

# A Preliminary Study on the Verbal System of the Syrian Dialect of Ṭarṭūs

Emanuela De Blasio

Università degli Studi della Tuscia, Viterbo

**Abstract** The present study focuses on the analysis of the verbal system of Arabic spoken in Ṭarṭūs, a city located on the west coast of Syria. The research analyses the verb above all from the aspectual and modal point of view, with hints to some traits of the rural dialect imported into the city from the Alawite community. The variety of Ṭarṭūs and the surrounding areas falls within the subgroup of coastal dialects of Syria (Behnstedt 1997) and since, as Procházka (2013) points out, they are among the least studied yet, this research may constitute a starting point for further studies and insights into the variety of Ṭarṭūs and the dialects of this area.

**Keywords** Arabic dialectology. Syrian varieties. Ṭarṭūs dialect. Verbal system.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 Objectives and Methodology. – 3 Notes on the Transcription System. – 3.1 Vowels. – 3.2 Consonants. – 4 Verbal System. – 4.1 Perfective. – 4.2 Imperfective. – 4.3 Concomitant Present. – 4.4 Future. – 4.5 Imperative. – 4.6 Prohibitive. – 4.7 Negation of the Verb. – 4.8 Nominal Sentence Negation. – 4.9 Derived Stems. – 4.10 Pseudo-Verbs and Servile Verbs. – 4.11 Other Reflections Taken from the *corpus*. – 5 Conclusions.



Edizioni  
Ca' Foscari

## Peer review

Submitted 2022-02-15  
Accepted 2022-04-05  
Published 2022-06-30

## Open access

© 2022 De Blasio | Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Public License



**Citation** De Blasio, E. (2022). "A Preliminary Study on the Verbal System of the Syrian Dialect of Ṭarṭūs". *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie orientale*, 58(1), [183-198].

## 1 Introduction

The Syrian-Lebanese-Palestinian area is probably among the most studied dialect areas of the Arabic-speaking world. To contextualise and frame the linguistic topic examined here, that is the verbal system of Arabic spoken in the coastal city of ʤartʤus (western Syria), a general and rapid overview on the studies carried out and the sources of the Syrian dialects will be made below.

We owe to Cantineau (1953, 1956), one of the most famous dialectologists, fundamental research for the classification of Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian dialects. Taking a step back, a contribution to the knowledge of Syrian dialects was made by the collection of Damascene fairy tales by Østrup (1897). Apart from sporadic examples, the first studies on the varieties of this area appeared in the twentieth century; among this early research it is appropriate to mention Harfouch (1914), who wrote a practical guide to the Arabic spoken in Syria and Palestine and a collection of proverbs. The role of the Academy of the Arabic language of Damascus (established in 1919) was also important, in fact this Academy stimulated research on dialectisms in modern literary Arabic.

The first linguistic atlas of the Syrian-Palestinian area was written by Bergsträsser and dates back to 1915. Regarding the most recent geographical atlases, Behnstedt's (1997) on Syrian dialects is fundamental.

Among the various resources on the dialect of the Syro-Lebanese area some of the most famous dictionaries still in use today are worth mentioning: Barthélemy (1935-1969), a supplement, was published by Denizeau (1960) and the English-Syrian Arabic dictionary of Stowasser and Ani (1964). Regarding the most well-known grammars, we can mention that of Nakhla (1937) on the Lebanese-Syrian dialects, followed by many others including that of Grotzfeld (1965) on the Damascus dialect. Among the most recent manuals on Middle Eastern dialects are: Kassab (1987), Kallas (1995) specifically on the Lebanese dialect, Cowell (2005) and Durand, Ventura (2017).

Among the contemporary scholars who have devoted themselves to Syrian varieties are: Lentin (1994a; 1994b; 1996), Firănescu (2015; 2019), Dahmash (2005a; 2005b; 2010), Procházka (2013; 2020) and Berlinches (2016).

The dialect of ʤartʤus and the surrounding areas is part of the subgroup of coastal dialects of Syria,<sup>1</sup> which are among the least studied so far.

Concerning the studies on the dialects of the west coast, Procházka (2013) collected data and provided a linguistic analysis on the dialect of the island of Arwād. Behnstedt, in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic*

<sup>1</sup> Group C-9 on map 501 (Behnstedt 1997).

