



universität
wien

DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

„Maltese Dialectology: The Dialect of Żejtun“

Verfasserin

Julia Isabell Kenner

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag.phil.)

Wien, 2013

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 385

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Arabistik

Betreuer:

Univ. Prof. Dr. Stephan Procházka

Meiner Familie

Preface

Maltesisch stellt die sprachgewordene Verbindung zwischen der europäischen und der arabischen Welt dar. Als 'europäische' Studentin der arabischen Sprache bot sich diese Verbindung nun auch zur Untersuchung des Dialektes von Żejtun und dessen Realisation an.

Die immerzu großzügige Unterstützung meiner gesamten Familie, sei es finanzieller oder persönlicher Natur, machte mir das Studium der Arabistik als auch den Aufenthalt auf Malta und die dadurch gewonnenen Einblicke in die maltesische Kultur und Sprache erst möglich.

Daher möchte ich ihnen hiermit diese Arbeit widmen und danke ihnen von Herzen.

Dieses Studium und nun diese Arbeit sind mit vielen schönen, unterhaltsamen, bisweilen auch nervenaufreibenden Momenten gesegnet gewesen. Für diese Zeit danke ich besonders herzlich meiner Freundin Verena, die diese Jahre mit mir an der Universität Wien geteilt und zu etwas Besonderem gemacht hat.

Größten Dank gebührt meinem Betreuer Univ. Prof. Dr. Stephan Procházka für die inhaltliche Unterstützung, aber vor allem für seinen langen Atem und seine Geduld, die mir diese Arbeit erleichtert haben.

Dank gebührt auch Prof. Martin Zammit, der mir diese Audioaufnahme zur Verfügung stellte und mir bei der Anfertigung der Übersetzung behilflich war.

Table of Content

1	General remarks on Maltese	1
1.1	Etymological developments of Maltese	1
1.1.1	Italian influence	3
1.1.2	Semitic elements in Maltese	4
2	State of the Art: Maltese dialect research	6
2.1	Mikiel Anton Vassalli	6
2.2	Hans Stumme	8
2.3	Anibale Preca	9
2.4	Joseph Aquilina	9
2.5	Recent scholars	10
3	Prospect on papers topic	12
3.1	Linguistic variation	12
3.1.1	Dialect vs. standard language	12
3.1.2	Methods of dialectology	16
4	Text and Sound excerpt of a Żejtuni dialect and its counterpart in Standard Maltese	17
4.1	The informants	17
4.2	Żejtun	18
4.3	Transcription of the audio recording of the Żejtuni dialect	19
4.4	Transcription of the audio recording in Standard Maltese	23
4.5	Translation	27

5	Definition of the Žejtuni dialect as rural dialect	31
5.1	Phonology	31
5.1.1	Ishmam	31
5.1.2	Pharyngealised vowels	33
5.1.3	Consonantal phonemes	35
5.1.3.1	Realisation of the consonantal phonemes	35
5.1.3.2	Distribution	41
5.1.4	Vowel phonemes	48
5.1.4.1	ZJ short vowels	49
5.1.4.2	ZJ long vowels	52
5.1.4.3	Diphthongal segments SM	55
5.1.4.4	Diphthongal segments ZJ	57
5.1.4.5	Pharyngealised vowels ZJ	59
5.1.4.6	/għa/, /għe/, /għo/ in SM	62
5.1.4.7	Distribution	63
6	Conclusion	68
	Bibliography	72
7	Curriculum Vitae	76
8	Eidesstattliche Erklärung	77
9	Abstract	78

1 General remarks on Maltese

Maltese dialects are the local, predominantly spoken varieties of the official language of the Maltese islands. To understand the structure and phonetics of these varieties, it is necessary to have a closer look on Maltese itself. It is the national language as well as the official language (besides English) of the three islands Malta, Gozo and Comino.

Maltese is a language spoken by around 413.000 people and an estimated 100.000 more in Australia, Canada, Italy, Great Britain and the USA. (Straßbourg l'Européenne 2007)

1.1 Etymological developments of Maltese

The Islands of Malta have always been of strategic importance in the Mediterranean Sea and have therefore been conquered and occupied several times. Their history is closely connected to the history of Sicily, as both of them were conquered by the Arabs 870 C.E..

The Arabic brought to Malta was an Arabic dialect, descending from the dialects of the Maghreb (cf. Kontzi. 1982: 63 et sqq.) As Malta ceased to be connected to the Arabic world in 1090, when the Normans conquered the islands through Sicily, the development of the Arabic dialect spoken in Malta was cut

off, too. That is, there was no more close contact to the Maghrebinian mainland afterwards, so the Arabic of Malta altered differently than the dialects spoken by the Maghrebinian people.

The discussion about the language spoken by the inhabitants before the Arab conquest started in the 16th century, based on the idea, that Maltese derives from Phoenician (Brincat. 1995: 1). Throughout the next three centuries, scholars tried to find evidence for a substratum starting with M.A. Vassalli 1827 with his idea of a Punic substratum. Archaeology provides evidence of Phoenician culture, dating back to the seventh century B.C.E., but so far, there are no traces or indicators of Punic in Modern Standard Maltese (Brincat. 1995:2)

Another possible substratum being discussed is Latin. Several place names derive from Latin like the name of the island itself: Malta → Melita. Joseph Aquilina, a scholar from Malta, pointed out, that due to the influence of Sicilian Italian in Maltese, these Latin based place names could have derived from this influence rather than being a proof, that the people of Malta spoke Latin (cf. Aquilina. 1961: pp. 8-9). Once the Islands were occupied by its new masters from Sicily, the influence of Sicilian Italian began and therefore, the start of the Maltese language.

Once the islands were separated from the Arabic-speaking world, Romance influence naturally grew stronger. The language had to face this influence, too, and needed to adjust to the new situations. Over time, Maltese couldn't fulfil the demands for new words resulting from developments in various areas of life, such as culture, religion and of course, technology and economy. As Arabic

ceased to be the source of neologisms, Maltese compensated this significant lack by using Old Italian, Sicilian Italian and later, English. This influence meant the inclusion of seven consonantal phonemes: /p/, /g/, /ts/, /dz/, /tʃ/, /v/ and /ʒ/. (Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics. 2007: s.v. Maltese)

Maltese developed in two ways. One is the development and the changes affecting Arabic, the other is the strong influence of Italian, first mediaeval Sicilian, then Italian.

1.1.1 Italian influence

The influence of Italian is particularly visible in the field of vocabulary and phonology. The phoneme /p/ is a useful example therefore. Words taken from mediaeval Sicilian like *patiri* 'suffer' (Italian 'penare') changed to *bata* in Maltese, which means, they were framed by the rules of the Arabic morphology (cf. Kontzi. 1982: 67 et sqq.).

Perf.	Imperf.	PP.	Noun Sg./Pl.
<i>bata</i>	<i>jbati</i>	<i>batut</i>	<i>tbatija / tbatijiet</i>

Especially words of older origin have this alteration, but the language adapted to this sound over time, too, like the verb *pejjep* 'smoke', a verb derived from

English 'pipe' (cf. Ibid.: 67).

Perf.	Impf.	PP.	Noun
pejjep	jpejjip	mpejjep	tipjip

Yet, there are also words of older origin like *passjoni* 'passion', that haven't been changed. In fact, this word reached Malta via the educated class, that is the clergy, the suffix *-i* shows nevertheless the influence of Old Sicilian. Italian *-e* and Sicilian *-i* (cf. Ibid.: 67).

Many words derived from Italian refer to fields of social life, like the church, the names of the months and of course words, that are of newer origin, like medicines, entertainment, clothing as well as terms used for various areas of phonology and morphology.

1.1.2 Semitic elements in Maltese

The relation between words descending from Romance and Semitic is apparent in Joseph M. Brincat's examination of the Maltese-English Dictionary of Joseph Aquilina. Brincat let 30 of his students count the quantity of words in Aquilina's dictionary and determine the words according to etymology in general, that is, Semitic, non-Semitic, non-classified and others, as well as etymology in particular, that is, according to the respective language, mixed forms

and local forms.

This comparative study revealed the relation between the Semitic and the Romance element dominant in Maltese for the first time. Words of Semitic origin with 42,85 % are faced by words with non-Semitic origin with 51,70 %. If the words, which have been excluded before from the census due to the used search procedure, are taken into account, thus, the proportion increases between both dominant elements to 57,19 % in favour of the words of non-Semitic origin (cf. Brincat. 1996: pp. 113-115).

Even though a dominance of non-Semitic words is evident, the Semitic element of Maltese is still rich enough of expressiveness, which is reflected in the writings of Maltese poets. The influence of Italian in particular is apparent considering, that Italian was the sole official language and only then Maltese stepped into place. English however appears despite its status as second official language as a negligent element in this study, but it won't do justice to the share of English used in every-day-life. The tendency towards English is strong, especially among the younger population, where English is a prestigious language. However, it is not absorbed into the Maltese language, that is, it is not adapted to the Maltese system, but rather used in form of code-switching(cf. Bußmann. 2002: code-switching).

Code-switching is just one of various differences concerning spoken Maltese. Maltese also varies in its pronunciation. Although Malta and its neighbouring islands are just about 315 km² in total, they nevertheless possess a startling diversity of dialects. Malta is divided into 68 local councils since 1993. 54 are

situated in Malta, 14 in Gozo.

This subdivision into local councils is certainly a political, none, which allows a properly dialectal distinction. However, it is possible to discern dialectal areas.

2 State of the Art: Maltese dialect research

2.1 Mikiel Anton Vassalli

Mikiel Anton Vassalli has been the first one to register and write them down in his work *Discorso Preliminare* 1796. Vassalli isolated five dialectal groups: *Ilsien tal-bliet*, *Ilsien ta' Ghawdex*, *Ilsien tar-rħajjel t'isfel*, *Ilsien tar-rħajjel ta' fuq* and *Ilsien tar-rħajjel tan-nofs*, that is the language of the cities, the language of Gozo, the language of the lower villages, the language of the upper villages and the language of the central villages. He distinguished them due to their different pronunciation of the consonants and/or vowels (Fenech. 1981: pp. 1-13).

Beside those five dialects, there are subordinate dialects, which vary slightly amongst themselves in its pronunciation. As early as then, the dialect of Valletta set itself apart from the other dialects in terms of its plethora of loan-words, which are not in use in rural dialects. Vassalli reasoned, that this difference happened due to a more intense contact of the inhabitants of Valletta and its neighbouring seaports with foreigners coming over the Grant Harbour and

Marsamxett to Malta.

One distinctive feature of the urban dialects is the merging of three consonants (Aquilina/ Isserlin. 1981: 3):

Voiceless velar fricative [x] → pharyngeal fricativ [ħ]

Voiced velar fricative [ɣ] → pharyngeal fricative [ʕ]

Glottal stop [ʔ] → plosive velar [k]

This merger is found in Gozo (Schabert. 1976: 7)

The replacement of these sounds led to a nuisance in differencing the meanings as well as hypercorrections, which are illustrated in J. Aquilina's and B.S.J. Isserlin's A Survey of Contemporary Dialectal Maltese (Ibid.: pp. 3-4):

hypercorrect form	Vassalli's Ideal Maltese	SM	Translation
[inħossni ɣirkān][sic!]	[inħossni ʕirʔān]	[inħossni ārʔān]	I feel sweaty

Vassalli himself decided that the dialects of the central villages are outstanding, as the guttural sounds have been preserved despite the time that passed since the conquering of the islands and therefore the ceased connection to the Arabic language and culture (Ibid.: 9).

