Libyan Studies 47 (2016), pp 149–165 © The Society for Libyan Studies
doi:10.1017/lis.2016.3 First published online 19 September 2016

An annotated bibliography of Arabic and Berber in Libya

By Adam Benkato[1] and Christophe Pereira[2]

"It is to be feared that atlases for such countries as *Libya* . . . will never see the light of day."[1]

Abstract

The Libyan varieties of both Arabic and Berber are among the least researched in their respective fields. In order to facilitate the study of these varieties, we present an annotated bibliography of all relevant research that could be identified up until the middle of 2016. With this, we aim to identify both the gaps in current and the possibilities for future research. Studies are grouped into Arabic and Berber sections, and subgrouped according to region. For Arabic, dialects of Tripoli and western regions, Benghazi and eastern regions, Fezzan and southern regions, as well as Jewish dialects, are treated. For Berber, varieties of Zwara, the Nafusa mountains, Sokna and El-Foqaha, and Awjila, and Tuareg are treated. Short introductions highlighting the most important studies precede bibliographic references and brief comments are given when of interest.

ان اللهجات الليبية العربية والامازيغية هي من المواضيع الاقل دراسة وبحثاً في مجالهما. ومن اجل تسهيل دراسة هذه اللهجات، نحن نقدم فهرساً مذيلاً لكل الابحاث المتعلقة بذلك والتي يمكن تحديدها حتى منتصف عام 2016. بهذا، نحن نهفد الى تحديد الفجوات في الدراسة الحالية وبحث امكانية دراسات مستقبلية. جميع الدراسات مصنفة تحت بابي العرب والامازيغ ومن ثم مصنفة حسب المنطقة. بالنسبة للعربية فقد تم تناول لهجات طرابلس والمناطق الغربية، وبنغازي والمناطق الشرقية، وفزان والمناطق الجنوبية، اللهجات اليهودية ايضا. اما بالنسبة للامازيغية فقد تم دراسة اللهجات من زوارة، وجبل نفوسة، والسوكنة والفقها واوجلة، ولهجة الطوارق. كما ادرجنا مقدمات قصيرة تسلط الضوء على اهم الدراسات تسبق المراجع البيلوغرافية وتعليقات مختصرة كلما دعت الحاجة لذلك.

1. Introduction[2]

Both Arabic and Berber varieties in Libya are among the least studied of their respective linguistic groups. Although numerous works on Arabic and Berber were published during the Italian occupation, from that period until the early 2000s only a single monograph-length scholarly publication appeared on any variety of either Arabic or Berber in Libya. Even now, despite a marked increase in the number of scholars who devote linguistic attention to Libya, the documentation and study of language in Libya still lags behind that of neighbouring countries. Unfortunately, this state of affairs can largely be attributed to the fact that Libya has been very inaccessible for non-Libyan scholars over the past several decades. Meanwhile, the vast majority of Libyan students who studied linguistics abroad did not publish their work. In fact, we have found a total of 38 PhD theses on Libyan Arabic (37) or Berber (1) by Libyan students in European and American universities, as well as about a dozen MA dissertations, all unpublished. This fact speaks, perhaps, both to the difficulty of Libyan scholars finding work in the West and to conditions in Libya which financially supported education abroad, but restricted research and knowledge production at home.

The reasons for compiling the present bibliography are twofold. First, bringing together references for whatever material exists for the study of these two languages and their varieties will benefit interested scholars. In this way, we intend this work to be a first step in the eventual compiling of Arabic and Berber dialectological atlases for Libya – a project, however, that will require much future fieldwork. Second, while we certainly aim to highlight the comparatively small amount of published work on Libyan Arabic and Berber, we also intend to draw attention to the unpublished studies of numerous Libyan graduate students abroad, as well as to relatively inaccessible works published in Libya. Though we have aimed to give as exhaustive a list as possible of the publications that do exist, we do not intend to comment on every one, but rather to give a general idea of the most important sources and studies while pointing out others which could be of use in further research. In this way, we hope that the main and numerous gaps in research may be seen and future avenues identified. Initially, we had also intended to compile a bibliography containing works on all languages of Libya – perhaps overly ambitious given the paucity of work on Arabic – but were unable to locate even a single work about Libyan varieties of Hausa or Tebu, or anything about the variety of Greek still spoken by the Grītlīya community in eastern Libya.

2. Libyan Arabic

2.1 General

A few publications discuss the linguistic situation in Libya from a general perspective, among which are

1 Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW), Berlin.
2 Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), Paris.

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2016.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

four main articles. Owens (1983) was the first to give an overview of multiple Arabic dialects in Libya; his short account was fieldwork-based and proposed a tentative classification of Libyan dialects into western, eastern and transitional varieties. It was not until the 2000s that new publications on languages in Libya appeared: Larcher (2001) gives a historical overview of the different languages used in the territory which constitutes modern-day Libya, while Quitout (2004) similarly traces the linguistic situation in Libya throughout history, giving attention to the position of foreign languages such as English, Italian and French. Pereira (2007) provides the latest overview of Arabic dialects in Libya, written from a dialectological point of view and emphasising comparatively more the description of Arabic.

Larcher, Pierre. 2001. Les Langues de la Libye: passé et présent. *La Revue des Deux Rives* 2: 43–51.
Owens, Jonathan. 1983 [1987]. Libyan Arabic dialects. *Orbis* 32.1–2: 97–117.
Pereira, Christophe. 2007. Libya. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics Vol. III Eg–Lan*. Brill, Leiden: 52–58.
Quitout, Michel. 2004. La Situation linguistique en Libye. *Folia Orientalia* 40: 313–26.

2.2 Tripoli

The dialect of Tripoli is by far the best-documented variety of Arabic in Libya, be it in linguistic descriptions (the earliest being Stumme 1898, as well as many Italian authors such as Cesàro, Griffini and Trombetti in the first half of the twentieth century) or works of historical, ethnological or anthropological focus (notably those of Cerbella, Chiauzzi and Rossi; see also section 2.7) which provide numerous corpora (poetry, proverbs, songs, sayings, riddles, etc.) that can be used by linguists. Italian researchers were productive during the Italian occupation of Libya, and were as a result of it able to publish works such as language manuals for military officers (see section 2.7) dictionaries (Griffini 1913), language textbooks (Farina 1912) and finally grammars and transcribed texts of a more linguistic approach (Cesàro 1939; Trombetti 1912). The end of Italian influence in Libya also meant that Italian scholarship on Libya decreased (the main exception being Gioia Chiauzzi, who carried out fieldwork from the 1960s to the 1990s). Studies on Libyan Arabic slowly started to appear again in the 1970s and 1980s thanks to some doctoral theses by Libyan students in the USA (especially Abdu 1988; Elfitoury 1976; Elgadi 1986), and they have continued to pick up pace as Libyan students complete MAs (e.g. Al-Ageli 1995; Algryani 2010–14; Laradi 1972; 1983) and PhDs (see further section 2.7) abroad. Unfortunately, as we have already mentioned, nearly all of these theses remain unpublished and most such students returning to Libya do not continue to be active in the field.

