The Classification of Bedouin Arabic: Insights from Northern Jordan

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Abstract: The goal of the present paper is to provide a revaluation of the classification of the Bedouin dialects of Northern Arabia and the Southern Levant, based on published or publicly available data and on first-hand data recently collected amongst some Bedouin tribes in Northern Jordan. We suggest extending previous classifications that identify three types of dialects, namely A (nizi), B (šammari), and C (šawi). Although intermediary or mixed types combining šammari features with šawi features were already noted, our data suggest that further combinations are possible, either because they have so far been unnoticed or because recent levelling and dialect mixing have blurred the boundaries between some of the varieties.

Keywords: Arabic dialectology; classification; Bedouin Arabic; Jordan; Masàid

1. Introduction

The goal of the present paper is to provide a revaluation of the classification of the Bedouin dialects of Northern Arabia and the Southern Levant, based on published or publicly available data and on first-hand data recently collected by the authors amongst some Bedouin tribes in Northern Jordan. We suggest extending Cantineau’s (1936, 1937) classification that identifies three types: A (nizi), B (šammari), and C (šawi). Although Cantineau already noted intermediary or mixed types combining šammari features with šawi features, our data suggest that further combinations are possible, either because they have so far not been noticed or because recent levelling and dialect mixing have blurred the boundaries between some of the varieties. Foundational surveys include Cleveland (1963) who, much in the same way as Blanc (1964) coined the gīlīt–qāltu dichotomy, coined the dialectonyms biqīl, bikāl, bigīl, bi’āl and yiqīl based on the 3.m.sg. of the imperfective of the verb *qāl ‘he said’. Further developments can be found in Palva (1984). Palva divides the Bedouin dialects of the Southern Levant into four groups, as below:

• The dialects of the Negev Bedouins.
• The dialects of the Arabia Petraea Bedouins such as the Ḥweītāt.
• The dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes, which corresponds to the šawi type (Cantineau’s type C, Younes and Herin 2016).
• The dialects of the North Arabian Bedouins (Cantineau’s types A and B).

The problem with the biqīl–yiqīl appellation is that it fails to capture the difference between a major split in Jordan, namely between dialects that exhibit final /n/ in the imperfective endings -tā and -tān and those which exhibit -t and -ā (Herin 2019). Using the 3.m.pl. of the imperfective of qāl would partially solve this problem, which, combined with geography, yields the following classification: Southern yqīlū, Central yqīlū, and Northern yqīlān. Central yqīlū is in many ways identical to the Northern yqīlān šawi C; the presence or absence of /n/ is the main difference. Only Southern yqīlū is an extension of the North-West Arabian type (Palva 2011). Our focus will be the hitherto under-studied...
Northern ygâlan type with a special focus on the Misân dialect which exhibits many šammâri features such as the apophonic passive (yâdkâ ‘it is remembered’) or a [d̠] reflex of *g/a (d̠bâyî ‘mountain’), but also sâwâ̄like traits such as the [ŋ] < /g/ (qēr ‘other’) and more surprisingly, features that are reminiscent of North-West Arabian such as the resyllabification of *înhC1aC2aC3a... into ‘înhC12C3a (ı̲n⁵hîkîmât ‘it was ruled’). Consequently, the major taxonomies have to be combined to represent the overall picture more accurately. Additionally, sociolinguistic developments which have affected the classification of these dialects, such as dialect contact and koineization, need to be incorporated.

The data on which this paper draws were collected amongst members of the Misân tribe in 2019 in the municipality of Umm al-Ǧîmâl in Northern Jordan, twenty kilometres East of Mafraq. With the help of Youssef Al-Sîrour, a permanent resident of Umm al-Ǧîmâl and an immediate member of the community under investigation, we visited local families and recorded two casual conversations. Because of the limited nature of the corpus, the present discussion should be considered provisional until more data are collected. We will first sum up Cantineau’s classification followed by those put forward by Cleveland and Palva. Based on our own observations, we suggest essential amendments to these classifications. We then present the salient features of the dialect, followed by a small sample taken from the recordings. The last part deals with the classification of the present dialect in the light of previous literature. We also highlight some methodological issues regarding data collection, levelling, and short-term accommodation.

