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Morpho-Syntactic Features of Bedouin Dialects of Northern Jordan

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Abstract
The present entry deals with the linguistic analysis of morpho-syntactic features of two varieties of Bedouin Arabic spoken in northern Jordan. It focuses on the existential clause, the negation, and the genitive. The data was collected in June 2020 during fieldwork in Samā, Muġayyir, and Zumlat al-Sirḥān (al-Mafraq Governorate), where we recorded members of the Sirḥān (a camel-breeder tribe), and in al-ʿIšša (Irbid Governorate), where we recorded members of the Nʿēm (a sheep-breeder tribe). This data is compared in a synchronic perspective with the corpus of texts we collected in 2018 in the historical region of the Jordanian Ḥōrān (rural northern Jordan). This paper intends to be a step forward in the study of Bedouin-type language varieties of northern Jordan, for which an updated and exhaustive grammatical description is currently lacking.

Keywords
Bedouin / Jordan / dialectology / morpho-syntax

1 - Introduction and state of the art

The geographic area of northern Jordan, represented by the Governorates of Irbid and the western part of the Governorate of al-Mafraq, is a region that alternates between cultivated lands and rural villages within a landscape of both steppe and desert. The steppe, also known as *al-bādiya al-šamāliyya*, constitutes a significant source of grazing for sheep-breeders, who nowadays live in small urban settlements in the surrounding area of al-Mafraq. Bedouins in this area have become mostly sedentary, yet some of them have kept their herd and additionally cultivate crops for a living.

This region has been hitherto under-investigated, especially when compared to the central and southern regions of the Hashemite Kingdom, for which dialectological studies abound, thanks to the works of several scholars.[1] Within the field of Arabic dia-

1 Cleveland, Ray. 1963. "A Classification for the Arabic Dialects of Jordan", *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 171. 56-63; Palva, Heikki. 1976. "Studies in the Arabic Dialect of the Semi-Nomadic *əl-ʿAǧārma* Tribe (al-Balqāʾ District, Jordan)", *Orientalia Gothoburgensia* 2. 97-109; Palva, Heikki. 1984. "A General Classification for the Arabic Dialects Spoken in Palestine

lectology, the French dialectologist Jean Cantineau subdivided eastern Bedouin tribes into camel-breeder tribes (*grand-nomades*) and sheep-breeder tribes (*petit-nomades*);[2] the former are the Bedouins of Arabia, while the latter are those of the Syrian steppe. In northern Jordan both linguistic groups of Bedouin Arabic coexist.

These language varieties have been investigated in the work of Cantineau, who provided a general overview of the Bedouin dialects of Syria and northern Jordan,[3] in the works of Lidia Bettini,[4] in many articles by Stephan Procházka,[5] and in an article by Younès & Hérin, which comments upon the main linguistic features of a variety of Šāwī Arabic spoken in northern Lebanon.[6] All these works mainly focus on phonetics and morphology. The studies lack an extensive description of the main morpho-syntactic features and examples, which is precisely the aim of this paper.

2 - Fieldwork

The data that constitutes the base for our study are the varieties of both Bedouin eco-linguistic groups. To collect the linguistic corpus in June 2020 we conducted field-work in northern Jordan, where we recorded two members of the Nʿēm[7] in the village

and Transjordan", *Studia Orientalia* 55. 359-376; Bani Yasin, Raslan, & Owens, Jonathan. 1984. "The Bduul Dialect of Jordan", *Anthropological Linguistics* 26 (2). 202-232; Palva, Heikki. 1986. "Characteristics of the Arabic Dialect of the Ḥwēṭāṭ Tribe", *Orientalia Suecana* 33-35. 295-312; Durand, Olivier. 1996. *Grammatica di arabo palestinese*. Roma: Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza; Sakarna, Ahmed K. 2002. "The Bedouin Dialect of Al-Zawaida Tribe, Southern Jordan", *Al-ʿArabiyya* 35. 61-86; Al-Wer, Enam. 2007. "Jordanian Arabic (Amman)", Versteegh, Kees (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Leiden-Boston: Brill. 505-517; Hérin, Bruno. 2010. *Le parler arabe de Salt (Jordanie). Phonologie, morphologie et éléments de syntaxe*. PhD Thesis. Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles; Mion, Giuliano. 2012. *L'arabo parlato ad Amman. Varietà tradizionali e standardizzate*. Roma: Edizioni Q.

2 Cantineau, Jean. 1936. "Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient", *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger* 1. 1-118; Cantineau, Jean. 1937. "Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient", *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger* 2. 119-237.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Bettini, Lidia. 1994. "Les dialectes nomades de Syrie", *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques* 6. 45-65; Bettini, Lidia. 2006. *Contes féminins de la Haute Jézireh syrienne. Matériaux ethno-linguistiques d'un parler nomade oriental*. Firenze: Università di Firenze.

5 Procházka, Stephan. 2002. "The Bedouin Arabic Dialects of Urfa", Ferrando, Ignacio, & Sánchez Sandoval, Juan José eds.), *AIDA 5th Conference Proceedings*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz. 75-88; Procházka, Stephan, & Batan, Ismail. 2016. "The Functions of Active Participles in Šāwī Bedouin Dialects", Grigore, George, & Biţună, Gabriel (eds.), *Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide. Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of AIDA*. Bucharest, 2015. Bucharest: University of Bucharest. 457-466.

6 Younes, Igor, & Hérin, Bruno. 2015. "Šāwī Arabic", Edzard, Lutz, & de Jong, Rudolf (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Leiden: Brill.

7 A sheep-breeder tribe, also present in Iraq, Western Syria, Lebanon, and Southern Turkey along the Syrian border.

of al-ʿIšša (25 km northwest of Irbid) and four members of the Sirḥān,[8] in Samā al-Sirḥān and Muġayyir al-Sirḥān, two adjacent villages in the steppe (17 km north of al-Mafraq) along the Syrian border. Moreover, we received and used a short recording of a 90-year-old man from Zumlat al-Sirḥān. The circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic have not allowed us to do further fieldwork.

Regarding the Nʿēm, we recorded a 70-year-old woman and her 45-year-old daughter. They have been living close to the rural village of Saḥam for the last forty years and do not consider themselves Bedouins, but rather of Bedouin origins. Since they have settled and lived in a rural area for almost forty years among the people of the region, their language has been heavily influenced by the rural dialect of the Ḥōrān.