The voiceless fricative [h] was still heard in final position though as [ħ] in every other position. The vocalisation followed according the rules, i.e. long

vowels stay long and short vowels only occasionally receive lengthening or diphthongisation. (Ibid.: 10)

Unfortunately, Vassalli refrained himself from any further details to vowels. Due to his unstructured approach, his notes remain sketchy in several respects. For instance, his notes fail to contain details about the boundary lines of the respective districts, except of his home town Żebbuġ as a representative of the central dialects or Qormi as their subdialect (Ibid.: 12).

Vassalli's studies might not conform with the standards of research of today, nonetheless it gives an interesting insight on features of Maltese then (cf. Aquilina. 1976: 40 et sqq.).

2.2 Hans Stumme

After the notations of Vassalli almost a hundred years pass until the research on Maltese dialects continues.

Hans Stumme, orientalist at the University of Leipzig, applied himself to the task of compiling Maltese folk histories and songs for his study of the Maltese Language. This collection can be regarded as first modern research of Maltese dialects (cf. Price Glanville. 1998: 318). The compiled texts are the first to be written down in a phonetically correct form. Stumme gives further details about the respective village, the interviewed person as well as their social environment.

Phonetic peculiarities both are equally analysed and comparatively classified.

2.3 Anibale Preca

Beside these two first eminent papers on Maltese dialect research, there are others from this period like Annibale Preca's philological-etymological paper on Malta an Gozo, which arose out of his actual research topic as a by-product (cf. Fenech. 1981: 16 et seqq.).

Preca noticed during his work, that there are differences in vocalisation between city- and rural dialects. His notes, however, fail to be correct, as the vowels for the city dialect are the same used in written Maltese, except for sporadic statements on diphthongs in rural dialects.

This congruence with Standard Maltese is also found in his data concerning the consonants of the city dialects. His researches are not aimed for a phonetic writing as accurately as possible, but for a proof of his theory, Maltese traces back to Hebrew, Chaldaic or Phoenician (Ibid.: pp. 16 – 17). Therefore, Preca's notes on dialects can't be seen as relevant as Stumme's papers.

2.4 Joseph Aquilina

Joseph Aquilina would be the next scholar to be mentioned, who's intensively dealt with Maltese dialects since the 1960s. The New Malta-Leeds Dialect Sur-

vey, which developed in a cooperation with the University of Leeds, is his main work in regard of his research on dialects. A team of scholars, students and volunteers collected audio material, which was copied into Standard Maltese and partially into phonetic transcript.

As yet, this paper was just being finished for Gozo and published in 1981. The starting point of this survey is Arabic. The researchers used assumed original Arabic phonemes and subsequently observed their realisation in the different variants of the dialect (cf. Borg. 2011: 14).

2.5 Recent scholars

Alexander Borg, another Maltese scholar, who uses this diachronic approach, dealt with the topic of the Imaala (1976) and with pausal forms in Maltese (1977). (Fenech. 1981: 27)

Peter Schabert's study (1976) to the two dialects of Marsaxlokk and St. Julian is the first study after Stumme, which deals with the exact articulation of spoken Maltese. On the basis of interviews he did himself, Schabert analyses the recordings according to the phonemes, phonotactics as well as morphophonemics.

Further studies to the dialect of Xlukkajr (Marsaxlokk) through Incorvaja 2007 and Azzopardi-Alexander 2011 revealed a wider range of vowels in these dialects than Schabert indicated (Borg. 2011: 15).

Short vowels	Long Vowels	Diphthongs	
/i//o//æ//a/	/ī//ō//ā/	/æy//æw/	Schabert 1976
/i//ɛ//e//ɔ//u/	/i://ɛ://e://ɔ://u://i:/		Borg/Azzopardi- Alexander 1997 Standard Maltese
/i//ɛ//e//ɔ//u//ɯ//æ/	/i://ɛ://e://ɔ://u://i://u:/		Azzopardi- Alexander 2011

In the 1980s, research concerning Maltese dialects stagnated again for almost 10 years.

More recently, it started anew with Antoinette Camilleri and Martine Vanhove's published paper on the Maltese dialect of Mġarr (1994). Furthermore, the Department of Maltese at the University of Malta spawned a few students, who were interested in their language and their dialects and thus provided yet unpublished dissertations. Parts of the results are used in the newest study on Maltese language published in 2011. (Borg. 2011: 13).

3 Prospect on papers topic

The current paper examines the vocal system of the dialect of Żejtun on the basis of a tape recording as well as its transcription, both dialect and Standard Maltese. In addition, comparisons shall be drawn between Standard Maltese, in particular in relation to the vocalic system as well as different aspects of phonetic and phonology in general.

3.1 Linguistic variation

3.1.1 Dialect vs. standard language

Before the text to be examined is taken for analysis, it should first be clarified how dialect and standard language differ from each other. If a language is spoken of, it is often perceived as something uniform. In a more generalised form, this is true. On closer inspection, a considerable number of different varieties can be determined, for example the language of one's own country, one's own environment. A language does not differ only from country to country, it varies equally from region to region, city to village, no matter how small the distance may seem. Malta appears at first glance as a small island, whose linguistic varieties cannot be too large. Nevertheless, varieties of the standard

form can be found here, too, as it is for instance in the German-speaking area, even though the manifestations of the varieties of the German-speaking area assume a different scale as the Maltese ones.

Malta is defined *inter alia* as many other countries too, through a common language: Maltese. It provides the standard language, by which the residents can communicate at all levels of communication, whether written or oral, official or private. The standard language thus represents the 'roof' of communication of a country. In Malta's case, this superstructure is covered as mentioned by two languages, Maltese and English.

Standard language is different from dialects by their greater range and clarity, which experiences a regional, often site-specific mitigation in dialects.

While the term 'dialect', from Greek [*diá-lectos* 'speech'] is more difficult to define and its characteristics can be elusive, linguistics are compliant to the term of standard language or high-level language. As can be read in the *Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaften* (2002) by Bußmann, a standard language defines itself as “historisch legitimierte, überregionale, mündliche und schriftliche Sprachform der sozialen Mittel- bzw. Oberschicht.” (Bußmann. 2002: s.v. Standardsprache). The standardisation consists of several processes that are grouped under the three headings language determination, codification and stabilisation (cf. Trudgill. 1992: pp. 70 – 71). Codification here relates to the definition of the language in a standardised grammar, writing and pronunciation. The process of codification requires a constancy beforehand, i.e.

a stabilisation of a variety of the language.

Maltese is also a standardised form of a variety of Maltese, more specifically of a variety of Valletta and the suburb Sliema, whose pronunciation comes closest to that of Standard Maltese. Though Maltese is not subject to complete standardisation in some areas. Especially intonation and syntax still require research. Maltese continues to adopt loanwords from English, whose morphological behaviour is also not yet subject to clear rules (cf. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997: xiv and Borg. 2011: 24).

In German, an understanding would not be possible between some dialect speakers if it weren't for the standard language, as the differences between the dialects are too great to allow meaningful conversation. Maltese dialects by contrast don't differ in such a fundamental way. Their differences are largely in the area of phonology, cover however all other areas of linguistics to a lesser extent, too.

Other distinctive features can be found as well as in other languages with a greater speech community.

The dialect landscape experiences a change in its division for some time now, which is connected to the growing mobility of the speakers. A decline of basic dialectal varieties can be seen, which means, that fewer people speak a locally bound dialect, whose speakers are less mobile and rather older. Thereby, the diatopical differentiation or horizontal structure, dealing with the distribution

of linguistic phenomena in the landscape, is in decline. An increased interest lies now on the vertical structure, which deals with questions from the domain of the sociolinguistics. This superposition of research interests of dialectology as well as sociolinguistics is also apparent in Maltese dialect research. The Maltese dialects tends to change in the direction of a replacement of a dialectal small-scale approach in favour of speech-forms having validity in greater areas. In the process, the relationship between language and society plays a greater role.

The aforementioned basic dialect covers the level of understanding between speakers of the same dialect and refers mostly to the older, localised population shift. The text to be examined in this thesis belongs to this form of dialect. 'Verkehrsdialekt', i.e. cross-regional speech patterns, 'Umgangssprache', i.e. colloquial language as well as standard language present the other dialect levels (cf. Wiesinger. 1980: 177 – 194). Wiesinger defines 'Verkehrsdialekt' as the regional speech-form superordinate to the basic dialect and spoken by the younger, more mobile population while colloquial language bridges between dialect and standard language, used in contact with foreigners and superiors.

The terms mentioned serve as tendencies, which can be more or less pronounced.

3.1.2 Methods of dialectology

Dialect data can be collected via two methods; one is the observation, the other the scientific survey. In most cases, the scientific survey is applied in the form of the direct interview. The interview method has the advantage that the data has not been subjected to arbitrary. It ensures the comparability of the data collected. Scientific surveys suggest themselves especially in issues concerning dialect geography.

Recent work on Maltese dialects employ the method of observation. The most common form of recording is a conversation situation, in which the explorer obtains the required data from the informant by means of the conversation. The aim here is a mostly uninfluenced recording, i.e. the informant is only peripherally aware of the recording and thus is less tempted to lapse into colloquial language. Ideally the explorer himself/herself speaks a dialect. A survey will prove the most effective, if explorer and informant speak the same dialect. This type of survey has been used successfully in Malta (cf. Azzopardi-Alexander. 2011: 235 et seqq.). In the case of the dialect recording discussed below, this is a free monologue.

4 Text and Sound excerpt of a Żejtuni dialect and its counterpart in Standard Maltese

The audio-recording was recorded by Lino Psaila and Martin Zammit. It is an excerpt of a book, which is not yet published and was granted for this thesis by Mr. Zammit with the consent of Mr. Psaila.

The transcript of the Standard Maltese text has been conducted by Mr. Zammit, with slight corrections by myself.

The transcript of the dialect has been conducted by Mr. Psaila with the help of Mr. Zammit. A complete revision has been made by myself concerning the vowels.

The translation has been conducted by myself.

4.1 The informants

The following text and sound detail was recorded in 1996 as free monologue. Speaker is ,at the time of the recording, 52 year old blacksmith and fisherman Emmanuel 'Lino' Psaila from Żejtun, Malta. He was born in Żejtun and lives in Żejtun, apart from a short interception, during which he lived in Marsaxlokk. The monologue is about reminiscences and experiences from his adolescence.

The second text and sound detail is a recording of the writing of the autobiographic narratives of Emmanuel 'Lino' Psaila. The writing has been put in Standard Maltese and is spoken by Prof. Martin R. Zammit, Associate Professor and Head of Department of the Oriental Studies, Faculty of Arts at the University of Malta. Prof. Zammit comes from and still lives in Valletta, the capital city of Malta. He speaks Standard Maltese.

4.2 Żejtun

Żejtun, or more correctly, iż-Żejtun, is a town in the south-east of Malta. It is situated on top of a hill, a prominent position near the bays of St. Thomas, Marsascula and Marsaxlokk. Żejtun once included these ports and covered the whole south-eastern part of Malta. Until 1680 the town consisted of two communities called Ħal-Ġwann/Bisput, the Upper Village, and Bisqallin, the Lower Village.

The name of Żejtun derives from the Sicilian Arabic word for the fruit of the olive tree.

Żejtun has a number of churches, of which the old Parish Church, dating back to the 13th century, is the oldest of them. In 1797, the German Grandmaster Ferdinand von Hompesch bestowed Żejtun with the title of Citta' Beland.

