A r t i c l e s

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AGAIN ON THE "YEMENITE CONNECTION" OF ANDALUSI ARABIC AND OTHER WESTERN ARABIC DIALECTS

Abstract. The paper opens with a specialist bibliography. The Author argues that the dialects discussed originated in situ as a consequence of the strong Creolization of North Arabic dialects. The Paper discusses the phonemics of the North Yemenite dialects, some morphological oddities and lexical items shared by AA and the Yemenite dialects.

Keywords: Yemenite and Western dialects of Neo-Arabic, Creolization of North Arabic, Morphology, Lexicography, Borrowings, Etymology.

Certain similarities between the Yemenite and Western dialects of Neo-Arabic have been noticed and reported since E. Wagner's pioneering article in the past sixties,[1] and again mentioned with particular attention to the case of Andalusi Arabic[2] in some paragraphs of our articles and books on this subject, in a successive series of allusions, as follows in chronological order:

1977 (*A grammatical sketch of the Spanish-Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura), p. 28, fn. 15: "The possibility of identifying *tafxīm*-dialects in the Western areas of the Iberian Peninsula should be further investigated in the light of those peculiarities of Portuguese place names and loanwords", concerning cases in which the allophones of */u/* in velar contours

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[1] "Der Jemen als Vermittler äthiopischen Sprachgutes nach Nordwestafrika", in *Die Sprache* 12 (1966) 252/279.

[2] Henceforth AA.

could sometimes penetrate the realm of /a/, … like >*qarašiyya*< "quality of belonging to Quryš", Old Portuguese **alcanavy** "made out of hemp" < /*al-qunnabí*/, Spanish **rabazuz** < /*rúbb al-sús*/; p. 46, fn. 58 (about lateral /ḍ/): "This was most likely a South Arabian feature"; p. 50: "The Yemenites brought along their characteristic … *gīm*.

    1989 ("South Arabian features in Andalusi Arabic", in *Studia linguistica et orientalia memoriae Haim Blanc dedicata* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1989), 94-103, esp. p. 94, fn. 1: reference to the massive presence of Yemenites amidst the Muslim conquerors of North Africa in J. Abu Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*; p. 101: "geminated imperfectives metanalyzed as Form II verbs … this is also the most likely origin of such AA anomalous forms as ... *nihammí ... çayáht .. nixehéd* …, etc.".

    1992 (*Árabe andalusí y lenguas romances*, Madrid, MAPFRE, 1992), p. 27: " El aprendizaje del nordarábigo por los qaḥṭāníes … no pudo operarse sin un cierto grado de interferencia …"; p. 31: "dialectos … utilizados por árabes de procedencia siria o yemení"; p. 33: "interferencia sudarábiga … ingredientes yemeníes … sólo superficialmente nordarabizados en sus hablas … yemenismos del andalusí"; p. 22: "dialectos prehilalianos … sin perjuicio de ciertas afinidades con todos los dialectos de interferencia sudarábiga; p. 50 (about lateral /ḍ/): "parece lógico conectar este hecho con grupos de estirpe sudarábiga"; p. 53: /j/ debió ser pronunciada por todos los yemeníes como /g/."

    1994 ("Newest data on Andalusi Arabic", in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre interferencias lingüísticas arabo-romances y paralelos extra-iberos* (Zaragoza 1994) 41-46, esp. p. 42: "… the acceptance in AA of the diphthong /iw/ ... an aberrant dissimilatory sequence /yw/ in diminutives … I am inclined to attribute these two symmetrical phenomena to a South-Arabian substract."

    1996 (*Introducción a la gramática comparada del semítico meridional*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas), p. 22, fn. 4 (from p. 21): "Algunos dialectos del neoárabe bajo influencia sudarábiga mantienen /g/"; p. 56, fn. 2 (dealing with {nv-} as mark of the 1st.sg. persons of imperfectives: "analogía criolla, probablemente de origen sudarábigo, desarrollada en Egipto y desde allí propagada a Occidente, pero luego eliminada de su zona norte por influencia oriental"; p. 55, fn. 5 (again on geminate imperfectives): "buen número de dobletes de verbos con tema sencillo o geminado en neoárabe sin real diferencia de significado podría ser el resultado de una distinción modal del tipo etiópico … quizás por sustrato sudarábigo, v.gr., /muˤaqqibāt/ 'ángeles guardianes'".

    2004 ("Geminate imperfectives in Arabic masked as intensive stems of the verb", in *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 8 (2004) [2006, Homenaje a P. Behnstedt] 33-57), pp. 33/34: "As part of an overall theory of the impact of South Arabian on North Arabian as a whole, and most particularly on

Western Arabic … it is reasonable to surmise that … geminated imperfectives were metanalyzed as form II verbs."

2005 ("On the degree of kinship between Andalusi Arabic and Maltese", in *Folia Orientalia* (Cracow) 41 (2005) 1-14), p. 36: "the Iberian Peninsula, where tribesmen of Yemenite descent were a majority among the initial settlers …".

2008 ("Árabe andalusí", in *Manual de dialectología neoárabe*, ed. F. Corriente & Ángeles Vicente, Zaragoza, Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, 353-378), p. 355, fn. 5: "elementos de origen sudarábigo que se incorporaron al mundo islámico y fueron gradualmente sustituyendo sus antiguos dialectos por el nordarábigo, en soluciones más o menos eclécticas e interferidas por su sustrato, que tuvieron importantes consecuencias en la génesis del neo-árabe occidental particularmente"; p. 357, fn. 8: "sustrato 'yemení' de los dialectos occidentales".

2010 ("Arabic dialects before and after Classical Arabic",[3] in *The Arabic language across the ages*, ed. by J.P. Monferrer-Sala & Nader Al Jallad, Wiesbaden, Reichert), p. 17-18: "a bundle of isoglosses pointing to linguistic consequences of that proven South Arabian ancestry … preservation of lateral phonemes, occlusive *gīm*, frequency of the broken plural template *{a12ā3}*, imperfective geminated without a visible semantic reason and final use of the conjunction *kamā*…".

2010 ("*Imālah* and other phonemic and morphological features of sub-dialectal Andalusi Arabic", in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 37 (2010) 265-273), p. 268: "Those of South Arabian stock appear to have been predominant in the entire realm of the Islamicized West …"; p 269: "The dialects spoken by the Yemenites, who appear to have been a majority in that first wave"; pp. 270-72, survey of Yemenite phonemic and morphological features,

2011 ("The Emergence of Western Arabic: a Likely Consequence of Creolization", in *Modern Trends in Arabic dialectology*, ed. by M. Embarki and M. Ennaji, Trenton, The Red Sea Press), p. 41-42: "In the course of our research on Andalusi and other Western Arabic dialects, we have come across some features, like stress patterns, unusual realization of some phonemes (e.g., lateral /ḍ/, perhaps also /sˡ/, obstruent *gīm*, vocalization with /a/ of every prosthetic *alif*, including hat of the definite article, etc.), morphological oddities (e.g., the proliferation that *{a12ā3}*[4] at the expense of other broken plural patterns, strong conjugation of some weak verbs, peculiar array of modifying prefixes in the imperfective, etc.), and lexical items, which were characteristic of Yemenite

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[3] Henceforth Cl.Ar.