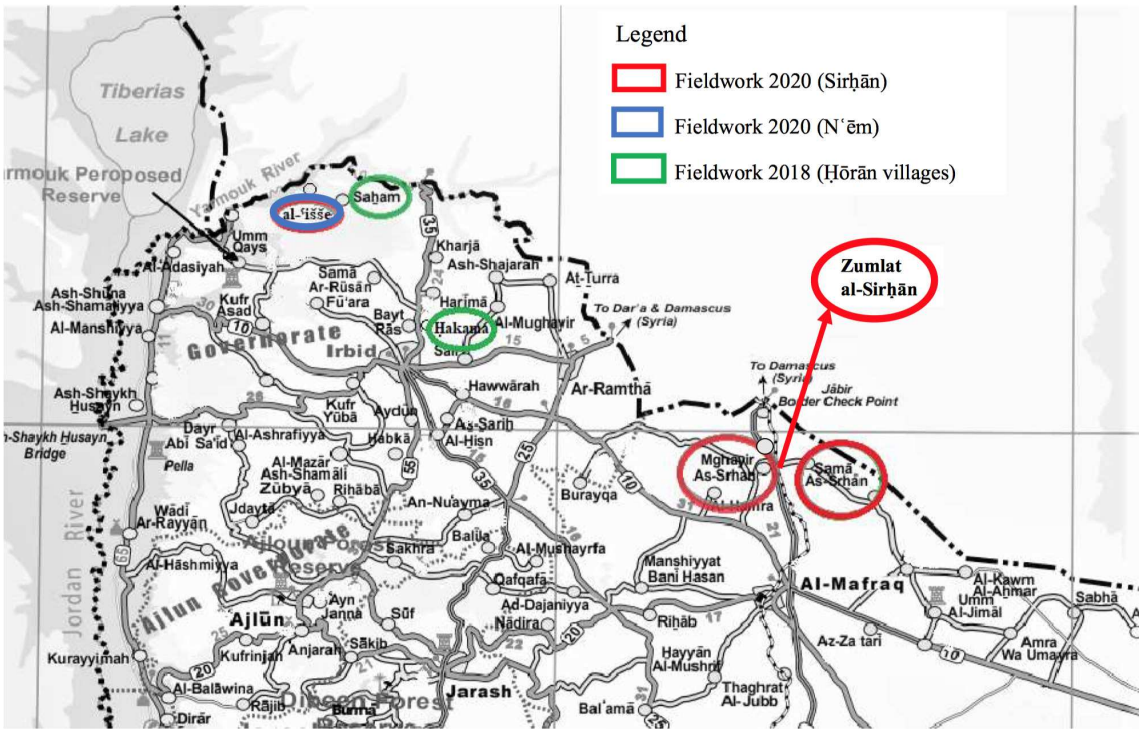


Figure 1 - Map of the area of northern Jordan where we conducted the fieldwork. Source: Jordan Tour Board. *Last accessed 15/05/21.* http://visitjordan.com/

As for the Sirḥān, we recorded two men in their fifties in Muġayyir, both well-educated. One is a politician and a poet of the village, of which he has also been the mayor, and the other is a University Professor of History. In Samā, we met and recorded a 65-year-old woman and met her three daughters; furthermore, we also recorded a 26-year-old man. We compare this data of Bedouin Arabic (totaling two hours of recor-

[8] One of the few camel-breeder tribes of northern Jordan (alongside the Sardiyyah, Bani Ṣaḫar, and the al-ʿĪsā).

dings) with that we collected in the villages of Saḥam and Ḥakama – Irbid Governorate – in 2018 (totaling four hours of recordings) for our thesis on the rural variety of northern Jordan (Ḥōrān).[9]

This entry focuses on the three morpho-syntactic features that we could analyze best from our corpus. We chose to examine (1) the existential clauses, (2) the forms of negation, and (3) the genitive case, since these were the features that immediately caught our attention, by reason of their peculiarities when compared not only to the Levantine dialects but also to other eastern Bedouin varieties, included those described by Cantineau. Many differences and linguistic changes in synchronic and diachronic perspectives are discussed in the following sections.

3 - Existential clause

The existential clause in the dialects of the Levant[10] is related to the preposition "in". Cantineau stated that in the Palmyrene dialect, in the Ḥōrān rural dialect, and in all the Bedouin varieties he investigated, as far as the preposition "in" is concerned, *bī* replaces *fī*.[11] As for the existential clause, he claimed that its main markers are *bū* and *bō* (coming from the lexicalization of the preposition *b-* and the 3rd msg suffix *-uh*). These particles are different from those used in the sedentary varieties, namely *bī* and *fī*. According to Cantineau, this is one of the distinguishing elements between sedentary and Bedouin dialects.[12]

In our corpus, we did not observe the markers considered to be specific to eastern Bedouin dialects, as we did in other Šāwī dialects of northern Lebanon.[13] Instead, we notice the use of the sedentary existential markers *bī* and *fī* in use, in Salṭ[14] and Amman respectively.[15] This feature of the Bedouin varieties of northern Jordan has already been pointed out by the work of Younès, who explained this leveling by remarking that the morpheme in question is present in the «Jordanian urban "prestige" variety».[16]

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9 Al Tawil, Miriam. 2019. *La langue arabe parlée dans le Ḥōrān*. M.A. Thesis. Catania: Università degli Studi di Catania.

10 This term includes the area of Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon, Cyprus, and Syria. Naïm, Samia. 2011. "Dialects of the Levant", Weninger, Stefan, Khan, Geoffrey, Streck, Micheal P., & Watson, Janet (eds.), *The Semitic Languages. An International Handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 920-935.

11 Cantineau, "Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient", *op. cit.*, 109.

12 *Ibid.*, 112, 113.

13 Hérin & Younès, "Šāwī Arabic", *op. cit.*, 12.

14 Hérin, Le parler arabe de Salt (Jordanie), *op. cit.*, 323.

15 Mion, L'arabo parlato ad Amman, *op. cit.*, 173.

16 Younès, Igor. 2018. "Linguistic Retentions and Innovations amongst a Camel-Breeder tribe of Northern Jordan". *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 108. 265-274. P. 272.

3.1 - The existential clauses in the Bedouin varieties of northern Jordan

3.1.1 - Sirḥān villages

The existential clause is introduced by the morpheme *fī* arising from the suffixation of the bound pronoun of the 3rd msg to the preposition *fī* (*fī* +-*h* > *fī*). The existential clause is mostly negated with *ma* (83% of the negative existential clauses in our corpus are of the *ma fī*-type). In the other 17% of cases the negation is *fī-š*. The two types of negation are in free variation.

In Zumla, Samā, and Muġayyir al-Sirḥān, the speakers employ *fī* to express the existential clause as in the examples below:[17]

1. *fī nās tidfaʕ ḥalāl*
   EXS people IMPF.3F.SG.pay cattle
   "There are people who pay through cattle."
2. *gabul ma fī ḥukum*
   before NEG EXS government
   "Before there was no government."
3. *ma fī qanūn fī qanūn ʕašāyirī*
   NEG EXS law EXS law tribal
   "There is no law. There is the tribal law."
4. *fī nisba kabīra min al-mutʕallimīn*
   EXS percentage big.F.SG PREP ART=educated.M.PL
   "There is a high percentage of educated (people)".
5. *fī ḥalāl ma fī ḥalāl kullo al-ʔan muqābil maṣāri*
   EXS livestock NEG EXS livestock everything now in exchange money.PL
   "Whether or not there is livestock, now everything is done with money."
6. *fī bi-l-ʕarab wullāda*
   EXS PREP=ART=tribe pregnant.F.SG
   "There is a pregnant woman in the tribe."
7. *fī nās ṯāniye ygūlū ʕann-o bagul*
   EXS people second.F.SG IMPF.3M.PL.say PREP=PRON.3M.SG dry yogurt
   "There are other people who call it *bagul*."

We also observe examples of negative existential clauses:

8. *ma fī nās min barra*
   NEG EXS people PREP outside
   "There are no people from abroad."

[17] The data reported below have been transcribed according to the system of transcription more generally used in the field of Arabic dialectology.

9. *ma fī ʕuṭal ma nʕarif-ha*
NEG EXS holiday.PL NEG 1PL.IMPF.know=PRON.3F.SG
"There are no holidays, we do not know them (holidays)."

10. *ma fī waḥada tizʕal tgūl il-frāš*
NEG EXS one.F.SG IMPF.3F.SG.get angry IMPF.3F.SG.say ART=bed
mutwassiḥ
dirty
"There is no woman who gets angry and says: 'the bed is dirty.'"