During the time of the Knights of St. John, the city was fortified but fell as one of the first cities to the troops of Napoleon. After WWII, the town faced a

difficult economic time which led to emigration in the 1950s and 1970s. New housing estates and olive cultivation as well as olive oil production stopped the economic down spiral. (Local Councils' Association: 2013)

4.3 Transcription of the audio recording of the Żejtuni dialect

This transcription is an adapted version of the Standard Maltese orthography. The focus lies on the vowels, as these are the main source of change concerning the difference between dialect and Standard Maltese.

Ġurnote Heżinæ

Laqqes tæmmen jekk me terox, jęu tmeş b'idęik bħel Sen Tumoş, x'sa naqbed ngħajd li hęu? Dištejn? Inkwiet? Xurti heżinæ? Ma nufx imme žgour li ghodni mbelleh s'issæ b'duk li ghaddęit minnu dukunhur. Ma nufx x'se naqbed ngħajd x'inhęu, tent li se nħelli lielkõm biex, were li teqræw dun li qieghed nikteb, tiddikjeraw intõm stess jekk kintx tessęu ġurnote tajbe jęu heżinæ, li me nufx x'tejtlu se naqbed neghtejhe.

Ftejt 'l isfel mnęin noqghõd, kien joqghõd ćertu Frenęisku Abela, jęu eħjor, kif kien jofu r-rehel kullu b'Ćancu, roęel twejl u felhun għell-eħher. Dun Ćikku kien bidwi u fl-istess ħir reħħol. Kellu r-rebe' tieghaw u fir-rezzett kellu minn kull xurte te' ennimoli: zwiemel, nogħoę u mogħoż, fniek, tięieę, popri, imme l-

ikter beqer għall-helejb. Kien ruġel te' qelb tajbe immens: jekk tkun bil-għoħ jitungħak żgħur, laqqes jekk me kienx jiekol heu, għallinqes hekk niftakru jiene. Tiskir imkien, u mhux derbe jgu tnein xi ennimoli minn tieghaw hergu jagħmlu r-runde medwor ir-rezzett, l-izjed is-serdok li mal-erbgha ta' filghodu kien iħebber il-jom il-gdejd. Kont niggustoh jitla' kwuzi sa hdeje, jidden tnein u jarga' jeqbed it-triq 'l isfel. Mit-tieqa kont ngħajdlu:

“Għod me nisimgħakx izjed, hebejb, ghax tispicce f'xi burme bradu.”

Kienet il-gurnote tal-Hedd, l-erbgha daqqu, u s-serdok me smajtox. Qalbi għandu jkuwn kienet hibritni, imme me nehlefx jekk mietx b'kawze naturali jgu spiccox il-for, jgu bradu għand xi hedd. Li heu żgħur heu li ma smajtox u laqqes rajtu bhel kull jgom. U la ma rajtox u ma smajtox jidden, għadt:

“Il-gurnote minn filghodu turejk. Mill jidher ggeje gurnote hezinæ lgom, la s-serdok ta' Canu ma smajtowx.” U nehseb li hekk kien, tefox.

Mal-erbgha u nafs hregt mid-dor biex immowr il-quddiesæ tal-ewwel, bhelma kienet iggeghlni neghmel ummi mite kont ghodni zghajr. Redt jgu ma redtx, kienet teqbedni u tkexkerni lein il-knisje għall-quddiesæ li fdawk iz-zminijiet kienet tibde fil-hemse te' filghodu, u gieli kien hemm zminen li kienet tibde qebel ukoll. Issa, redt jgu ma redtx, kont immowr bilfors. Ksieh, berd, u xitæ ma kienu jeqtghawlhe qelbhe xein lil ummi. Kienet titkebbeb kif tista' u fuq kullx tufa' l-ghonnellæ, lili trussni meghhe, u nitilqu lein il-knisje fein qebilhe kien gu jkun hemm Karmni l-Lemecce u Merije te' Sent Ang, jgu Menenn tel-Berbe Pawl u Guzeppa tex-Xett li jkxonu gu kkepperrewlhe siggu, u sa kemm kien johrog iqeddæs l-ercipriet Menwiel Brincat, kienu jkxonu gu qulu xi tlitt postu

rożorju, u jien nunghəs iktar milli kieku kont ghodni fis-sudde.

Tleqt bil-məđ il-məđ u qbezt il-fərn te' Berbettə, dejjem miexi teht il-ħeit, mite f'deqqe weħde nismə' zəqziqe te' spenjulette u ngbedt 'il berre għet-triq. ezatt tinfetħ tieqe u kwozi hekket ma' rusi.

“Ih Madonnə, kont se nolqtək!” Għajtet is-sinjura Fanny Attard Bezzinə.

“Ma ġara xein, sinjura,” għadtile jien, u vieru ma ġara xein la ma laqtitni, għaliex kieku laqtitni, kellhe mnəin thelli l-istampa ta' rusi mal-ħeit. Ma nufx kemm domet tiskuwze rəuħhe, u jien ngħajdilhe: “Ma ġara xein.”

Bqajt sejjer lejn il-pjazza, u kif weselt f'fuq iz-zuntier mərt inserreh mal-kencell tal-istutwe te' Santa Keterinə, l-iktar pəst favorit tiegħaj mill-pjazza kullhe. Kəbbest sigerett u f'dik il-ħimde kullha qgħadt inħores u nifli l-fili tač-čəngəturi tel-qəwwi tez-zuntier li mhume xein rəġulori għax fəin humə kwozi jħukku ma' xuxejn, u fəin hemm ftəuħ te' iktar minn nəfs pulzier, u allura bejniethəm jitrebbe duk il-ħexejx li ngħajdulu “ħess”. Səbiħ taruħ eħder bejn dawk ič-čəngəturi tel-qəwwi bujəd, imme ukoll jista' jkəun xi ftit pirikuləus, għax ikəun jizləq, l-ikter jekk ikəun għodu mxərreb bix-xitə jəu bin-nidə.

Ftit were, nora lil Ġemmeri s-səġristun dieħel il-knisje, u laqqəs leħeq dəħel səu li l-qniəpen ma bdəux idəqqu biex iħabbru l-quddiəsə. U kienu għodhəm laqqəs waqfu li ma bdəitx nora n-nies ġejjin il-knisje, dawk ter-reħel te' f'fuq jidħlu mill-bieb təx-xelləug, u ter-reħel t'isfel jidħlu minn tel-limejn, kif kwozi għodu jsir sel-ləom il-ġurnote.

Mele mel-ħin, minn quddiem i tifečə mere li weħde minn sequejhe mərret ezett f'fuq il-ħess li kien hemm fil-fil te' bejn ič-čəngəturi, u kienet ġu qəbdet ir-

renketure biex tinteleg għal wiċċhe. Fil-pront tleqt niġri biex inżummhe u ma nħellihiex taqer'. Idejje għu it-tnein teht spellajhe u f'wq iz-żegħ kuxxunetti rutob rutob li kellhe.

Mele xbin, teqle' jdihe, u ċepċipitli wehde ge wiċċi għall-Alle tegħhe, li med-deqqe ergajt tleqthe, tu. Umbegħad vieru giet fl-ert...

“Ma tisthix” bdiet tghajdli u tghajjat, waqt li ngebru xi erbgħa min-nies.

Jien tbikkemt, u hi, x'hin rot in-nies, ikter bdiet tghajjet. Wiċċi sur vempu duppu, bil-misthije u bid-deqqe li tutni, li bihe kwuži sturdietni. Ikter ma flehtx ngħajd kilme, biex fursi nurijhe l-intenzjuni tajba li kelli.

Hekk s'owe? Mele kieku jdejje heslu għu xi neq izjed 'l isfel mill-kuxxunetti, x'kienet tagħmilli?

Hi kumplet tghajd u tghajd. in-nies ikter ingebru, u l-kljem puġġietu bħel qism li jien tajthe xi festidju. Laqqes sthot! Jien kwiet kemm triedni, imme fl-aħhar telghawli u għadtilhe:

“ismu', sijeb, xbajt tghajd u therref? Ent lili xi hsibtu, xi wiehed li qett ma ru mere? Xi hsibtu? Xi wiehed salvaġġ? U f'wq kullwax, xi hsebt, li ent xi Sufija Loren, j'xi Betty Grable? Ghax kieku kont xi wehde minnhom, kien ikulli x'naqbed tessu, u mh'ux tiegħak, li tigi ummi fil-wisgħe. Imissek tisthi! Fl'ok ma rringrazzajtni li ssussajtek mis-salvawom, li għandek nufsu mnizzel ... la jdejje heslu għu hemm, u ma hellejtekx tigi fl-ert te' wiċċek.”

4.4 Transcription of the audio recording in Standard Maltese

Ġurnata Hażina

Lanqas temmen jekk ma tarax, jew tmiss b'idejk bhal San Tumas, x'sa naqbad ngħid li hu? Destin? Inkwiet? Xorti hażina? Ma nafx, imma żgur li għadni mbellah s'issa b'dak li għaddejt minnu dakinhar. Ma nafx x'sa naqbad ngħid x'inh, tant li sa nħalli lilkom biex, wara li taqraw dan li qiegħad nikteb, tiddikjaraw intom stess jekk kinetx tassew ġurnata tajba jew hażina, li ma nafx x'titlu sa naqbad nagħtiha.

Ftit 'l isfel mnejn noqgħod, kien joqgħod ċertu Frangisku Abela, jew aħjar, kif kien jafu r-raħal kollu b'Ċanċu, raġel twil u felħan għall-aħħar. Dan Ċikku kien bidwi u fl-istess hin raħħal. Kellu r-raba' tiegħu u fir-razzett kellu minn kull xorta ta' animali: żwiemel, nagħaġ u mogħoż, fniek, tigieġ, papri, imma l-iktar baqar għall-ħalib. Kien raġel ta' qalb tajba immens: jekk tkun bil-ġuħ jitimghak żgur, lanqas jekk ma kienx jiekol hu, għallinqas hekk niftakru jien. Tiskir imkien, u mhux darba jew tnejn xi animali minn tiegħu ħarġu jagħmlu r-ronda madwar ir-razzett, l-iżjed is-serduk li mal-erbgħa ta' filgħodu kien iħabbar il-jum il-ġdid. Kont niggustah jitla' kważi sa hdejja, jidden tnejn u jarga' jaqbad it-triq 'l isfel. Mit-tieqa kont ngħidlu:

“Għad ma nisimgħakx iżjed, ħabib, għax tispicċa f'xi borma brodu.”

Kienet il-ġurnata tal-Ħadd, l-erbgħa daqqu, u s-serduk ma smajtux. Qalbi

għandu jkun kienet hebritni, imma ma nahlifx jekk mietx b'kawza naturali jew spicċax il-forn, jew brodu għand xi hadd. Li hu żgur hu li ma smajtux u lanqas rajtu bħal kull jum. U la ma rajtux u ma smajtux jidden, għidt:

“Il-ġurnata minn filgħodu turik. Milli jidher ġejja ġurnata hażina illum, la s-serduk ta' Ċanċu ma smajtux.” U naħseb li hekk kien, tafux.

Mal-erbġha u nofs hriġt mid-dar biex immur il-quddiesa tal-ewwel, bħalma kienet iġġagħlni naghmel ommi meta kont għadni żgħir. Ridt jew ma ridtx, kienet taqbadni u tkaxkarni lejn il-knisja għall-quddiesa li f'dawk iż-żminijiet kienet tibda fil-ħamsa ta' filgħodu, u ġieli kien hemm żmien li kienet tibda qabel ukoll. Issa, ridt jew ma ridtx, kont immur bilfors. Ksieh, bard, u xita ma kienu jaqtgħulha qalbha xejn lil ommi. Kienet titkebbeb kif tista' u fuq kollox titfa' l-għonnella, lili trossni magħha, u nitilqu lejn il-knisja fejn qabilha kien ġa jkun hemm Karmni l-Lamaċċa u Marija ta' Sant Anġ, jew Manann tal-Barba Pawl u Ġużeppe tax-Xatt li jkunu ġu kkapparrawlha sigġu, u sa kemm kien joħroġ iqaddes l-arċipriet Manwel Brincat, kienu jkunu ġa qalu xi tlitt posti rużarju, u jien nongħos iktar milli kieku kont għadni fis-sodda.