The most substantial fieldwork in recent decades has been that of Christophe Pereira, who has carried out fieldwork in Tripoli since the early 2000s, culminating with the publication of a grammatical sketch of Tripoli Arabic (Pereira 2010a). His corpus of recordings obtained from young men have also allowed for the expansion of Libyan Arabic research into the areas of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (Pereira 2007, 2009b; 2010b; Pereira et al., forthcoming). Now, thanks to the work of Najah Benmoftah (Benmoftah 2016; Benmoftah and Pereira, 2016), recordings obtained from women have also been brought into the available corpus of Tripoli Arabic.

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Aït-Oumeziane, Ramdane. 1986. Le Statut de la fonction sujet dans deux parlers arabes: Constantine et Tripoli. *La Linguistique (Revue de la Société de Linguistique Fonctionnelle)* 22.1: 81–92.
Al-Ageli, Hussein M. 1995. Syllabic and metrical structure in Tripolitanian Arabic: a comparative study in standard and optimality theory (Libya). PhD thesis, University of Essex. ix + 264 pp.
Algryani, Ali. 2010. Preposition stranding in Libyan Arabic sluicing. *Newcastle Working Papers in Linguistics* 16: 1–22.
Algryani, Ali. 2011. VP ellipsis in Libyan Arabic. *Newcastle Working Papers in Linguistics* 17: 1–22.
Algryani, Ali. 2011–12. Sluicing in Libyan Arabic. *Al-ʿArabiyya* 44.45: 41–63.
Algryani, Ali. 2012a. Stripping and negative contact in Libyan Arabic. *Newcastle Working Papers in Linguistics* 18: 1–23.
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https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2016.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

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Bocquet, André. 1980. *Grammaire de l'Arabe en usage à Tripoli*.

Borsley, Robert D., and Krer, Mohamed. 2012. An HPSG approach to negation in Libyan Arabic. *Essex Research Reports in Linguistics* 61.2: 1–24.

Cerbella, Gino. 1949. *Le Feste musulmane in Tripoli: Appunti Etnografici*. Tipografia Commerciale Fratelli Barbiera, Tripoli.

Cesàro, Antonio. 1939. *L'arabo parlato a Tripoli: grammatica, esercizi, testi vari*. Grammatiche e lessici delle lingue dell'Africa Italiana. Mondadori, Rome. 292 pp.[3]

Cesàro, Antonio. 1954. Racconti in dialetto tripolino. *Annali di Istituto Universitario di Napoli* 6: 49–59.

Chiauzzi, Gioia. 1983. La spedizione di Napoli contro Tripoli d'occidente secondo il cronista tripolino Ḥasan Al-Faqīh Ḥasan Traduzione e osservazioni linguistiche. *Studi Magrebini* 15: 75–153.

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D'Anna, Luca. Forthcoming. Italian loanwords in Western Libyan Arabic: phono-morphological analysis and semantic considerations. In Stefano Manfredi, Mauro Tosco and Giorgio Banti (eds), *Arabic in Contact*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Elfitoury, Abubaker Abdalla. 1976. A descriptive grammar of Libyan Arabic. PhD thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, DC. 292 pp.

Elgadi, Abdalla Salem. 1986. Tripolitanean Arabic phonology and morphology: a generative approach. PhD thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, DC. 252 pp.

Farina, Giulio. 1912. *Grammatica araba per la lingua letteraria con un'appendice sul dialetto tripolino*. Giulio Groos, Bologna.

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Laradi, Widad J. 1972. Negation in colloquial Tripoli Arabic. MA dissertation, University of Leeds. 44 pp.

Laradi, Widad J. 1983. Pharyngealization in Libyan (Tripoli) Arabic: an instrumental study. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh. 362 pp.

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https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2016.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

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Rossi, Ettore. 1925–26a. Poesia popolare della Tripolitania: Canti storici II. *Rivista della Tripolitania* 2.2: 91–97.

Rossi, Ettore. 1925–26b. Poesia popolare della Tripolitania: III Canti di battaglia, competizione di tribù, elegie. *Rivista della Tripolitania* 2.3: 169–76.

Rossi, Ettore. 1925–26c. Poesia popolare della Tripolitania: III Canti di battaglia, competizione di tribù, elegie. *Rivista della Tripolitania* 2.4: 237–47.

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Shitaw, Abdurraouf Elhashmi. 2014. An instrumental phonetic investigation of timing relations in two-stop consonant clusters in Tripolitanian Libyan Arabic. PhD thesis, University of Leeds. 570 pp.

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https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2016.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press

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Suwayd, ʿAbdallah. 1984. *Luġat al-ʾišāra al-ʿarabiyya: luġat al-ṣumm*. Al-Manšaʾa al-ʿĀma, Tripoli.

Trombetti, Alfredo. 1912. *Manuale dell'arabo parlato a Tripoli: Grammatica, letture e vocabolario*. L. Beltrami, Bologna.

Vaccari, Alberto. 1912. *L'Arabo scritto e l'arabo parlato in Tripolitania: Grammatica elementare pratica*. G. B. Paravia & C., Turin.

Wagnon, Adrien. 1894. *Chants des bédouins de Tripoli et de la Tunisie, traduits d'après le recueil du Dr. H. Stumme*. Ernest Leroux, Paris. [Translation of selected texts from Stumme 1894.]

2.3 Tripoli Jewish

The Jewish community of Tripoli, which unfortunately now exists only in diaspora, spoke an urban ('pre-Hilali') dialect, distinct from that spoken by Muslims by features such as the retention of *q as [q] and the realisation of *t as [č] (where the Muslim dialect has [g] and [t] respectively). Initial descriptive overviews were made by the anthropologist Harvey Goldberg (1974; 1983); Cohen (1928) contains some transcribed texts in Judaeo-Arabic and Simon (1989) contains some sociolinguistic observations. The most detailed, and indeed authoritative, study of this dialect is Sumikazu Yoda's (2005) monograph based on fieldwork undertaken among the diaspora in Israel, which includes a lexicon and one transcribed text.[4] Yoda continues to publish research on aspects of the dialect (2012; 2013; 2015). Also needed is research on Judaeo-Arabic documents produced in Tripoli over the past hundred years. Yoda (2004) offers a few comments on written texts. An archive of both Judaeo-Arabic and Hebrew documents was kept in Tripoli until recently, as some researchers have informed us, and were even known to the orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy, who cited a Judaeo-Arabic manuscript from Tripoli in his *Grammaire arabe*.[5] The Arabic varieties that were once spoken by other Jewish communities in Libya, including that of the second-largest community in Benghazi, have remained completely undocumented. Fieldwork with elderly members of the diaspora communities is urgently needed.

Cohen, Mordekhai. 1928. *Gli Ebrei in Libia. Usi e costume. Tradotto e annotato da Martino Mario Moreno*. Sindicato Italiano Arti Grafiche, Rome.

Goldberg, Harvey E. 1974. A pilot study of the culture and language of Tripolitanian Jewry. *Lešonenu* 38: 137–47. [In Hebrew.]

Goldberg, Harvey E. 1983. Language and culture of the Jews of Tripolitania: a preliminary view. *Mediterranean Language Review* 1: 85–102.

Simon, Rachel. 1989. Language change and socio-political transformations: the case of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Libyan Jews. *Jewish History* 4.1: 101–21.

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Yoda, Sumikazu. 2013. Judeo-Arabic, Libya, Hebrew component in. In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2. Brill, Leiden: 393–97.