[4] We herewith correct the frequent pesky printing mistakes affecting several important diacritics in that publication, to the point of making its reading a difficult task.

dialects and Epigraphic or Modern South Arabian, even Ethiopic, the notorious offshoot of South Arabian", and

2013 (*A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Andalusi Arabic*, Leiden – Boston, 2013), p. x: "the diverse backgrounds of the tribesmen integrated in the Arab armies and settlements… some of Southern, some of Northern Arabian stock"; p. 3, fn. 20: "the initially prevailing majority of 'Yemenites' … gradually faded away" ; p. 8: "the aforementioned partial South Arabian ancestry of this dialect bundle"; p. 11: "On account of its partially 'Yemenite' ancestry, AA shared the trend to interchange */b/* and */m/*, characteristic of Epigraphic South Arabian and still common in Modern Yemenite dialects"; p. 23: "the so-called 'Yemenites' … still had in their idiolects the old */ḍ/* …, a lateralized velarized voiced alveolar stop"; p. 27: "some 'Yemenite' invaders had also preserved a lateral */s/* … brought along their characteristic non/affricate realization of *ǧīm*".

Summing up, by putting together certain historical demographical evidence, like the rate of Yemenite vs. non-Yemenite Arabs, which has been several times favorable to the former ones since old and down to our days, with widespread and numerically significant linguistic witnesses of survival of South Arabian features in Western Neo-Arabic, we have reached the conclusion that this multifarious but rather compact bundle of dialects originated, first, *in situ*, as a consequence of strong creolization of North Arabian dialects.[5] Nothing else could be expected, when Yemenites transferred their linguistic allegiance to them from the South Arabian languages they had formerly spoken, as a consequence of the ruin of their states some decades before Islam which, besides, did away with any separating boundaries between the two branches of the Arabian race. Thereafter, that process could only continue when the strong and densely populated early Islamic settlement of their tribes in Egypt had a chance to standardize and de-creolize those creolized North Arabian dialects, which allowed them relatively easy communication with other Arabs of purer North Arabian stock, while keeping a sufficient number of peculiar features, whether preserved from their former Qaḥṭānian languages or innovated along the creolization process, to make them feel at home with their new speech forms.

Having surveyed those linguistic witnesses of surviving South Arabian features in diverse Western Neo-Arabic dialects, especially in AA, with the support of a certain number of sources of Epigraphic South Arabian and occasionally Ethiopic, as well as Modern Yemenite dialects, we have deemed it appropriate to increase the number of traits shared with the latter by gleaning

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[5] Among which, we are not including the Himyarite language, very aptly described by Anna. G. Belova, *Xim'jaritskij jazyk*, Moscow, Vostočnaja Literatura, 1996, because this appears to have rather been a *Mischsprache*, although also answering to the same need of communication between both branches of Arabs. Or, as the author puts it (p. 175), "a mediator in the transmission of the oldest South Arabian substrate to North Arabian dialects and Cl.Ar.".

further information in P. Behnstedt's excellent *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte. Teil 2: Glossar*, Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1992-2006, concerning

a) Phonemics:

1) Initial prosthetic */a/* instead of */i/*: *aban* "Sohn" (p. 5), *a/ist* "Arsch" (p. 19, quite common in AA, with a velarized variant *ást*), *aṯnīn* "zwei" (p. 155), *aṯnatēn* "zwei" (p. 156); cf. Corriente 1977:59, fn. 84: "As the result of the decay of initial *hamz* in open juncture, phonemically truncated words were produced (with the shape /#KKv/) and immediately mended with prosthetic or epenthetic vowels … SpAr vocalized with */a/* in most such cases, as in the imperatives and perfectives of the derived measures, in words like *aban* "son", and the article …".[6]

2) Loss of the coda in the diphthongs */aw/* and */ay/*: *bāʿ w-šireh* "Handel" (lit. "selling and buying", p. 126),[7] and *aḥīn* "wann" (p. 12, < *ay ḥīn* "what time?"); cf. *las* < *laysa* "there is not" and *zaǧ* < *zawǧ* "two" in AA, see Corriente 1977:30, fn. 23 and Corriente 2013:43.[8]

3) Spontaneous diphthongization of */ū/* in */aw/*, e.g., *ṯūmah* and *ṯawmah* "Knoblauch" (p. 159); cf. Corriente 1977:29, which reports that same one and other items.

4) Lability of */w/* and */y/*, e.g., *ʿawš* "Brot" (p. 878), vs. *ʿayš* (p. 884); cf. Corriente 2013:14.

5) Substitution of */b/* for */m/*: *bismak?* "Wie heißt du?" (lit. "what is your name", for Cl.Ar. *mā smuk?*, p. 23), *bitna?* "wann?" (for Cl.Ar. *matà*,

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[6] It stands to reason that this */a/* vocalization, being characteristic of Ethiopic, must have been the rule in Epigraphic South Arabian too, although its strictly consonantal script does not allow us to confirm it. Concerning *a/uḫt* "sister" in these Yemenite materials, the optional extension of that rule to an item beginning with */u/* in Old Arabic is remarkable, but this word is known to have been peculiar within Semitic, where it usually does not exhibit any vocalic alternation with regard to its masculine *aḫ*, but for Ethiopic *əḫat* and its Neo-Ethiopic cognates, possibly reflecting a Pan-South Semitic **uḫut*, with vocalic harmonization and traces of preservation of the radical */w/.* On the other hand, and for the masculine, Mehri *ġā* and Soqotri *ʾaʿha* match the Old Arabic dialects exhibiting a standardized *aḫā*, as mentioned below (morphological isoglosses, nº 4); incidentally, that decay of the first syllable is again an isogloss connecting the Yemenite pl. *ḫawāt* with AA *(a) ḫawát* and Moroccan *ḫwātāt* or *ḫtōt*, even the sg. of "brother" *ḫo/a*, with an expectable feminine *oḫt*, again admitting the variants *ḫə/ot*.

[7] There is one similar instance in Classical Arabic *tārīḫ* "history" for expectable **tawrīḫ*, an obvious South-Arabianism, which many prefer to pronounce as *taʾrīḫ*, without an artificial, but rather convenient semantic differentiation from "dating". It is noteworthy, on the other hand, and possibly attributable to the diverse geographical context, that Behnstedt does not register the similar cases of *ʿān* "eye", *zān* "beautiful" and *kât* "such and such", which were mentioned by S.D.F. Goitein in *Jemenica. Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen mit zahlreichen Sach- und Worterläuterungen*, Leipzig, 1934, xvii.

[8] The ultimate reason for both phonetic evolutions seems to have been a reaction against the development of a five-vowel phonemic system including */ē/* and */ō/* as a result of the phenomena of *imālah* and *tafḫīm* (see Corriente 1977:22-26). Other Semitic languages did accept that trend, strongly rejected by most old and new Arabic dialects, as was apparently also the case of AA.

p. 59), *bardaq/gūš* "Majoran" (p. 73), *baq/gdanūs* "Petersilie" (p. 97), *bakān* "Platz" (p. 103), *bumbar* "großes Bett" (< Cl.Ar. *minbar*, p. 112); cf. Corriente 1977:33-34.