Tlaqt bil-mod il-mod u qbiżt il-forn ta' Barbeta, dejjem miexi taht il-ħajt, meta f'daqqa waħda nisma' żaqziqa ta' spanjuletta u nġbidt 'il barra għat-triq. Eżatt tinfetaħ tieqa u kwazi hakket ma' rasi.

“Ih Madonna, kont se nolqtok!” Għajtet is-sinjura Fanny Attard Bezzina.

“Ma ġara xejn, sinjura,” għadtilha jien, u vieru ma ġara xejn la ma laqtitnix, għaliex kieku laqtitni, kellha mnejn thalli l-istampa ta' rasi mal-ħajt. Ma nafx

kemm damet tiskuża ruhha, u jien nghidilha: “Ma ġara xejn.”

Bqajt sejjer lejn il-pjazza, u kif wasalt fuq iz-zuntier mort inserrah mal-kancell tal-istatwa ta’ Santa Katerina, l-iktar post favurit tiegħi mill-pjazza kollha. Kebbist sigarett u f’dik il-ħemda kollha qgħadt inħares u nifli l-fili tač-čangaturi tal-qawwi taz-zuntier li mhuma xejn regolari għax fejn huma kważi jhokku ma’ xulxin, u fejn hemm ftuħ ta’ iktar minn nofs pulzier, u allura bejniethom jitrabba dak il-ħaxix li ngħajdulu “ħass”. Sabiħ tarah aħdar bejn dawk ič-čangaturi tal-qawwi bojod, imma jista’ jkun xi ftit perikoluż ukoll, għax ikun jizloq, l-iktar jekk ikun għadu mxarrab bix-xita jew bin-nida.

Ftit wara, nara lil Ġammari s-sagristan dieħel il-knisja, u lanqas laħaq daħal sew li l-qniepen ma bdewx idoqqu biex iħabbru l-quddiesa. U kienu għodhom lanqas waqfu li ma bdejtx nara n-nies ġejjin il-knisja, dawk tar-raħal ta’ fuq jidhlu mill-bieb tax-xellug, u tar-raħal t’isfel jidhlu minn tal-lemin, kif kważi għadu jsir sal-lum il-ġurnata.

Mela mal-ħin, minn quddiemi titfačča mara li waħda minn saqajha marret eżatt fuq il-ħass li kien hemm fil-fil ta’ bejn ič-čangaturi, u kienet ġa qabdet ir-rankatura biex tintelaq għal wičča. Fil-pront tlaqt nigri biex inżommha u ma nħallihiex taqa’. Idejja ġew it-tnejn taht spallejha u fuq iż-żewġ kuxxinetti rotob rotob li kellha.

Mela xbin, taqla’ idejha, u čapčpitli waħda ġa wičči għal Alla tagħha, li mad-daqqa rġajt tlaqtha, ta. Imbagħad veru ġiet fl-art...

“Ma tisthix” bdiet tghidli u tghajjat, waqt li ngabru xi erbġha min-nies.

Jien tbikkimt, u hi, x'hin rat in-nies, iktar bdiet tghajjat. Wiċċi sar vampa doppju, bil-misthija u bid-daqqa li tatni, li biha kwazi sturdietni. Iktar ma flahtx ngħid kilma, biex forsi nuriha l-intenzjoni tajba li kelli.

Hekk sewwa? Mela kieku idejja ħaslu ġew xi naqra iżjed 'l isfel mill-kuxxinetti, x'kienet tagħmilli?

Hi komplet tghid u tghid. In-nies iktar ingabru, u l-kliem poggietu bħal qisni li jien tajtha xi fastidju. Lanqas s'that! Jien kwiet kemm tridni, imma fl-aħħar telghuli u għidtilha:

“Isma’, sijab, xbajt tghid u tħarref? Int lili xi ħsibtni, xi wiehed li qatt ma ra mara? Xi ħsibtni? Xi wiehed salvagg? U fuq kollox, xi ħsibt, li int xi Sofija Loren, jew xi Betty Grable? Għax kieku kont xi waħda minnhom, kien ikolli x'naqbad tassew, u mhux tiegħek, li tiġi ommi fil-wisgha. Imissek tisthi! Flok ma rringrazzajtني li ssussajtek mis-salvawomu, li għandek nofsu mniżżel ... la idejja ħaslu ġew hemm, u ma hallejtekx tiġi wiċċek fl-art.”

4.5 Translation

A bad day

You would not believe unless you see or touch with your hands like San Tu-mas, what shall I say that it is? Destiny? Trouble? Bad luck? I don' know, but surely I am still stupefied 'til now with that which I experienced that day. I don't know what I should begin to say what it is, so that I will leave you so that after you read what I am writing, you declare yourself whether it was indeed a good day or a bad, which I don't know what title I shall give it.

Only a bit down from where I live, there used to live a certain Frangisku Abela, or better as the whole village used to know him by Ćanĉu, a tall and very strong man. This Ćikku was peasant and at the same time husbandman. He had the fields and in the farm-house he had all sorts of animals: Horses, sheep and goats, rabbits, hens, ducks, but mostly cows for milk. He was a man with a huge good heart: if you are hungry, he feeds you for sure, not even if he himself would not eat, at least so I remember it. Locking nowhere, and very often some animals of him went out to make patrole around the farm house, especially the cock which at the morning used to announce the new day. I used to fancy him going up almost next to me crowing twice and turned to start the way down. From the window I was telling him:

“ There will come a time I won't hear you any more, friend, because you end

in a broth.”

It was Sunday, it sounded four and I didn't hear the cock. My heart as if it probably informed me, but I do not swear, if he died through a natural cause or he ended in the oven or broth at the house of someone. What is certain is, that I didn't hear it and I even didn't see it like every day. And since I didn't see it and didn't hear it crowing, I said:

“ The day of this morning will show you. It seems from what appears, we will going to have a bad day today, since I didn't hear the cock of Ċanċu.” And I think that so it was, didn't you know!?

About half past four I went out of house in order to go to the first Mass, as my mother used to force me to do when I was still young. Whether I wanted or didn't want, she used to catch me and drag me along to the church to the Mass which in those times started at five in the morning and sometimes there was a time that it started before, too. Now, whether I wanted or I didn't want, I had to go. Cold, cold and rain would not make my mother give up. She wrapped up herself as much as she could and above all to throw on the faldetta, she presses me with her and we leave towards the church where before her there are already Karmni l-Lamaċċa, Marija ta' Sant Anġ or Manann tal-Barba Paul and Ġużeppa tax-Xatt who were already acquiring a chair for her and until the time the Archpriest Manwel Brincat was going out and celebrating the Mass, they would have already said three stations of the holy rosary, and I doze off more than if I was still in bed.

He went slowly and I surpassed the bakery of Barbetta, always walking under the wall, when all of a sudden I hear the creaking of the sashbolt and I move towards the middle of the street. Exactly then a window is opened and it almost brushed my head.

“ Iih, Madonna, I was going to hit you!” cried Mrs. Fanny Attard Bezzina.

“ Never mind, Madam,” I told her and indeed, nothing happened, she hasn't hit me, because if she had hit me, she would have left the mark of my head on the wall. I don't know how long she continued to apologise herself and I was telling her: “ Nothing happened.”

I kept on going towards the square and as soon as I arrived on the parvis I went resting against the iron railing of the statue of St. Katerina, the most preferred place of me of the whole square. I lighted a cigarette and in all that silence I looked and studied carefully the lines of the strong, resisting flat stones, of the parvis, which are not at all regular because where they almost touch with each other and where they have an opening they have more than half an inch, and that means between them grows this grass which we call “lettuce”. Nice to see it green between those strong white flat stones, but it can be a little dangerous, too, because it is slippery, especially if it is still wet due to rain or due to dew.

A little after, I see Ġammari the sacristan entering the church and he hasn't even entered the church completely that the bells didn't start, they will ring in order to announce the Mass. And they were not even stopping yet. I didn't see

the people arriving to the church, those of the upper village, they enter from the door left, and of the lower village, they enter from the right, as it is basically still done until this day.

So then, with time, from in front of me emerged a woman, whose one foot went exactly over the lettuce which had been there in the gap between the flat-stones and she had already started the sudden dash in order to fall on her face. At that very moment, I left running in order to hold her and I didn't let her fall down. My two hands came under her shoulder and on the two small cushions, soft, soft, which she had.

So then my friend, she took out her hand and slapped me once in my face for her God, that with the stroke I had to leave her again, you know. Then, true she came on the ground...

“Aren't you ashamed” she started saying to me and she shouts, at that moment some of the people gathered around.

I was dumbfounded, and she, when she saw the people, she started more shouting. My face became very red, with shame and with the slap she gave me, with which she almost made me lose my senses. More, I could not even say a word, so that perhaps I could show her the good intention that I had.

Thus well? Then if my two hands happened to arrive a little bit more down the small cushions, what would she have done to me?

She talked on and on. The people mostly gathered and the words she put it like as if I gave her any trouble. Not even she felt ashamed!! I was quiet as much as you want me, but in the end, they lifted me and I said to her:

“ Listen, friend, have you had enough of this saying and inventing? What did you think that I was someone who never saw a woman? That is my intention? That one is rude? And over all, that intention, that you are that Sofia Loren, or that Betty Grable? Because if you were one of them, I would have had what I could grab indeed, and not yours, you are like my mother. You should be ashamed! Instead of thanking me for having lifted you up with the lifebelt, which you have deflated.... since my hands happened to come there, and I didn't let your face hit the ground.”

5 Definition of the Žejtuni dialect as rural dialect

5.1 Phonology

5.1.1 Išmām

One of the most concise differences between SM and Žejtuni is the muffling of the vowel SM /ā/ [e:] to [o:] [ɔ:], [ɛ:] or [u:].

SM	gurnata	[ɟur'ne:t ^h e]	day
----	---------	---------------------------	-----

ZJ		[dʒür'nɔ:t ^h ɑ]	day
----	--	----------------------------	-----

SM	ma nafx	['ma nəfʃ]	I don't know
----	---------	------------	--------------

ZJ ['ma nũ:fʃ] I don't know

So, a shift of articulation can be observed from fairly-open central unrounded [ɐ:] to fairly close, fairly back rounded [ʊ:] through to close back rounded [u:].

The often heavier muffling of the vowels /i/ and /o/ coincides with the Išmām as well. (Schabert. 1976: 5)

SM orthographic i, a close front unrounded vowel, is realised as close front unrounded lax [ɪ]. In ZJ dialect, it is lowered to an open-mid front unrounded lax [ɛ].

SM tmiss ['t^hmɪs:] you touch (*mess)

ZJ ['t^hmɛs:]

SM xorti ['ʃɔrt^hɪ] luck

ZJ ['ʃɔrt^hɛ]

In addition, a stronger diphthongisation is found in rural dialects as in SM.

SM /i:/ is often diphthongised in ZJ and receives a lowering from a close front unrounded very tense [i:] to [ɛɪ] or [ɪ:ə]. The pronunciation shifts therefore from close front to an open mid vowel with a fairly closed fairly central /ɪ/.