*Language and Linguistics* (2009), under the entry “Syria”, dedicates a section to the coastal dialects of Syria. Other sources on the *sāḥil* dialects are the dictionary *Mawsūʿat al-ʿāmmiyya s-sūriyya* written by ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm (2003) and the aforementioned work by Behnstedt *Sprachatlas von Syrien* (1997).

In order to fully illustrate the linguistic aspect, it is appropriate to explain the social and community composition of the city of ʤartūs. The population is made up of Sunni Muslims, Shiite Muslims, Ishmaelites, Christians and Alawites, the latter coming from the surrounding rural areas. It is possible to distinguish, in a general way, two dialectal variants, the urban and the rural ones, the latter imported from the Alawite communities. Within the urban dialect, as also reported by the informants interviewed for this study, there are presumably communal varieties, that is religious ones, on which however not enough information is available.

The city of ʤartūs was relatively unaffected by the civil war: this contributed to the influx of half a million immigrants from the rest of Syria, especially from Homs and Aleppo, complicating the linguistic situation, as well as the socio-demographic one.

## 2 Objectives and Methodology

The research aims at examining, in a preliminary way, some characteristics of the verbal system of the variety spoken in ʤartūs from the aspectual and modal point of view, with particular reference to preverbs and related constructions, with hints to some traits of the rural dialect imported into the city by the Alawite community.

The *corpus* of this research is mostly based on the lyrics of Abu Hajar, a rapper from ʤartūs, born in 1987. He attended high school in Latakia, later enrolled at University in Jordan, at the Faculty of Economics, and after obtaining his degree, he returned to Syria. In 2007 he was arrested for the socio-political content of some of his songs; after the outbreak of the civil war in Syria he was again incarcerated for two months because of his activities as a rapper and his political ideas. So the singer decided to escape from Syria and after long journeys he arrived in Italy and lived in Rome until 2016.

The collection of lyrics analysed in this study has been expanded over time and is made up of twenty texts, which mostly deal with political and social issues concerning Syria.<sup>2</sup>

Through the singer, I was able to meet other Arabic speakers from ʤartūs residing in Italy in 2014-15, who represented precious sources

---

<sup>2</sup> The first core of texts were used for research on language and rap. Then new texts were selected to have more material for the present study.

to integrate the present research. The other informants are mostly male, between twenty-five and thirty-five, and are educated.

The examples given below, which aim to shed light on some aspects of the verbal system of the dialect of ʤartūš, are therefore taken both from the lyrics of the songs and from the interviews carried out with the Arabic speakers originally from ʤartūš.

The linguistic observations reported may offer a starting point for a linguistic analysis of a little known Arabic variety, also thanks to the precious information provided by the informants themselves during the course of this research.

Although the interviews as oral sources can be considered privileged in this type of work, the numerous lyrics have greatly increased and enriched the data on the variety of ʤartūš, which is rather complicated to investigate since the difficult situation ongoing in Syria makes field research impossible.

### 3 Notes on the Transcription System

#### 3.1 Vowels

The etymologically long vowels, in post-tonic open syllables, are transcribed only when they are pronounced as such (therefore according to a phonetic and non-phonemic transcription), so the final vowels, which are long in Standard Arabic, are here made short: for example *ana* 'I', *darasna* 'we studied', but if a suffix is added, this vowel recovers its etymological length, attracting the accent to itself such as *ħaku* 'they told', but *ħakū-li* 'they told me'.

Superscript vowels <sup>ə i u</sup> are used to indicate a support vowel, called epentetic or anaptyctic, and have the same duration as ə i u but play a different phonemic role. Such epentetic vowels can be found in the following cases: in rear position, as the majority of Eastern varieties do not tolerate a cluster of two consonants in the pausal context; in attack position, at the beginning of a sentence when there are themes starting with two consonants and in clusters of three or more consonants, not tolerated by Eastern dialects.