6) Assimilation of */n/* to a following */t/*: *əttáh* "du m.", *əttīy* "du f." *əttūw* "ihr pl.m." *əttinneh* "ihr pl.f." (for Cl.Ar. *anta, anti, antum, antunna*, p. 6), *bitt* "Mädchen; Töchter" (p. 57). In other instances, the inherent articulatory weakness of this phoneme may cause its spontaneous decay: *muxṛah* "Nase" (for Cl.Ar. *munxur*, p. 1147), cf. Corriente 1977:41.

7) Occasional cases of loss of the interdental feature of */t̠/*: *lat/t̠am* "jmdm. die Sicht versperren" (p. 1104), *altag* "lispeln" (< Cl.Ar. *{lt̠ġ}*): cf. Corriente 1977:44. As for */d̠/ > /l/* in *'ilā* "wenn", exactly like in Mor., this is not the case in AA most of the time, but in an instance like >*ilà lam*< "if not" in the *Vocabulista in arabico*, and there are other cases of */d/ > /l/* in some examples reported in Corriente 2013:16.[9]

8) Occasional substitution of */s/* for */š/*: *fasil* "schlecht" (p. 942, < Cl.Ar. *{fšl}*), comparable to cases in AA like the hesitations mentioned in Corriente 2013:25-26, possibly triggered by the slightly palatalized articulation of Northern Hispanic */ś/*, apparently reaching most of the country in older days, as well as to cases in which a likely still lateral rather than palatalized Arabic */š/* has been reflected as a simple sibilant in old Romance loanwords, like Old Portuguese **serife** and **alvíçara** (< AA *šaríf* "nobleman" and *bíšra* "good news" respectively): cf. Corriente 2013:27.

9) An abnormal reflex */ḥ/* of */ḫ/*, e.g., *ḥuṣmah* "Prozeßfall" (p. 261, < Cl.Ar. *{ḫṣm}*), *ḥaṭīb* (p. 265, < Cl.Ar. *{ḫṭb}*), and *ḥāṭam* "Mund" (p. 265, < Cl.Ar. *{ḫtm}*), which is, however, reverted in cases like *ḫāḫām* "Rabbier" (p. 314, < Cl.Ar. *{ḥḥm}*), *ḫālyah* "schönes Mädchen" (p. 342, < Cl.Ar. *{ḥlw}*), and *ḫasīr* "Bast" (p. 1372, < Cl.Ar. *{ḥṣr}*): cf. Corriente 1977:57 and 2013:33 about some substandard cases, not all of them sure, of */ḥ/ > /ḫ/*, comparable to similar instances in Epigraphic South Arabian.[10]

10) An abnormal reflex */É/* of */'/*, e.g., *siṭī ~ yisṭā* "können" (p. 557, < Cl.Ar. *{ṭw'}*): cf. Corriente 1977:56.

11) Abnormal reflexes of */ġ/*, like */É/*, e.g., *buġā ~ yabā* "wollen" (p. 6, < Cl.Ar. *{bġy}*), */'/*, e.g., *'arbiyah* "West-" and *ma'rib* "Westen" (p. 16, < Cl.Ar.

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[9] However, the case of >*maylaq*< ¨touchstone¨ mentioned in our works, down to Corriente 2013:22, as a reflex of Cl.Ar. *mīḍaq,* has turned out to be a misapprehension, as its true etymon appears to be Pahlavi *mālag.*

[10] After G. Bauer, *Jazyk južnoaravijskoj pis'mennosti*, Moscow 1968:37, without actual examples, which we mentioned in Corriente 1989:98. An additional and rather complex case would be that of *suxbī*, pl. *sixbn* "Nisse", from Cl.Ar. *ṣu'āb* pl. *ṣi'bān*, with de-velarization of */ṣ/*, substitution of */ḥ/* for */'/*, and finally of */ḫ/* for */ḥ/*; however, on semantic grounds, this derivation seems preferable to that suggested by our very knowledgeable colleague Behnstedt in p. 542.

{ġrb}), *'arraz* "einsinken" (p. 19, < Cl.Ar. *{ġrz}*), *'assal* "waschen" (p. 23, < Cl.Ar. *{ġsl}*), *'anam* "Ziegen" (p. 44, < Cl.Ar *{ġnm}*), *la'wah* "Dialekt" (p. 1100, < Cl.Ar. *{lġw}*), and *'āb* "abwesend sein" (p. 50, < Cl.Ar. *{ġyb}*). This phenomenon appears to be the aftermath of cases in which */ġ/ > /'/*, characteristic of Epigraphic South Arabian, as well as of AA: cf. Corriente 1977:55-56.

12) Hesitation between */'/* and */'/*, e.g., *bada'* "beginnen" (p. 66, < Cl.Ar. *{bd'}*), but *'abad* "anbeten" (p. 4, < Cl.Ar. *{'bd}*), *'ijam* "stumm" (p. 11, < Cl.Ar. *{'ǧm}*), *'ajan* "Teig kneten" (p. 11, < Cl.Ar. *{'ǧn}*), *ta'ābal* "sich gegenseitig helfen" (p. 4, < Cl.Ar. *{'ml},* with additional */m/ > /b/*), *t'addam* "verschwinden" (p. 15, < Cl.Ar. *{'dm}*), *mit'iddi* "aussergewöhnlich" (p. 16, < Cl.Ar. *{'dw}*): cf. Corriente 1977:56 and 60.

13) Abnormal reflexes as */'/* of */h/*, e.g. *'āḏa* "dieser" (p. 16, < Cl.Ar. *hāḏā*),[11] *'irri* "große Wildkatze" (p. 18, < Cl.Ar. *{hrr}*), *aštī ~ yištī* "wollen" (p. 620, < Cl.Ar. *{šhw}*): cf. Corriente 1977:57-58.

14) Abnormal or spontaneous cases of de-velarization or de-uvularization, like */ṣ/ > /s/*, e.g., *'absar* "sehen" (p. 134, < Cl.Ar. *{bṣr}*), *siḥābī* "Gespenst" (p. 540, < Cl.Ar. *{ṣḥb}*), *sadīrah* "Leitkamel" (p. 546, < Cl.Ar. *{ṣdr}*), */ṭ/ > /t/*, e.g., *ratn* "Kauderwelsch" (p. 430, < Cl.Ar. *{rṭn}*), and */q/ > /k/*, e.g. *ṭarēku* "Weg" (p. 773, < Cl.Ar. *{ṭrq}*): cf. Corriente 1977:50, 40 and 54.

15) Some rather abnormal assimilations, like */ṣ'/ > /ṣṣ/*, in *ḥaṣ'ah* pl. *ḥuṣūṣ* "Steinchen" (p. 260, which gives away a sg. **ḥaṣṣah*, < Cl.Ar. *{ḥṣw}*), and *{ǧls} >{ǧss}*, e.g., *yijiss* "he sits" and *ǧiss* "sit dwn", curiously reminiscent of the rule */C'v > CCv/* in AA (cf. Corriente 1977:58) and the peculiar shape of the imperfective of the same verb in this dialect, namely, */nallás/* (*ibid.* 68, fn. 97).