SM	destin	[dɛs'ti:n]	destiny	ħazina	[ħqzi:nɐ]	bad
ZJ		[dɛs'tɛɪn]			[ħqzɛɪnɛ:]	

5.1.2 Pharyngealised vowels

Pharyngealisation occurs instead of the not any more independently existing phoneme /ʕ/, which finds its implementation in the influence of the surrounding vowels. Orthographically, /ʕ/ is realised through the consonant combination gh. In SM as well as in ZJ, the preceding vowel is lengthened. Dialect speakers tend to have a stronger pharyngealisation as speakers of SM dialect.

In SM, the non-pharyngealised variants [ɐ:], [ɛ:] and [ɔ:] are used instead of the pharyngealised allophones /a^ʕ/ /æ^ʕ/ and /o^ʕ/. A certain range of pronunciation exists between these three vowels of SM, too. (cf. Schabert. 1976: 6)

So Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander indicate for the pronunciation of [ɐ:] an open back unrounded allophone [ä +], which exhibits a central, upwards tendency as well as [ɘ̘], a mid central unrounded schwa with a lowering (cf. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997: 304).

Another difference relates to the initial sound concerning the pharyngealised allophones /a^ʕ/ /æ^ʕ/ and /o^ʕ/. They are voiced without [ʔ] preceding the initial sound.

SM għallinqas [ʔa:l:inʔes] at least

ZJ [e^ʕ:l:inʔes]

SM għadni [ʔɔ:dnɪ] I am still

ZJ [p^ʕ:dnɪ]

SM għandu [ʔəndu:] he has them

ZJ [æ^ʕndu:]

Schabert (cf. Schabert. 1976: 6) states, that all three pharyngealised allophones occur as initial sounds without preceding [ʔ]. While the non-pharyngealised variants of SM are voiced throughout with [ʔ], there are occasional outliers within the ZJ dialect, in which a glottal stop is voiced. This may be a particularity of the speaker. To verify a continued pronunciation without [ʔ] preceding the initial sound, it would take comparisons with other speakers of the dialect.

5.1.3 Consonantal phonemes

	Plosive	Nasal	Trill	Fricative	Affricative	Approximant	Lateral approximant
Bilabial	p b	m					
Labiodental				f v			
Alveolar	t d		r	s z	dz ts		l
Postalveolar				ʃ	tʃ dʒ		
Palatal						j	
Velar	k g						
Glottal	ʔ			h			

5.1.3.1 Realisation of the consonantal phonemes

All explanations of the consonantal phonemes are taken from Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997: pp. 299 - 303), examples and further information or differences are from the author of this paper.

/p/ [p] Voiceless plosive, bilabial oral stop; occurs in word-initial or word-medial position as well as in word-final position:

tispiçca [t^hɛsp^hitːʃɐ] you end;

/b/ [b] Voiced plosive, bilabial oral stop; occurs in word-initial or word-medial position:

bard [bɛrt] cold

[p] in word-final position: rotob [rɔt^hɒp] soft

/t/ [t] apical alveolar/denti-alveolar voiceless oral stop; occurs in word-initial or word-medial position:

tlaqt [t^hlɛʔt^h] he went

iktar [ikt^hɛr] more

not aspirated after /s/ or /ʃ/:

xita [ʃitɛ] rain

/d/ [d] apical alveolar/denti-alveolar voiced oral stop; occurs in word-initial or word-medial position:

dar [dɔr] house

serduk [sɛrdɔʊk] cock

[t] in word-final position: naqbad [nɛʔbat] I start

/k/ [k] convexed dorsal or post palatal velar stop; most aspirated of the velar stops; occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, articulation post-palatal in the context of front vowels:

kif [k^hɪf] as

niftakru [nɪftakru] I remember

while Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander state, that /k/ is always aspirated in SM (cf. Ibid.: pp. 300-301) to a more or less intense degree, Schabert (cf. Schabert. 1976: 14) states /k/ as not being aspirated. In this recording, the speaker uses both variants, the aspirated /k^h/ as well as the non-aspirated form /k/.

not aspirated when followed by /s/ or /ʃ/:

ma nisimghakx [mɛ:nɪsɪmɑ:kʃ] I don't hear you

ksieħ [ksɪ:ɛħ] cold

/g/ [g] convexed dorsal or post palatal velar stop; occurs in word-initial and word-medial position; voiced:

čangaturi [tʃäŋgät^hö:rɪ] flat stones

[k] word-final position: xellug [ʃɛl:ɛʊk] left side

/q/ [ʔ] glottal stop: qniepen [ʔnɪɛpɛn] bells (*qanpiena sg.)

/č/ [tʃ] post-alveolar affricative; occurs in word-initial and word-medial position; voiceless:

čertu [tʃɛ:rt^hö] certain

tispičča [t^hɪspɪt:ʃɛ] you end (*spičča)

/ǵ/ [dʒ] post-alveolar affricative; occurs in word-initial and word-medial position; voiced:

ġurnata [dʒʊrnɔ:tʰɑ] day

raġel [rɔ:dʒɛl] man

/z/ [ts] apical alveolar affricative; voiceless: razzett [rɛts:æt:] farm-house

[dz] apical alveolar affricative; voiced: Bezzina [bɛdz:ɪnɐ] (personal name)

/m/ [m] bilabial nasal stop; voiced: mogħoż [mɔʰ:s] goats (*mogħza sg.)

/n/ [n] advanced alveolar nasal stop; voiced: nagħaġ [nɔʰ:tʃ] sheep coll. pl. (*nagħga sg.)

[ŋ] after velar oral stop: rankatura [rɛŋkʰɛtʰɔrɐ] sudden dash

/r/ [r] apico post-alveolar tap; voiced:

raħal [rɔħɔl] village

/r/ is often realised as slightly retroflexed approximant. The speaker here uses both variants, audible in his pronunciation of raħal (see above) and in forn [fɔrɪn] oven.

As double consonant, [r] is realised as tap or two-tap trill:

r-raba' [r:äbä] fields (coll. noun)

/l/ [l] apico alveolar lateral approximant; voiced; always realised as clear [l]; lateral airflow can be right-sided or left-sided as well as bilateral: illum [ɪl:ɛʊm] today

/f/ [f] central labiodental fricative; voiceless:

forn [fɔ̞ɹn] oven

Occurs in a cluster or sequence with voiceless obstruents:

isfel [ɪsfɛ̞l] down

/v/ [v] central labiodental fricative; voiced, occurs in word-initial and word-medial position:

vampa [vɔ̞mpɔ̞] flame

Occurs in consonant clusters or sequences with voiced obstruents:

salvaḡḡ [sɔ̞lvɔ̞:dʒ] rude

/s/ [s] apico-retractet, alveolar fricative; voiceless; occurs in word-initial and word-medial position as single consonant:

sodda [sɔ̞dɔ̞] bed

knisja [k^hnɛ̞ɪsɪjɔ̞] church

Occurs in word-final position and with following voiceless consonants:

nies [nɛ̞ɪs] people (coll. noun)

sagrɪstan [sɔ̞ŋgrɪst^hɔ̞n] sakristan

/z/ [z] apico retracted, alveolar fricative; voiced; occurs in word-initial and word-medial position as single consonants:

zewḡ [zɔ̞wdʒ] two

ħazina [ħɔ̞zɛ̞ɪnɛ̞:] bad

Occurs with following voiced consonants:

žgur [zgžʊr] surely

[s] in word-final position and in word-medial intervocalic position:

mogħoz [mç:s] goats

kwazi [k^hwçʊzɪ] almost

/x/ [ʃ] cupped apico-laminal post-alveolar fricative; usually voiceless:

xita [ʃɪt^hɛ] rain

[ʒ] voiced or partially voiced in consonant clusters or sequences when followed by a voiced consonant:

xbajt [ʃbçjt^h] you had enough (of s.th.) (*xeba')

/ħ/ [h] convexed post-palatal, velar, glottal or pharyngeal voiceless fricative:

ħamsa [ħämsə] five

/għ/ und /ħ/ correspond to /h/ in word-final position or when they occur together:

għ [dʒçəħ] hunger

magħha [mɛħ^f:æ] with her

partially, but often fully voiced before voiced obstruents:

wahda [wɛħdɐ] one

/w/ [w] labio-velar approximant; voiced:

wara [wɛrɐ] after

partially voiceless when following aspirated voiceless stops or the

voiceless glottal fricative [h]:

istatwa [ɪst^hüt^hwɛ] statue

[u] word-finally:

taqraw [t^häʔrɔü] you read (*qara)

/j/ [j] dorso-palatal approximant:

jum [jɔüm] day

occurs as partially voiceless when following the voiceless

glottal fricative [h]:

ahjar [ɛhjör] better (*hajjar)

5.1.3.2 Distribution

Certain peculiarities as well as general remarks regarding the consonants are to be explained hereafter. Examples are only given in cases of a better understanding. The transcription is not as detailed as in 5.1.3.1, as the emphasis is on phonotactic details, not on phonological ones.

- All consonants can occur in word-initial position.
- All consonants occur in word-final position except for the voiced obstruents:

/b/ → /p/ see example above (5.1.3.2)

/d/ → /t/	see example above (5.1.3.2)
/g/ → /k/	see example above (5.1.3.2)
/z/ → /s/	perikoluž [pɛɾɪk ^h ɔɫɔʊs] dangerous
/v/ → /f/	there is no example for this shift in this audio-recording.
/dʒ/ → /tʃ/	tiġieġ [t ^h ɪdʒɪɛtʃ] hens coll. pl. (* tiġieġa sg; tiġiġiet counted pl.)

- Consonant clusters occur in every position.
 - Clusters in word-initial position have to consist either of voiced or voiceless obstruents. This rule is true for all cluster positions as well. One exception concerns /ʔ/ and /h/. These two consonants can't occur as C₂ with voiced obstruents as C₁ but can occur as C₁ with a voiced obstruent as C₂. The last consonant in the cluster decides on whether the cluster is a voiced or voiceless one, which is also called regressive assimilation. (cf. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997: 308)

bħal /bħɛl/ like

→ notice, that the rule holds true here as well. /b/ is realised as the voiceless obstruent /p/ in a cluster, if C₂ is a voiceless consonant.

hdejja /hdɛjje/ next to me

→ voiceless obstruent /h/ as C₁ + voiced obstruent as C₂

ftit /fti:t/ a little

→ C₁ voiceless obstruent /f/ + C₂ voiceless obstruent /t/

tnejn /tnejn/ two

→ C₁ voiceless obstruent /t/ + C₂ voiced sonorant /n/

triq /tri:ʔ/ street

→ C₁ voiceless obstruent /t/ + C₂ voiced sonorant /r/

- This is another rule as well: the sonorants /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/ and /w/ and /j/ do not occur as C₁. Instead, they occur as C₂ without restriction concerning the voicing harmony rule. (cf. Ibid.: pp. 308 - 309)

Actually, there are word-initial consonant clusters, where the sonorants /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/ occur. They function as a possible syllabic, i.e. they form no real syllabic, as a syllabic in its shortest is a CV construction. More commonly, they are used as offset of the near-close front unrounded vowel /ɪ/.

ngbidt /n - dʒbɪ - dt/ or /ɪn - dʒbɪ - dt/
→ CCCVCC I went (*ɟibed)

mxarrab /m – ʃer – reb/ or /ɪm – ʃer – reb/
 → CCVCCVC wet, soaked (*xorob)

- If /r/ occurs as C₁ in an initial consonant-cluster, the affixed vowel is not /ɪ/, but /æ/ (cf. Schabert. 1976: 36). Schabert writes, that this is not a general rule and does not happen every time. This statement can't be verified, as there is just one example of this type in this audio-recording.

rgajt /ærdʒejt/ I repeated (*rega')

- Up to three consonants can occur in word-initial position:

sthat /sthe:t/ she felt ashamed (*staħa)

Clusters with three consonants are usually divided, so that the first consonant of the cluster becomes the offset of the preceding syllable and the second and third syllable becomes the onset of the following syllable. Not all consonants are allowed as the first consonant of a word-initial cluster. Only fricatives occur as C₁, i.e. /s/, /ʃ/, /z/ or a labial oral stop such as /p/ or /b/. As C₂, occurs either an oral stop such as /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/ or the labio-dental fricative /f/. As already mentioned above, the labio-dental fricative /v/ does not oc-

cur with voiceless obstruents. Although /v/ is compatible with two of the C₁ consonants, it seems not to occur in this position, as it is not showing in the table given by Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander. (cf. Ibid.: 309)

Sonorants usually function as C₃ such as /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/, /j/ and /w/ as well as the obstruents /t/, /f/ and /h/.