2. Cantineau’s Classification

The first scholar to draw a comprehensive classification of the Bedouin dialects of Northern Arabia is Cantineau (1936, 1937). The first distinction relates to the occupational profile of the Bedouins located in this area, whom Cantineau called “grands nomades” (‘great nomads’) as opposed to “petits nomades” (‘little nomads’). The former designates tribes which mostly rely, at least historically, on camel rearing, and the latter designates tribes which were mostly active in sheep rearing. This bipartite separation was further divided into three broad groups to which he attributed the letters A, B, and C. The A-group designates camel-rearers from the ‘Nîza confederation. The B-group refers to camel-rearers from the Sâmâr confederation, whereas the C-group refers to the sheep-rearing tribes of the Syro-Mesopotamian bâdyâ ‘steppe’. More marginally, Cantineau also talks about three smaller subgroups, the variety of ar-Rass in the Gaṣîm region in the central-northern part of Saudi Arabia, the dialect of al-Ǧîf located in the far north of Saudi Arabia, and finally the dialects of the oasis of the Syrian desert of al-Qârîṭên, Palmyra and Suxne.

Some features of the A-group (‘Nîza) include the affricate [ɾ] and [ʣ] of etymological /k/ and /ɡ/ (Standard Arabic /q/) in the vicinity of front vowels: câlût ‘my she-dog’ (< kalîtû), ǧîḍdam ‘front’ (< gîddûm). Etymological /g/ can be realized [ŋ], [d̠], and [ʣ]: diddûdî ‘a hen’ (< dâqâ̄qî ‘hen’). The feminine ending -a exhibits no raising except in the vicinity of /i/, /j/, or /j/ in which case it raises towards [e]: lâhûa ‘beard’ (< lîhyâ). Etymological diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ are not monophthongised although the distance between the two elements is reduced, yielding, respectively and approximately, [a] and [i]: ǧâwz ‘nut’ and beyt ‘tent’. An important feature is the so-called gahawa syndrome, understood as the insertion of an anaptyctic /a/ vowel between /g/, /j/, /h/, or /w/ and a following consonant of the type ð → /a/ aX.C in which X is one of the aforementioned consonants and C is different from X: g.lahr → gahr ‘back’. In addition to this, *C1aC2aC3v sequences are resyllabified into C12C3v: xâba < xâba ‘piece of wood’. The gahawa syndrome is also active in the passive participles template ‘maC12C0C3, in which case it also combines with the resyllabification rule: maḥtât → maḥatat → maḥatât ‘put’. Another important distinction introduced by Cantineau is trochaism vs. atrochaism. While these terms refer to a type of meter in Classical Greek poetry, his use of this parameter entails a particular syllabic type. Accordingly, Cantineau separates trochaic from atrochaic varieties. Trochaic varieties have the tendency to favour sequences of Cv/CV syllables. CvC syllables are tolerated in final position or if followed by Cv or a final CvC/CVC: ı̲hâsadîn
‘they (f.) harvest’, yakalan ‘they (f.) eat’, rāsa-na ‘our head’, nāgat-i ‘my she-camel’. Atrochoic dialects do not restrict sequences of CVC syllables: ihšān ‘they (f.) harvest’, yaklan → yatlan ‘they (f.) eat’ rās-na ‘our head’, nāgat-i ‘my she-camel’. The A group is strongly atrochaic.