As for morphological oddities shared by AA and the Yemenite dialects described by Behnstedt, we must point to the following:

1) The 1ˢᵗ. person independent pronouns can exhibit the shapes *'anī* for the sg. with strong *imālah* (p. 38) and *'aḥna* and close variants for the pl. (p. 12), with a characteristic initial */a/*, instead of */i/*, both features in contrast respectively with Cl.Ar. and most Neo-Arabic dialects: cf. Corriente 1977:97. The latter feature is also characteristic of the definite article */al+/* (p. 30, cf. Corriente 1977:85), even at times when preceded by the prepositions */bi+/* and */li+/*, e.g., *balbayt* "im Haus" (p. 55) and *bal-'ašī* "abends", *lam-ḥimreh* "für die Esel" (p. 1099), but not regularly as in AA. As expectable, the relative *'alī* or *allī, 'aḏī*, etc. (pp. 18 and 30) often follows the vocalization of the article it contains, like its AA counterpart, after Corriente 1997:98.

2) The demonstrative pronoun for the near deixis exhibits in Neo-Arabic dialects a clear isogloss opposing those merely using de Old Pan-Semitic

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[11] Whence *aḏuwwah* "da ist er!" < Cl.Ar. *hāḏā huwa hū*, also present in AA *awwaḏá +* pronominal suffixes, with a different word-order.

deictic element /ḏā~ī/ (masc. ~ fem., closely coinciding with the situation in Epigraphic South-Arabian and Ethiopic, allowed but infrequent in Cl.Ar.), in contrast with others in which that element requires an additional prefix *{hā+}* : as can be seen in Fischer & Jastrow 1980:82-83, the first type is characteristic of Yemenite-influenced areas, such as Egypt, Sudan, Yemen, to which we could add AA (optionally) and Maltese, while proper Eastern dialects, including those of Iraq and Anatolia (*ibid.*, p. 150, also Central Asia, according to Zaborski's contribution in Corriente & Vicente, 2008:418) only know the extended form, with not too many and easily explainable exceptions such as the first form in Mecca, half-way between Yemen and Egypt, and the second one in Tunisia, where other occasional Eastern features are known, exactly like in neighbouring Malta. It is remarkable that the picture offered for Yemenite dialects by Jastrow in his contribution to Fischer & Jastrow 1980:115-116, giving the impression of generalized prefixed forms, is not confirmed by Behnstedt's more detailed data in pp. 1996:401-408 and 1244-1250, with a rather even distribution of both kinds of forms in the diverse dialects under consideration.[12]

3) The demonstrative pronoun for the far deixis not only is obtained from its closest counterpart by mere analogical addition of *{+k}* in the sg. of both genders, i.e. *'āḏa ~ 'āḏak* and *'āḏi ~ 'āḏik* (p. 16), which is also characteristic of North African Neo-Arabic, but has carried this analogy over to the pl., coupled with the inclusion of a nasal, reminiscent of the matching personal pronouns, e.g., *'āḏum/n* "diese pl.m.", *'āḏum/nk* "jene pl.m.", *'āḏin* "diese pl.f.", *'āḏank* "jene pl.m.", *'āḏink* "jene pl.f. cf. AA *hawlínk, háwlak* in Corriente 1977:98.

4) The generalization of the old accusative morph to every case for the "six nouns" of Cl.Ar. grammar,[13] which we pointed to in Corriente 1976:92 for some Old Arabic dialects, offers some witnesses in these Yemenite materials, e.g., *fa'*

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[12] From a comparative viewpoint, it appears that the most characteristic Proto-Semitic demonstrative mark without a specific deixis was sg. **ḏū* alternating with pl. **-vl,* as still shown by Hebrew and Phoenician; however, a reinforcing interjection **han* "lo" was often suffixed to it in order to overtly express the near deixis, as in Old Aramaic, Epigraphic South Arabian and Ethiopic, optionally prefixed in Old Arabic, or even replaced it more or less completely, as in Akkadian and Syriac, it being also reflected in the article of North West Semitic and Arabic, and even in Arabic *han* "thing; genitals". Each particular Semitic branch seems to have adopted its own preferred arrangement: nevertheless, their choices coincide with genetic isoglosses, as is the case of Arabic dialects adopting one of the two types of deictic marking. The suffixation of *{+k}*, connectable with the 2nd. person personal suffix, provided the mark for the far deixis everywhere, except in the case of Akkadian, in which the innovation of *ann+* for the near deixis, allowed the reassignment of *ull+* to both numbers of the far deixis, as can be observed in Moscati *et al., An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1964, pp. 11-112-

[13] I.e., *ab* "father", *aḫ* "brother", *ḥam* "father-in-law", *fū* "mouth", *ḏū* "owner of" and *han* "genitals", the last one, etymologically a euphemistic demonstrative pronoun, being often prudishly eliminated from the list.

"Mund" and *šumm faʾak* "halt den Mund!" (p. 922); cf. Corriente 1977:86 for the treatment of the same item in AA.

5) The characteristically creole feature of substituting regular for irregular inflexions, e.g., *ʾawwal* f. *ʾawwala* "erste(r)" (p. 47) in these Yemenite materials has a match in AA *awwal ~ awwalah*,[14] confirmed by *aḥáda* as fem. of *aḥád* in Alcalá[15].

6) The preference for the broken pl. pattern *{a12ā3}*, already signaled for AA in Corriente 1977:91 as characteristic of South Arabian, together with Ethiopic, and again in 1989:100-101 and other works of ours down to 2013:70, is also witnessed in Behnstedt's materials, even in recent loanwords, like *bakit ~ abkāt* (p. 101) < English "packet", and *tanak ~ atnāk* "Blechkanister" < Turkish *teneke*. A similar case of marked preference of a given broken pl. pattern appears to be that of *{1ī3ān}* for sg. nouns of hollow roots in which the weak *w/y* has turned into /ā/, e.g., *bāb ~ bībān* "Tür" (p. 117), and *kās ~ kīsān* "Glas" (p. 1049), matched by Moroccan Arabic,[16] though not by AA.[17]

7) Former geminate imperfectives which have been metanalyzed as II measure derivate verbs do exist in practically every branch of Neo-Arabic and in Old Arabic, and we first spotted them in Corriente 1977:102, fn. 159.[18] Some examples of this kind are also present in these Yemenite materials, e.g. *akkal ~*

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[14] Reported by Ibn Hišām Allaḫmī in his *Almadḫalu ilà taqwīmi llisān wataʾlīmi lbayān* (ed. J. Pérez Lázaro, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas – Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe, 1990, II 261.

[15] After P. Lagarde (ed.), *De lingua Arabica libri duo*, Göttingen, 1883 (reed. Osnabrück, O. Zeller, 1971), 46.22.

[16] Henceforth Mor.

[17] See Corriente 2013:75, fn. 174 about more such cases and the South Arabian preference for the pl. suffix *{+ān}*.