#### 3.2 Consonants

- /q/ is transcribed ʔ to represent the voiceless laryngeal occlusive [ʔ]. In some cases, this phoneme is realized as a uvular [q] (as in Standard Arabic) and is transcribed q;
- the consonant ʤ ġīm is transcribed ʒ and has a fricative-type realization such as the French j [ʒ];

- consonants *b*, *r*, *l*, *m* have emphatic variants, respectively transcribed as *ḅ* (for example *ḅāḅā* ‘dad’), *r* (*safaṛ* ‘trip’), *l̥* (*Allāh* ‘God’) and *m̥* (*māmā* ‘mom’);
- regarding the interdental consonants, in the dialect under consideration we can find: *t̥* > *t*, rarely *t̥* > *s*; *d̥* > *d*, rarely *d̥* > *z*; *d̥* > *z*, *d̥*.

## 4 Verbal System

On the typological level, the Syrian dialect of Ṭartūs, like other Arabic dialects, can be defined as having an SVO (subject-verb-object) structure.

We encounter the basic opposition perfective-imperfective as in the majority of Arabic dialects. The perfective uses suffixes to express a completed, finished action and therefore it renders the past tense. The imperfective, constituted by a conjugation with prefixes, expresses an action not yet completed, not finished.

Like the majority of sedentary varieties, the Arabic of Ṭartūs too uses preverbs to indicate temporal nuances in the imperfective.<sup>3</sup>

While Standard Arabic distinguishes three schemes (CaCaCa - yaCCu/a/iCu, CaCiCa - yaCCaCu, CaCuCa - yaCCuCu), the spoken Arabic of Ṭartūs, like the majority of Syrian and Eastern dialects in general, is based on two basic schemes:

- CaCaC - yəCCo/eC, e.g.: *daras*, *yədroṣ* (‘he studied’, ‘he studies’)  
- *ḥamal*, *yəḥmel* (‘he brought’, ‘he brings’)
- CəCeC - yəCCaC, e.g.: *šəreb*, *yəšrab* (‘he drank’, ‘he drinks’)

The former are action verbs, the latter are verbs of state in which the scheme absorbs both the CaCiCa and CaCuCa verbs of standard Arabic.

### 4.1 Perfective

The conjugation of the perfective in Pattern I of a regular triconsonantal root is as follows:

I Scheme		
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>darast</i>	<i>darasna</i>
2 (m.)	<i>darast</i>	<i>darastu</i>

<sup>3</sup> For preverbs see Durand’s study (1991).

2 (f.)	<i>darasti</i>	
3 (m.)	<i>daras</i>	<i>darasu</i>
3 (f.)	<i>darset</i>	

### II Scheme

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>šrəbt</i>	<i>šrəbna</i>
2 (m.)	<i>šrəbt</i>	<i>šrəbtu</i>
2 (f.)	<i>šrəbti</i>	
3 (m.)	<i>šəreb</i>	<i>šərbu</i>
3 (f.)	<i>šərbet</i>	

We note the absence of gender opposition in the 2nd p. pl. and in the 3rd p. pl., common to most of the sedentary varieties, while the Bedouin dialects and part of the rural ones retain the gender distinction in the plural.

- Geminate verbs undergo the typical treatment of dialectal Arabic: there is a lengthening before consonant suffixes, adapting to the conjugation of defective verbs, for example: *maddēt* 'I have stretched', *maddēna* 'we have stretched'.
- Regarding the defective verbs, the conjugation is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ħkīt</i>	<i>ħkīna</i>
2 (m.)	<i>ħkīt</i>	<i>ħkītu</i>
2 (f.)	<i>ħkīti</i>	
3 (m.)	<i>ħəki</i>	<i>ħəkyu</i>
3 (f.)	<i>ħəkyet</i>	

We observe that before the consonant suffixes we have *ī* and before the suffixes starting with a vowel the weak *-y-* returns.

The following examples are reported:

- *w-ħatta iza ħkīt* (And even if I speak).
- *ħābeb əħki ħarbashāt ma ħkīt* 'ann-a mən 'ab' (I would like to say scribbled words never said before).
- *btā'ref šū 'amm-o ħallī-ni 'əll-ak kīf rbīt* (You know, uncle, let me tell you how I grew up).