11. *ma fī ṯaqāfa diniyye*
NEG EXS culture religious.F.SG
"There is no religious culture."

12. *kānū yiǧībū siyyārāt serfēs lʔanno ma fī*
PERF.3M.PL.be IMPF.3M.PL.bring car.PL service because NEG EXS
bi-l-buyūt siyyārāt hān
PREP=ART=house.PL car.PL here
"They used to bring service cars because there were no cars at home here."

13. *ma fī rizz gabul*
NEG EXS rice before
"There was no rice before."

In three clauses, we notice the negative existential clause expressed as *fī-š*:[18]

14. *kānū yaʕṭū l-wlād ṣġār mawādd*
PERF.3M.PL.be IMPF.3M.PL.give ART=child.PL little.M.PL material.M.PL
fī-š maṣāri zamān
EXS=NEG money.PL time
"They used to give children supplies; there was no money in the past."

15. *ḫams sitt manāsif taklīfāt-hin ǧuhid bass fī-š takluf*
five six mensaf-PL cost.PL=PRON.3F.PL effort only EXS=NEG cost
"Five, six *mensaf*, their cost was the mere effort, there were no expenses."

16. *fī-š muškile*
EXS=NEG problem
"There is no problem."

Moreover, we observe existential clauses introduced by *kān*, which expresses the past:

17. *ma kān-š fī ṯallāǧa wala ġassāla wala ši*
NEG PERF.3M.SG.be=NEG EXS fridge CONJ washing machine CONJ thing
"There were no fridges, nor washing machines, nor anything."

18 Here the word *mensaf* stands for a typical Jordanian dish.

18. *ma kān fī ḥilu knāfa u kaḏa*
NEG PERF.3M.SG.be EXS sweet kenafa CONJ this way
"There were no sweets such as *kenafe* etc."

Other existential clauses are introduced by *ṣār*, which expresses the inchoative aspect:

19. *ṣār fī siyūla bi-l-balad*
PERF.3M.SG.become EXS cash flow PREP=ART=country
"There started to be a cash flow in the country."

20. *in-nās zay ma tigūl ṣār fī ṯaqāfa diniyye*
ART=people like IMPF.3F.SG.say PERF.3M.SG.become EXS culture religious-F.SG
"As people say, there started to be a religious culture."

3.1.2 - Nʿēm, al-ʿIšša

In this variety, the speakers expressed the existential marker with *bī*. The morpheme *fī* was used only once by the younger speaker (clause n. 26).

21. *makiyāǧ galīl bī galīl*
makeup little EXS little
"Makeup, there was a bit, little."

22. *bī kṯīr šaġlāt bass nāsī-ha*
EXS numerous thing.PL CONJ forget-PART=PRON.3F.SG
"There are a lot of things, but I forget them."

23. *našā il-gamuḥ miš miṯl hassa bī nāša dakākīn*
starch ART=wheat NEG like now EXS starch store-M.PL
"Wheat starch, not like today, there is commercial starch."

24. *min maḥaṭṭa illi bī hōna hāy*
PREP station REL EXS here DEM
"From the station that is here, this one."

25. *bī bī tumur*
EXS EXS date
"There were. There were dates."

26. *yumma kān fī makiyāǧ?*
mum PERF.3M.SG.be EXS make-up
"Mum, was there make-up?"

The existential clause is generally seen to be negated with the negative prefix *ma* (stage I of Jespersen's cycle):[19]

19 Jespersen's cycle is a series of language processes that describes the historical development of the expression of negation from a prefixal negation (stage I) to a circumfixal negation (stage

27. *kull əl-ʕālam ʕala ʔīdē-na ma bī miṯil hassaʕ*
all ART=world PREP hand.DUAL=PRON.1PL NEG EXS like now
"We did everything with our own hands; it was not like nowadays."

28. *hassa waḷḷa ma bī*
now o God NEG EXS
"Nowadays, I swear, it does not exist."

29. *ma bī zēt nabātī*
NEG EXS oil vegetal
"There is no vegetal oil."

30. *ma bī bīʕ miṯil hassaʕ*
NEG EXS selling like now
"There was no selling like today."

In other clauses, we observed the circumfixal negation *ma* + *bī* + *š* (stage II of Jespersen's cycle):[20]

31. *ma bī-š ḥammām bass*
NEG EXS=NEG bath only
"It did not exist. (There was) the bath only."

32. *ma bī-š ṯallāğāt*
NEG EXS=NEG fridge.PL
"There were no fridges."

33. *ma bī-š ṯallāğe tsawwī taḥfaḍī-h*
NEG EXS=NEG fridge IMPF.2F.SG.make IMPF.2F.SG.preserve=PRON.3M.SG
"There were no fridges, you made it (food) and you preserved it."

34. *ḥiluwyāt yaʕni illi ma bī-š ʕind-u*
sweet.PL IMPF.3M.SG.mean REL NEG EXS=NEG PREP=PRON.3M.SG
bisawwū min il-bēt
b-IMPF.3M.PL.make PREP ART=house
"Sweets, I mean, those that there were not at the market, were made at home."

35. *ma bī-š ʕind-hum ṣuḥūn zaġīre haḍāk il-waḳit*
NEG EXS=NEG PREP=PRON.3M.PL plate.PL little-F.SG DEM ART=time
"There were not little plates at that time."

36. *liʔanno hēč ma bī-š miṯil hassaʕyāt ḫuḍra kull waḳit*
Because like this NEG EXS=NEG like now vegetables every time
"Because it did not exist like today: vegetables at all times."

II) to a suffixal negation (stage III).

20 Here, *hassaʕyāt* means 'now'; for 'now' in the Ḥōrān we also observed: *hassāʕ, hassaʕ, hassā, hassa, hallaʔ*. As for the members of the Sirḥān in Samā, we also noticed: *al-ḥīn, al-ḥizza,* and *hassaʕ*.

In the following examples we observe both negative existential clauses – the compound and the simple – in the same sentence, in free variation:

37. *ma bī-š bištarū ḥilu min is-sūg ma bī*
NEG EXS=NEG b.IMPF.3M.PL.buy sweet PREP ART=market NEG EXS
"There were not. They used to buy sweets from the market. It did not exist."

38. *hassa ḥzāna u ġurfat in-nōm ma bī ma bī-š gabul hēč*
now wardrobe and room ART=sleep NEG EXS NEG EXS=NEG before like this
"Nowadays, there are wardrobes and bedrooms. In the past, they did not exist."

In the following clauses we observe the suffixal negation (stage III of Jespersen's cycle), which is formed by *bī* + *š*:

39. *bī-š hōna*
EXS=NEG here
"There aren't any here."

40. *hassaʕ bī-š gamur id-dīn*
Now EXS=NEG moon ART=religion
"Today, there are no dried apricots."

We can conclude that the types of negations are distributed in our corpus as follows: *ma bī-š*: 56%, *ma bī*: 33%, *bī-š*: 11%. The compound and the non-compound negations are in variation, as a direct influence of the Ḥōrānī variety, whereby this alternation has been previously documented.[21]

3.2 - The existential clause in the rural variety of the Ḥōrān

In the Ḥōrān, the existential clause is mostly expressed through the locative *fī*, which is the most diffused form in the Levantine area.[22] It is less frequently expressed through *bī*, which appears in our corpus only twice (clauses n. 43, 44), although in the autochthon form. In clause n. 44, the morpheme *wala* is employed as the only negative marker, making it a categorical negation.[23]

41. *iḏa fī asbāb tuṭlub iṭ-ṭalāg*
if EXS cause-PL IMPF.3F.SG.ask ART=divorce
"If there are reasons, she asks for a divorce."