[18] A whole survey of this phenomenon was the subject of our contribution "Geminate imperfectives in Arabic masked as intensive stems of the verb", in *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 8 (2004) [2006, Homenaje a P. Behnstedt] 33-57, within a series of articles demonstrating the fallacies of the "Central Semitic" hypothesis, including "On the degree of kinship between Arabic and Northwest Semitic", in *AIDA 5th Conference Proceedings*, Cádiz 2003, 187-194, "The phonemic system of Semitic from the advantage point of Arabic and its dialectology", in *Aula Orientalis. Proceedings of the Barcelona Symposium on Comparative Semitics* 23 (2005) 169-173, "Lexicostatistics and the Central Semitic theory", in Ŝapal tibnim mâ illak. *Studies Presented to Joaquín Sanmartín on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, in *Aula Orientalis-Supplementa* 22 (2006) 139-144, "Ethiopic *halläwä* "to be" and its Arabic cognates: Some thoughts on the close ties between rhetorical interrogation, emphatic affirmation and negation", in *Dialectology of the Semitic Languages (Proceedings of the IV meeting on comparative Semitics*, Zaragoza, 9–11/6/2010, ed. by F. Corriente, G. del Olmo, Angeles Vicente and J.-P. Vita), Sabadell, 2012, 1-4, « Final *ka(-mā)*, a shared innovation of (traditional) South Semitic », in *Folia Orientalia* 49, 141-145, "Again on the classification of South Semitic", in *Archaism and Innovation in the Semitic Languages. Selected Papers* (Proceedings of the 5th meeting of IACS (Córdoba 2012, ed. J.P. Monferrer & W.G.E. Watson, CNERU - DTR), Córdoba, 2013, 33-44). The undeserved success and vogue of such a flimsy hypothesis is the only explanation for our insistence on refuting it.

yi'akkil "essen",[19] *ṯawwarū bil-maqtūl* "sie haben die Erschlagenen gerächt" (p. 158), *da''ā ~ yida''ī* "einladen" (p. 377), *raǧǧā ~ yiraǧǧī* "erbitten" (p. 435), *rawwaḥ ~ yirawwiḥ* "heimgehen" (p. 471), *ṭaffā ~ yiṭaffī* "löschen" (p. 778), *gabbar ~ yigabbir* "begraben" (p. 965), *gaffal ~ yigaffil* "ausmachen" (p. 1016), *qallab ~ yiqallib* "umdrehen" (1020), *kaffā ~ yikaffī* "reichen" (p. 1078), and *kayyal ~ yikayyil* "wiegen" (1096).

8) Another peculiar isogloss connecting AA with these Yemenite dialects is *arā ~ yirā* "sehen" (p. 21), in which this often shortened Semitic root has been mended with an initial *hamz*, exactly like in AA *ará ~ yarí*.[20]

9) The pattern *{1a22ā3ī}* for intensive agentive participles, common in Ethiopic and making occasional appearances in some Old Arabic witnesses,[21] as well as in AA, is found also in these Yemenite materials, e.g., *šammāsī* "der Sonne zugänglich" (p. 673), *barrāgī* "blitzend" (p. 1347), *xaffāǧī* "klopfend" (p. 1374), at times without gemination, as is common in Ethiopic, e.g., *falāḥī* (p. 952), *farāhī* (p. 940).[22]

10) The verb modifier *ka+* prefixed to the imperfective in order to convey the notions of future or perfect, e.g. *kātī* "ich werde kommen" and *ka-xabazu* "sie haben gebacken" (p. 1048)[23] are quite clearly matched by the AA mark of eventual or present 'actions *ká/Í(n)* (cf. Corriente 1977:140/141, also Mor. *kā+*). As for the verb modifier *lā/a* or *la'* conveying the connotation of the present or the future, e.g., *laktub* "ich schreibe gerade", *lā tiktub* "du schreibst gerade", *la'aktub* "ich schreibe jetzt" (pp. 1098 and 1115, no examples of the second function), one cannot avoid the comparison with its Mor. match marking the present, in dialectological distribution with *kā* and *tā*, e.g. *lā-nqūl*

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[19] Apparently having surprised the author who jots down "nicht faktitiv!"

[20] For instance, in Ibn ʿĀṣim and Alcalá's materials. However, the AA causative *awrá ~ yawrí*, resulting from metanalysis of the Cl.Ar. imperfective *yurī* is not witnessed in these Yemenite materials, which only have the widespread *warrā ~ yiwarrī* of most Neo-Arabic dialects.

[21] Already signaled in our article "From Old Arabic to Classical Arabic through the pre-Islamic koine: some notes on the native grammarians' sources, attitudes and goals", in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 21 (1976) 62-98, esp. 97, to which we must add a number of other cases gathered in Corriente 1989:99-100.

[22] Ethiopic grammars attribute the gemination of the 2nd radical consonant in this pattern only to geminated stems in a symmetrical manner; however, that distribution may be late and artificial, since *{1a22ā3}* is an intensive noun of agent everywhere in Semitic, it being easier to assume that it was secondarily lengthened with the *nisbah*-ending in Ethiopic than to posit an original and asymmetrical *{1a2ā3ī}* in it for that function. As for cases like *sāriḥi* "am Morgen gehend" (p. 551) and *iskāfī* "Schuhmacher" (p. 1391), they seem to be hybridized, while *ṭaḥḥāl(ī)* "Milz" is a mere morphological consequence of the adoption by Cl.Ar. *ṭiḥāl* of the pattern *{1a22ā3}*.

[23] In the second instance, Behnstedt connects this item with Cl.Ar. *qad*, widely represented in the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula; however, one is tempted to accept its equation with the AA structures described in Corriente 1992:118, fn. 109, e.g. *ka+staráḥ* "he has taken a rest", *ka+š'álu* "they have set ablaze".

"I say", *lā-dfraḥ* "you rejoice":[24] the fact that all of them can be traced back to the characteristic South Semitc verbs for "to be", obtained from the roots *{kwn}* and *{hlw}*,[25] points in our view to just another "Yemenite" feature of Western Neo-Arabic dialects.

As for lexical items peculiarly shared by AA and the Yemenite dialects described by Behnstedt, of which we listed a few in Corriente 1989:103, we can now enlarge that reference and include cases of other Western Arabic dialects, as follows:

1) *'arx* "Kuh" (p. 19): cf. Corriente 1989:103 and fn. 46.

2) *išš il-barra* "raus !" (p. 23) : is the same as Mor. *əšš* and related to AA *úč*, whence Castilian **oxte** , an interjection used to drive away little animals, and the verb **oxear** "to drive away flies".[26]

3) *'allā* "doch!" (p. 33): is exactly matched by AA *al(l)á* "verily, by God", a likely de-functionalization of the exhortative marker of Cl.Ar., under the phonetic influence of oaths containing the name of God.

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[24] Examples taken from Angeles Vicente, *El dialecto árabe de Anjra (Norte de Marruecos). Estudio lingüístico y textos*, Zaragoza, 2000:104. As for J. Aguadé's "Notas acerca de los preverbios del imperfectivo en árabe dialectal magrebí", in *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 1 (1996) 197-213, a comprehensive survey of this subject, we have to disagree with some of his conclusions. For the presently available information about all Arabic and Berber dialects, and diverse degrees of interference between them all, appears to tip the scales more in favor of an intra-Arabic and South Arabian development than of the action by him suggested of the Berber substract, without however totally excluding some cooperating role for this second factor. Concretely, the hypothesis of the */lā/* prefix being a reflex of Berber *illa* "to be" is rather weak because, first, morphological interference between languages in contact is the least frequent of all kinds, and second, because the considerably minor geographical extension of that prefix, in comparison with *kā* and *tā*, would not be in keeping with the general presence of the Berber substract everywhere in North Africa, even without counting with the fact that, for the region of Chefchaouen in a Zenatian area, that Berber verb might already have been pronounced *iǧa*, On the other hand, it is obvious that the reflexes of *{hlw}* began soon to yield the ground everywhere to those of *{kwn}* in Himyaritic and other dialects in transition from the South to North Arabian types: this gives more weight to a wholly South and Nord Arabian interpretation, i.e., **(kun)ka+taktub = *(kun)ta+taktub ~ *(hal)lā+yaktub*, with the necessary and habitual phenomena of propagation to other persons, as detailed in Corriente 2011:41-42, fn. 9.