What has been illustrated differs from the Damascene Arabic and from other Syrian dialects in which there are two types of conjugation for final-weak verbs:

<b>I Type</b>		
	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
1	<i>ḥakēt</i>	<i>ḥakēna</i>
2 (m.)	<i>ḥakēt</i>	<i>ḥakētu</i>
2 (f.)	<i>ḥakēti</i>	
3 (m.)	<i>ḥaka</i>	<i>ḥaku</i>
3 (f.)	<i>ḥaket</i>	
<b>II Type</b>		
	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
1	<i>nsīt</i>	<i>nsīna</i>
2 (m.)	<i>nsīt</i>	<i>nsītu</i>
2 (f.)	<i>nsīti</i>	
3 (m.)	<i>nəsi</i>	<i>nəsyu</i>
3 (f.)	<i>nəsyet</i>	

From the data reported here it is evident that in the verbal system of ʿAṣṣur the verb *ḥaka*, belonging in theory to the first typology, refers in practice to the conjugation of the defective verbs of the CəCi scheme (*nəsi*), reducing the two typologies to a single one.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.2 Imperfective

As in all Syrian dialects (and Eastern varieties in general), the usual present is constructed with the imperfective preceded by the preverb *b-*. The absence of preverbs has a modal value of the subjunctive mood.

The following is the conjugation of the simple indicative present:

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
1	<i>bədros</i>	<i>mnədros/bnədros</i>
2 (m.)	<i>btədros</i>	<i>btəd<sup>o</sup>rsu</i>
2 (f.)	<i>btəd<sup>o</sup>rsi</i>	
3 (m.)	<i>byədros</i>	<i>byəd<sup>o</sup>rsu</i>
3 (f.)	<i>btədros</i>	
1	<i>bəḥmel</i>	<i>mnəḥmel/bnəḥmel</i>
2 (m.)	<i>btəḥmel</i>	<i>btəḥ<sup>o</sup>mlu</i>
2 (f.)	<i>btəḥ<sup>o</sup>mli</i>	
3 (m.)	<i>byəḥmel</i>	<i>byəḥ<sup>o</sup>mlu</i>
3 (f.)	<i>btəḥmel</i>	
1	<i>bəšrab</i>	<i>mnəšrab/bnəšrab</i>
2 (m.)	<i>btəšrab</i>	<i>btəšrabu</i>

<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon represents an isogloss of Beirutian Arabic.

---

2 (f.)	<i>btəšrabi</i>	
3 (m.)	<i>byəšrab</i>	<i>byəšrabu</i>
3 (f.)	<i>btəšrab</i>	

---

It is noted that the preverb *b-* is assimilated to *m-* in the 1st p. pl., but not always, in some cases it remains *bnə*.

Examples:

- *bukra mnəhtəfel sawa w-ħaqq<sup>5</sup>-ak byərzaʿ* (Tomorrow we will celebrate together, your rights will return).
- *nurīd ħurriyyet əl-žamīʿ w-ma mənħīd* (We want everyone's freedom and we will not give up).
- *nəħna bnəħmī-k* (We protect you).
- *šū bnərtāħ* (How we are relieved).

#### 4.3 Concomitant Present

The preverb *ʿam-* is used for the concomitant present. From the collected *corpus* we observe that the preverb *ʿam-* is often followed by the preverbal theme of the present *b-*: this characteristic is in common with the Palestinian Arabic. In Syrian dialects *ʿam-* is more frequently followed by an imperfective, therefore by a non-preverb theme.

The following examples are given in the dialect of ʿAṣṣāṣ (the examples in the *corpus* are numerous, here only a few are reported):

- *bass kəlmāt-i ʿam-bəṭṭīr* (But the words are flying).
- *ʿam-bəfšal* (I am getting discouraged).
- *ʿamr-i ʿašar ʿənīn bass ʿam-bəħki ħaki r-ržāl* (I am ten, but I am talking like an adult).
- *w-ana ʿam bəğra ʿ bə-l-žəħ<sup>6</sup>l* (I am drowning in ignorance).
- *w-ʿam-bīšīr* (What is happening?).

But there are also cases in which the preverb *ʿam-* is directly followed by the imperfective, such as:

- *kəlmāt-i ʿam tətbaħħar* (My words are evaporating).
- *ʿam-mūt mn əl-žūʿ* (And I am starving).
- *w-ʿam yəmši bənāt-on* (He is walking among them).

