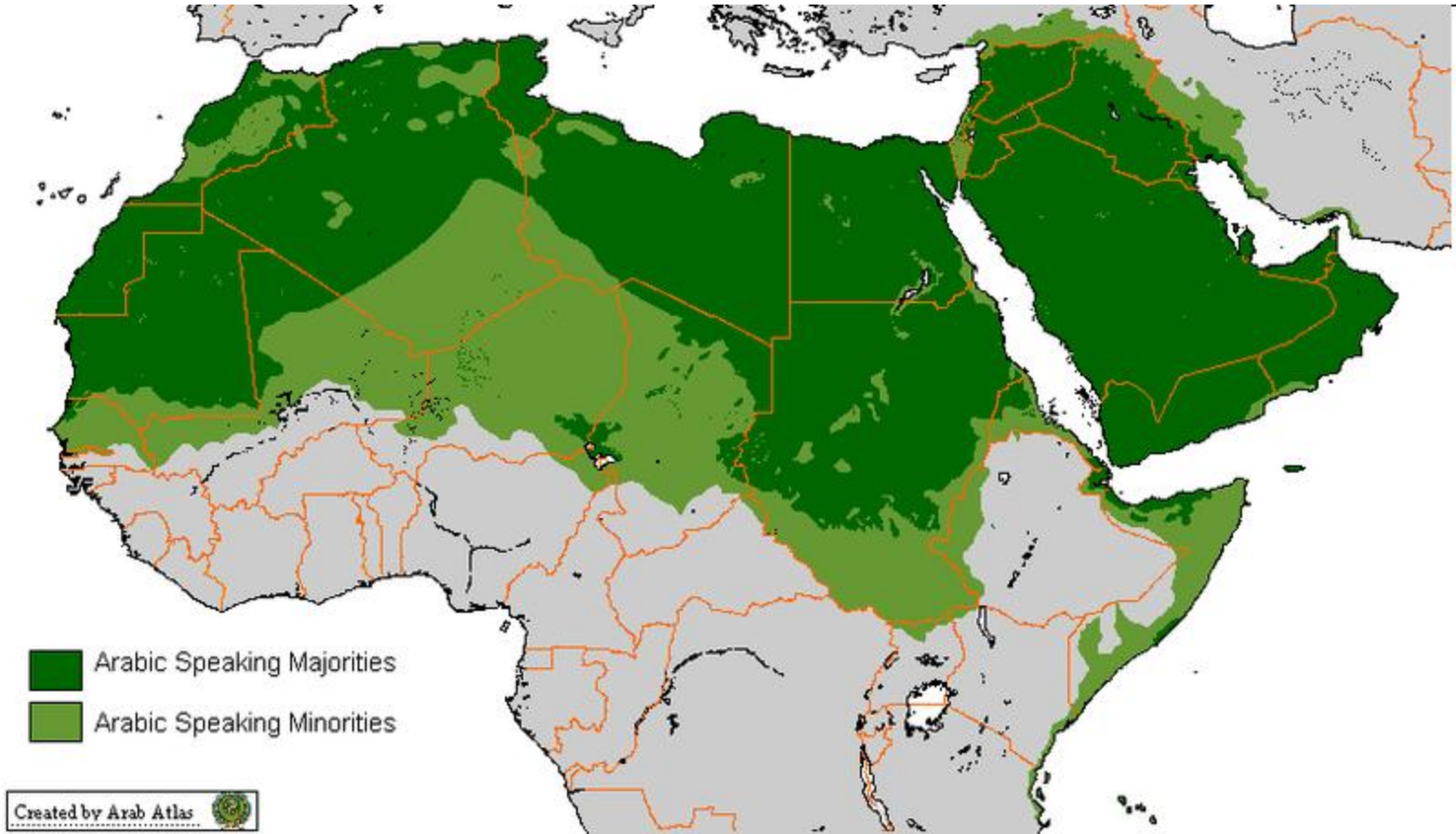


Contact, Restructuring, & Decreolization: The Case of Tunisian Arabic