[25] On this, see our paper "Ethiopic *halläwä* 'to be' and its Arabic Cognates. Some Thoughts on the Close Ties between Rhetorical Interrogation, Emphatic Affirmation and Negation", in *Dialectology of the Semitic Languages. Proceedings of the IV Meeting on Comparative Semitics*, Sabadell-Barcelona, AUSA, 2012, 1-4.

[26] This item is often considered as onomatopoetic; however, as the AA shape seems to be older than those exhibiting palatalization of the initial vowel in contact with */š/*, it is not unlikely that it might have concealed the Cl.Ar. imperative *'uǧ* "turn away!", with the signaled loss of */'/* and devoicing of the consonant in coda.

4) The elative *abḥan* obtained from the idiom *bi-ḥīn* "zeitig" (p. 62, literally "on time") is exactly matched in AA by Alcalá's *adhán*, an obvious misprint for *abhán.

5) *balas* "Feigen" (p. 106): cf. Corriente 1989:103.

6) *bānī tzūrni* "hast du Lust mich zu besuchen?" (p. 114): is closely matched by AA idioms with the verb *baná('alá)*, e.g., Ibn Quzmān 86/0/1 >*baná 'ala+ lǧihád*< "he intended to wage Holy War".[27]

7) *bāhi* "herrlich" (p. 117) is exactly matched by colloquial Tunisian usage, less conspicuously so in Cl.Ar., Mor. and AA.

8) *ǧixdib* "Heuschrecken Art" (p. 170, cf. Cl.Ar. *juḥdub* "green grasshopper") is a rare lexical item which, however, appear in AA as *ǧuḥd/ḏ/ḍún* "frog", a euphemistic semantic shift.[28]

9) *mā giṣṣu?* "was ist das?" (p. 191) constitutes an etymological riddle, perhaps a common case of occlusive *gīm* and assimilation of /n/ to the next consonant, but maybe instead a cognate of Ethiopic *gäṣṣ* ¨face; aspect; person; manner",[29] a by no means distinct possibility in the light of other Ethiopic loanwords in South Arabian.

10) *juljilān* and *ǧilǧilān* "Sesamöl" (p. 201, which declares it a "Yemenism") was not well-known in Cl.Ar., as dictionaries hesitate upon defining it between "sesame" and "coriander", and is generally missing in the

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[27] See some other instances in our *Léxico estándar y andalusí del* Dīwān *de Ibn Quzmān*, Zaragoza, 1993:31.

[28] See Corriente 1997:91 about this item, also having a phonetical variant *čurdún*. Such euphemistic shifts in the names of animals arousing fear or loathing were not uncommon: for AA only, we have registered the cases of *uškurǧún* "hedgehog" (but **escurçó** "viper" in Catalan, probably from Low Latin **excurtion[em]*), *ṭaylún* "toad" (probably from Latin *stelio* "a kind of lizard"), *narúqa* "toad" (metathetical of *ranúqa, a derogatory suffixation of Latin *rana* "frog"), *kaylúḥ* "fox" (apparently from *kāliḥ* ¨grim-faced¨, in Modern Egyptian "insensitive, cheeky¨), etc. The case of the poor harmless and useful gecko reaches the limit of an anthropological fixation, on account of his having being allegedly cursed by the Prophet: *wazaġah* was euphemistically replaced by *sāmmu abraṣ* ("venomous and speckled", already in Cl.Ar., distorted into *xemebráx* in Granadan Arabic), by *burṣ* in Modern Egyptian, connected with the skin disease called *baraṣ*, and apparently by *sálma naqíyya* "safe and clean" in some parts of Al-Andalus, whence Castilian **salamanquía**, and finally, **salamanquesa**, of course without any semantic relation to the town of Salamanca. On the other hand, Berber *ašərmšal* "gecko" (in M. Šafīq, *Almu'ǧamu l'arabiyyu l-amāzīǧī*, Rabat, Al'akādīmiyā almalakiyyatu lmaġribiyyah, 2000, p. 413, side by side with native *iqəlli* and *tajərdəddimt*), is undoubtedly the same as Riffain *aḥərrəm(ən)šaṛ* ("salamandra", "lagarto grande" in E. Ibáñez, *Diccionario rifeño-español*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1949, pp. 19-20), from Arabic *ḥarrama ššarr* "God forbid the evil"), apparently another old instance of the shift /ḥ/ > /ḫ/, attributable to Yemenite settlement in North Africa, in which /ḥ/ would have been treated like a weakened /k/ in some dialects of Northern Berber.

[29] A solidly established and characteristic item, which W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geez*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1987:206, considers of Cushitic stock.

lexica of Neo-Arabic dialects, but it was perfectly matched by AA *ǧulǧulān* "sesame' in various sources, sufficiently common to be borrowed by Castilian **a(l)jonjolí** and Portuguese **gergelim**.

11) *ḥasy* "Brunnen" (p. 257) is a reflex of Cl.Ar. *ḥisy*, practically forgotten everywhere but in some North African dialects.[30]

12) *miḥnīb* "Falle, Schlinge" (p. 290) appears to have no other immediate cognate in either Cl.Ar. or Neo-Arabic than AA *miḥnáb*.

13) *ḥaw'* "halt!" (p. 294) has no closer reference in Cl.Ar. dictionaries than *ḥū* an interjection to drive goats away, e.g., in the *Lisānu l'arab*, but is perfectly matched by AA *ḥaw ḥaw* "come on, let us see!"[31]

14) *ḥūt* "Fisch" (p. 294) reflects a common preference of Western Arabic dialects, against *samak* in their Eastern counterparts, as pointed by the author in p. 583. In Cl.Ar. the first item usually means large sea creatures, like whales, which hold good also for some modern Eastern Arabic dialects, like Egyptian.

15) *ḥawš ~ aḥwāš* and his phonetic variant *ḥawl ~ aḥwāl* "Feld, Acker" (pp. 298, 299, but "Wasserbecken, Tränke für Hunde") is a curious instance of double meaning, the second one shared by Cl.Ar. and the first one being specialized for a technical invention of Yemenite farmers, namely the field plots which are watered separately.[32] The last meaning was no doubt introduced in the Iberian Peninsula by the Yemenite invaders, as reflected by the loanwords **alholde** in the Navarran dialect of Castilian, "land mesure of 12x4 cubits", **alcouve** in Galician, "seedbed", and **alhodera** in Old Catalan, "small plot".[33]

16) *xarbaṭ* "durcheinander bringen" (p. 317) is a peculiar expansion of Cl.Ar. *{ḫlṭ}*, with rhotacism of */l/* and insertion of */w/*, which has evolved into */b/*, closely matched by Mor. *ḫăṛwəṭ* "mélanger en tournant", whence also Egyptian *laḫbaṭ*, with an additional metathesis.[34]

17) *xarrāṣ* "Ernstschätzer" (p. 320) belongs to a root registered as a verb in Cl.Ar. dictionaries, but not as a noun of trade, unlike the case of Western Arabic, where we have Mor. *ḫăṛṛāṣ* "fonctionnaire du fisc chargé d'évaluer l'importance

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[30] Like those of Algeria and Tunisia, cf. G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1958:114.