A distinctive feature of the Alawite dialect of ʿAṣṣāṣ is the rendering of the preverb of the concomitant present that from *ʿam-* becomes *m-*. This characteristic can also be found in the dialect of the nearby island of Arwād, as evidenced by the study by Procházka (2013).

---

**5** In this case the speaker renders the phoneme / *q* / as a uvular [q] in the same way as in classical Arabic, probably to emphasise the term.



Some examples taken from the *corpus*:

- *m-amzaḥ* (I am kidding).
- *m-anzil* (I am coming down).
- *m-ašrab* (I am drinking).

#### 4.4 Future

A preverb with a future value is employed, a trend already present in Standard Arabic with *sa-* or *sawfa*. In many dialects of the Mashreq area, preverbs *raḥ* and *ḥa-* are used to mark the future; they derive from *rāyeh* (from Standard Arabic *rāʾih*, active participle of the verb *rāḥ* 'to go') (Durand 2009, 374).

In the case of the dialect of ʿAṣṣāṣ, to render the future, the preverb *raḥ-* is usually followed by the imperfective, as occurs in many Syrian varieties, but in some cases *raḥ-* is followed by the preverb *b-*.

Some examples are shown below:<sup>6</sup>

- *la-ṭūl əl-ʿəmʿər raḥ-bəḏḏall žuwwa bə-ʿalb-i* (Until the end of my life she will remain in my heart).
- *əṣ-ṣabiyye l-filastīniyye ma raḥ-bəḏḏayye ʿəl-hawiyye* (A Palestinian girl will not lose her identity).
- *ma raḥ-bətkaffi ši* (Nothing will be enough).
- *raḥ-bizīd ət-taʿtīr* (The misery will increase).
- *rūḥ-o raḥ-bəḏḏall ʿtnādi fal-təḥyā blād-i!* (His spirit will continue to cry: Long live the country!).

We find the preverb *b-* probably for phonetic reasons: whenever the verb begins with an emphatic consonant. This occurs, however, not in a systematic way, in fact, as we can see from the examples given, *b-* is not always followed by an emphatic consonant.<sup>7</sup>

In most cases, however, we observe *raḥ* followed by the imperfective, as in the following examples:

- *ma raḥ-kaffi fī-hon kəlmāt-i* (My words will not be enough for them).
- *raḥ-mūt* (I will die).
- *w-raḥ-nəḥlam* (And we will dream).
- *raḥ-yəbʿa l-ʿabd bə-ʿubūdiyyt-o* (The servant will remain in his bondage).
- *ma raḥ-yənsā-na* (He will not forget us).

<sup>6</sup> In these cases it seems that the reason is a phonetic one: both verbs begin with an emphatic consonant. Furthermore, normally the assimilation that is produced by *bəḏḏayye* is *bəḏḏayye*.

<sup>7</sup> This point certainly remains to be investigated and further analysed.

In some cases, in the *corpus*, we find the preverb *ḥa-* (in this case never followed by *b-*), as in the next examples:

- *ḥa-ətkərr* (He will roll).
- *ḥa-tkallim* (I will speak).
- *ḥa-ansa-kom* (I will not forget you).

#### 4.5 Imperative

The imperative is used only in the 2nd p. sg. and pl. In Pattern I, the regular triradical verb has the following inflection, as in most of the Syrian sedentary varieties:

	Singular	Plural
2 (m.)	<i>drōs</i>	<i>drāsu</i>
2 (f.)	<i>drāsi</i>	
2 (m.)	<i>ḥmēl</i>	<i>ḥmālu</i>
2 (f.)	<i>ḥmāli</i>	
2 (m.)	<i>smāʿ</i>	<i>smāʿu</i>
2 (f.)	<i>smāʿi</i>	

Unlike Damascene Arabic, in which we have a vowel lengthening (*drōs*, *ḥmēl*, *smāʿ*), here the vowel is short.

For the 1st p. sg. and pl. a cohortative is obtained by prefixing *yallah*. It is possible to resort to *ḥalli-* lit. ‘let’ followed by a suffix pronoun or by the verb in the imperfective.