As far as morphology is concerned, these dialects feature the nominal suffix -n commonly called ‘nuation’ in Semitic studies, which essentially marks nouns denoting indefinite specific referents when they are complex NPs consisting of a nominal head and a modifier (Holes 2004). Another salient feature is the pronominal indexes which feature a final /n/ in the prefix conjugation: t(ɔ)vūlm ‘you (f.) say’, t(ɔ)vūlm ‘you (m.pl.) say’ and y(ɔ)vūlm ‘they (m.pl.) say’. As far as bound pronouns are concerned, a noticeable trait is the allomorph -ah of the 3.f.sg. after a final weak root consonant: ‘al-yah ‘on her’ and abw-ah ‘her father’. The 2.m.sg. and 2.f.sg. in those dialects surface as -k and -č after words ending in a short vowel: farās-k ‘your (m.) horse’. The 2.m.pl. and 2.f.pl. forms are -kam and -kin and the 3.m.pl and 3.f.pl. are -ham and -hin. Specific independent forms of free pronouns include 1.sg. āna and 1.pl. ḥinna. Another salient feature is the forms of the verbs axad ‘he took’ and atak ‘he ate’, instead of kala, xaqa.

As far as group B (šammari) is concerned, much of the phonology and morphology is shared with group A. Differences arise in the following features. As noted by Cantineau (1937, p. 130), “l’imāla de la terminaison féminine est nette et forte, a un tel point qu’elle semble résister au tafṣīm d’une consonne précédente”: gargāre ‘she-lamb’, nāye ‘she-camel’. These dialects are also characterised by the lenition of the feminine plural ending -dt in pause in which case it reduces to -d: xams dīšala ‘five onions’. Concerning bound pronouns, šammari dialects exhibit -ak and -ik in the 2.m.sg. and 2.f.sg. with any vowel syncope. In addition to this, the 1.sg. allomorph -an surfaces in all positions: grub-an ‘he hit me’ (≪ garab-an → garāb-an → grub-an). Cantineau also notes the allomorph -û(ω) after final long -a: ġada-ω ‘his lunch’. Our data suggest that this allomorph is selected after any long vowel, whether monophonised or not. Group C dialects, also known as šāwi dialects, are spoken by the sheep-rearing tribes of the Syro-Mesopotamian bādya ‘steppe’ and its fringes. Distinct features include the affricates [ʧ] and [ʤ] as reflexes of /k/ and /g/ in front vowel environments. The reflex of etymological /ɣ/ is always the affricate [ʤ]. A slight raising towards [æ] of final -a and -ā is heard in non-back and non-velarised contexts: šināʾ ‘butter milk’, iḥnā ‘we’. In terms of phonotactics, *maC₁C₂C₃ stems are not susceptible to the gahuwa syndrome and hence, there is no resyllabification. Šāwi dialects are also atrochaic, in that sequences of CVC syllables are not restricted: yiḥbān ‘they (f.) escape’, yaklan ‘they (f.) eat’. Specific morphological forms are 1.sg. āni ‘I’ and iḥnā ‘we’ for free pronouns and the pairs -kum/-cūn and -hum/-hūn.

3. Cleveland’s Classification of the Dialects of Transjordan

Cleveland (1963) is an attempt to classify the dialects spoken in Jordan and Palestine, both sedentary and Bedouin. Cleveland coined new terms using the 3rd person singular of the verb qāl ‘he said’ in the imperfective in order to designate the different dialectal groups. His first cluster, which he calls yigāl, refers to all the Bedouin varieties which lack the b- prefix of the imperfective. The second group he distinguishes is bigāl, by which he refers to the sedentary populations of Jordan, including some locations on the west bank of the Jordan river. His third group is the bikāl type, which is characteristic of the sedentary rural populations of central Palestine. Lastly, the biʿal group incorporates the sedentary urban populations of Palestine, including those which settled more recently in Jordan. Cleveland does not mention a bigāl group which would include the Druze dialect of Azraaq, Northern Jordan. This dialect is as yet undocumented but research in this community is ongoing and the findings will be published in due course. As we will see below, Cleveland’s classification does not capture important differences found amongst the Bedouins. It also fails to capture the divergences amongst the indigenous sedentary dialects of Jordan, which, although all belong to the bigāl group, exhibit a sharp division between a southern muʿābi type and a northern-central baḵšāi-horini type.
4. Palva’s Classification