Often, particles such as /bi/, /xi/ and /fi/ are sometimes extending an usual word-initial, two consonant cluster to a CCC-cluster, too. This happens due to the shortening of the vowel to /b/ or /p/, /ʃ/ and /f/ or /v/. (cf. Ibid.: 310)

xi hʃibt /ʃhʃibt/ or /ʃihsibt/ that intention

- word-medial consonant-clusters occur either as two-consonant cluster or as three-consonant cluster. Mostly, the cluster is separated by turning the C₂ consonant of a cluster into the onset of the next syllable. (cf. Ibid.: pp. 308 - 311)

ġurnata /dʒʊr - nɔː - tɛ/ day

taqraw /tɛʔ - rɛw/ you read (*qara)

nolqtok /nɔl - ʔtɔk/ I hit you (*laqat)

kompliet /kɔm - plɪ:t/ she continued (*kompla)

Common CC structures do not constitute an average cluster, but are consonantal sequences or function as syllable offset and syllable onset (cf. Ibid.: 311).

ma kienx /mɛ – kɪ:nʃ/ he was not (*kein)

tant /tɛnt/ so much

→ /n/ as C₁ + /t/, /k/, /s/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/ as C₂

nitilqu /nɪ – tɪl – ʔu/ we leave (*telaq)

wasalt /wɛ – sɛlt/ I arrived (*wasal)

→ /l/ as C₁ + voiceless obstruent or /ʔ/,
/h/, /m/

forn /fɔrn/ oven

fbilfors /bɪl – fɔrs/ forcibly, obviously

→ /r/ as C₁ + voiceless obstruent or /ʔ/,
/h/, /m/, /n/, /l/

Pawl /pɛwl/ Paul, personal name

dawk /dɛwk/ that pl. (*dak demonstr.
adjective/ pronoun m.; dik f.)

xajn /ʃɛjn/ nothing

ħajt /ħɛjt/ wall

→ /w/ /j/ as C₁ + voiceless obstruent or /ʔ/,
/h/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/

- Assimilations often occur. The verbal prefix for first person singular and first person plural Imperfect n- becomes /m/, when the following consonant is /m/, /p/ or /b/ or becomes /ŋ/ when the following consonant is /g/ or /k/ (cf. Ibid.: 328)

inmur	[immur]	I go (*mar)
čangaturi	[tʃäŋgät ^h ö:rɪ]	flat stones
rankatura	[rəŋkət ^h ö:rɛ]	sudden dash

There is also an assimilation concerning the prefix -t of the second person singular and plural and the third person feminine singular of the verb in the Imperfect. The prefix -t assimilates to /s/, /ž/, /x/, /č/, /z/, /t/ and /d/. The consonants need to be singular and without vowel between the prefix and the initial root consonant. (cf. Ibid.: 328)

Unfortunately, there is no example for it in this audio-recording and is only mentioned for the purpose of further information.

5.1.4 Vowel phonemes

The dialect of Žejtun shows evidence of mostly all vowels occurring in SM as well as the near-open front unrounded lax /æ/ and the near-close back rounded

tense /u:/. The vowel system of SM has been taken from Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (cf. Ibid.: 299). Only the vowels most frequently used are featured in the table. The detailed description of all other variations can be found subsequently.

Monophthongs				
Orthographic (SM)	Phonetic Realisation			
	SM short	ZJ short	SM long	ZJ long
a	ɐ	ö	ɛ:	ö: - ɔ̃:
e	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ:	-
i	ɪ	ɪ - ɛ	i:	ɛj - ɪə
o	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ:	ɔ:
u	ʊ	ʊ	u:	ɔʊ
ie			i:	i: - ɪɛ- ɪ'
æ		æ		

5.1.4.1 ZJ short vowels

/a/ [ɛ – ɐ – ä - ö] : San Tumas [sɛnt^hümös] San Tumas, Saint

imma [ɪm:ɐ] but

tiddikjaraw [t^hɪdɪ:k^hjɛrɐʊ] you declare (*iddikjara)

ħazina [ħǣzεɪnɛ:] bad

/a/ underlies a wide range of different realisations, starting from an open-mid front unrounded lax [ɛ] to a near-open central unrounded lax [ɐ] to an open back unrounded lax [ä] to a near-close back rounded lax [ö]. The speaker of this audio-recording uses mostly [ʊ] with slight variations.

/e/ [ɛ] : temmen [t^hɛm:ɛn] you believe (*emmen; verb with a weak first radical 'w'. Root: w-m-n)

/e/ is always articulated as open-mid front unrounded lax [ɛ] with slight variations, except when followed by /w/ or /j/ → diphthong. (discussed below)

/i/ [ɪ - ɛ]: tmiss [t^hmɛs:] you touch (*mess)
isfel [ɪsfɛl] down

/i/ is articulated as a near-close front unrounded lax [ɪ] up to an open-mid front unrounded lax [ɛ].

/o/ [ɔ - ö]: intom [ɪnt^hɔm] you (2.pl.)
borma [börmɐ] cooking pot

/o/ is mostly realised as open-mid back rounded lax [ɔ], sometimes with a slight raising or a near-close back rounded lax with a centralised and raised

pronunciation [ʊ] → this seems to happen when the other vowel of the word is a front vowel, and to obtain voicing harmony, a shift occurs from the back to the centre.

/u/ [ʊ]: kull [k^hʊll] every
ğurnata [dʒʊrnɔ:t^hɑ] day
rajtu [rɛjt^hʊ] I saw it (*ra)

/u/ is realised in all positions as near-close back rounded lax [ʊ], slightly centralised and raised.

/æ/ [æ]: tibda [t^hɪbdæ] she started (* beda)
meta [met^hæ] when, if, since

/æ/ seems to occur fairly seldom, but that might be due to the position of articulation and therefore its difficulty to distinguish [æ] from [ɛ], as [æ] and [ɛ] are quite near to each other, only that [æ] is realised as near-open lax instead of the open-mid lax [ɛ]. As non-native speaker, it might be even more complicated to tell these two vowels apart. Furthermore, there is no audio-recording available to compare the recording of the words which might be realised with [æ] to words from another recording, where its occurrence is verified. One indication might be the recent paper to the dialect of Xlukkajr.

Xlukkajr is the dialect of Marsaxlokk, a fishing village closeby to Żejtun. It once belonged to Żejtun, but separated from it as it grew bigger. Although Azzopardi-Alexander states, that this dialect is distinguishable to that of Żejtun (cf. Azzopardi-Alexander. 2011: 240), the two dialects could share this distinctive feature, as [æ] is found in this dialect as well. In the Xlukkajr dialect, [æ] is found in word-final position, too. But as there is no audio-recording at hand, it remains to be a thesis.

5.1.4.2 ZJ long vowels

/e:/ [(ɛ:) - ɯ: - ʊ: - ɔ:]: papri [pɔ:pri] ducks (papra sg. n.f.)

ħazina [ħäzɛɪnɛ:] bad

raġel [rɯ:dʒɛl] man

/e:/ is realised mostly as near-close back rounded, slightly centralised and raised [ʊ:] or as close back rounded lowered [ɯ:]. [ɔ:] is an open-mid back rounded, slightly centralised and raised tense and is used frequently as well.

[ɛ:] occurs seldom, and it might be realised like that partly due to voicing harmony and due to the tendency of the speaker to put the stress at the final syllable as in [ħäzɛɪ'nɛ:]. Therefore, [ɛ:] is parenthesised and can't be considered as a common variation of /e:/.

In SM, /e:/ is realised as open back unrounded, centralised, raised and ad-

vanced tense [ḁ̈] or as mid-central unrounded, lowered and advanced schwa [ə̥] in all positions.

/ɛ:/ : has no counterpart in this audio-recording. This might be due to the speaker, as /ɛ:/ indeed occurs in the audio-recording of the standard speaker. At this point of the examination, it seems more likely, that /ɛ:/ does not occur in this dialect. Schabert's research of the dialect of Marsaxlokk provides no evidence of this long vowel as well (cf, Schabert. 1976). On the contrary, the recent research on the dialect of Marsaxlokk does provide minimal pairs for /ɛ:/ (cf. Azzopardi-Alexander. 2011: 241):

[ˈdɛnt] fever

[ˈdɛ:nt] deserving

In SM, /ɛ:/ is realised as open-mid front unrounded centralised tense [ɛ̥:].

/ɪ:/ [ɛj - ɪ:ə] : xulxin [ʃʊlʃɛjn] each other

tiskir [tʰɪskɪ:ər] he locks/ locking (*sokra n.f. → sakkar

v.t.]

/ɪ:/ is realised in most cases as diphthong consisting of the open-mid front unrounded [ɛ] and /j/. [ɪ:] always has some faint off-glide in its final phase, therefore, it is stated as [ɪ:ə] in this paper. The near-front unrounded tense [ɪ:] occurs fairly seldom, if ever. Hence, /ɪ:/ technically belongs to the diphthongs.

In SM, the long vowel is a close front unrounded tense [i:] in closed syllables and close front unrounded lowered tense [i:] in open syllables.

/ɔ:/ [ɔ:]: il-mod [ɪlmɔ:t^h] mode, manner
 nolqtok [nɔ:lʔt^hɔk^h] I hit you (*laqat)

/ɔ:/ is realised as open-mid back rounded tense in all cases.

This vowel is realised in the same way as in SM.

/u:/ [ɔʊ]: źgur [zɡɔʊr] surely
 ma smajtux [məsməjt^hɔʊ] I didn't hear it

In all positions, the speaker realises /u:/ as diphthong [ɔʊ]. This occurs in mono-syllabic words like /jum/ or /źgur/ as well as in final syllables as in /serduk/. Therefore, /u:/ actually belongs to the diphthongs.

In SM, /u:/ is realised as close back rounded tense /u:/ in all positions. Only if it precedes /ħ/ or /ʔ/, /u:/ is realised as near-close back rounded, centralised and lowered tense [ʊ]. Sometimes it is realised slightly diphthongised.