42. *w iḏa fī wlād?*
CONJ if EXS child-PL
"And what if there are children?"

21 Naïm, "Dialects of the Levant", *op. cit.*, 929.
22 *Ibid.*, 932.
23 Hérin, *Le parler arabe de Salt (Jordanie), op. cit.*, 263.

43. *yaʕni bī imkān bukra ybaṭṭlū?*
IMPF.3M.SG.mean EXS possibility tomorrow IMPF.3M.PL.become void
"I mean: is there any chance that tomorrow they will break up?"
44. *wala bī iši*
NEG EXS thing
"There is absolutely nothing."

As for the negation of the existential clause, we observed three different possible expressions (which represent all stages of Jespersen's cycle):

- ***ma fī* (stage I)**:

45. *ḫaṭbū? āh bass ma fī ʕagid*
PERF.3M.PL. get engaged yes but NEG EXS contract
"Did they get engaged? Yes, but there is no contract."

- ***ma fī-š* (stage II)**:

46. *ma fī-š wala iši*
NEG EXS=NEG NEG thing
"There is nothing at all."

- ***fī-š/ fī-hū-š* (stage III)**:

47. *fī-š waʕī hōn fī-š waʕi ʕind-na l-ʕarab*
EXS=NEG consciousness here EXS=NEG consciousness PREP=1PL ART=Arab
"There is no consciousness here, we Arabs we do not have any consciousness."
48. *fī-hū-š iši*
EXS=PRON.3M.SG=NEG thing
"There is nothing at all."

4 - Negation

The most common verbal negator in Šāwī Arabic is *ma* for both the perfective and the imperfective.

As for non-verbal negations, Šāwī dialects employ the negative copula that results from the annexation of the 3rd m/f sg pronoun *-hu/-hi* to the negator > *mū, mi* (< *ma* + *hu* > *mahu* / *ma* + *hī* > *mahī*). In other Bedouin varieties, bound pronouns are suffixed to the negator *ma* (*māni, manta, manti, maḥna, mantu(m), mantin, mahum, mahin*), while yet other Bedouin varieties use *miš* and *muš* to negate participles and equative and comparative predicates.

4.1 - Negation in the Bedouin varieties of northern Jordan

4.1.1 - Sirḥān villages

In the Bedouin variety of the Sirḥān villages, the people whom we recorded express nominal negation in two ways. The first type of negation that they employ is *ma* + bound pronouns, as in the examples below:

49. *ʔanti manti fāhma lamma agūl*
PRON.2F.SG NEG=PRON.2F.SG PART.F.SG.understand when IMPF.1SG.say
"You, you do not understand when I say…"

50. *maḥna min ar-rubaʕ al-ḫāli yaʕni*
NEG=PRON.1PL PREP ART=quarter ART=empty IMPF.3M.SG.mean
"We are not from the waste land, I mean."

51. *waḷḷa māni ʕārif šū gaṣd-ik*
O God NEG=PRON.1SG PART.M.SG-know what purpose=PRON.2F.SG
"Actually, I do not know what you mean."

Otherwise, they employ the following nominal negators: *mū*, *mī*, and the non-discontinuous impersonal negators *miš* and *muš*:

52. *ʔana aʕṭī-ki ṭarīga mū ṣaʕba*
PRON.1SG IMPF.1SG.give=PRON.2F.SG way NEG difficult.F.SG
"I will give you a way (that is) not difficult."

53. *kwaysa walla mī kwaysa?*
good.F.SG. CONJ NEG good.F.SG
"Is it good or not?"

54. *fī ʕin-na kṯīr šaġlāt muš bass hāy*
EXS PREP=PRON.1PL numerous thing.PL NEG only DEM
"There are a lot of things here, not just these."

55. *iḥna il-luġa illi gāʕidīn niḥki*
PRON.1PL. ART=language REL PART.M.PL.sit IMPF.1PL.tell
fī-ha al-ʔan muš fuṣḥa
PREP=PRON.3F.SG now NEG clear.F.SG
"The language we are speaking now is not Classical Arabic."

As for the verbal negation, it is obtained through *ma* + verb:

56. *al-blād hāḏi ma ʕağibat-na narḥal*
ART=country DEM NEG PERF.3F.SG.like=PRON.1PL IMPF.1PL.travel
ʕā-l-bilād aš-šarğiyya
PREP=ART=country ART=eastern-F.SG
"If we do not like this place, we move to the eastern lands."

57. *ma nʕamal ši*
NEG IMPF.1PL.do thing
"We do not do anything."

58. *gabul an-nās ma tinṭi la-l-fallāḥīn*
before ART=people NEG IMPF.3F.SG.give PREP=ART=peasant.PL
"In the past, people did not give (their daughters) to the peasants."

59. *ma nʕaraf ḥarāmāt ma nʕaraf ad-dibāğāt gabul*
NEG IMPF.1PL.know blanket-PL NEG IMPF.1PL.know ART=sheet.PL before
"We did not know blankets or sheets before."

Regarding the correlative negation, we observed several different ways to express it through various combinations of correlative conjunctions:

- ***la… la***:

60. *la fī baṭāṭa la fī diğāğ ma fī ši*
CORR NEG potato CORR EXS chicken NEG EXS thing
"There were neither potatoes nor chicken, there was nothing."

- ***ma… la***:

61. *ma fī sammāʕāt la fī šīn*
CORR EXS ear-bud.PL CORR EXS thing
"There were neither ear-buds nor anything."

- ***bala… bala***:

62. *ṣaḥra al-bilād hāḏi bala ši bala ši ğār bala mayya*
desert ART=village.PL DEM. CORR thing CORR thing close CORR water
bala ši al-bidu bass bānyu buyūt-ham
CORR thing ART=Bedouin only PERF.3M.PL. build house.PL=3M.PL
"These villages were desert, there was nothing, nothing close, neither water nor anything, just the Bedouins, they built their houses."

- ***la... wa/wala ši***:

63. *ma fī la ḥammāmāt wa ši*
NEG EXS CORR toilet.PL CORR thing
"They did not exist, neither toilets nor anything."

64. *ma fī la badla wala ši*
NEG EXS CORR dress CORR thing
"There was nothing, neither a dress nor anything."

65. *ma fī la ṯallāğa wala ġassāla wala ši*
NEG EXS CORR fridge CORR washing machine CORR thing
"There was neither fridge nor washing machine nor anything."

4.1.2 - Nᶜēm, al-ᶜIšša

In Nᶜēm, al-ᶜIšša, nominal negation is always rendered through the non-discontinuous particle *miš*. We did not find the other negators (*ma* + bound pronouns, *mū*, *mī*, *muš*) observed elsewhere in the Bedouin varieties in this area.

66. *miš ʕalē-ha sukkar wala hī wala ḫubiz gaṭāyif*
NEG PREP=PRON.3F.SG sugar CORR PRON.3F.SG CORR bread *Katayef*
"It does not have sugar on it, neither on this nor in the dough of the *Katayef*."

67. *baʕdēn ḍall il-ʕumli gabul ḍahab miš warag*
after PERF.3M.SG.remain ART=currency before gold NEG paper
"Moreover, in the past the currency was gold, not paper money."