Palva (1984) delves deeper into Cleveland’s classification using a larger pool of variables. Palva mentions the urban Palestinian dialects, which correspond to Cleveland’s bi’tl. As far as rural dialects are concerned, he distinguishes between Galilean dialects (biqul), central Palestinian dialects (bikul), south Palestinian dialects (bigul), north and central Transjordanian dialects (bigul), and south Transjordanian dialects (bigul). His classification of the Bedouin dialects includes those of the Negev Bedouins (bigul), the dialects of southern Jordan (yigul), the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes (yigul), and lastly the dialects of the North Arabian Bedouins (yigul). Palva’s classification distinguishes well between all the subgroups of the sedentary types but lumps together sub-divisions within the Bedouin type that ought to be differentiated. In the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes, no distinction is made between the dialects of the Jordan valley and the saowi type. As regards the dialects of the North Arabian Bedouins, no further distinction is made between Cantineau’s A and B groups.

5. Addenda to Cantineau, Cleveland, and Palva

5.1. Younes’ Subgrouping of Ca

So far, only tribes which had saowi type dialects had been located and for some of them investigated, thus belonging to Cantineau’s C group. These are for example the Nem, Lheb, and Bani Azz who, in Lebanon, are mainly located in the Northern and Eastern parts of the country. The dialects spoken by these tribes are all unmistakably of the saowi type, exhibiting features such as the /c/ and /g/ reflex of etymological /k/ and /g/, a first or second degree raising of final -a and -a to [æ] or [e], atrochaism, absence of the ghawa syndrome on the maC2C3 template, the pseudo-verb wodd ‘want’, and the lexeme ḏdmn for ‘mouth’. In recent fieldwork carried out in the central part of the Bekaa valley by one of the authors of the present study, two new Bedouin tribes were investigated: the Abu Id and the Ḣdmn. Their presence in that part of the country had been, until then, unnoticed. Indeed, the presence of Ḥsina clans, who are a big sub-section of the Niza confederation and to whom the Abu Id and the Ḥdmn are connected, was already attested in Syria. The Ḥsina are to the Niza what the Taqyy are to the Šammar in that they are the first clans who migrated northwards into the Syro-Mesopotamian steppe around a millennium ago. This resulted in a prolonged contact with Bedouin tribes who had migrated earlier into the area such as the Mutawil, Hadidin, and Nem—who had dominated the Syro-Mesopotamian steppe. The linguistic outcome of this prolonged contact was convergence towards the saowi type. After investigation, it turned out that the dialect of the Abu Id and the Ḣdmn exhibited a similar profile, with core saowi features alongside with nizi features. For instance, these dialects exhibit no raising of -a and -a, ghawa active in the maC2C3 template, the verb yibi ‘he wants’, and a more pervasive use of nunation. This state of affairs led us to coin a new term for this type of configuration, using Cantineau’s terminology. Consequently, it seemed opportune to use the combination of Ca letters to designate this type of dialects: upper case C for the saowi component and lower case a for the nizi component. Cantineau (1937) already used such a combination of letters for the varieties spoken in the Gašm area in modern-day Saudi Arabia that combine predominantly šammari features alongside with nizi features: Ba.

5.2. Herin’s yigul vs. ygalan

As noted in Herin (2020), one of the shortcomings of Cleveland’s yigul type is that it lumps together three sub-types within the Bedouin dialects of Jordan: the dialects of the Jordan valley Bedouins such as the Aqarma, Addin, and Abdīd, the dialects of Bedouins of northern Jordan such as the Bani Sahar, Sardiyye, Sirhān, Al Iṣa, and Misūd, and finally the Bedouin varieties of Southern Jordan such as the Huwatt, Bālāl and Zawwāṭa. The Jordan valley type differs from Cantineau’s C group in that they lack the final /n/ in the imperfective endings -n and -un, also found in the dialects of the Bedouins of northern Jordan. It appears that it would be more conclusive to use the 3.m.pl. inflection of the
imperfective of the verb gāl to capture some of these differences. The following general classification would arise:

(I) Sedentary bigālu,
(II) Southern Nomadic ygālu, 
(III) Central Nomadic ygālu, and
(IV) Northern Nomadic ygālān.