/ie/ [i: – ɪɛ- ɪʔ]: pulzier [pʊltsɪ:r] inch
 jiekol [jɪ:kɔl] he eats (*kiel)
 inkwiet [ɪnk^hwɪɛt^h] trouble

żwiemel [ZWɪɛmɛl] horses (*ziemel sg. n.m.)

kien [k^hɪˈn] he was

biex [bɪˈʃ] in order to

/ie/ is realised in three different ways. The simple near-front unrounded tense [ɪ:] occurs fairly seldom. In most cases, /ie/ is realised as diphthong consisting of a near-front unrounded tense with an open-mid front unrounded short [ɛ]. Interestingly, if /ie/ occurs in a mono-syllabic word, it is realised as half-long near-front unrounded lax [ɪˈ], i.e. its duration is between a short and a long vowel. In SM, /ie/ is realised as [ɪ:], except for words, where /ie/ is in an open phrase-final context. Then /ie/ is sometimes diphthongised as well as close front unrounded lowered [i] with a lowered shwa [iə]. (cf. Borg/ Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997: 305)

/ɪ:/ varies from SM, where /ɪ:/ is usually realised as near-close front unrounded, slightly lowered tense [ɪː].

5.1.4.3 Diphthongal segments SM

SM as well as DM operate with diphthongal segments, which are composed of one of the vowels with an [ɪ] or an [ʊ], which stands representatively for /w/

and /j/. In SM, the realisation of the diphthongs is the same as for the realisation of gh + V.

Diphthongs SM	
Orthographic	Phonetic Realisation
aw / għu	əʊ
aj / għi	ɛɪ
ew	ɛʊ
ej / għi	ɛɪ
iw	ɪʊ
oj	ɔɪ
ow / għu	ɔʊ

(Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997: 299)

/aw/; /għu/ [əʊ]: tiegħu [tʰiːəʊ] of him, his

kawża [kʰəʊzə] cause

/aj/; /għi/ [ɛɪ]: żgħir [zəɪər] young

ħajt [ħɛɪtʰ] wall

/ew/ [ɛʊ]: ġew [dʒɛʊ] they came

The speaker in this audio-recording realises this diphthong more as an [ɛ] than an [ɛ] as it is given in the table above by Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander.

/aj/ [ɛɪ - ɛɪ]: tajba [t^hɛɪbɛ] good

 hajt [hɛɪt^h] wall

/aj/ is realised either as in SM as a near-open central unrounded lax [ɛ] with a near-close front unrounded lax [ɪ] or as [ɛɪ], where the near-open central lax [ɛ] is extenuated to an open-mid front lax [ɛ].

/ew/ [ɛʊ - əʊ]: ğew [dʒɛʊ] they came

 jew [jɛʊ] or

 tal-ewwel [t^hɛləʊwːɛl] first (always preceded by the article)

/ew/ is mostly realised as open-mid front unrounded lax [ɛ] with a near-close back rounded lax [ʊ]. Sometimes [ɛ] is shortened to a mid-central unrounded shwa [ə].

/ej/ [ɛɪ]: tnejn [t^hnɛɪn] two

 idejk [ɪdɛɪk^h] your hands (*id sg.; idejn pl., a dual form used like a genitive plural)

 hdejja [hdɛɪjːɛ] beside me, close to me ¹

¹*hdejn, preposition + pers. pron. 1m.sg.. hdejn is used in its construct state, by which the final -n is dropped. The personal pronouns are altered in the first

person singular from -i to -a, in the second person singular from -ek 2m.sg./ -ok 2f.sg. to -k and in the third person masculine singular from -u to -h. (cf. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander (1997): 265)

/ej/ is realised between the open-mid front unrounded lax [ɛ] and the near-open front unrounded lax [æ].

/iw/ [ɪʊ]: no counterpart in this audio-recording

/oj/ [ɔɪ]: bojod [bɔɪjɔt^h] white pl. (*abjad a.m., bajda a.f.)

/oj/ is realised as slightly raised near-close back rounded lax [ɔ] with a near close front unrounded lax [ɪ].

/ow/ [ɔʊ]: no counterpart in this audio-recording

5.1.4.5 Pharyngealised vowels ZJ

In ZJ, gh + V is realised in the form of pharyngealised vowels concerning ghV-combinations /gha/, /gho/ and /ghe/. /ghi/ and /ghu/ are realised as diphthongs with a slight pharyngealisation.

Ghi [ɑːj – ɑːɪ]: nghid [nɑːj˦tʰ] I say
 zghir [zɑːɪr] young
 ghidtilha [p˨˩˦˧˥tʰ˧ɪlɛ] I said to her

/ghi/ is realised as diphthong composed of an open back unrounded, slightly pharyngealised tense or lax [ɑ] with a near-close unrounded [ɪ] or [j].

ghe [ɛ˨˩˦˧]: tieghek [tʰɪ˨˩˦˧kʰ] yours

/ghe/ is realised as a open-mid front unrounded, slightly pharyngealised tense [ɛ˨˩˦˧].

gha [e˨˩˦˧ – ɔ˨˩˦˧]: ghal [e˨˩˦˧l]¹ for
 ghad [ɔ˨˩˦˧tʰ] still (inv. Particle)²
 nagħağ [nɔ˨˩˦˧tʃ] sheep coll.
 ghandu [e˨˩˦˧ndu] he has (irregular verb)³

/gh/ is realised as near-open central unrounded, slightly pharyngealised tense [e˨˩˦˧] or as open-back rounded, slightly pharyngealised tense [ɔ˨˩˦˧].

¹ Notice the missing [ʔ] at the beginning of ghal [e˨˩˦˧l]. /gh/ never has an /ʔ/ in the initial sound.

² ghad [ɔ˨˩˦˧tʰ] is a modal expression. If it stands alone and is preceded by an imperfect, it indicates an action, that will take place in the remote future. If it

is used with a pronominal suffix, it indicates either a continuity of action or a discontinuity if used with the negative particle /ma/. (cf. Aquilina. 2006: 143)
 The attached enclitic personal pronoun for the first person singular is -ni, which is usually suffixed to verbs, instead of -i, the regular suffix. (cf. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997: 276)

³ għand-[ɣ̃:nd] is a preposition, which turns into an irregular verb with the meaning 'to have' by attaching the enclitic personal pronouns. The suffix for the first person singular is -i.

għo	[ɣ̃:]:	noqghod [nɔːʔɔ̃:tʰ] I live
		ghonnella [ɔ̃:n:ɛl:æ] faldetta ¹
		nonghos [nɔ̃nɔ̃:s] I doze off (*nagħas)

/għo/ is realised as open-mid back rounded, slightly pharyngealised tense [ɔ̃:] in all contexts.

¹ A għonnella (pl. għenienel), is a special form of headgear for women worn until the middle of the 20th century.

għu	[ɛʊ – ɛ̃ʊ]	tiegħu [tʰi:ɛʊ] of him, his
		telgħuli [tɛ̃lɛ̃ʊli] they lifted me

/għu/ is realised as a near-open central unrounded lax [ɛ] with a near-close

back rounded lax [ʊ]. The speaker of ZJ realises [ɐ] with a slight, extra-short open-mid front unrounded [ɛ̃].

5.1.4.6 /għa/, /għe/, /għo/ in SM

għa	[aː – ɑː]:	naghag [nä:tʃ] sheep coll. għal [ɑ:l] for għad [ɑ:tʰ] still għandu [ʔɑ:ndu] he has
-----	------------	---

/għa/ is mostly realised as open-back unrounded tense [ɑː] or as open-front unrounded tense [aː]. Notice, that /għa/ is realised without [ʔ] in the initial sound in the words /għal/ and /għad/. A glottal stop occurs often in words beginning with a vowel, but it does not have to.

għe	[ɛ]:	tiegħek [tʰi:ɛkʰ] yours
-----	------	-------------------------

/għe/ is realised as open-mid front unrounded lax [ɛ]. As the stress is falling on the first syllable due to the long vowel /ie/ [i:], /għe/ [ɛ] is short. Unfortunately, this audio-recording does not offer another example. However, Schabert gives a description for /għe/, which is, as well as the other /għ/ + V- constructions, a long vowel. In this case, /għe/ is realised as open-mid front unrounded

tense [ɛ:] (cf. Schabert. 1976: 6).

gho	[ö:]	noqghod [nɔʔö:t ^h] I live
		ghonnella [ö:n:ɛl:a] faldetta
		filghodu [filö:dʊ] in the morning

/gho/ is realised as open-mid back rounded, centralised tense [ö:] in all contexts.

5.1.4.7 Distribution

- All vowel phonemes occur in word-initial position.

The vowel phonemes are realised with a non-phonemic short /ʔ/ when they occur in the absolute initial sound or post-pausally. Pharyngealised vowels do not have /ʔ/ as initial sound (cf. Ibid.: 27)

inkwiet	[ʔɪnk ^h wɪɛt ^h]	trouble
aħjar	[ʔɛħjör]	better
u	[ʔü]	and
ommi	[ʔɔm:ɪ]	my mother
erbgha	[ʔɛrbɛ ^ɣ]	four

There are just examples mentioned with the initial sound /ʔ/. In SM, the long vowels come within the same rule, as the combinations of /għ/ + V is realised as long vowel. In ZJ, this combination is realised as pharyngealised vowel and therefore without the initial sound /ʔ/.

Another difference arises as a result of /a/ → [ʊ] and /u/ → [ü] being quite close to each other in the speaker's pronunciation of this audio-recording. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander mention, that /ʊ/ and /u:/ do not occur as often as the other vowels and hence display the frequency of the appearing vowels in general (cf. Borg/Azzopardi-Alexander. 1997: 312). In ZJ, /a/ and /u/ are used more often due to their almost equal realisation.

- All short vowels occur word-finally.

jafu	[jʊ:fʊˀ]	they know (*j)af; defective short form for għaraf. Notice, that the perfect tense is formed with the auxiliary verb kien + imperfect.) (Aquilina. 2006: 13)
------	----------	---

bidwi	[bɪdwiˀ]	peasant
-------	----------	---------

xorta	[ʃɔrtɐˀ]	sorts (* xorta; Notice the vowel /a/ word-finally. The official plural would be with /i/ word-fi-
-------	----------	---

nally (cf. Ibid.: 405). The Italian origin is /sorta/ and the Romance suffix -a is also found in Maltese (Borg/Alexander-Azzopardi. 1997: 184). Interestingly, the speaker of ZJ as well as the speaker of SM use the form with -a.

salvawomu	[sɛlvauɔ:mɔ]	lifebelt
-----------	--------------	----------

The vowels in word-final position are half-long, i.e. they are shorter than long vowels but longer than the short vowels occurring in other places of the word.

- /æ/, a vowel not found in SM, occurs as well in word-final position.

ghonnella	[ɔ̃ːn:ɛl:æ]	faldetta
meta	[met ^h æ]	when, if, since
tibda	[t ^h ɪbdæ]	she started (* beda)
xita	[ʃit ^h æ]	rain

/æ/ occurs more likely after the front vowels /e/, /ɛ/ and /ɪ/. This assimilation happens due to vowel harmony, i.e. word-final /a/ assimilates to the preceding vowel of the word. (cf. Schabert; 1976: 29)

/e/ occurs after /e/, /ɔ/, /ɔ:/ and /ɔː/. (cf. Ibid.: 29)

gurnata	[dʒʊrnɔ:tʰɑ]	day
ronda	[rɔ:ndə]	patrole

- In SM, /o:/ does not occur in many cases in an open syllable in word-final position (cf. Ibid.: 311). This is true for ZJ as well. There is not one instance in this audio-recording , where /o/ is found in this position. By contrast, /o/ indeed occurs word-medially in syllable-final position.

brodu	[brɔ:dʊ]	broth
-------	----------	-------

- All long vowels occur in mono-syllabic words except for /ɪ:/ and /ʊ:/ and /ɔ:/, as these vowels are realised as diphthongs in this dialect. So that leaves /e:/ and the pharyngealised vowels /eːˤ:/ and /ɔːˤ:/.

tant	[tɛ:nt]	so much
għal	[eːˤ:l]	for
moghož	[mɔːˤ:s]	goats

- /għa/ [eː̠] is the only pharyngealised vowel occurring in word-final position.

erbgħa	[ʔɛrbeː̠]	four
wisgħa	[wɪseː̠]	gecko

/għi/ occurs as well in word-final position, but comes within the diphthongs. (see above 5.1.4.5)

- Long vowels only occur in word-medial position in the stressed syllable. /ɪː/ and /uː/ are discussed under point 5.1.4.2, but are diphthongs.