Examples:

- *ḥalli-ni ʿall-ak kif rbīt* (Let me tell you how I grew up).
- *ḥalli-ni ʿall-ak kəll-ši ḥalli-ni əḥki bə-ḥtiṣar* (Let me tell you everything, let me give you a summary).
- *Allāh iḥalli-ni ṣ-ṣaḥḥa* (May God let me be healthy).
- *ḥalli d-dənyə kəll-a taʿref ənn-o s-sawra lāzəm təšʿal* (Let the whole world know that the revolution must ignite).
- *ʿnḥalli l-lēl əl-aswad aḥḍar* (Let the night turn green).

#### 4.6 Prohibitive

The negative imperative is obtained by negating the imperfective with *ma* or *la*. To express the prohibitive it is also possible to resort to the adverb *balāš* and *ḥāž/ḥaže* lit. ‘enough!’ + imperfective, as in all Syrian dialects.

Examples:

- *ḥāž tətmaʿtaʿi bə-l-ʿāšeʿ* (Stop tearing your lover apart).
- *ḥāž dalʿ iza kān kəll hayda dalʿ* (Stop playing if this is all a game).

#### 4.7 Negation of the Verb

The verbal sentence is negated using the negation *ma* followed by the verb. In the *corpus* there are examples of the Alawite dialect of ʤartūs which uses *a-* for the negation, as shown in the following sentences:

- *a-baʕref, wa-llahi a-baʕref* (I do not know, really, I do not know).
- *a-baʕref šū hayya* (I do not know what this is).

The auxiliary *baʕa* preceded by *ma* is also used for negation with the sense of ‘no more’. This negation is also used in the dialect of ʤartūs as reported in the following example:

- *a-baqa bašrab ʕašir* (I do not drink juice anymore).

In this last example we note that in the Alawite dialect the phoneme /q/ is rendered as a uvular [q] (trait common to rural areas) and not as a voiceless laryngeal occlusive [ʔ] (as generally occurs in the urban speech of the Mashreq area).

#### 4.8 Nominal Sentence Negation

- *mān-ek ḥabīb-t-i baʕd ha-l-laḥza ḥabīb-t-i mātit* (You are no longer my love, after that moment my love is dead).
- *Armīnāstīniyye haydi mān-a žinsiyye haydi ʕḍiyye* (Armenastine, this is not a nationality, it is a cause).

In Syrian Arabic *māl-* + suffix pronoun is more frequent, e.g.: *māl-i* (I am not), while in Lebanese Arabic we find *man-ni* with the doubling of the phoneme /n/.

#### 4.9 Derived Stems

Regarding the derived stems of the verb, as in dialectal Arabic as a whole, also in the dialect of ʤartūs we find the advanced decomposition of Pattern IV *ʕfal* with causative meaning, mostly replaced by Pattern II *faʕal*. As in other Arabic dialects, Pattern VII *nfaʕal* is normally used to express the passive.

#### 4.10 Pseudo-Verbs and Servile Verbs

Pseudoverbs are not verbs at the morphological level but behave syntactically as verbs. In order to express the idea of possession, in the Arabic of ʤartūs too we find *ʕnd-*, *maʕ-*, *il-* + suffix pronoun; *badd-* + suffix pronoun is used for ‘to want’ (etymologically *badd-i* derives

from *bi-widd-ī* ‘in my desire’). The pseudoverbs negate themselves through the negation *ma* typical of verbs.

In the variety of ʿAṣṣur, among the servile verbs we attest the following:

- *Lāzem* is an active participle used as servile with the imperfective. Because *lāzem* is an active participle, it is negated by *məš*.
- The servile *məmken* is properly an active participle (Pattern IV ‘[it is] possible’) used as servile with the imperfective; *məmken* is negated by *məš*.

The expression *ma fiyye* is also used for negation (in this case we use the preposition *fī* + pronoun suffix to express ‘to be able’), closer to Palestinian Arabic (instead of the more common *ma fī-ni*), as in the following example: *ma fiyye ṭḥammal aktar ʿamr-i ʿam-bəḥsar* (I cannot take any more, I am wasting my years).