6. Features of the Misā id Dialect

In 2019, Bruno Herin, Enam Al-Wer, and Youssef Al-Sirour began fieldwork amongst the Misā id tribe in Umm al-Gimal, Northern Jordan. The fieldwork was facilitated by Yūsif, who is a member of the tribe, as noted above. In this exploratory phase of the research, we recorded two forty-minute sessions consisting of casual conversations and narratives. These recordings were subsequently transcribed and analysed. In the remainder of this article, we present our analysis of the salient features of this dialect based on these recordings.

6.1. Phonology

The phonetics of the feminine ending was mostly recorded as the unraised reflex [a]: šīdāla ‘severe, extreme’, šāsa ‘piece of fabric/muslin’, maqya ‘water’, wahda ‘one (f.)’. A first degree raising was recorded in säkna ‘dwelling (f.)’, ašīra ‘clan’, ‘utmāniyyā ‘Ottoman’, ladhā ‘speech, accent’. A second degree raising was also recorded in a handful of items such as ħāreb ‘small’ and fīreb ‘much (f.)’, and also after an emphatic sound as in mīhmāse ‘coffee bean roasting pan’. The unraised reflex [a] is typical of ‘nizi type (in the Syro-Mesopotamian steppes) whereas the first-degree reflex is equally found in the ‘nizi dialects, although it is contextually conditioned (e.g., in front contexts). The second-degree raising found in some items most likely represents short-term accommodation, induced by the presence of speakers of other Jordanian dialects. It may also be indicative of the course of future developments in the dialect, viz. convergence to koineised Jordanian varieties, especially since the younger members of the tribe have frequent face-to-face contact with speakers of other Jordanian dialects through formal education and in the workplace. The raising heard in mīhmāse after a velarized consonant on the other hand, is typical of the šammadari type. Despite some degree of variation in the realization of the feminine ending in our data, the distribution found amongst the informants overall is consistent with the ‘nizi type.

In pause, a slight aspiration occurs after the feminine ending: ašīra# ‘clan’, gibāla# ‘tribe’. This feature is found in both the A ‘nizi and B šammadari groups.

The etymological diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ are both monophthongised to /ɔ/ and /e/, respectively: fōg ‘above’, yōm ‘day’, ḥol ‘around’, dōr ‘turn/point in time’, and āt ‘tent’, ṭnēn ‘two’, xel ‘horses’. Diphthongised realisations occurred in Zbeyd (tribal patronym), xēys ‘jute’. These reflexes are common in the group C šawī dialects. Groups A and B usually have more consistent slight diphthongised reflexes.

As far as the affrication of etymological /k/ and /g/ is concerned, the recorded reflexes all pattern respectively with the šawī type /c/ and /G/; hīc ‘so’, čīmā ‘desert truffle’, čītr ‘much’. Only one instance of /g/ < /g/ was recorded in ṭgī ‘endure’. Other items which were expected to be realised with /G/ were recorded with /g/: šarg ‘east’, giddām ‘in front’. This, in all likelihood, is a short-term accommodation phenomenon induced by the presence of speakers of standard Jordanian. The same observation can be made about non-affricated reflexes of /k/ in items such as kān ‘he was’, kītr ‘much’ (also recorded with /k/; see above), and kībr ‘big’ all of which are normally affricated in the vernacular.

