in the Qashqadarya and the Bukhara dialects.

The analyzed material proves the development of new linguistic forms in Central Asian Arabic, which is the result of the long-term contacts of Arabic dialects with the structurally non-identical Turkic (Uzbek) and Indo-European (Tajik) languages.

IV. The role of extra linguistic factors in the development of Central Asian Arabic Dialects

5.0. Native Arabic speakers are mainly elderly people and predominantly illiterate. While the older generation amongst Central Asian Arab kishlaks knows little of reading and writing, the younger generation who speaks Uzbek and Tajik as well has learned to write Uzbek in schools.

The Arabs of this region are isolated physically and do not share a common border with the Arab world.

Central Asian Arabs ancestors were Bedouins. They were Muslims but not very religious. In recent times it has been observed that some Arab countries are becoming more active in the spread of Islam and Islamic values within the region. Historic, geographic, social and other extra linguistic factors played an important role in the development of Central Asian Arabic dialects and they are taken into account during the research program of these dialects.

The linguistic situation in the Bukhara and Qashqa-darya regions is marked by the existence of coordinate and subordinate diglossia (triglossia). In case of coordinate diglossia (triglossia) a bilingual (trilingual) person speaks fluently two (or three) languages, he switches from one language to the other and if it is necessary to the third one.

Under subordinate diglossia an Arab bilingual (trilingual) individual speaks fluently only one language – his native one. The level of knowledge of Tajik and Uzbek in such cases is low and the bilingual (trilingual) person tries to subordinate a foreign language to the norms of his native Arabic. These bilinguals (trilinguals) are mainly elderly people and women limited to their family life.

The dialectal vocabulary is mainly represented by words known in Eastern Arabic dialects and on the other hand, with the vocabulary which mainly caused by the presence of both dialects in Central Asian region: *ṭanga* - "silver money", *gūṭun* - "cotton", *gāba* - "oriental robe", *pōšo* - "Pasha", etc. It represents an interesting result of the development of dialectal lexis.

As a result of the last dialectological expeditions in Central Asia, evidence of the preservation of Arabic speech in the kishlaks *šoxanbeg* and *Ēagdarē*, Bukhara region, was established. A part of the population in the third kishlak – *labrūd* – speaks Arabic, but they are Arabs who migrated from *ğōgarī* to *labrūd*. In regards to the Arabs of *šoḥanbeg* and *Ēagdarē*, they have inhabited these kishlaks for a long period of time.

Nowadays *šoxanbeg*, *čagdarē* and, to a certain extent, *labrūd* can be added to these kishlaks. The Arabic speech of *čagdarē* is largely influenced by the Tajik language. There are two quarters here: *ğōfa rabōt* (the quarter of Arabs) and *tağikōn* (the quarter of Tajiks). The population of the quarter of *ğōfa rabōt* speaks mainly Arabic. Noteworthy material is found here from the viewpoint of contact between the Semitic and Indo-European languages, since the influence of Tajik on the Arabic dialect is great.

6.0. Conclusion

The objectives of the above study outline characteristics of peripheral Arabic important to the research history of Arabic language and its development. The method offered by us sets apart this or another dialect diachronically and synchronically. Outlining language peculiarities and categorization under the abovementioned four principles can be regarded as a new approach in the study of Arabic dialects.

To study peripheral dialects we must put emphases on the following points:

1. Finding the old forms of Arabic language;
2. Internal evolution of Arabic language forms in the circumstances of centuries long isolation from the Arab world in some cases and comparison of them first to Literary Arabic and second to Eastern and Western Arabic dialects;
3. Analyses of structurally non identical Turkic and Indo-European language contacts;
4. Changes emerged due to extra linguistic factors.

These show us the place of this or that dialect and its role and impact within the system of Arabic language.

The method of studying Arabic dialect offered by us will help to determine the potential of constructing the forms inside this or that Arabic dialect and its prox-

imity to the frequency of word formation. This will give us an opportunity to assess quickly and accurately the quality of the dialect's language lifespan.

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This volume is a collection of articles written by over than forty scholars who work in the field of Arabic dialectology. All these articles are revised versions of papers read on the 9th Conference of the *Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe (AIDA)* held in Pescara in March 2011. The variety of dialects represented in the volume engage various issues in Arabic dialectology, such as sedentary and Bedouin dialects, sociolinguistic phenomena, and the written dimension, investigated from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. The broad range of meaningful subjects tackled in this book offers an important contribution to the current debates on general linguistics and sociolinguistics, Arabic linguistics, Arabic literature, Semitic and Islamic studies.

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