Thomas A. Leddy-Cecere

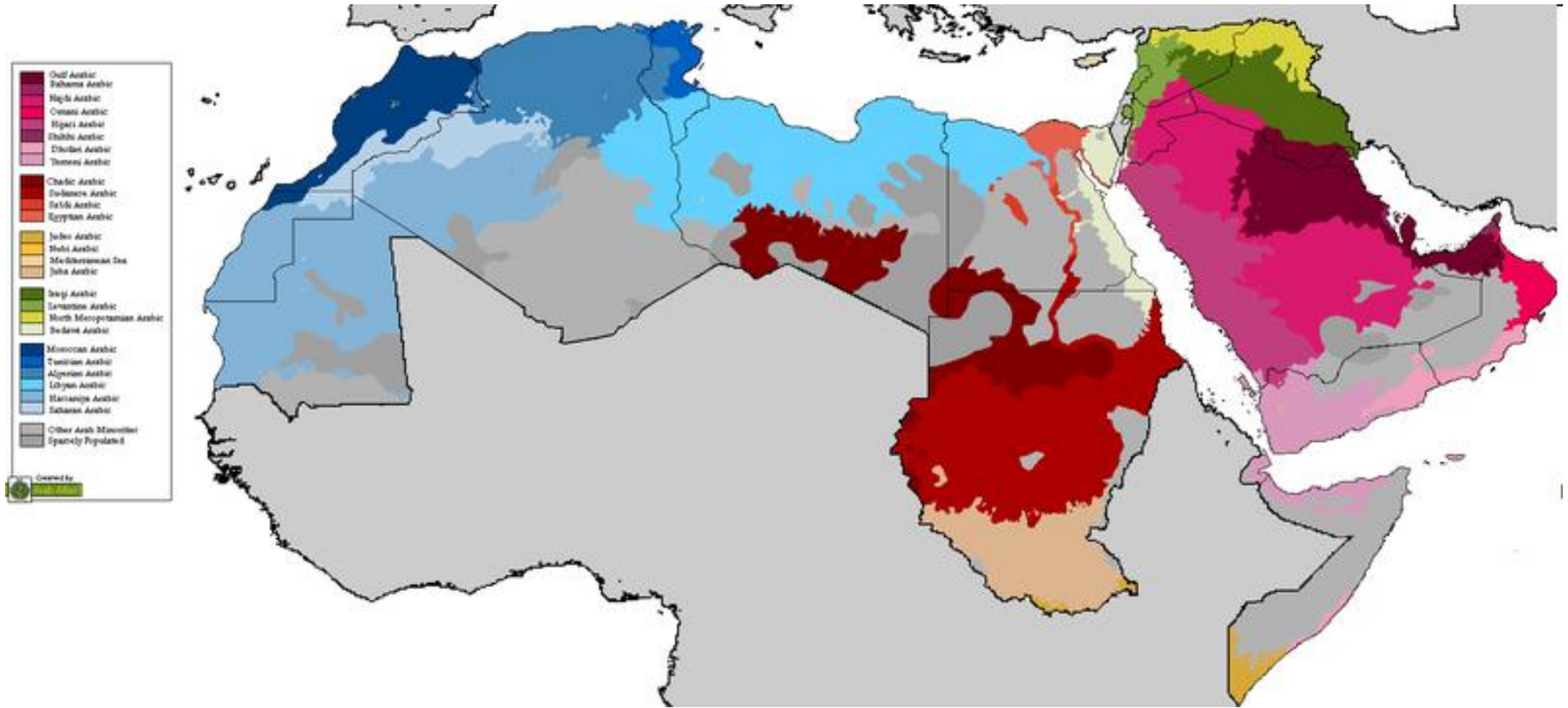
January 14, 2011

The Arabophone World



(Wikipedia)