Etymological /g/ was recorded /ḏ/ in ḏībal ‘mountain’, ḏaw ‘they (m.) came’, and ḏīthan ‘they (f.) brought’. The affracte /G/ was also recorded: yīgān ‘they (m.) come’, gawwa ‘inside’, gīl ‘skin’. The /ḏ/ reflex is common in groups A and B whereas the affracte /G/ is a hallmark of the šawī type. The indigenous reflex is undoubtedly /ḏ/. Although a short-term accommodation effect cannot be ruled out, the presence of /ḏ/
could also be due to earlier change within the dialect, as noted by Cantineau in some camel-breeder varieties.

An interesting and somehow unexpected feature that was occasionally recorded is the *galqala, understood to be the uvular realisation of etymological */g/: *qer’ ‘other’ (<gēr), qīlī ‘expensive’ (<qīlī), muqṣil ‘washing area’ (<muqṣil). To the best of our knowledge, this phenomenon is a hallmark of the Mesopotamian šāwī dialects.

Final */t/ in the plural feminine ending -āt interestingly drops in pause: *guza’ā ‘raids’, šāglā ‘things’, Rgā’ inyu’a (toponym), halāλā ‘livestock heads’. This feature, as mentioned above, was already noted as commonly occurring in the B and Bc dialects.

The laryngeal stop */q/ was recorded once as pharyngeal */q/ in *sā’ālt ‘I asked’, which is a salient feature of North-West Arabian. In addition to this, */q/ is often glottalised in pause: *hassā # [hassa:ʾ] ‘now’, *maṭnī # [maṭnī:ʾ] ‘hindrance’, *bē # [be:ʾ] ‘sale’.

Expectedly, *C₁aC₂aC₃v sequences are resyllabificated into C₁vC₂vC₃v: *skanāw (<sakanaw) ‘they settled’, *Ṣrubāt (tribal patronym < Ṣurafāt). Our corpus also attests the presence of resyllabification in derived templates such as form VII *inC₁aC₂aC₃a: *ināḥkūmat ‘it was ruled’ (inḥakamat → inḥākamat → inḥākumat → ināḥkūmat).

As far as the *gahawa syndrome is concerned, it appears to be present in the dialect. Examples are *nḥāṣid ‘we harvest’ (here combined resyllabification *nḥāṣid → *nḥāṣid → nāḥṣid → nḥāsid) bāt ‘after’. Our data do not attest the presence of the gahawa syndrome in *taC₁C₂C₃a and *maC₁aC₂aC₃ templates, which would suggest that it patterns in this respect with the šāwī type. Further data are needed to firmly confirm this observation.

As expected, the article receives primary stress as is normally the case in all of the Bedouin varieties of the area. To the best of our knowledge, only monosyllabic words of the type C₁vC₃ and disyllabic words of the type C₁vC₂vC₃ can trigger the stress of the definite article. Attested instances in our data are: *āl-mutār ‘the rain’, *ān-nifal ‘the clever’, *āl-aarb ‘the Bedouins’. In addition to this and quite unexpectedly, we also encountered a stressed article with a C₁vC₂C₃ word in *ās-sahra ‘the desert’. Further data are needed to confirm whether stress assignment on the article is licenced in other words of this type and also possibly in other templates, which, as far as we know, would be a novelty.

An unexpected stress-related feature we found in the data is the second syllable stress in the plurals of C₁vC₂vC₃ type as in *niqāt ‘points’ which also surfaced as *nqāt after high vowel elision in unstressed position. This is a feature found in North-West Arabian (Palva 2011).

6.2. Morphology

In the realm of verbal morphology, it appears that both the allomorphs -aw and -am in the 3.m.pl in the perfective are found: *winn-o ḡla am kassaram min-ind gidām al-ţamal and there they had cut and broken into pieces (the (engravings) in front of the camel). The -aw allomorph was recorded in the following: *ḥomaw ba-aḏ-ham ‘atshaw u-tikātaraw u-lamma tikātaraw, ḍaw ḏbijaw hānī ‘they protected each other, lived and multiplied and when they multiplied they came and settled here’. These examples suggest that -aw and -am allomorphs are not in complementary distribution, unlike in some šāwī tribes along the Middle-Euphrates where one of the allomorphs is used exclusively in pause.