Yoda, Sumikazu. 2015. Negation in modern Tripolitanian Judaeo-Arabic. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 13: 63–85. [In Japanese.]

2.4 Western dialects

Compared with the dialect of the city of Tripoli, documentation and studies scarcely exist for Arabic varieties spoken in the region of Tripolitania or western Libya. The few existing works mainly provide linguistic descriptions of the vernaculars of urban centres such as Misrata (D'Anna, forthcoming; Elramli 2012), Al-Khums (Benmoftah and Pereira, forthcoming) on the Tripolitanian coast, as well as inland towns such as Zliten (Abumdas 1985) and Jadu (Pereira 2012). Thanks to Ras Ali (2015), who is currently preparing a PhD about the Misrata dialect based on a corpus of female consultants (under the direction of Christophe Pereira), a study of the speech of women – an area entirely unstudied until very recently (see Benmoftah 2016; Benmoftah and Pereira, forthcoming, in section 2.2) – will be available. The brief description of Jadu Arabic was possible thanks only to the texts published by Gioia Chiauzzi (1971). Some new data has come to light based on work with informants resident in Europe: Klimiuk

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(forthcoming) treats a comparative topic and includes data from the dialect of Msallata near Tripoli, while D'Anna (forthcoming) is based on data from the Misrata dialect. Of great necessity are studies on Arabic–Berber language contact in Zwara and the Nafusa mountains, as well as further documention of rural and urban varieties from this area, especially that of Misrata, Libya's third-largest city.

Abumdas, Abdul Hamid Ali. 1985. Libyan Arabic phonology. PhD thesis, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. ix+300 pp. [Discusses the variety of Zliten in western Libya.]

Benmoftah, Najah, and Christophe Pereira. Forthcoming. Preliminary remarks on the Arabic spoken in Al-Khums (Libya). In Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (ed.), *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends, Recent Developments, Diachronic Aspects*. IEIOP, Zaragoza.

Chiauzzi, Gioia. 1971. Intervista nel Nefûsa. *Oriente Moderno* 51: 834–53.

D'Anna, Luca. Forthcoming. Two texts in the Arabic dialect of Miṣrāta, with preliminary notes and observations. *Mediterranean Language Review*.

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Elramli, Yousef. 2012. Phonological assimilation of the prefix /t-/ in Misrata Libyan Arabic. *Newcastle Working Papers in Linguistics* 18: 38–51. [Based on data from Misrata.]

Harrama, Abdulgialil Mohamed. 1993. Libyan Arabic morphology: Al-Jabal dialect. PhD thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson. 251 pp. [Data from an unspecified village in the Nafusa mountains.]

Klimiuk, Maciej. Forthcoming. The particle rā- in Libyan Arabic dialects. In V. Ritt-Benmimoun (ed.), *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends, Recent Developments, Diachronic Aspects*. IEIOP, Zaragoza.

Pereira, Christophe. 2012. L'Arabe de Žâdů̄ (Žébel Nefûsa) d'après Gioia Chiauzzi. In Alexandrine Barontini, Christophe Pereira, Ángeles Vicente and Karima Ziamari (eds), *Dynamiques langagières en Arabophonies: variations, contacts, migrations et créations artistiques. Hommage offert à Dominique Caubet par ses élèves et collègues*. IEIOP, Zaragoza: 164–99. [Dialectological analysis of the data presented in Chiauzzi 1971.]

Ras Ali, Hawa. 2015. L'Arabe de Misurata (Libye). MA dissertation, INALCO, Paris. 107 pp.

2.5 Benghazi and eastern dialects

The first study of the Arabic dialect of Benghazi was that of the Italian scholar Ester Panetta, whose fieldwork in the 1930s and 1940s led to a grammatical sketch (Panetta 1943a) and was the basis for a later attempt at an Italian–Benghazi Arabic dictionary (Panetta 1958–80), which only reached the letter E. Meanwhile, her contemporary Elpidio Iannotta provided a description of a rural variety of eastern Libya near al-Bayda (Iannotta 1933). Both were classical descriptive works in that they provided a grammar, transcribed texts and lexicon material. The next fieldwork untertaken was that of T. F. Mitchell among Bedouin near Shahhat (Mitchell 1952; 1957; 1960). In the 1970s, Jonathan Owens' fieldwork in Benghazi resulted in the most recent grammar of an eastern Libyan variety (Owens 1984) – although referring to 'Eastern Libyan Arabic' in the title, the variety described is more representative of Benghazi than of rural dialects. The only recent fieldwork in Benghazi has been carried out since 2010 by Adam Benkato, who gives accounts of the dialect within the framework of Maghrebi dialectology (Benkato 2014; forthcoming). This dialect is then treated in a comparative study of mutual intelligibility, the first of its kind, in Čéplö et al. (forthcoming). Finally, if not for a few PhD theses by Libyan authors – Abdunnabi (2000) for the Jabal Akhdar and Aurayieth (1982) for Derna – we would have no other data from eastern Libyan dialects. As it is, documentation of both rural and urban speech throughout eastern Libya would be a great boon for Arabic dialectology, and sociolinguistic and gender analyses for the Benghazi dialect are completely lacking.

Abdunnabi, Awad Wanis. 2000. A descriptive grammar of Libyan Arabic (a structural approach). PhD thesis, University of Exeter. 2 vols. [On the Arabic variety of the Jabal Akhdar region in eastern Libya, providing the only recent data from that region.]

al-Ašhab, Badriya. 2008. *Muʿjam al-mufradāt al-binġāziyya*. n.p., Benghazi.

Angoujard, Jean-Pierre. 1981. Une lecture prosodique du Cyrénaique. *Etudes Arabes-Analyses. Théorie III*: 23–35.

Aurayieth, Abdulhamid. 1982. The phonology of the verb in Libyan Arabic. PhD thesis, University of Washington, Seattle. 184 pp. [Provides data on the dialect of Derna, eastern Libya, and is the only known data from Derna.]

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Benkato, Adam. 2014. The Arabic dialect of Benghazi (Libya): historical and comparative notes. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 59: 57–102.

Benkato, Adam. Forthcoming. Vowels in Benghazi Arabic: Maghrebi or Bedouin? In Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (ed.), *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends, Recent Developments, Diachronic Aspects*. IEIOP, Zaragoza.

Čéplö, Slavomír, Bátora, Ján, Benkato, Adam, Milička, Jiří, Pereira, Christophe, and Zemánek, Petr. Forthcoming. Mutual intelligibility of spoken Maltese, Libyan Arabic and Tunisian Arabic functionally tested: a pilot study. *Folia Linguistica*.

D'Anna, Luca. 2010. Per un profilo linguistico di Bengasi e della Cirenaica. MA dissertation, Università degli Studi di Napoli. 125 pp.

D'Anna, Luca. 2016. Agent speaker-oriented modality in the Arabic dialect of Benghazi (Libya). *Romano-Arabica* 16: 25–43.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. 1946. Topographical terms in common use among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 76: 177–88.

Fteita, Fawziyya. 1971. Stress and vowel quality of the verb in Libyan Arabic. Diploma, University of Reading. 45 pp.