The Arabophone World



(Wikipedia)

Dialectal Variation

- Arabic dialects demonstrate three major types of variation:
 - Geographical
 - Social
 - Chronological

Genitive Exponents

<i>māl</i>	<i>ihnīn</i>
<i>geyy</i>	<i>ntā‘</i>
<i><u>d</u>ēl</i>	<i>žna</i>
<i>līl</i>	<i>eddi</i>
<i>taba‘</i>	<i>dyāl</i>
<i>šīt</i>	<i>ta</i>
<i>mtā‘</i>	<i>hūl</i>
<i>šugl</i>	<i>allīl</i>
<i>tél</i>	<i>haqq</i>
<i>šáyt</i>	<i>bitā‘</i>
<i>ħagg</i>	<i>hana</i>
<i>bətā‘</i>	<i>hīl</i>

(Versteegh, 1984)

Language Restructuring:

- Sudden, large-scale adult L2A results in a language variety radically altered from its original form
- These alterations overwhelmingly occur along specific, predictable trajectories

Pidginization & Creolization: The Case of Arabic

Kees Versteegh (1984)

- From 632 A.D., Arabs speaking Old Arabic dialects spread across the Middle East and N. Africa.
- A small but prestigious Arab elite suddenly came to rule over a linguistically diverse non-Arab populace.
- This setting resulted in a creolized Arabic used across the newly formed Arab-Islamic world, laying the foundation for the New Arabic type.
- Further migration of OAr.-speaking Bedouins from the Arabian Peninsula initiated a process of decreolization, by which the Arabic creole began to once again resemble the OAr. norm in certain respects.

Pidginization & Creolization: The Case of Arabic

Kees Versteegh (1984)

- Strengths:
 - Explains parallel yet independent regional variation
 - Explains sedentary/Bedouin dichotomy
 - Accounts for sharp break between OAr. and NAr.
- Weaknesses:
 - Argument deals only with generalities, ignores details
 - Lack of supporting data

Pidginization & Creolization: The Case of Arabic Kees Versteegh (1984)

- Strengths:

- Explains parallel yet independent regional variation

- Ex

**Re-examine Versteegh's hypothesis
employing a smaller scope and a
higher degree of detail.**

- Ar

Ar.

- Weaknesses:

- Argument deals only with generalities, ignores details

- Lack of supporting data

Four Steps

- 1) Select a particular dialect area on which to focus

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- 1) Select a particular dialect area on which to focus
- 2) Develop a means of evaluating dialects for “creoleness”
- 3) Assess and compare dialect data according to those criteria
- 4) Interpret results in light of socio-historical context

Step 1: The Dialects



Step 2: “Creoleness”

- Phonology:
 - Sound changes occur in particular types
 - Changes occur in sound series not shared between substrate and superstrate languages

Step 2: “Creoleness”

Series	Orthography	Transcription
Interdental	ث	θ
	ذ	ð
	ظ	ð̤
Uvular	ق	ɢ
	خ	χ
	غ	ʁ
Pharyngeal	ح	ħ
	ع	ʕ
Pharyngealized	ط	ɗ
	ظ	ð̤
	ص	ʕ̤
Glottal	ء	ʔ
	ه	h
Lateral	ض	ɬ

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Step 2: “Creoleness”

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Pharyngeal	ح	ħ
	ع	ʕ
Pharyngealized	ظ	ð̣
	ص	ʕ̣
Glottal	ه	h

Step 2: “Creoleness”

- Morphosyntax:
 - Verbal:
 - Bare verb forms
 - Preverbal TMA marking
 - Serial verb constructions
 - Discontinuous negation
 - Lack of marked passive
 - SVO word order
 - Nominal:
 - Lack of case, number or gender marking
 - 3-way determiner distinction
 - Possessive juxtaposition or analytical genitive
 - Relative pronoun