Person prefixes in the imperfective were often recorded with /a/ vowel: yatla ‘he goes out’, takbar ‘it gets bigger’, yamṣi ‘he walks’, talga ‘you find’. This is a typical camel-rearing trait not found in the šāwī dialects.

Initial glottal stop verbs such as *akal and *axad behave similarly to what is found in the B, Bc, and C groups: kalēt-o ‘I ate it’, unlike *nizi-type dialects which have *akal and *axad ‘I ate/have eaten’, ‘I took/have taken’.

As far as derived forms are concerned, the causative Form IV template *aC₁aC₂aC₃- yiC₁aC₂C₃ is well attested in our data: *nāḏāl-o w-unḏāfū ‘we take it out and dust it’, yuntar ‘it rains’, yiwsil ‘he brings’. The presence of this feature is not diagnostic of any sub-group but in the context of dialect contact and levelling, it is a noticeable feature. The imperfective of Form V *taC₁aC₂aC₃ was recorded as *ytC₁aC₂aC₃ as in *yidarrab
he trains’. Given that šāwī dialects are known for having yiC1aC2aC3 (yidarrab), the presence of this form is another indication of the camel-rearer background of the present dialect. This, in all likelihood, should also happen in form VI *taC1aC2aC3 but our data lack instances of any verb of this type.

Another typical camel-rearer feature that is found in our data is what is referred to as the apophonic passive, known to be lost in the šāwī varieties. Only two instances were recorded: yidkar ‘it is remembered’ and timad ‘it is presented’. The template in the imperfective yiC1aC2aC3 in which the /i/ vowel contrasts with the /a/ vowel was noted above as a marker of the active forms. Further data are needed to assess the productivity of the apophonic passive in the modern-day form of the dialect.

The pronominal morphology of the dialect appears to be mixed. We recorded the first person free forms ana and inna, which are found in the C-šawī group. Inversely, the bound plural forms -kam and -ham were found, which are camel-rearer forms. In the feminine plural, only the third person -hin is recorded in the data, but no second person. The first person singular bound pronoun surfaced as -an after a consonant: wātī at-an ‘it hurt me’, tāda-an ‘it hurts me’. This -an form is typical of the B and Bc groups. In the same vein, we recorded the form -wo after long vowels, which are also found amongst the B and Bc groups: ʾal-wo ‘on him’, ṣuxall-wo ‘we let him’, šinā-wo ‘we saw him’. Moreover, an -ah allomorph in the 3rd person feminine singular was recorded after final /w/ and /y/ stems: ʾal-ah ‘on her’, abw-ah ‘her father’, which patterns with both the A and B camel-rearer dialects. After consonants, initial consonant bound pronouns all have initial vowel allomorphs: bīlūd-ana ‘our country’, kill-a-ham ‘all of them’. This, of course, is reminiscent of the trochaic syllable type of the dialect and a distinctive feature of all the A and B camel-rearer varieties.

7. Dialect Sample

We present here a sample of the recordings to enable the reader to capture the nature of the dialect. Because much of the sessions consisted of group conversations in which turns were for the most part quick and uncontrolled, it was difficult to isolate long stretches of monologue. Another problem that quickly surfaced was the presence of several instances of mixed forms, which are due to dialect mixing and perhaps ongoing changes in the dialect itself. As explained earlier, the session involved participants with different dialect backgrounds, which as we quickly realised, prompted the informants to accommodate towards other Jordanian dialects. Nevertheless, the two short excerpts exhibit salient features that can be safely attributed to the local form of speech of the Misāʾid tribe.

Speaker 1: Bū Sāliḥ:

‘al-Misāʾid ham Ᾱaksiṣ aw-al- ʾaṣṣiyā‘ ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḏī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍī ṣḥāḍ the Misāʾid tribe.