Fteita, Fawziyya. 1973. Some aspects of the phonology of the Libyan Arabic of Benghazi. MA dissertation, University College of North Wales. 67 pp.

Grand'Henry, Jacques. 2000. Deux textes arabes de Benghazi (Libye). *Oriente Moderno* 19: 47–57.

Grand'Henry, Jacques. 2005. Un texte de Benghazi (Libye) en arabe mixte. In Jorge Aguadé, Ángeles Vicente and Leila Abu-Shams (eds), *Sacrum Arabo-Semiticum. Homenaje al Profesor Federico Corriente en su 65 Aniversario*. IEIOP, Zaragoza: 171–79. [Both this and the preceding reference are based, according to the author, on recordings made in Benghazi in the 1970s.]

Iannotta, Elpidio. 1933. *L'arabo parlato in Cirenaica: nozioni di grammatica, vocaboli vari, saggio di composizioni beduine in prosa e in versi*. Litografia del Governo, Governo della Cirenaica, Ufficio Studi, Tip. Pavone, Benghazi.

Iannotta, Elpidio. 1939. *Al-Risāla al-tamhīdiyya fī maʿrifat al-lahja al-barqāwiyya*. Al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAṣriyya, Cairo.

Larcher, Pierre. 2001. Le parler des arabes de Cyrénaïque vu par un voyageur Marocain du XIIIe siècle. *Arabica* 48.3: 368–82.

Laria, Massimo. 1993. Classi morfologiche del verbo nel dialetto della Cirenaica. *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 11: 107–15.

Laria, Massimo. 1996. Some characteristic features of Cyrenaican Arabic. In Joe Cremona, Clive Holes and Geoffrey Khan (eds), *Proceedings of the Second International Conference of l'Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe (AIDA), University of Cambridge, 10–14 September 1995*. University Publications Centre, Cambridge: 123–32.

Matera, G. 1914. *Dialetto arabo della Cirenaica*. C. Nani, Como.

Mitchell, Terence F. 1952. The active participle in an Arabic dialect of Cyrenaica. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14.1: 11–33.

Mitchell, Terence F. 1957. The language of buying and selling in Cyrenaica. *Hespéris* 44: 31–71.

Mitchell, Terence F. 1960. Prominence and syllabification in Arabic. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23.2: 369–89. [Treats eastern Libyan and Egyptian Arabic.]

Owens, Jonathan. 1980. The syllable as prosody: a re-analysis of syllabification in eastern Libyan Arabic. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43.2: 277–87.

Owens, Jonathan. 1984. *A Short Reference Grammar of Eastern Libyan Arabic*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

Owens, Jonathan. 1993. Imâla in eastern Libyan Arabic. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 25: 251–59.

Panetta, Ester. 1940. *Pratiche e credenze popolari libiche: Testi in arabo bengasino tradotti e annotati*. Istituto Per L'Oriente, Rome.

Panetta, Ester. 1941. Proverbi, modi di dire, e indovinelle arabi di Bengasi. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 19: 249–81.

Panetta, Ester. 1943a. *L'arabo parlato a Bengasi. I Testi con traduzione e note. II Grammatica*. Grammatiche e lessici delle lingue dell'Africa italiana. 2 vols. Libreria dello Stato, Rome.

Panetta, Ester. 1943b. *Forme e soggetti della letteratura popolare libica*. Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale, Milan.

Panetta, Ester. 1956. *Poesie e canti popolare arabi*. Guanda, Parma.

Panetta, Ester. 1958. Vocabolario e Fraseologia dell'arabo parlato a Bengasi. Lettera A. *Annali Lateranensi* (*Annali del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico*) 22: 318–69.

Panetta, Ester. 1962a. Vocabolario e Fraseologia di Bengasi (continuazione del XXII, 1958). *Annali Lateranensi* (*Annali del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico*) 26: 257–90.

Panetta, Ester. 1962b. Vocabolario e Fraseologia dell'arabo parlato a Bengasi. Lettera B. *Studi Orientali 5 (A Francesco Gabrieli. Studi orientalistici offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno dai suoi colleghi e discepoli)*: 195–216.

Panetta, Ester. 1964a. Vocabolario e Fraseologia dell'arabo parlato a Bengasi. Lettera C. *Annali*

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dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli 13.1: 27–91.

Panetta, Ester. 1964b. Vocabolario e Fraseologia dell'arabo parlato a Bengasi. Lettera D. *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 14.1 (Scritti in onore di Laura Veccia Vaglieri): 389–413.

Panetta, Ester. 1980. Vocabolario e Fraseologia dell'arabo parlato a Bengasi. Lettera E. *Oriente Moderno* 60.16 (Studi in memoria di Paolo Minganti): 197–213.

Steita, Fathiya. 1970. Clusters in grammatical categories in Cyrenaican Arabic. MA dissertation, University of Leeds.

Türkmen, Erkan. 1988. Arapça'nın Libya lehçesindeki Türkçe kelimeler / Turkish words in the Libyan dialect of Arabic. *Erdem* 4–10: 211–25 [Turkish]; 227–43 [English].

Vella, Joseph. 1970. A comparative study in Maltese and Libyan (Benghazi dialect). Phonetics, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. MA dissertation, Royal University of Malta.

Weaver, John. 1970. Diglossia in Cyrenaica: an exemplification. MA dissertation, University of Leeds. 100 pp.

Widłaszewski, Ryszard. 2012. *Wstęp do arabskiego dialektu libijskiego Cyrenajki* [Introduction to the Arabic Dialect of Cyrenaica]. Poland (self-published). [In Polish.]

2.6 Dialects of the Fezzan and southern regions

Numerous varieties of Arabic, all largely undocumented, are spoken in the southern regions of Libya, usually referred to as the Fezzan. The main resource for Arabic in this region is the text collection of renowned Arabist Philippe Marçais (2001), which was published posthumously but contains work done between the 1940s and 1970s. It contains a number of transcribed and translated texts representing different nomadic and sedentary varieties, but lacks a substantial grammatical analysis. The wealth of material provided therein has formed the basis for all recent studies of Arabic in the Fezzan; see Caubet (2004) for a dialectological analysis and Bettini (2004), Caubet (forthcoming) and D'Anna (forthcoming) for analysis of specific aspects of grammar and morphology. Finally, Nikolova (2003) is based on fieldwork in the Sokna-Houn-Waddan group of oases.

Bettini, Lidia. 2004. Remarques sur les parlers Arabes du Fezzân (Libye). In Frédéric Bauden (ed.), *Mélange de langue arabe et d'islamologie offerts à Aubert Martin*. Peeters: Leuven and Paris: 11–28.

Borg, Alexander. 2005. Orality, language and culture in Arabic juridical discourse. Appendix to: Aharon Layish. *Sharī'a and Custom in Libyan Tribal Society: An Annotated Translation of Decisions from the Sharī'a Courts in Ajdābiya and Kufra*. Studies in Islamic Law and Society 24. Brill, Leiden: 317–51.

Botagga, M. F. 1991. A generative phonetic feature analysis of the vowel development of native Arabic speakers learning English as a second language. PhD thesis, Cardiff University. [The Arabic data is from the dialect of Sebha.]