68. *biğūz miš zġār*
maybe NEG little.M.PL
"Maybe they are not little."

69. *il-gamuḥ miš miṯil hassaʕ*
ART=wheat NEG like now
"The wheat was not like nowadays."

70. *miṯil il-garāya l-maftūḥa hāy miš miṯil il-mudun*
like ART=village-PL open-F.SG DEM NEG like ART=city-PL
"(It was) like these open-air villages, not like cities."

We can also observe the use of circumfixal negation in nominal sentences:

71. *nās muʕtāz ma ʕand-hā-š…*
people needy NEG PREP=PRON.3F.SG=NEG
"Needy people who do not have…"

72. *ma ʕand-hā-š aḫwān?*
NEG PREP=PRON-3F.SG=NEG brother-M.PL
"Does she not have brothers?"

As far as verbal negation is concerned, we observed the usage of *ma* + verb, as in the following examples:

73. *biġaṭṭū wiğh-a bi-šōra bēḍa ma bitbayyin*
b.IMPF.3M.PL.cover face=PRON.3F.SG PREP=headgear white.F.SG NEG b.IMPF.3M.SG.appear
"They cover her face with a white veil, she does not appear."

74. *bugʕud sane bugʕud yōm ma bīǧī iši*
b.IMPF.3M.SG.sit year b.IMPF.3M.SG.sit day NEG b.IMPF.3M.SG.come thing
"It stays there for one year, (if) it stays for a day, it is no good."

75. *ani waḷḷa ma laḥagt haḍa l-iši*
PRON.1SG o God NEG PERF.1SG.meet DEM ART=thing
"Personally, I did not experience this thing."

76. *ma baʕraf mahər-hum gabul*
NEG b.IMPF.1SG.know dowry=PRON.3M.PL before
"I do not know (how much) their dowry (was) in the past."

77. *gabul ma ḍallū miṯil il-yōm*
before NEG PERF.3M.PL.remain like ART=day
yiṭṭahrū-hum hēč
IMPF.3M.PL.circumcise=PRON.3M.PL this way
"In the past they did not circumcise children the way they do today."

In the following clause, we can observe the circumfixal negation: *ma* + verb + *š*:

78. *ma gdirt-š ʔaʕīš bi-Zərga ani*
NEG PERF.1SG.can IMPF.1SG.live PREP=Zarqa PRON.1SG
"Personally, I could not live in Zarqa."

Correlative negation is expressed through three different combinations of negators:

- ***mā…wala***:

79. *ma bitbayyin wala mibayyin min-ha iši*
CORR b.IMPF.3F.SG.appear CORR PART.M.SG.appear PREP=PRON.3F.SG thing
"Neither does she appear nor does anything of her (body)."

80. *ma bī zēt nabātī wala hād al-samen al-ʕāmm*
CORR EXS oil vegetal CORR DEM ART=ghee ART=common
"There was neither vegetal oil nor this common ghee."

- ***wala…wala***:

81. *wala hī wala ḫubiz gaṭāyif*
CORR PRON.3F.SG CORR bread Katayef
"Neither this nor the dough of the *Katayef*."

82. *wala ǧidd-i wala ǧiddat-i wala*
CORR grandfather=PRON.1SG CORR grandmother=PRON.1SG CORR
illi laḥagit-hum
REL PERF.1SG.meet =PRON.3M.PL
"Neither my grandfather nor my grandmother nor those that I met."

- ***la…wala:***

83. *la fī bāṣ wala kān iši*
CORR EXS bus CORR PERF.3M.SG.be thing
"There was neither a bus nor anything."

84. *la gazāz wala ši*
CORR glass.PL CORR anything
"Neither glasses nor anything."

4.2 - Negation in the Ḥōrān

Nominal negation in the Ḥōrān is rendered through the non-discontinuous negative particle *miš*, which can be placed before adjectives, nouns, prepositions, pronouns, and participles, as seen in the following:[24]

85. *māma ʔani miš mirtāḥ la-l-mawḍūʕ*
Mum PRON.1SG NEG comfortable PREP=ART=issue
"Mom, I am not comfortable with this issue."

86. *maʕ in-nās iṭ-ṭayyibīn miš ḫsāra*
PREP ART=people ART=good.M.PL NEG loss
"With good people, it is not a waste."

87. *hī yadawya kānat miš ʕala kahraba*
3F.SG manual.F.SG PERF.3F.SG.be NEG PREP electricity
"It was a manual machine, not an electric one."

88. *il-lazagiyyāt miš illi iḥna binʕarif-ha*
ART= lazagiyyāt NEG REL PRON.1PL b.IMPF.1PL.know=PRON.3F.SG
"The *lazagiyyāt*, not those that we know."

89. *miš midawwir iši wala ʕā-l-maṣāri*
NEG PART.M.SG.make round thing CORR PREP=ART=money.PL
wala ʕā-ḍ-ḍahab
CORR PREP=ART=gold
"He is not looking for anything, neither money nor wealth."

As for the negation *ma* + bound pronoun, which we observed in the Bedouin variety spoken by the Sirḥān, we found it used only in rhetorical questions in the Ḥōrān:

90. *zayy Amīra ma hī gablī-ha?*
like Amira NEG PRON.3F.SG before=PRON.3F.SG
"Like Amira, isn't she before her?"

24 Here the word *lazagiyyāt* stands for a typical Bedouin sweet made of a layer of thin bread on which either ghee or molasses is spread.

We did not hear either *muš* or *mū*, which are found elsewhere in Jordan.[25]

Verbal negation in the variety spoken in the Ḥōrān is rendered through three different constructions:

- **suffixal negation: verb (+ suffixed pronoun) + *š* / *iši*** (which represents the 47% of cases from our corpus):

91. *iḥna* *il-ʕarab* *nigbal-i-š*
PRON.1PL ART=Arab IMPF.1PL.accept= epenthesis=NEG
"We Arabs do not accept it."

92. *bass* *marrāt* *waṣṣil-nī-š*
but time-PL PERF.3M.SG.join=PRON.1SG=NEG
"But sometimes, he does not take me home."

93. *ṭāliʕ* *yimši* *yiqṭaʕ* *badd-ū-š*
PART.M.SG.rise IMPF.3M.SG.walk IMPF.3M.SG want=PRON.3M.SG=NEG
yiḫlaṣ
IMPF.3M.SG.stop
"It (the snake) goes out, it slithers, it does not stop!".

- **circumfixal negation *ma* + verb + *š* / *iši*** (which represents the 36% of the cases from our corpus):

94. *taʕbat* *ya* *ḥarām* *u* *ma* *ṭawwalat-š*
PERF.3F.SG.get sick VOC forbidden CONJ NEG lengthen.PERF.3F.SG=NEG
u *tuwaffat*
CONJ PERF.3F.SG.die
"She got sick and unfortunately she did not live long and died."

95. *la* *ma* *māt-i-š*
NEG NEG PERF.3M.SG.die=NEG
"No, he did not die."

- **prefix negation *ma* + verb** (which represents the 17% of cases from our corpus):

96. *maʕ* *in-nās* *iṭ-ṭayibīn* *ma* *bititʕab*
PREP ART=people ART=good.M.PL NEG b.IMPF.2M.SG.get sick
"With good people you do not go crazy."

97. *iḥna* *ma* *kunna* *nʕarif* *ʕan* *Sūriya*
PRON.1PL NEG PERF.1PL.be IMPF.1PL.know PREP Syria
"We did not know (anything) about Syria."