#### 4.11 Other reflections taken from the *corpus*

- Verbal scheme \**faʿlā*<sup>8</sup>

It is possible to identify a pattern \**faʿlā* - *yifaʿlī*, unattested in Standard Arabic, with essentially, but not limited to, denominative value. From the *corpus* we can detect: *ṭaʿma*, *yṭaʿmi* ‘to feed’, (< *ṭaʿām* ‘food’): *mʿallem-on bidarres-on w-ana biṭaʿmī-ni ʿatʿl* (Their teacher teaches and I get beaten up) (*biṭaʿmī-ni ʿatʿl* is a colloquial idiom, lit.: beatings feed me).

- Quadriconsonantal verbs of Pattern II

From the name *maqṭaʿ* ‘section’, ‘division’, the quadriconsonant verb of Pattern II *əṭmaʿtaʿ*, *yəṭmaʿtaʿ* ‘tear apart’<sup>9</sup> is obtained as in the following example: *ḥāḏ ṭəṭmaʿtaʿi bə-l-āṣeʿ* (Stop tearing your lover apart).

- Loans

As regards the verbs, in the *corpus* we find a loan of Aramaic origin: the verb *naṭar*, *byəṭtor* ‘to wait’ from Syriac *nəṭar*, now entered in the standard lexicon.

## 5 Conclusions

From what has been reported, it appears that the verbal system of the spoken Arabic of ʿAṣṣur has many features in common with the majority of Syrian sedentary dialects.

<sup>8</sup> This kind of verbs differ from quadriconsonantal verbs in that they are derived from triconsonantal words such as *farsha yfarshi* ‘to brush’ (Durand 2009, 391).

<sup>9</sup> Woidich (2006) reports the verb *itmanzar*, ‘to be admired’, deriving from the nominal theme *manzar* ‘panorama’.

To summarise the peculiarities of the variety of ʿAṣṣūṣ, we highlight: defective verbs have only one type of conjugation (CəCi); the negative nominal proposition is mostly rendered through *mān-* + suffix pronoun; in the imperative the vowel is short, unlike in the dialect of Damascus; for the concomitant present the preverb *ʿam-* is sometimes followed by the preverb of the present *b-*; in the future tense we find the preverb *rah-* (usually followed by the imperfective, but in rare cases followed by the preverb *b-*) and the preverb *ha-*.

Very interesting is the religious and social composition of ʿAṣṣūṣ, of which the Alawites form a large part. In general it is possible to distinguish two dialectal variants, the urban and the rural ones, the latter imported from the Alawite communities. It is above all the Alawite variety that has distinctive features, such as the preverb of the concomitant present becoming *m-* (*m-ašrab* ‘I am drinking’) and the negation of the verbs rendered through *a-* (*a-baʿref* ‘I do not know’).

Although this research has dealt with the verbal system of the vernacular of ʿAṣṣūṣ outlining the tenses and modes of the verb and also providing information on preverbs and related constructions, the linguistic observations reported are not intended to provide a complete overview of the verbal system of ʿAṣṣūṣ, whose examination should clearly be based on a larger sample of speakers, which is difficult to find because a field research is still not easy to carry out due to the complicated socio-political situation of the country.

This work represents a starting point to examine an aspect of the little-known vernacular of the Syrian coast which must be explored and investigated in a broader and more systematic way, and a first approach for further linguistic reflections on the verbal system in the Syrian variety of ʿAṣṣūṣ.

## Bibliography

- ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm, Yāsīn (2003). *Mawsūʿat al-ʿāmmiyya s-sūriyya* (Vocabolario del dialetto siriano). 4 vols. Damascus: Editions of the Ministry of Culture.
- Barthélemy, A. (1935-69). *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français (Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem)*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Behnstedt, P. (1997). *Sprachatlas von Syrien*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Behnstedt, P. (2009). “Syria”. Versteegh K. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, vol. 4. Leiden: Brill, 402-9.
- Bergsträsser, G. (1915). *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Berlinches Ramos, C. (2016). *El dialecto árabe de Damasco (Siria): estudio gramatical y textos*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza.
- Cantineau, J.; Helbaoui, Y. (1953). *Manuel élémentaire d'arabe orientale (parler de Damas)*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Cantineau, J. (1956). “The Phonemic System of Damascus Arabic”. *Word*, 12, 116-24.