Caubet, Dominique. 2004. Les parlers arabes nomades et sédentaires du Fezzān, d'après William et Philippe Marçais. In Martine Haak, Rudolf de Jong and Kees Versteegh (eds), *Approaches to Arabic Dialects: A Collection of Articles Presented to Manfred Woidich on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 38. Brill, Leiden: 67–95.

Caubet, Dominique. Forthcoming. A tentative description of aspect and modality in the Fezzan through the texts collected by William and Philippe Marçais (1944–1953). In Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (ed.), *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends, Recent Developments, Diachronic Aspects*. IEIOP, Zaragoza.

D'Anna, Luca. Forthcoming. On the development of conditional particles in the Arabic dialects of the Fezzān. In Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun (ed.), *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends, Recent Developments, Diachronic Aspects*. IEIOP, Zaragoza.

D'Anna, Luca. Forthcoming. On verbal negation in the Arabic dialects of the Fezzan. *Al-ʿArabiyya*.

Layish, Aharon. 1998. *Legal Documents on Libyan Tribal Society in Process of Sedentarization. Part I: The Documents in Arabic*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

Lethielleux, Jean. 1948. *Le Fezzan, ses jardins, ses palmiers: notes d'ethnographie et d'histoire*. Publications de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes 12. Imprimerie Bascone & Muscat, Tunis. [Contains a good deal of transcribed texts, including poems and proverbs. This work collects a series of articles published between 1945 and 1948 in the journal of the Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes (IBLA vols. 9–11) in Tunis.]

Marçais, Philippe. 2001. *Parlers arabes du Fezzân: textes, traductions et éléments de morphologie rassemblés et présentés par Dominique Caubet, Aubert Martin et Laurence Denooz*. Librairie Droz, Geneva.

Marçais, William. 1945. Les parlers arabes du Fezzân. In *Travaux de l'Institut de recherches sahariennes* vol. 3. Ernest Imbert, Algiers: 186–88.

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Nikolova, Viara. 2003. Fonetichni i morfologichni osobenostina libiyskiya dialekt [Phonetic and morphological characteristics of the Libyan dialect]. MA thesis, Université Saint Kliment Ohridski, Sofia (Bulgaria). [In Bulgarian.]

2.7 Miscellaneous

Finally, we devote a 'miscellaneous' section to collect further works for the sake of completeness. Some of these works are linguistic studies which describe 'Libyan Arabic' without specifying any variety, and as such are less useful for dialectological research, but may nevertheless be useful for their approaches (e.g. Ahmed 2008; Gaber 2012; Gaddafi 1990; Kriba 2010). Others here are written for general audiences, are too generic to be used in research, or are textbooks which are outdated or impossible to find, again citing 'Libyan Arabic' while mixing forms and idioms from different varieties. The two most recent textbooks are Dickinson (2004) and Le Quellec (2003) – pedagogy is yet another area where new materials are an urgent desideratum. A number of proverb collections also exist: see Abdelkafi 1968; Ali 2001; Ashiurakis 1975; Chambard 2002; Elmaamri 2013; al-Miṣrātī 2002; Quitout 2006. Chambard's work especially provides 1957 proverbs transcribed and translated, along with a lengthy French–Arabic glossary. Brief linguistic analyses of some of Qaddafi's speeches can be found in Larcher (1997) and Mazraani (1997). We mention again that works such as those of Cerbella, Chiauzzi, and Rossi (see section 2.2) in particular provide, in their works of primarily ethnological or anthropological focus, corpora in various varieties of Libyan Arabic. The most important resource in this regard, however, may be the 42-volume 'Encyclopedia of Accounts of the Jihād' (*Mawsūʿat riwāyāt al-jihād*) published between 1983 and 2002 by the Libyan Studies Center in Tripoli, containing several thousand pages of transcribed interviews with participants in the resistance against the Italian occupation and representing a number of older and previously unrecorded varieties of Libyan Arabic.

Abdelkafi, Mohamed. 1968. *One Hundred Arabic Proverbs from Libya*. Vernon & Yates, London.

Abugassa, Muhammad. 1966. *A Glossary and Phrase Book of Libyan Arabic*. Princeton University Peace Corps Training Center.

Abukhattala, Ibrahim, and Hmaid, Yaseen. 2011. ESL, internet and globalization in Arab countries: with a specific reference to Libya. *Majallat al-Bāḥiṯ* 9: 67–84.

Abulgasem, Munsef. 1982. L'Emprunt lexical en arabe Libyen. DEA dissertation, Université Paris-Sorbonne-4. 67 pp.

Ageli, Nuri R. 1989. Tense and aspect in the English of Libyan Arabic-speaking students: a contrastive/error analysis study with pedagogical implications. PhD thesis, University of Wales, College of Cardiff. xxi +381 pp.

Ahmed, Albashir Abdulhamid Muftah. 2008. Production and perception of Libyan Arabic vowels. PhD thesis, University of Newcastle. xv+277 pp.

Ahmed, Khadeja Mujtaba. 2014. The uses of 'bahi' as a discourse marker in the daily Libyan Arabic conversation. *International Journal of English Language and Translation Studies* 2.1: 171–81.

Ahnaïba, Adel. 2006. Les Verbes supports en arabe classique, arabe moderne et arabe libyen: le cas de 'akhadha / ittakhadha (prendre). PhD thesis, Université Paris-Sorbonne-4.

al-Any, Riyadh S. 1968. *Libyan Arabic*. n.p. 124 pp.

Albakoosh, Esmaeil. 2010. Arabic phonetic modeling from speech recognition perspective. MA dissertation, Universiti Utara Malaysia.

al-Būjdīdī, Muḥammad. 2006. *Al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-juġrāfiyya al-lībiyya bayn al-fuṣḥā wa al-ʿāmiyya*. Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyīn li-l-Dirāsāt al-Tāriḫiyya, Tripoli.

al-Ḫarīf, ʿAwēša M. 2012. *Al-Būgālāt al-ṭarābulusiyya*. Dār al-Nubalāʾ, Cairo.

Ali, Mohamed Khalid. 2001. The translation of idiomatic texts: the case of Libyan proverbs. PhD thesis, University of Leeds.

Alesawe, Ahmed Altahr. 2015. A comparison of tense, aspect and voice systems of English, Modern Standard Arabic and Libyan dialects and the possible implications for the learning and using of English tense, aspect and voice by Libyan university students. PhD thesis, University of Leeds, School of Education. xi+298 pp.

al-Seghayar, Mohamed. 2006. Patterns of lexical variation in vocative kinship terms in Libyan Arabic. In Saleh Mejri (ed.) *L'arabe dialectal: enquêtes, descriptions, interpretations (Actes d'AIDA 6). Travaux offerts au Professeur Taïeb Baccouche*. Cahiers du C.E.R.E.S., Tunis: 27–45.

al-Šammāḫī, Karīma. 2007. *Al-Bugāla fi al-mawrūṯ al-šaʿbī al-lībī*. Dār Hānībāl, Benghazi.

Altubuly, Sara. 2009. Phonological development in Libyan Arabic speaker children: a case study. MA dissertation, University of Essex.

Applegate, Joseph. 1968. *Libyan Arabic*. Howard University, Washington, DC. 191 pp.

Ashiurakis, Ahmed M. 1972. *Spoken Arabic Self-Taught (Libyan Vernacular)*. Libyan Press, Tripoli.