25 Hérin, *Le parler arabe de Salt (Jordanie), op. cit.*, 250.

98. *ma bitʕarif id-dinya šlōn ʔumūr il-bēt*
NEG b.IMPF.3F.SG.know ART=world how thing-PL ART=house
ma tʕarif
NEG IMPF.3F.SG.know
"She does not know anything, she knows nothing about housework."

99. *ma biṣīr waḥad yugʕud*
NEG b.IMPF.3M.SG.become one IMPF.3M.SG.sit
maʕ waḥde ʕala ḫilwa
PREP one.F.SG PREP emptiness
"It is not possible for a girl to sit alone with a boy."

In the Ḥōrān we observed two ways to express the correlative negation: *la… wala* and *ma… wala*. The former had already been highlighted by Mion in regards to the urban dialect spoken in Amman,[26] and the latter had been pointed out by Hérin in regards to the dialect spoken in Salṭ.[27]

- ***la… wala***:

100. *la biʕarif-ha ibn-i wala*
CORR b.IMPF.3M.SG.know=PRON.3F.SG son=PRON.1SG CORR
bitʕarf-o
b.IMPF.3F.SG.know=3M.SG
"Neither does my son know her nor does she know him."

- ***ma…wala***:

101. *ma kunt-š atawaqqaʕ yaʕni*
NEG PERF.1SG.be=NEG IMPF.1SG.expect IMPF.3M.SG.mean
wala ḥatta kunt afakkir bī š-šaġle hāy
NEG even PERF.1SG.be IMPF.1SG.think PREP=ART=thing DEM
"I didn't think so, I mean, I wasn't even considering this issue."

5 - Genitive

The genitive case is a grammatical case which is used to express ownership, possession, association, or attributes of a being or thing. In all genitive structures we find two elements: the possessor and the possessed. The relation between these two ele-

26 Mion, *L'arabo parlato ad Amman, op. cit.*, 180.
27 Hérin, *Le parler arabe de Salt (Jordanie), op. cit.*, 262, 263.

ments varies and, in Levantine dialects, can be expressed through three structures:

1) Synthetic genitive, also known as "construct state" in the Semitic tradition (*iḍāfa* in Arabic), consists of juxtaposing the involved terms (the possessed and the possessor). This is the direct genitive construction.

2) Analytic genitive, which is typical of sedentary urban dialects, consists of a specific morpheme (a genitive marker) that is used to link the two elements. In the Levantine area the most diffused genitive marker is *taba*ʕ,[28] which can optionally agree in gender and/or number with the possessed item. This indirect genitive construction is less frequent in rural dialects and rare in the Bedouin variety.[29]

3) Epexegetic genitive is characterized by (a) the mark of the preposition *l-* before the possessing item, (b) the lack of definite article before the possessed item, and (c) a cataphoric pronoun after the possessed item (*uḫt-o la Moḥammad* "the sister of Moḥammad" is an example). The epexegetic genitive has been explained as a case of language contact with Aramaic.[30]

5.1 - Genitive in the Bedouin varieties of northern Jordan

5.1.1 - Sirḥān villages

Among the members of the Sirḥān that we recorded in Samā and Muġayyir, we did not observe the use of the genitive markers (clauses n. 102-104), except for three occurrences of *taba*ʕ and its apocopated form *tāʕ* in the recordings of the younger speaker (age 26) in Samā (clauses n. 105-107). Apart from these few exceptions, the synthetic genitive is predominantly employed. As we can observe in the following examples, the head noun and its modifiers are not coreferential and stand in a genitive relationship with each other.

102. *šēḫ* *al-ḥamūla*
sheik ART=tribe
"Sheik of the tribe."

103. *bēt* *šʕar*
house hair
"House of hair (tent)."

28 Naïm, "Dialects of the Levant", *op. cit.*, 931.

29 *Ibid.*, 931.

30 Procházka, Stephan. 2020. "Arabic in Iraq, Syria and southern Turkey", Lucas, Christopher, & Manfredi, Stefano (eds.), *Arabic and contact-induced change*. Berlin: Language Science Press. 98–99.

104. *ʕašīrt as-Sirḥān*
tribe ART=Sirḥān
"The tribe of the Sirḥān."

105. *libās dāḫli tabaʕ an-nisāʔ*
clothing internal GEN ART=women
"An inside clothing for women."

106. *ʔahamm šī ykūn al-baḥaṯ tabaʕ-ik*
ELAT thing IMPF.3M.SG.be ART=research GEN=PRON.2F.SG
mumtāz
excellent
"The most important thing is that your research be excellent."

107. *al-ḫēma aṣ-ṣaġīra illi tasaʕ*
ART=tent ART=small.F.SG REL IMPF.3F.SG.contain
la-fard wāḥad tāʕat al-taḫīm
PREP=person one GEN ART=camping
"The small tent which can hold one person, (used) for camping."

In Zumla, the older speaker employed the synthetic genitive (clauses n. 108, 109, and 110) and in only two cases (clauses n. 111 and 112) the younger speaker employed the morpheme *tabaʕ* in an analytical structure:

108. *mūnt al-bēt*
supply ART=house
"The supply of the house."

109. *rūs aš-šabāb*
head.PL ART=guy.PL
"The heads of the guys."

110. *šu ʔuṣūl qabīlt as-Sirḥān?*
what origin=PL tribe ART=Sirḥān
"What are the origins of the Sirḥān tribe?"

111. *al-uṣūl tabaʕ-ha šu hiyye?*
ART=origin.PL GEN=PRON.3F.SG what PRON.3F.SG
"Her origins, what are they?"

112. *al-uṣūl tabaʕ gabīlit as-Sirḥān*
ART=origin.PL GEN tribe ART= Sirḥān
"The origins of the Sirḥān tribe."

5.1.2 - Nʿēm, al-ʿIšša

As for the members of the Nʿēm we recorded, the expression of internal possession was rendered through both structures: either through the synthetic genitive or through the analytical genitive. We observed that the speakers interviewed often employed the

genitive marker tabaʕ and one occurrence of the ancient Bedouin and Ḥōrānī genitive marker *giyy* (clause n. 116), which is generally considered obsolete. *Tabaʕ*, borrowed from sedentary dialects of the region, was pointed out by Cantineau as the genitive marker of the Syrian Ḥōrān (together with *gayy*).[31]

The genitive marker is interposed between the possessor and the possessed. We observed the following examples:

113. *ana* *baʕraf-ha* *ḫīs* *tabaʕ* *an-naḫal*
PRON.1SG b.IMPF.1SG.know=PRON.3F.SG plate GEN ART=palm
hāḏa
DEM
"I used to know this plate made with palm tree leaves."

114. *tabaʕ* *iṭ-ṭaḥīn* *ʕədl* *aṭ-ṭaḥīn*
GEN ART=flour sack ART=flour
"Of flour, the sack of flour."

115. *mizhabet* *ṣōf* *b-buyūt* *illi* *biʕurḍūn* *tabaʕt*
gold box wool PREP=house-PL REL b.IMPF.3M.PL.show GEN.FEMM
il-musalsalāt
ART=tv-series.PL
"The woolen chest in the houses, those that appear, those of the TV series."

116. *mazhabe* *giyy* *iṣ-ṣūf* *ṣūf* *il-ġanam*
gold box GEN ART=wool wool ART=sheep
"The woolen chest, the sheep wool."