- Cowell, M.W. (2005). *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic (Based on the Dialect of Damascus)*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Dahmash, A.W. (2005a). *Schede grammaticali di arabo damasceno*, vol. 1. Roma: Università di Roma “La Sapienza”, Facoltà di Studi Orientali, La Sapienza Orientale – Sussidi Didattici.
- Dahmash, A.W. (2005b). *Testi per lo studio del dialetto di Damasco*. Roma: Università di Roma “La Sapienza”.
- Dahmash, A.W. (2010). *Elementi di arabo damasceno*. Roma: Edizioni Nuova Cultura.
- Denizeau, C. (1960). *Dictionnaire des parlers arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine. Supplément au dictionnaire arabe-français de A. Barthlemy*. Paris: Maisonneuve.
- Durand, O. (1991). “I preverbi dell'imperfetto in arabo dialettale”. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 65(1-2), 1-11.
- Durand, O. (2009). *Dialettologia araba*. Roma: Carocci Editore.
- Durand, O.; Ventura, A. (2017). *Grammatica di arabo mediorientale*. Roma: Hoepli.
- Firănescu, D.R. (2015). “Ḥāshā-ki yā bintī! On Alethic and Deontic Modalities in Spoken Arabic from Syria”. *Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide. Proceedings of the 11<sup>th</sup> International Conference of AIDA*. Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 251-8.
- Firănescu, D.R. (2019). “Zarānā Law Ṭalā'et Yā Rēt! On Wish, Hope, and other Bouletic Modalities in Spoken Arabic from Syria”. Miller, C.; Barontini, A.; Germanos, M.A.; Guerrero, J.; Pereira, C. (eds), *Studies on Arabic Dialectology and Sociolinguistics. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference of AIDA*. Aix-en-Provence: Institut de recherches et d'études sur les mondes arabes et musulmans, 70-81. Livres de l'IEMAM. <https://books.openedition.org/iremam/3978>.
- Grotzfeld, H. (1965). *Syrisch-arabische Grammatik (Dialekt von Damaskus)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Harfouch, J. (1914). *L'Arabe dialectal de Syrie*. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique.
- Kallas, E. (1995). *Atabi Lebnaaniyyi. Un 'livello soglia' per l'apprendimento del neoarabo libanese*. Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina.
- Kassab, J. (1987). *Manuel du Parler Arabe Moderne au Moyen-Orient*. Vol. 1, *Course élémentaire*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Lentin, J. (1994a). “Classification et typologie des dialectes du Bilād al-Shām. Quelques suggestions pour un réexamen”. *Matériaux Arabes et Sudarabiques*, 6, 11-43.
- Lentin, J. (1994b). “Kān ya ma kān; sur quelques emplois de ma dans les dialectes arabes du Moyen-Orient”. *Dialectologia Arabica. A Collection of Articles in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Heikki Palva*. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 151-61. *Studia Orientalia* 75.
- Lentin, J. (1996). “Al-Shām, les dialectes arabes”. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 285-9. 2nd ed.
- Nakhla, R. (1937). *Grammaire du Dialecte Libano-Syrien. Première Partie: Exposé des Règles*. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique.
- Østrup, J. (1897). *Contes de Damas: recueillis et traduits avec une introduction et une esquisse de grammaire*. Leiden: Brill.
- Procházka, S. (2013). “Traditional Boatbuilding. Two Texts in the Arabic dialect of the Island of Arwād (Syria)”. Kutý, R.; Seeger, U.; Talay, S. (eds), *Nicht nur mit Engelszungen: Beiträge zur semitischen Dialektologie. Festschrift für Werner Arnold zum 60. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 275-88.

- Procházka, S. (2020). "Arabic in Iraq, Syria, and southern Turkey". Lucas, C.; Manfredi, S. (eds), *Arabic and contact-induced change*. Berlin: Language Science Press, 83-114.
- Stowasser, K.; Ani, M. (1964). *A Dictionary of Syrian Arabic. English-Arabic*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Woidich, M. (2006). *Das Kairenisch-Arabische. Eine Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.