Step 2: “Creoleness”

- Lexicosemantics:
 - Bimorphemic question words
 - Reduced pronominal distinctions
 - Formation of novel pronoun paradigms

Step 3: Results

Phonology

Series		OAr.	Sūsi	J-T	Mlt.
Interdental	ث	θ	θ	t	t
	ذ	ð	ð	d	d
	ظ	ḏ	ḏ	ɖ	d
Uvular	ق	ɢ	g, q~k	q	ʔ
	خ	χ	χ	x	ħ
	غ	ʁ	ʁ	ɣ	∅
Pharyngeal	ح	ħ	ħ	ħ	ħ
	ع	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	∅
Pharyngealized	ظ	ḏ	ḏ	ɖ	d
	ص	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ	s
Glottal	ه	h	h	∅	∅

Step 3: Results

Phonology

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Interdental	ث	θ	θ	t	t
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Pharyngealized	ظ	ḏ	ḏ	ɖ	d
	ص	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	s
Glottal	ه	h	h	∅	∅

Step 3: Results

Morphosyntax

Feature	Maltese	J-T	Sūsi
Bare verb forms			
Preverbal TMA			
Discontinuous Negation			
Serial Verbs			
Lack of Marked Passive			
SVO word order			
Lack of Nominal Inflection			
Three-Determiner System			
Analytical Genitive			
Relative Pronoun			

Step 3: Results

Morphosyntax

Preverbal TMA Particles

[anterior]+[irrealis]+[nonpunctual]+verb

Particle	Sūsi	Judeo-Tunisian	Maltese
anterior	<i>ka:n *</i>	<i>kä:n *</i>	<i>kien *</i>
irrealis	<i>ba:š</i>	<i>mä:š</i>	<i>ser</i>
nonpunctual	<i>qa:ʕəd *</i>	<i>qa:ʕəd *</i> ~ <i>qa</i>	<i>qed</i>

Step 3: Results

Morphosyntax

Preverbal TMA Particles

[anterior]+[irrealis]+[nonpunctual]+verb

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irrealis	<i>ba:š</i>	<i>mä:š</i>	<i>ser</i>
nonpunctual	Juba Arabic	Decreolized JA	<i>ed</i>
	<i>gum</i>	<i>gam *</i>	

(Miller, 2007)

Step 3: Results

Morphosyntax

Feature	Maltese	J-T	Sūsi
Bare verb forms			
Preverbal TAM			
Discontinuous Negation			
Serial Verbs			
Lack of Marked Passive			
SVO word order			
Lack of Nominal Inflection			
Three-Determiner System			
Analytical Genitive			
Relative Pronoun			

Step 3: Results

Lexicosemantics

Feature	Maltese	J-T	Sūsi
Bimorphemic Interrogatives			
Reduced Pronominal System			
Pron. Paradigm Formation			

Step 3: Results

Lexicosemantics

	OAr.	Maltese	J-T	Sūsi
‘what (n.)’	<i>mā</i>	<i>xi</i>	<i>äšnu:wä</i>	<i>šnuwwε:</i>
‘what (v.)’	<i>māðā</i>	--	<i>äš</i>	<i>əʃ</i>
‘who’	<i>man</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>äšku:n</i>	<i>ʃku:n</i>
‘when’	<i>matā</i>	<i>meta</i>	<i>wāqtä:š</i>	<i>waqtε:ʃ</i>
‘where’	<i>ʔayna</i>	<i>fejn</i>	<i>wä:yən ~ fä:yən</i>	<i>wi:n ~ fi:n</i>
‘from where’	--	<i>mnejn</i>	<i>mnä:yən</i>	<i>mni:n</i>
‘to where’	--	<i>(lejn)</i>	<i>lä:yən</i>	<i>lwi:n</i>
‘why’	<i>limāðā</i>	<i>għaliex</i>	<i>ʔlä:š ~ lä:š</i>	<i>ʔlε:ʃ</i>
‘how’	<i>kayfa</i>	<i>kif</i>	<i>kifä:š</i>	<i>kifε:ʃ</i>
‘how much/many’	<i>kam</i>	<i>kemm</i>	<i>qaddä:š</i>	<i>qaddε:ʃ</i>
‘which’	<i>ʔayy</i>	<i>liema</i>	<i>ä:mä</i>	<i>ε:nε</i>