5.2 - Genitive in the Ḥōrān

As far as the Ḥōrānī corpus is concerned, the synthetic construction preferred is the analytic form. We did not find any genitive markers typical of the region, such as those observed by Cleveland,[32] Behnstedt,[33] and Palva:[34] *giyy*, *šēt*, *šīt*, which, as stated by Hérin for Salṭ, are usually replaced by *tabaʕ*.[35] Instead, the construct state is used to express possession. Moreover, as observed by Hérin for the Salṭī dialect, a preposition is employed to link a kinship term to a pronoun. Hérin found the preposition *l(a)-* and *ʔil(a)-* are interposed between the kinship noun and the pronoun, as we also found

31 Cantineau, "Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient", *op. cit.*, 109.

32 Cleveland, "A Classification for the Arabic Dialects of Jordan", *op. cit.*, 61.

33 Behnsedt, Peter. 1997. *Sprachatlas von Syrien*, Kartenband. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

34 Palva, Heikki. 2008. "Sedentary and Bedouin Dialects in Contact. Remarks On Karaki and Salti Dialects (Jordan)". *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 8. 53-70.

35 Hérin, *Le parler arabe de Salṭ (Jordanie), op. cit.*, 74-77.

when we analyzed the dialect of the Ḥōrān:

117. *bint* *ʔil-o*
daughter PREP=PRON.3M.SG
"One of his daughters."

Hérin also observed that the preposition *ʔil(a)-* is used as a connector when the speaker wants to leave the modified term indetermined:[36]

118. *ibən* *ʔuḫt* *ʔil-ī*
son sister PREP=PRON.1SG
"One of the sons of my sister."
119. *ibən* *ʔil-ī*
son PREP=PRON.1SG
"One of my sons."
120. *aḫū* *ʔil-o*
brother PREP=PRON.3M.SG
"One of his brothers."

6 - Discussion

The existential clause is only expressed through the morpheme *fī* by the members of the Sirḥān we recorded. We did not find *bū/bō*, as observed elsewhere in other Bedouin varieties (such as, for example, the ʾAbu ʿĪd of Lebanon).[37] The members of the Sirḥān we recorded use *fī* «as in the majority of Bedouin varieties in the North Arabian dialect area».[38] This innovative trait of this Bedouin variety can be explained as a leveling on the back of the influence of the Jordanian urban prestige variety on the autochthonous Bedouin type, in line with what Younès affirmed regarding another camel-breeder tribe of northern Jordan.[39] On the other hand, as far as the Nʿēm are concerned, *bī*, which is the existential morpheme used in traditional varieties of Jordanian dialects[40] (namely those of the Ḥōrān and Salṭ),[41] is the only existential morpheme (in line with what

36 *Ibid.*, 77.
37 Younès, Igor. "Notes préliminaires sur le parler bédouin des ʾAbu ʿīd (Vallée de la Békaa)", *Romano Arabica* 14. 355-387.
38 Palva, Heikki. 1980. "Characteristics of the Arabic Dialect of the Bani Ṣaḫar Tribe", *Orientalia Suecana* 29. 112-139.
39 Younès, "Linguistic Retentions and Innovations amongst a Camel-Breeder tribe of Northern Jordan", *op. cit.*, 272.
40 Mion, *L'arabo parlato ad Amman, op. cit.*, 173.
41 Hérin, *Le parler arabe de Salt (Jordanie), op. cit.*, 323.

Bettini stated for the Šāwī dialect of Syria),[42] except for one occurrence of *fī* uttered by the younger speaker, who, being in her forties, is likely to have been influenced by the urban variety.

With respect to the negation, for the Sirḥān we observe the use of two types of nominal negation. The first (*ma* + personal pronouns) constitutes the autochthonous Bedouin form, which continues to be used. This form can be reduced to *mū* (< *ma hū*) that represents the impersonal negative form. This negation is similar to that in use in Najdi Arabic, which has a *ma* + personal pronoun + *b-* construction, which can be reduced to *ma* + *hu*/*hi*.[43] In terms of syntactic status, ma is a head element, since it can host subject clitics, as it happens for Moroccan, Egyptian, and Kuwaiti dialects.[44] The negative elements also carry agreement, which is another feature of head elements.

The second kind of negation (*miš*, *muš*) is a non-discontinuous element and is used in the case of negative topicalization of one of the items of the sentence, as a result of the influence of the prestigious sedentary variety. This is also the case of other neo-Arabic dialects, such as the South Iraqi variety, whereby the negative morpheme *mākuš* (not idiosyncratic to that area) detected by Abu-Haidar[45] is «an indicator of a prestige influence of the well-established negative morpheme *mākuš* of the Baghdadi Arabic». [46] Qasim Hasan explains that the presence of Baghdadi Arabic in South Iraqi dialect is due to the cultural prestige of the former. This may be the case of the sedentary negator miš, which is in use in this Bedouin variety.

As for the Nᶜēm, by analyzing our corpus we can infer that the typical Bedouin nominal negators (i.e., *ma* + personal pronouns or the impersonal reduced form mū) have been utterly leveled out in favor of the morpheme *miš*, which is idiosyncratic to the sedentary dialect spoken in that area, as the data from Saḥam and Ḥakama demonstrates. The influence of the Ḥōrānī variety on the dialect spoken by the two Bedouin speakers justifies this leveling.

As for the verbal negation, the Sirḥān do not employ the compound negation, which is a discriminating factor distinguishing the Sirḥān from the Nᶜēm we recorded. The latter have the compound and non-compound negative particles in variation and in

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42 Bettini, *Contes féminins de la Haute Ǧézireh syrienne, op. cit.*, 41.

43 Ingham, Bruce. 1994. *Najdi Arabic: Central Arabian.* London: John Benjamins P.C.

44 Aoun, Joseph, Benmamoun, Elabbas, & Choueiri, Lina. 2010. *The Syntax of Arabic.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

45 Abu-Haidar, Farida. 2002. "Negation in Iraqi Arabic", Werner, Arnold, & Hartmut Bobzin (eds.), *Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es! Festschrift für Otto Ǧastrow zum 60. Gerburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz. 1-13.

46 Hassan, Qasim. 2015. "Concerning Some Negative Markers in South Iraqi Arabic". Grigore, George, & Biţună, Gabriel (eds.), *Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide. Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of AIDA. Bucharest, 2015.* Bucharest: University of Bucharest. 301-308. P. 302.

common with the Ḥōrān, Salṭ, Palmyra, and Suḫnah. The Sirḥān are in this case more conservative than the Nʿēm, who appear once again to be influenced by the sedentary dialect of the area, since *a priori* the Šāwī dialects do not employ the compound negation.[47]

As it has been hypothesized by D'Anna for Fezzānī Arabic, whereby «the speakers of the nomadic varieties, featuring stage I negation, acquired stage II out of contact with the more innovative sedentary varieties»,[48] Bedouin speakers of northern Jordan also are progressively employing the compound negation out of contact with the rural variety of the Ḥōrān, although its employment is not generalized (not even in the Ḥōrān). Thus we observe both types of negation (stage I and II of Jespersen's cycle) in variation.[49] Nevertheless, the development of the compound negation in the speech of this Šāwī dialect could also be associated to language contact with the near Palestinian dialects (which even influenced the Jerusalem variety of Domari).[50] Yet, according to Hérin and al-Wer (and as firstly pointed out by Cantineau),[51] the spoken varieties of Jordan did not originate from Palestine (despite the common belief and the fact that Palestinian and Jordanian dialects belong to the same linguistic group – the southern Levantine) but from the Ḥōrān, where (as in Salṭ) the compound negation appears to be an older, autochthonous trait that has preserved its typical affective value.[52] Thus, in our opinion, the hypothesis of language contact with the Ḥōrān rural varieties is more plausible, considering that the origins of the tribe are found in the Golan Heights, located in the westernmost part of the Syrian Ḥōrān.