The Misāʾid are the biggest tribe and the other tribes are our neighbors, the two other tribes . . . All these tribes live next to each other here in the region, they are neighbors. In the past, people used to raid each other, before the region was under control . . . I think in the days the Ottomans controlled this region, people used to protect themselves in a warlike manner. I mean they used to raid each other and these . . . It depends on the strength of the tribe which is facing them . . . I don’t remember well, I am maybe older than seventy, it comes from what I have heard before from the elders. They said that the Misāʾid never took, those who emerge during raids, they get out of the raid they emerge, always victorious God bless.

Speaker 2: Umm Sāliḥ:
The presence or absence of /n/ is the main difference. Only Southern... a particular syllabic type. Accordingly, Cantineau separates trochaic from atrochaic varieties. Trochaic varieties...
(V) Northern Bedouin  \( \text{ygul\u0161un} \)
  a. 'Nizi
  b. Šammari
    i. Bc (Misā'īd)
  c. Šāwi
    i. Ca (Bū 'Īd et 'Īdin in Lebanon, so far unattested in Jordan)

Table 1. Features of the Misā'īd and the Bedouin sub-groupings.

|                         | A ('Niza') | B (Šammar) | C (šāwi) | Bc (Satellite Šammar) | D (North-West Arabian) |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|----------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| imāla treatment        | X          | X          |          |                       |                        |
| Aspiration of \(-a\) in pause | X          | X          |          |                       |                        |
| Diphthongs              |            |            | X        |                       | X                      |
| Affrication             | X          |            | X        |                       |                        |
| Etymological /\(\mathcal{G}/\) | X          |            | X        |                       |                        |
| qalqala                 |            |            |          |                       | X                      |
| Elision of /\(t/\) in \(-\text{dt}\#\) | X          |            |          |                       | X                      |
| Resyllabification of *\(C_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3\)#    | X          | X          | X        |                       |                        |
| \(\text{sa'\ al for sa'\ al}\) |                        |            |          |                       | X                      |
| Resyllabification in derived verbs | X          |            |          |                       |                        |
| gahawa syndrome        | X          | X          | X        |                       | X                      |
| Stress on plural \(C_1\text{vC}_2\text{vC}_3\) | X          |            |          |                       |                        |
| Stressed definite article \(\text{al-}\) | X          | X          | X        |                       | X                      |
| Trochaism               | X          | X          |          |                       |                        |
| 3.m.pl. perfective \(-\text{am/-aw}\) |                        |            |          |                       | X                      |
| Vowel /\(a/\) in the imperfective | X          | X          |          |                       | X                      |
| \(\text{kala-xada}\)   | X          |            | X        |                       | X                      |
| Form IV                 | X          | X          | X        |                       | X                      |
| Form V et VI            | X          | X          |          |                       |                        |
| ytiC\(_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3\)/ytiC\(_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3\) | X          | X          | X        |                       |                        |
| Apophonic passive       | X          | X          |          |                       |                        |
| Free pronouns \(\text{ana-ilna}\) |                        |            |          |                       |                        |
| Bound 1.sg. \(-an\)     | X          |            |          |                       |                        |
| Bound 3.m.sg. \(-wo\)   | X          |            |          |                       |                        |
| Bound 3.f.sg. \(-ah\)   | X          |            |          |                       |                        |

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Notes

1 The research in Azraq is led by Bruno Herin and Enam Al-Wer and involves several local field researchers. The Druze of Jordan originally migrated from Swêda and the villages surrounding it in Syria.

2 The interview sessions were primarily led by Youssef Al-Sirour who is a native speaker of the dialect under investigation. Also present were Enam Al-Wer, Bruno Herin, and Dina Oweidat, all of whom are speakers of urban central Jordanian dialects.

3 Incidentally, this sentence also features the deitic adverb ḥānā, which as far we know is typical of the Bc group (ṣawī influenced šammari dialects).

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