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Ashiurakis, Ahmed M. 1975. *Libyan Proverbs*. Dar al-Farjani, Tripoli.

Ashiurakis, Ahmed M. 1976. *How to Speak Arabic in Libya: A Complete Course*. Mukhtar, Tripoli.

Ashiurakis, Ahmed M. 1977a. *Modo pratico per imparare l'arabo parlato in Libia*. Dar al-Farjani, Tripoli.

Ashiurakis, Ahmed M. 1977b. *A Complete Course of How to Speak Arabic in Libya*. 1st edition. Mukhtar Bookshop, Malta. [2nd edition. 1985. al-Dar al-Jamahiriya for Publishing, Distribution, and Advertising, Misrata.]

Banks, P., and Beheri, M. 1960. *Manual of Cyrenaican Colloquial Arabic, Part 1: Elementary*. BP Exploration Co., Benghazi.

Benedict, W. C. 1959. *Cyrenaican Arabic*. n.p., Washington, DC.

Ben Taher, Mohamed M. 2006. Natural morphology in Standard Arabic and Libyan Arabic. *Majallat al-Sātil: The 7th October University*: 9–48.

Bevilacqua, Giuseppe. 1912. *Manualetto pratico-teorico per imparare senza maestro l'arabo volgare che si parla in Tripolitania e Cirenaica*. Tipografi Domenico Vena, Palermo. 123 pp.

Bradburne, C. P. 1962. *Basic Tripolitanian Arabic: A Course for Beginners in the Spoken Arabic of North-Western Libya*. Middle East Export Press, Lebanon (designed and written for Mobil International Oil Company).

Bresse, P. Francesco. 1930. *L'arabo parlato in Egitto, in Siria e nella Tripolitania, ossia manuale di grammatica, nomenclatura fraseologia e conversazione in arabo egiziano colle differenze e modificazioni dell'arabo siriano e tripolino*. Tipografia dei Francescani, Jerusalem. viii+131 pp.

Bushwereb, A. K. 1978. *Colloquial Arabic for Doctors in Libyan Arab People's Socialist Jamhiriya*. General Publishing Co., Tripoli.

Cerbella, Gino. 1953a. Caratteristiche della società musulmana libica. *Libia* 1: 7–81.

Cerbella, Gino. 1953b. Il tè nella vita, nella poesia e nelle tradizioni del popolo libico. *Libia* 4: 53–62.

Cerbella, Gino. 1954a. I colori della bandiera libica nella storia e nella letteratura Arabo-musulmama. *Libia* 1: 45–76.

Cerbella, Gino. 1954b. Canti di marinai Tripolini. *Libia* 3: 21–24.

Cerbella, Gino. 1954c. Il tè nella vita, nella poesia e nelle tradizioni del popolo libico. Il tè nella vita sociale. *Libia* 1: 83–94.

Cerbella, Gino. 1954d. Il tè nella vita, nella poesia e nelle tradizioni del popolo libico. Il tè nella confezione praticata in Libia. *Libia* 2: 67–72.

Cerbella, Gino. 1954e. Il tè nella vita, nella poesia e nelle tradizioni del popolo libico. Benefici e malefici del tè nelle credenze popolari. *Libia* 3: 57–76.

Cerbella, Gino. 1954f. Il tè nella vita, nella poesia e nelle tradizioni del popolo libico. Legende sul caffè nell'oriente musulmano. *Libia* 4: 51–71.

Cerbella, Gino. 1955a. Mare e marinai in Libia. *Libia* 1: 5–54.

Cerbella, Gino. 1955b. Mare e marinai in Libia (continuazione e fine). *Libia* 2: 3–34.

Cerbella, Gino. 1955c. Il Gārāgûz in Libia e nell'Oriente. *Libia* 3: 3–43.

Cerbella, Gino. 1955d. Ġûma, poeta e patriota libico, nella storia e nella legenda. *Libia* 4: 3–23.

Cerbella, Gino. 1956. *Poesie e canti popolari arabi*. n.p., Tripoli.

Cesàro, Antonio. 1935. Le caratteristiche fonetiche dei linguaggi Arabi e Berberi della Libia nei riguardi della trascizione ufficiale Italiana e della cartografia. *Atti del secondo Congresso di Studi Coloniali (Napoli 1–5 ottobre 1934)*, vol. 4. Leo S. Olschki, Florence: 164–69.

Chambard, Roger. 2002. *Proverbes libyens recueillis par Roger Chambard, édités par Gilda Nataf et Barbara Graille avec la collaboration d'Aziza Boucherit*. Karthala, Paris.

Chiauzzi, Gioia. 1971. Alcune cantilene relative a cerimonie e ricorrenze libiche. *Studi Magrebini* 4: 77–111. [Chiauzzi's corpus was gathered in several regions, including the Tripolitanian coast, in Ghadames, and in the Fezzan (Sebha, Tadrart Akakus, and the extreme south-west near the Algerian and Tunisian border).]

Chiauzzi, Gioia. 1972. Materiali per lo studio dei riti agrari in Libia. *Africa* 27.2: 193–230.

Chiauzzi, Gioia. 1974. Materiali per lo studio dell'abbigliamento in Libia. *Studi Magrebini* 6: 73–128.

Chiauzzi, Gioia. 2004 [2005]. *Cibi che han fame: šešibâni, Úmmuk zeinûba e Nâga. Ediz. italiana e araba*. Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico, Naples (*Bollettino dell'AGAM 2 = Quaderni di AIΩN*, Nuova serie 9). [The corpus of texts forming the basis of this study were gathered mainly in the Fezzan.]

Chiauzzi, Gioia. 2007. Stato moderno e culture locali. Palme in parata. Sahara 1974. *Studi Magrebini* 5: 75–83.

Crawford, Kenneth P. 1966. *A Short Course in Libyan Arabic*. Princeton University Press, Libya Peace Corps Program. 153 pp. with cassettes.

Crawford, Kenneth P. n.d. *The Spoken Arabic of Tripoli, Libya*. n.p., Washington, DC.

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Curotti, Torquato. 1933. *Il Dialetto Libico. Grammatica, Conversazione, Dizionario*. Plinio Maggi, Tripoli. 431 pp.

Deikna, Yousef M. 2011. Imaala in Libyan Arabic. MA dissertation, Ball State University, Muncie, IN. 52 pp.

Deryabin, Victor. 2007. *Russko-Libiyskiy razgovornik (Libiyskiy Dialekt)* [Russian–Libyan Conversation (Libyan Dialect)]. Sapport ST, Moscow. [In Russian.]

Dickinson, Eerik. 2004. *Spoken Libyan Arabic*. Dunwoody Press, Springfield, VA.

Di Tucci, Raffaele. n.d. [1912 ?] *Dizionario italiano-arabo con elementi di grammatica*. Societa Editrice Sonzogno, Milan. [Data provided is of Tripoli Arabic.]

Ducati, Bruno. 1913. *Grammatica pratica della lingua araba parlata in Tripolitania e compresa dovunque si parli arabo*. Cooperativa Tipografica Azzoguidi, Bologna.

Ebert, Gerlinde, and Ebert, Hans-Georg. 1987. Zu einigen Aspekten der Sprach-situation und -politik in der SLAVJ (Libyen) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Italienischen. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 40.3: 381–90.