Regarding the genitive, we observed that among the members of the tribe we recorded in the Sirḥān, the construct state is generally preferred to the analytical genitive by middle-aged and older speakers. The synthetic genitive, typical of the Bedouin varieties, is progressively being replaced by the analytic genitive, which is employed by young speakers who tend to use the typical Levantine marker *taba*ʕ. This particle does not always show gender and number agreement, as in the case of clauses n. 111 and

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47 Bettini, *Contes féminins de la Haute Ǧézireh syrienne, op. cit.*, 39.

48 D'Anna, Luca. 2018. "Synchronic and Diachronic Observations on Verbal Negation in the Arabic Dialects of the Fezzān", *Zeitschrift Für Arabische Linguistik* 68. 63-91. P.81.

49 *Ibid.*, 81.

50 An Indo-Aryan language. Lucas, Christopher. 2020. "Contact and the Expression of Negation", Lucas, Christopher, & Manfredi, Stefano (eds.), *Arabic and Contact-Induced Change*. Berlin: Language Science Press. 643-667.

51 Cantineau, Jean. 1946. *Les parlers arabes du Ḥōrān. Notions générales, grammaire*. Paris: Klincksieck.

52 Palva, Heikki. 1994. "Bedouin and Sedentary Elements in the Dialect of es-Salṭ. Diachronic Notes on the Socio-linguistic Development", Caubet, Dominique, & Vanhove, Martine (eds.), *Actes des premières journées internationales de dialectologie arabe de Paris*. Paris: Colloques Langues'O. 459-469.

112 (and this may be due to the ongoing process of grammaticalization as observed for the genitive markers in Omani Arabic).[53] However, in other cases, the genitive marker agrees in gender (as in clause n. 107).

As for the Nʿēm, we can affirm that the analytic genitive is widely used by both young and elderly speakers. *Tabaʃ* is the most widespread genitive particle, which is progressively supplanting the autochthonous Ḥōrānī form *giyy* (as highlighted by Hérin for the dialect spoken in Salṭ),[54] which only appears once. Different from what can be observed elsewhere (e.g., Salṭ dialect),[55] the use of *tabaʃ* is not limited to complex nominal phrases, but it is in variation with the construct state. As in other Šāwī dialects, *giyy* constitutes a case of vestigial variant syndrome as noticed by Torzullo for the dialect of the Banī ʿAbbād.[56]

	Sirḥān	**Nʿēm**	**Ḥōrān**
Existential clause	*fī*	*bī*	*fī*
Nominal negation	*ma* + personal pronoun; *miš, muš*	*miš*	*miš*
Verbal negation	*non-compound negation*	*compound and non-compound negation in variation*	*compound and non-compound negation in variation*
Genitive Case	synthetic genitive (more diffused) analytic genitive (young speakers)	analytic genitive (more diffused)	synthetic genitive (more diffused)

7 - Conclusion

In his work on the Bedouin varieties, Cantineau remarked that one of the most striking differences between the sedentary and the Bedouin eastern dialects was the existential marker *bū* (opposed to the sedentary *fī* and *bī*). We can affirm that, limited to our data, this divergence has been leveled out in favor of the sedentary existential

53 Bettega, Simone. 2019. "Genitive Markers in Omani Arabic", *Romano Arabica* 19. 223-237.

54 Hérin, *Le parler arabe de Salt (Jordanie), op. cit.*, 77.

55 *Ibid.*, 76.

56 Torzullo, Antonella. 2018. *Le dialecte des Bani ʿAbbād. Analyse des traits phonologiques, morphologiques et syntaxiques discriminants.* M.A. Thesis. Paris: INALCO.

markers. We suppose that this is due to the ongoing process of dialect standardization toward a regional *koiné* based on the urban variety.[57]

As for the negation and the genitive, the variety spoken by Sirḥān still shows more retentions than that of the Nᶜēm. The latter employ the negator *miš*, which is the same particle we noticed for the rural variety of the Ḥōrān, and never use the particle *mū* as noticed by Bettini for the Šāwī varieties of Syria.[58] For the Sirḥān, we did not observe the use of the compound negation, which is instead widely employed by the Nᶜēm and in the rural variety of northern Jordan. Moreover, in our recordings from al-ᶜIšša, the Bedouin traditional genitive markers have been almost completely replaced by the sedentary form *taba∫*, which is the most widespread in the sedentary Levantine area, alongside the use of the synthetic genitive structure. The use of *taba∫* constitutes an innovative trait. This contrasts with what Bettini found, since she affirmed that the sheep-breeder Bedouins of Syria employed the construct state rather than genitive particles, which were rare at the time of her fieldwork.[59] The Sirḥān do not employ the analytic genitive structure, except for a few occurrences uttered by young speakers. The retentions shown by the Sirḥān may be due to their relative isolation since, compared to the Nᶜēm, they did not live in a completely (rital) settled environment (Saḥam).

Considering the small sample of people that have been recorded, we cannot assert that these claims are unconditionally true everywhere, but we can suppose, in line with what has been stated by Holes, that «new social forces are driving the engines of linguistic change»,[60] such as increasing urbanization. Bedouins have become settled sheepherders, farmers, landowners, who often live in urban agglomerations or in the cities, and the younger generations often work in the service sector. These social changes have affected their speech, which has changed if compared to that of the former generations, who used to live in isolation in desertic areas.

Additionally, according to the speakers themselves, education, which also implies exposure to Modern Standard Arabic, is the primary vehicle for access to outside contacts that may then have an influence on the speech. As stated by Al-Wer[61] , linguistic innovations are more easily accessed by people who have access to education and, thanks to their outside travels and interactions with students from different towns, have more outside contacts. Moreover, until the 2000s most teachers were not locals but came

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57 Younès, "Linguistic Retentions and Innovations amongst a Camel-Breeder tribe of Northern Jordan", *op. cit.*, 272.

58 Bettini, *Contes féminins de la Haute Jézireh syrienne, op. cit.*, 40.

59 *Ibid.*, 42.

60 Holes, Clive. 1995. "Community, Dialect and Urbanization in the Arabic-Speaking Middle-East", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 58(2). 270-287. P. 271.

61 Al-Wer, Enam. 1997. "Arabic between Reality and Ideology", *International Journal of Applied Linguistics.* 7 (2). 251- 265.

from Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, thus influencing the speech. Indeed, Al-Wer observed a correlation between the amount of speech variation and the social characteristics of these environments. As stated by Gibson,[62] increased education and mobility produce a general tendency for speakers of Bedouin-areas to adopt the sedentary system, as we have observed for the use of the genitive particle *taba*ʃ and the negator *miš*, which are typical sedentary traits of the Levantine area. Moreover, *koineization* processes in the Levantine area should not be overlooked in the analysis of language change in Jordan. Nevertheless, given the small amount of data, this is only a preliminary analysis. More data and thorough investigation is needed to draw more accurate and substantial conclusions.

62 Gibson, Maik. 2002. "Dialect leveling in Tunisian Arabic: Towards a New Spoken Standard", Rouchdy, Aleya (ed.), *Language contact and language conflict in Arabic. Variations on a sociolinguistic theme*. London: Routledge Curzon. 24-40.