[31] In one of Azzaǧǧālī's proverbs and a *zaǧal* by Ibn Zamrak, cf. Corriente 1997:142.

[32] It is also found in some Neo-Arabic dialects under South Arabian influence, like Egyptian *ḥooḍ* (cf. M. Hinds & E.S. Badawi, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*, Beirut, Librairie du Liban, 1986:232), and Mor.(cf. A.-L. Premare, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1994:III 272, s.v. *ḥōḍ*).

[33] See Corriente 2008:90 about their archaic phonetic features, particularly the reflex of lateral */ḍ/*, which would also account for **olla** with the same meaning in the dialect of La Mancha, heard by us from native speakers, and absent from large dictionaries like those of the Spanish Academy or María Moliner.

[34] See Hinds & E.S. Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 784, and A.-L. Premare, *op.cit.*, IV 66.

des récoltes pour fixer l'imposition"[35] and AA *xarráṣ*, whence Catalan **alfarràs** and Aragonese **alfarraz** and their derivates,[36] all of them giving away a frequent use of a loanword, introduced by Yemenite farmers.

18) *da/ā'* or *daw(')* "nein" (pp. 356 and 393, plus some other variants) is a well-known hallmark of South Arabian,[37] also present in Himyaritic,[38] though never heretofore given a reasonable etymon, but for Belova's smart suggestion of a parallel with the case of interrogative and negative Arabic *mā* (p. 23). There are no reflexes of this item in any form of North Arabian, but AA offers a negative *iš*,[39] which can only be interpreted as a semantic evolution of a rhetorical interrogative *ayyu šayyi'in*, totally similar to that Cl.Ar. *mā*, and this suggests an explanation of *da(w')* "not" as a result of *ḏā hū?*, i.e., an interrogative demonstrative idiom,[40] which would have landed a negative connotation through ironical usage, exactly like Cl.Ar. *mā* And AA *iš*.

19) *duq/gm* "Mund" (p. 384) is also the standard word for "mouth" in AA *duqm*,[41] and less so in Mor. *dqə/ọm*,[42] presently losing ground.

20) *dawē ~ yidwī* "sprechen" (p. 397) is a semantic evolution of Cl.Ar. *dawwà ~ yidawwī* ̈to buzz; to make noise", which AA has converted into a I measure, *dawá ~ yadwí*, without change of meaning, but Mor. has both meanings, including the exact morphological and semantic match *dwa ~ idwi*.[43]

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[35] See A.-L. Premare, *op.cit.*, 1994:IV 55.

[36] See Corriente 1997:153 and 2013:106. This item already existed in Sabaic, after A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller & J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary – Dictionaire Sabéen – Almu'ǧamu ssaba'ī*, Louvain-la-Neuve – Beyrouth, 1982:62.

[37] See A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller & J. Ryckmans, *op.cit*., p.34.

[38] See A.G. Belova, *op.cit*., p. 25 and 121-124, who offers a long series of occurrences, including some in Early Ethiopic.

[39] See Corriente 1977:145, 1992:121 and 2013:126-127 and fn. 279. Curiously enough, the interrogative has kept a pronunciation without palatalization, *áš*, in a functional semantic split. The interrelation of interrogative items and negatives in Semitic happens again between Hebrew *'ay* "how?" and *'ayin* "there is not", Ethiopic *'ay* "which?" and *'i* "not". A similar instance outside the Semitic family could be that of the Turkish negative *ma/e* verbal suffix and the interrogative mark *mi*[4], while in other languages, like English, the negative has usually become the syntactical counterpart of an emphatic, not anodyne affirmation, cf. "I do speak" vs. "I do not speak".

[40] It could be objected to this interpretation that interdental */ḏ/* is generally preserved in South Arabian and Yemenite dialects, however, Behnstedt 2008:99 reports the presence of occlusive realizations of this phoneme in Aden, Alḥudaydah and some points in the coast of Ḥaḍramawt, not to speak of the frequency of this sound change in wide areas of Neo-Arabic, including dialects with strong genetic ties to Yemen, like Egypt and North Africa, even partially Al-Andalus (see Corriente 1977:37-38); cf. also the case of *{hdr}* below.

[41] See Corriente 1997:182.

[42] See A.-L. Premare, *op.cit*., IV 310.

[43] See A.-L. Premare, *op.cit*., IV 394-395.

21) *zab(b)aṭ* "ausschlagen" (p. 486) is not recorded in Cl.Ar. dictionaries, although common in Ethiopic *zäbäṭä*, but is closely matched by Mor. *zbǝṭ*,[44] and has a cognate in AA *zarbaṭána* "blowgun", whence Portuguese **zarab/vatana**, Castilian **cerbatana**, Catalan **sarbatana**,[45] and other reflexes in modern European languages.

22) *zīz(in)*"weibl. Brust" (p. 522) for which Behnstedt himself reports Mor. matches, close to *zīzza* in A.-L. Premare V 441, which would be baby talk, is a doubtful cognate, since an onomatopoetic isomorphism cannot be excluded.

23) *šabbih ~ šabbāt* "nicht ganz garer Laib Hirsebrot" (p. 612) is a strangely looking word with no other cognate in Arabic than AA *šabbát* "wafers", often reshaped as a noun of instrument, e.g. *xappápa* in Alcalá, in which the phoneme */p/* misled us to suggest a Low Latin, or rather Germanic etymon, *suppa*, in spite of the unsuitable vocalization and strange semantic evolution. It now appears that gemination caused that phoneme, as in other instances,[46] and that the adoption of the *{1a22ā3(ah)}* placate is not without parallel in AA:[47] this invalidates the etymological hypotheses of Corriente 1997:271 and 2008:200, s.v. **(a)sopaipa**, in favor of a curious survival of that Yemenite cooking term, perhaps a reflex of a longer Hebrew idiom ending with the word for Sabbath and allusive to unleavened bread.

24) *šī* "etwas" (p. 690), used as an indefinite pronoun, e.g., *šī maṭar* "some rain", *šī qahwah* "some coffee" is an idiom ordinarily matched by Mor. and with some precedents in AA, e.g., *šáy imára* "some sign" and *ší biḍáʿa* "some merchandise".[48]

25) *ṣabl ~ ṣubl* "Stall" (p. 700), correctly connected by Behnstedt with Neo-Arabic *isṭabl* "stable", from Latin *stabulum*, and exactly matched by identical sg. and pl. in AA, does not posit any real etymological problem, as both go back to intermediate Aramaic forms, like Syriac *isṭablā*, which were soon adopted by Arabic. However, this simplification of the group */st/ > /ṣ/*, characteristic of AA and some North African dialects,[49] requires an explanation, since a borrowing of an Andalusi item by Yemenite dialects is altogether unlikely. In fact, this would be a case of hypercorrection to the trend */ṣ/ > /st/*, characteristic of some Yemenite dialects, concretely in the area of Minabbih.[50] Conversely, one can easily be led to

[44] See A.-L. Premare, *op.cit.*, V 282.

[45] See Corriente 2008:257.

[46] See Corriente 1997:35.

[47] See, e.g., Corriente 1997:78 and 2013:53.