Edzard, Lutz. 2003a. Linguistic contexts between the Romance and the Semitic languages: the cases of Libya and the Horn of Africa. In Antonino Pellitteri (ed.), *Mağāz: Culture e contatti nell'area del Mediterraneo. Il ruolo dell'Islam*. n.p., Palermo: 219–29.

Edzard, Lutz. 2003b. Externe Sprachgeschichte des Italienischen in Libyen und Ostafrika. In Gerhard Ernst, Martin-Dietrich Gleßgen, Christian Schmitt and Wolfgang Schweickard (eds), *Romanische Sprachgeschichte. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Geschichte der romanischen Sprachen*, vol. 1. De Gruyter, Berlin and New York: 966–72. [Both this and the above reference actually contain little discussion relating to Libya, despite their titles.]

Elmaamri, Sedigh. 2013. Etude parémiologique comparée des proverbes français et des proverbes en dialecte libyen. PhD thesis, Université Stendhal-Grenoble 3.

Faldun, Vittorio. 1936. *Impariamo un po' d'arabo. Conversazione e Vocabolario Italiano-Arabo*. Libreria Editrice Vittorio Faldun, Benghazi.

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3. Libyan Berber

Languages of the Berber (or Tamazight) family, indigenous to northern Africa, are spoken throughout Libya by a small percentage of the population. The number of Berber speakers in Libya is difficult to estimate, and there are no reliable figures. The most numerically significant, as well as vibrant, Berber-speaking communities are those of Zwara along Libya's north-west coast and the Nafusa mountains in the west. Other communities include Ghadames and the Tuareg in south-western Libya, and the oases of Sokna, El-Foqaha, and Awjila in the central

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Sahara. It will be noticed that new fieldwork is a necessity for every variety of Libyan Berber.

3.1 Berber in Libya: general and comparative

The following are studies which deal with general aspects of the Berber language in Libya or which include significant Libyan Berber data in a comparative study.

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Asker, Adel, and Martin Jones, Marilyn. 2013. 'A classroom is not a classroom if students are talking to me in Berber': language ideologies and multilingual resources in secondary school English classes in Libya. *Language and Education* 27.4: 343–55.

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Souag, Lameen. 2013. Sub-Saharan lexical influence in North African Arabic and Berber. In Mona Lafkioui (ed.), *African Arabic: Approaches to Dialectology*. De Gruyter, Berlin: 211–36. [Lexical items of a number of Libyan Arabic and Berber varieties discussed.]

3.2 Zwara

Commensurate with its status as one of the Libyan Berber varieties with the most speakers, the variety of Zwara (Zwari *tawilult* 'Zwaran') has also been the subject of comparably numerous studies. The English scholar T. F. Mitchell carried out fieldwork there in the 1940s and managed to bring informants to London for further work; two studies were published while he was alive (Mitchell 1953; 1957), and his texts were collected and published as monographs posthumously (Mitchell 2007; 2009). In the 1960s, the Italian scholar Luigi Serra also carried out fieldwork and has published a number of studies focusing on the Zwaran lexicon and its relationship with other Berber varieties. Both Paradisi (1964) and Serra (1990) discuss the festival of Awussu.

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3.3 Jabal Nafusa

The Nafusa mountains (Ar. *žabal nafūsa*, Nafusi *adrar n ənfusən*) contain a chain of towns and villages, many, but not all, of which are Berber-speaking. Little is currently known about the exact distribution of speakers and the status of the different dialects, though some information has come to light recently via social media outlets, and more fieldwork is an urgent desideratum.[6] The northernmost Berber-speaking town seems to be Yefren, the variety of which is undocumented save for a few words. Moving southwards, the variety of Jadu has been the subject of the majority of published works (Buselli 1921; 1924; Cesàro 1949; Provasi 1973), including Beguinot (1931), the standard reference grammar for 'Nafusi' Berber. The southernmost varieties, also undocumented, of the Nafusa mountains seem to be the towns of Nalut near, and Wazzin on, the Libyan–Tunisian border. Ghadghoud (2013) seems to be the most recent fieldwork-based study of a Nafusi variety.

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3.4 Ghadames

The oasis of Ghadames (Ar. *ġadāmis*, Ghadamsi *ʻademəs*), home to about 10,000 people, is located near where Libya, Tunisia and Algeria meet. Famed for its unique vernacular architecture, it is also home to a unique variety of Berber. The language was already known to the early Berberologist Calassanti-Motylinski (1903 and 1904; for discussion of earlier mentions of the oasis, see 1904, 171–312), who based his work primarily on written materials. The first extensive *in situ* study of Ghadamsi was that of Jacques Lanfry, a Catholic missionary who stayed in Ghadames in 1944–45 and produced an ethnographic and linguistic sketch (Lanfry 1968) and a lexicon of about 2,000 words (Lanfry 1973). All subsequent work, including Kossmann's (2013) detailed grammatical sketch, is based on Lanfry's materials, with one exception. A hitherto overlooked resource for Ghadamsi is the thesis by Yedder (1982), containing nearly one hundred transcribed texts, detailed ethnological information and a number of unique colour photographs. Finally, Hārūn (n.d.) provides an account of the language in Arabic, along with 484 sayings and prayer formulas.

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3.5 Sokna and El-Foqaha

The oases of Sokna and El-Foqaha are located in central Libya. Sokna belongs to a cluster of three oases, the other two being the more populous Houn and Waddan, which lies approximately 250 km from both the Mediterranean coast to the north and Sebha to the south. In the nineteenth century, European travellers through the Libyan desert stopped by the oasis of Sokna and gathered a few word lists: Lyon (1821) contains a list of about 142 words constituting the oldest published source, while the vocabularies of Richardson made in 1850 were never published and were only recently rediscovered and analysed by Souag (forthcoming a;

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forthcoming b). The first, and to-date only, linguistic fieldwork to have been conducted on the Sokni language was that of the Italian military ophthalmologist Tommaso Sarnelli in the 1920s. Sarnelli, working with an informant in Tripoli, published six texts, all folk literature, in a detailed though idiomatic phonetic transcription with Italian translation, along with an Italian–Sokni word list of some 500 items (Sarnelli 1924). Later sketches of Sokni (Prasse 1982) are based on this material. Recently, a Berber speaker from Yefren travelling to Sokna was able to gather a word list of about 200 items from an elderly resident, many of which agree with those in Sarnelli (Sʿid n Yunes 2010a; 2010b).

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Sʿid n Yunes. 2010a. Tutlayt Tmaziɣt n Sukna (1). Tawalt. Available at: www.tawalt.com/?p=5047.
Sʿid n Yunes. 2010b. Tutlayt Tmaziɣt n Sukna (2). Tawalt. Available at: www.tawalt.com/?p=5390.

El-Foqaha is an oasis about 200 km to the south of Sokna. Only in 1934 did the Italian orientalist Francesco Beguinot find out that a Berber language was spoken there; working with a woman from El-Foqaha living in Zighen (a town near Sebha), he gathered a short word list on the basis of which he suggested the language's proximity to Sokni (Beguinot 1935 in section 3.1). However, no further research was carried out until 1960, when Umberto Paradisi was able to meet two speakers residing in Tripoli. His fieldwork resulted in the publication of five transcribed folk tales with an Italian–Berber lexicon (Paradisi 1961) and a grammatical sketch (Paradisi 1963). He reports that only three people could speak Berber effectively at that time, with ten or so more being able to understand it. Paradisi also provided a brief comparison with Sokni material, confirming the proximity of the two (1961: 296–302). Prasse (1996) is based on Paradisi's material.