Step 3: Results

Lexicosemantics

	OAr.	Maltese	J-T	Sūsi
‘what (n.)’	<i>mā</i>	<i>xi</i>	<i>äšnu:wä</i>	<i>šnuwwε:</i>
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Step 3: Results

Feature	Maltese	J-T	Sūsi
Treatment of Interdentals			
Treatment of Uvulars			
Treatment of Pharyngeals			
Treatment of Phar. Consonants			
Treatment of Glottals			
Bare verb forms			
Preverbal TAM			
Discontinuous Negation			
Serial Verbs			
Lack of Marked Passive			
SVO word order			
Lack of Nominal Inflection			
Three-Determiner System			
Analytical Genitive			
Relative Pronoun			
Bimorphemic Interrogatives			
Reduced Pronominal System			
Pron. Paradigm Formation			

Step 4: Interpretation

- Differentiation is clear:
 - Maltese most creole-like
 - Judeo-Tunisian less so
 - Sūsi least creole-like
- Directionality of evolution is *not* clear

Step 4: Interpretation

Two alternatives:

- 1) Proto-Tunisian was most like Sūsi; Judeo-Tunisian and Maltese creolized to differing extents
- 2) Proto-Tunisian was most like Maltese; Sūsi and Judeo-Tunisian decreolized to differing extents

Step 4: Interpretation

Two alternatives:

- 1) Proto-Tunisian was most like Sūsi; Judeo-Tunisian and Maltese creolized to differing extents
- 2) Proto-Tunisian was most like Maltese; Sūsi and Judeo-Tunisian decreolized to differing extents

Step 4: Interpretation

Historical Evidence:

- Tunisia following the Arab conquests was ripe for creole formation
 - Rapid takeover: begun 670 A.D., complete by 700 (Abun-Nasr, 1987)
 - Small ruling elite: Arabs constituted <10% of pop., but controlled politics, religion, economy, education (Hourani, 1991)

Step 4: Interpretation

Pidginization → Creolization

Step 4: Interpretation

Pidginization → Creolization

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Pidginization → Creolization

Step 4: Interpretation

Hillalian Invasion:

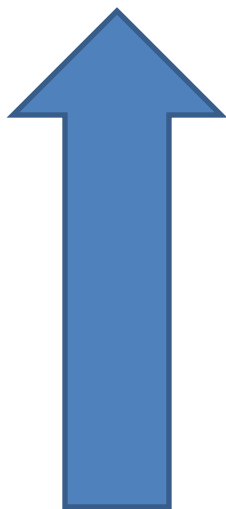
- Bedouin of the Banu Hillal tribe were dispatched by the Fatimids in 1050 to punish the Tunisian Zirids
- The invaders decimated all non-Arab populations and cultural elements they encountered
- Joined and enlarged the area's Arab population
- Exponentially advanced the Arabization of Tunisia

(Abun-Nasr, 1987)

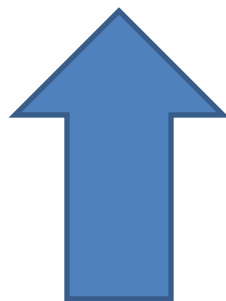
Step 4: Interpretation

Decreolization Effects:

Sūsi



J-T



Mlt.



فلما جاء الإسلام وفارقوا الحجاز ... وخالطوا العجم تغيرت تلك الملكة بما ألقى إليها
السمع من المستعربين ... وفسدت بما ألقى إليها ...

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