[48] See our *Poesía estrófica atribuida al místico granadino as-Šuštarī*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988:28.

[49] See Corriente 1977:68 and 2013:41-42 in neither of which, however, the Yemenite hypothesis explaining this assimilation is brought up.

[50] See Behnstedt 2008:100. The case is not different from Latin *strata > ṣirāṭ* "path", also borrowed through Aramaic in different shapes some of which already exhibiting the same

believe that such a hypercorrection, natural in a stage of creolization, and possibly more current in older days, is the cause of that rather peculiar trend in AA and Mor.

26) *s/ṣaqqam* "stehen bleiben" (p. 565 and 720), matched by Mor. *səqqəm* "redresser",[51] from Cl.Ar. *istaqāma*, through the agency of the assimilatory trend described in the preceding item.

27) *ṣābah* "Ernte" (p. 731) is closely matched by AA and Mor., suggesting that this case of apheresis, otherwise isolated, from Cl.Ar. *iṣābah*, a *maṣdar* of the IV derivate conjugation of the root *{ṣwb}*, might have been introduced in the West by the Yemenite invaders.

28) *šimd* "Paar von Zugochsen" (p. 754) and *mašmad* "Joch", ignored by Cl.Ar. dictionaries, but matched by AA *ḍámd* or *maḍmád* and Mor. *məḍməd* "yoke",[52] belong to the technical farming language of South Arabia, as proven by its Ethiopic cognate *ḍəmd*.[53]

29) *fantal* "wegrennen" (p. 955) has a near match in AA *fartál*, confirming Behnstedt's first etymological proposal, namely, a dissimilatory derivate from *{ftl}*.

30) The reflexes of Cl.Ar. *qad*, such as *q/gad, gid* and contracted forms (pp. 975-976), quite frequent while most Neo-Arabic dialects have forsaken this item have in common with AA a steady connotation of strong affirmation,[54] even in front of an imperfective, unlike the case in Cl.Ar., or of a nominal sentence, which would be ungrammatical in this register.

31) *mugaḏḏī* "Wunderheiler" (p. 981) is probably matched by AA *muq/ kaddí* "beggar", from Iranian origin.[55]

32) The survival, although functionally restricted, in Yemenite dialects of reflexes of Cl.Ar. *laysa* (p. 1133), generally absent from most Neo-Arabic dialects, has only a match in AA[56] and is one of the strongest arguments in favor of the importance of the Yemenite settlement in Al-Andalus.

33) *hibreh* "Stück (mageres) Fleisch" (p. 1250) is registered in Cl.Ar. dictionaries as *habrah*, but appears not to have been a colloquial item except in dialects under Yemenite influence, like Egyptian *habra* "chunk of meat",[57] Mor. *hăbṛa* "morceau de viande",[58] and AA, witnessed by the loanword **febra** in Portuguese.

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phenomenon, according to Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary in the Qur'ān*, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1938, p. 196, but for possible haplology.

[51] See A.-L. Premare, *op.cit.*, VI 126-127.

[52] See Corriente 1997:320 and 1989: 103, and A.-L. Premare, *op.cit.*, VIII 207.

[53] See Leslau 1987:150 about its cognates in the diverse Semitic languages.

[54] See Corriente 1977:129.

[55] Already recorded by Dozy, *Supplément*, II 325 & 458. See also Corriente 1997:418.

[56] See Corriente 1977:144.

[57] See Hinds & Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 897.

[58] See A.-L. Premare, *op.cit.*, XII 9.

34) *hadar ~ yahdir* "reden" (p. 1255), apparently a semantic evolution and slight phonetic variant of Cl.Ar. *{hḏr}*, has an almost exact match in Mor. *hḍəṛ ~ ihḍəṛ*, the standard rendering of "to speak", and has preserved the original shape and basic meaning of "to speak too much or foolishly" in AA, while becoming the Arabic root most repeatedly witnessed in Romance loanwords.[59]

35) *wazġah* "Gecko" (p. 1295) is an item included in Cl.Ar. dictionaries as *wazaġah*, but generally absent from Neo-Arabic dialects, but for Mor. *wuzġa*[60] and AA *wázġa*, even reflected by the Portuguese and Galician loanword **osga**.[61]

36) *wann ~ yiwinn* "Lärm machen" (p. 1322), unknown to Cl.Ar., has some cognates in Neo-Arabic dialects of South Arabian influence, like Egyptian *wann ~ yiwinn* "to hum" and *wanwin* "to wail",[62] Mor. *wənwən* "bourdonner",[63] and AA *niwannán aṣṣabí* "to mourn one's child", all of them descending from Cl.Ar. *anna ~ ya'innu* "to moan", through a geminate imperfective **yu'annin > yuwannin*, metanalyzed as a II derivate conjugation.[64]

Finally, as for syntactical oddities shared by AA and the Yemenite dialects described by Behnstedt, there could not be much that could attract our attention, as dictionaries do not usually contain samples of text long enough to profusely illustrate this upper level of language structure, however, we have detected one case of *dativus commodi, 'insālak ḏi m-hadreh* "vergiß dieses Geschwätz!" (p. 1256), similar to certain AA constructions, like in Ibn Quzmān 53/1/2 *qabbáltu lak f-aššufayfát* "I kissed him on the lips, you see", 21/15/4 *fasá lu taḥt aṭṭiyáb* "he broke wind under his clothes", etc. [65]

Summing up, the phonemic, morphological and lexical ties between Yemenite dialects and those of North Africa and Al-Andalus are particularly strong beyond any doubt, and confirm the historians' reports about the majoritarian presence of Yemenite tribesmen among the Arab invaders of the West and the latter country in the 8th century.

However, some of the shared items are not only different from average North Arabian materials, but provide certain insights about the linguistic features of the South Arabian community at that time, which appears to have been going

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[59] See our paper "Reflejos iberorromances del andalusí *{ḥṭr}*", in *Al-Andalus-Magreb* 1 (1993) 77-87, reprinted in *Homenaje a Félix Monge*, Madrid, Gredos 1995, 135-141.

[60] See A.-L. Premare, *op.cit.*, XII 191.

[61] See Corriente 2008:402, and the preceding remarks in fn. 27.

[62] See Hinds & Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 955-956.

[63] A.-L. Premare, *op.cit.*, XII 283.

[64] See our paper "Geminate imperfectives in Arabic masked as intensive stems of the verb", in *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 8 (2004) [2006, Homenaje a P. Behnstedt] 33-57.

[65] See Corriente 2013:108.

through the processes of creolization and de-creolization, as a consequence of its integration, whether at home or abroad, in the political spheres of Islam, with Cl.Ar. as their official language, and North Arabian dialects, more or less close to it, as the standard spoken language.[66] A *Mischsprache* like Himyaritic soon proved insufficient to guarantee the required levels of intercommunication between former speakers of South Arabian tongues and those of North Arabian dialects; these prevailed everywhere in the long run, except in the known coastal areas of Mahra and Shiḥr and the island of Soqotra, but at the expense of occasional concessions to the old linguistic heritage of the Arabian South. In our contention, some of the features developed by those numerically very important Yemenite communities, still in Yemen or already resettled in North Africa, shifting their allegiance from South to North Arabian, integrated a bunch of isoglosses which would permanently characterize the Western Arabic dialects.

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[66] About this see Corriente, 2011:39-46.