Paradisi, Umberto. 1961. El-Fógăha, Oasi Berberofona del Fezzân. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 36: 293–302.
Paradisi, Umberto. 1963. Il Linguaggio Berbero di El-Fóğăha (Fezzân). *Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 13: 93–126.
Prasse, Karl-G. 1996. El-Foqahā. In *Encyclopédie Berbère*, vol. 19. Édisud, Aix-en-Provence: 2886–89. Available at: http://encyclopedieberbere.revues.org/1953.

3.6 Awjila

The oasis of Awjila (Ar. *awjila*, Awjili *ašal n awilən*) in eastern Libya, about 250 km south of Ajdabiya, is home to the easternmost Berber language spoken in Libya. The language was known to early researchers (Basset 1935; 1936; Zanon 1932), but the first extensive work on the language did not appear until Umberto Paradisi's fieldwork in the late 1950s, which resulted in an Italian–Berber lexicon (Paradisi 1960) and 15 transcribed texts with Italian translation (Paradisi 1961). More recently, Marijn van Putten compiled an extensive grammatical description of the language based on the materials collected by Paradisi (van Putten 2014a). The language is certainly still in use, primarily by those middle-aged and older (see van Putten and Souag, 2015), but it has been difficult to estimate the number of speakers since recent fieldwork has not been possible.

Basset, André. 1935. Siwa et Aoudjila, problème verbal berbère. In William Marçais (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Gaudefroy-Demombynes par ses amis et anciens élèves*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo: 279–300.
Basset, André. 1936. Siwa, Aoudjila et Imeghran à propos d'un rapprochement. *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université* 2: 119–27.
Basset, André. 1949. Sur une notation berbère de G. F. Lyon. *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 3: 379–81.
von Beurmann, Carl Moritz. 1862. Brief des Herrn von Beurmann an Professor Fleischer. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 16: 563–65. [Contains notes about Awjila with a few words.]
Brugnatelli, Vermondo. 1985. Il problema verbale di Siwa e Augila. *Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese* 26: 8–11.

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Müller, Frédéric. 1827. Vocabulaire du langage des habitants d'Audjelah. In Jean-Raimond Pacho (ed.), *Relation d'un voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque et les oasis d'Audjelah et de Maradeh*. Firmin-Didot, Paris: 317–57.

Paradisi, Umberto. 1960. Il Berbero di Augila, Materiale Lessicale. *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali* 35: 157–77.

Paradisi, Umberto. 1961. Testi Berberi di Augila (Cirenaica). *Annali Istituto Univeritario Oriente di Napoli* 10: 79–91.

Paradisi, Umberto 1963. Sul nome del 'topo' nel Berbero di Augila e una voce Libica citata da Erodoto. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 38: 61–65.

van Putten, Marijn. 2013 [2014]. Some notes on the development of Awjila Berber vowels. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 22.4: 236–55.

van Putten, Marijn. 2014a. *A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya): Based on Paradisi's Work*. Berber Studies 41. Rüdiger Köppe Verlag: Cologne.

van Putten, Marijn. 2014b. Some notes on the historical consonantism of Awjila. *Folia Orientalia* 51: 257–74.

van Putten, Marijn, and Benkato, Adam. Forthcoming. The Arabic strata in Awjila Berber. In Ahmad AlJallad (ed.), *Arabic in Context*. Brill, Leiden.

van Putten, Marijn, and Souag, Lameen. 2015. Attrition and revival in Awjila Berber: Facebook posts as a new data source for an endangered language. *Corpus* 14: 23–58.

Vycichl, Werner, and Prasse, Karl-G. 1989. Augila. In *Encyclopédie Berbère*, vol. 7. Edisud, Aix-en-Provence: 1950–55. Available at: http://encyclopedieberbere.revues.org/1220.

Zanon, Fernando. 1932. Contributo alla conoscenza linguistico-etnografica dell'oasi di Augila. *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 50.4: 259–76.

3.7 Libyan Tuareg

The Tuareg language, a variety of Berber, is spoken throughout south-western Libya. While varieties outside of Libya have received comparatively greater attention, Tuareg in Libya is scarcely documented and the only published accounts (Krause 1884; Nehlil 1909) are over a hundred years old. These focus on the variety of Tuareg spoken in Ghat (Ar. *ġāt*), a city of about 20,000 inhabitants near Libya's border with Algeria. The Tuareg live in many other cities of the region as well, such as Ghadames, Ubari and Murzuq, but linguistic studies have never been carried out in those locations and the number of Tuareg speakers cannot be ascertained. Estimates are further complicated by the fact that many Tuareg move across the borders. Regarding Ghat it should also be noted, as Ines Kohl kindly informs us, that Hausa is widely spoken. Finally, Brulard (1958) gives a few lexical items but is mostly an ethnological study, while the *Encyclopédie Berbère* entry on Ghat contains only historical information (linguistic information on Tuareg in general is included under the entry 'Ajjer').

Brulard, M. 1958. La Musique et la danse à Ghat. *Bulletin de Liaison Saharienne* 9: 37–48.

Encyclopédie Berbère. 1998. Ghât (Rhat). Vol. 20: 3101–7. Available at: http://encyclopedieberbere.revues.org/1921.

Krause, Gustav A. 1884. *Proben der Sprache von Ghat in der Sahara: mit haussanischen und deutscher Übersetzung*. F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig.

Nehlil, Mohammed. 1909. *Etudes sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Leroux (Publications de l'Ecole des Lettres d'Alger, Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine), Paris.

Notes

1 Peter Behnstedt, 2013, 'Dialectology', in J. Owens (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 321.

2 The authors wish to thank Jérôme Lentin in particular for substantially enlarging this bibliography with many references and suggestions. We are also grateful to Slavomír Čéplö for digging up material in the Slavic languages and to Marijn van Putten for some Berber-related references. Regarding conventions, we have given page numbers, where known, only for theses, and in cases where they may help to track down difficult to find publications. Titles in languages other than common European ones and Arabic are provided with a translation in brackets.

3 We were able to find a review of this early work: Jean Cantineau, 1941, *Revue Africaine* 85: 130–34.

4 The audio recording of this text may be found online at the *Semitisches TonArchiv*: bit.ly/1nsh2Xi.

5 Silvestre de Sacy, 1831, *Grammaire arabe à l'usage des élèves de l'Ecole spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*, 2 vols, Imprimerie Royal, Paris. See vol. 1, plates IVb, Va and Vb for the manuscript from Tripoli.

6 A few blogposts discussing data obtained from such outlets can be found at the following links: '"Hand" in NW Libyan/S Tunisian Berber': http://bit.ly/1mYE4Vp; 'Towards a Libyan/Tunisian Berber dialect atlas': http://bit.ly/1RQhavj; and 'Intra-Berber borrowing in Yefren': http://bit.ly/1RHwCvz.

https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2016.3 Published online by Cambridge University Press