ħazina [ħəzɛɪn'ɛː] bad

raġel ['rɥːdʒɛl] man

pulzier [pül'tsɪːr] inch

nolqtok ['nɔːlʔtʰɔkʰ] I hit you (*laqat)

- The combination of the long vowel /ɪː/ + /h/ causes a diphthong consisting of an open-mid front unrounded lax [ɛ] with a near-front unrounded lax [ɪ].

nuriha	[nʊɾɛɪə]	I show her (*wera)
naghtiha	[næ:t ^h ɛɪə]	I give her (*ta, imperf. Jaghti)

- /ɪ/ is not permitted in word-final position in either a closed and unstressed or closed and stressed syllable (cf. Schabert. 1976: 30). Only one word has been found breaking the rule. Here, /ɪ/ realised as open-mid front unrounded lax /ɛ/.

tmiss	[t ^h mɛs:]	you touch (*mess)
-------	-----------------------	-------------------

6 Conclusion

This thesis has been devoted to regiment it into the leading question of whether the dialect of Żejtun fits more into the system of the SM-based dialects or more into the system of the rural dialects like the one of Xlukkajr or Marsaxlokk.

The main focus has been on the vocalisation as well as the consonants and their differences in distinction to SM. The main differences are to be found in the vowel system. The Zejtuni dialect shares most of the vowels occurring in SM. Azzopardi-Alexander stated in her research on the dialect of Xlukkajr, that all vowels of SM occur in the Xlukkajr dialect as well (Azzopardi-Alexander. 2011:

240). As Xlukkajr once belonged to Žejtun, it was natural to assume, that they may still share the same vowel system. This range of vowels could not be verified in this thesis. ZJ lacks the long vowel /ɛ:/ completely and mostly realises /ɪ:/ and /ʊ:/ as diphthongs, so that these three long vowels drop out of the vowel system. Compared to the work of Schabert on the dialect of Marsaxlokk, this outage is logically explainable (Schabert: 1976: 17). Marsaxlokk, the city, where Xlukkajr is spoken amongst other, more urban variants and once belonging to Žejtun, shares some of its vocalic features with Žejtun. The long vowel /e:/, occurring in ZJ, is missing in the dialect of Marsaxlokk, whereas this vowel very well occurs in ZJ. Of course, it sometimes overlaps slightly with the long vowel /ɔ:/, but is still distinguishable from the quite untarnished realisation of /ɔ:/. Some of the diphthongs are missing as well, but this might be due to the shortness of the audio-recording and does not mean, that they do not exist in this dialect. The diphthongs /ow/ and /iw/ are missing in particular. SM and ZJ share their realisation of a few diphthongs like /aj/ or /aw/. An interesting point here is the different realisation not of the dialect speaker, but of the standard speaker, who realises the diphthong /ow/ the same way as the diphthong /aw/. In this case, the standard speaker realises /għa/ and /għu/ as [ɐʊ].

One of the most distinctive differences next to the Iṣmām is the pharyngealised realisation of /għ/ + V. In SM, the combination of /għ/ + V is realised as diphthong as the combination of the semivowels /j/ and /w/ + V. In ZJ, as

well as in other dialects, /j/ and /w/ + V and /gh/ + V are separated into diphthong and pharyngealised vowel, sometimes slightly diphthongised as well.

For a non-native speaker of this language, it is quite a difficult task to hear the differences between the realisations of the vowels in their respective surrounding. This puts oneself in a kind of disadvantage and therefore, it would be interesting to see how the obtained results differ from those obtained by a native speaker. As with /ɛ/ and /æ/, the two vowels are not as difficult to distinguish from one another when one listens to the IPA-chart, but when they are situated in a phonetic context, it is not any more so easy to hear this difference.

Some of the features of the language could not be ultimately clarified like the devoicing of a few of the voiced consonants, the assimilations of the prefixes t- and n- or the short vowels permitted in word-final position. Maltese dialectology offers only a limited number of related published literature so far. Three of the main sources to draw comparisons have been 'Laut- und Formenlehre des Maltesischen anhand zweier Mundarten' (1976) by Peter Schabert, 'Maltese' (1997) by Alexander Borg and Marie Azzopardi-Alexander as well as 'The vowel system of Xlukkajr and Naduri' (2011) by Marie Azzopardi-Alexander. The resulting problems were such that the paper by Azzopardi-Alexander offered some new insights to the dialect of Marsaxlokk, but revoked some of his results, i.e. the number of vowels occurring in the dialect of Marsaxlokk. As Schabert's work is the only published one in such detail and the best to compare it with, this lapse concerning the vowels caused a problem. The other

papers, as mentioned above, do not offer as much information to the vowel system and a proper transcription with diacritics and suprasegmentals to compare it to. If they do, it is either a transcription of SM or a transcription of a dialect of Gozo, whose dialects are different to the ones of the main island Malta. The other published works are indeed useful for the purpose of explaining and comparing different elements concerning phonotactics, i.e. clusters, syllable structure, vowel positioning, stress and so forth.

Unfortunately, the discussion of other parts of the dialect of Żejtun like the greater part of the morphology went beyond this paper. Only certain areas have been discussed, either when it was used to explain peculiarities, that set the explained word apart from the other examples given or just for additional information.

Future research could, for example, deal with the issues of inflection and its vowel system, as the vowel system is still that which differs most from SM.

Bibliography

- Aquilina, Joseph (1964): *Papers in Maltese Linguistics*. Valletta: Royal Univ. of Malta, 1961
- (1976): *Maltese Linguistic Surveys*. Valletta: University of Malta, 1976
- ; Isserlin, B.S.J (eds.) (1981): *A Survey of Contemporary Dialectal Maltese: Report on the Results of Field Work Undertaken During the Years 1964-71 on Behalf of the Dep. Of Maltese and Oriental Languages in the Old Univ. of Malta and the Dep. Of Semitic Studies in the Univ. of Leeds under the Direction of J. Aquilina and B.S.J. Isserlin*. Leeds, Gozo 1981
- (2006): *Concise Maltese-English English-Maltese Dictionary*. Malta: Midsea Books Ltd, 2006)
- Azzopardi-Alexander, Marie (2011): *The vowel system of Xlukkajr and Naduri*. In: Caruana, Sandro; Fabri, Ray; Stolz, Thomas (eds.): *Variation and Change: The Dynamics of Maltese in Space, Time and Society*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmbH, 2011
- Borg, Albert; Azzopardi-Alexander, Marie (1997): *Maltese*. London, New York: Routledge, 1997
- (2011): *Lectal variation in Maltese*. In: Caruana, Sandro; Fabri, Ray;

Stolz, Thomas: *Variation and Change: The Dynamics of Maltese in Space, Time and Society*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmbH, 2011

Brincat, Joseph M. (1995): *Malta 870 – 1054: Al-Himyari's Account and its Linguistic Implications*. Valletta: Said International Ltd., 1995

----- (1996): *Maltese Words: An Etymological Analysis of the Maltese Lexicon*. In: Lüdtke, Jens (ed.): *Romania Arabica, Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1996

Bußmann, Hadumod (ed) (2002): *Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft*. Dritte, aktualisierte und erweiterte Auflage. Stuttgart: Kröner, 2002

Camilleri, Antoinette; Vanhove, Martine (1994): *A Phonetic and Phonological Description of the Maltese Dialect of Mgarr (Malta)*. *Journal of Arabic Linguistics* 28: 87 - 110

Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Literature (2007): *Eg – Lan*. Gen. ed. Kees Versteegh. Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 2007

Fenech, Edward (1981): *The study of Maltese Dialects in the Past*. In: Aquilina, Joseph; Isserlin, B.S.J (eds.) (1981): *A Survey of Contemporary Dialectal Maltese: Report on the Results of Field Work Undertaken During*

the Years 1964-71 on Behalf of the Dep. Of Maltese and Oriental Languages in the Old Univ. of Malta and the Dep. Of Semitic Studies in the Univ. of Leeds under the Direction of J. Aquilina and B.S.J. Isserlin.
Leeds, Gozo 1981

Kontzi, Reinhold (1982): *Maltesisch: Sprachgeschichtliche und areallinguistische Aspekte.* In: Ureland, Per Sture (ed): *Die Leistung der Strataforschung und der Kreolistik.* Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982

Price, Glanville (1998): *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe.* First published. Oxford [et al.]: Blackwell, 1998

Schabert, Peter (1976): *Laut- und Formenlehre des Maltesischen anhand zweier Mundarten.* Erlanger Studien, Band 16. Erlangen; Verlag Palm & Enke Erlangen, 1976

Trudgill, Peter (1992): *Introducing Language and Society.* First published. Harmondsworth [et al.]: Penguin Books, 1992

Wiesinger, Peter (1980): *“Sprache”, “Dialekt” und “Mundart” als sachliches und terminologisches Problem.* In: Göschel: Joachim u.a. (Hrsg.): *Dialekt und Dialektologie. Ergebnisse des Internationalen Symposiums “Zur Theorie des Dialekts”. Marburg/Lahn, 5. - 10. September 1977.* Zeitschrift für

Online-source:

Straßbourg l'Européenne, (2007): “Malta” [Online]

[<http://de.strasbourg-.eu/malta,13846,de.html>] [23.1.2012]

Local Councils' Association, (2013): “*Iż-Żejtun (Citta' Beland)*” [Online]

[<http://lc.gov.mt/Page.aspx?catid=63&pid=184&lid=1>] [30.1.2013]

7 Curriculum Vitae

Personal information:

Name: Julia Isabell Kenner

Education

September 1988 – June 1992	Sonnenhalde Grundschule Konstanz
September 1992 – June 1998	Mädchenrealschule Zoffingen Konstanz
September 1998 – January 1999	Droste-Hülshoff-Gymnasium Meersburg
September 1999 – June 2001	Wessenberg-Schule Konstanz Kaufmännisches Berufskolleg Fremdsprachen
September 2001 – June 2002	Berufskolleg Fachhochschulreife Berufsschulzentrum Radolfzell
September 2002 – June 2004	Allgemeine Hochschulreife Wirtschaftsoberschule, Berufsschulzentrum Radolfzell
September 2005 – 2013	Studium der Arabistik Universität Wien
Februar 2010 – June 2010	University of Malta Erasmus

Professional Qualifications:

June 2001	Staatl. geprüfte Wirtschaftsassistentin für Fremdsprachen
June 2005	Hebraicum
October 2007	Latinum

8 Eidesstattliche Erklärung:

Ich erkläre hiermit an Eides statt, dass ich die vorliegende Diplomarbeit selbstständig und ohne fremde Hilfe angefertigt, andere als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel nicht verwendet und die den benutzten Quellen wörtlich oder inhaltlich entnommenen Stellen als solche kenntlich gemacht habe.

9 Abstract

Maltese developed from an Arabic dialect and the absorption of Old Sicilian, Italian and later English mainly into its phonology and vocabulary. Maltese scholars early noticed and tried to distinguish different spoken varieties and the distinction between rural and urban dialect. Research of the last forty years realised that the boundaries of Standard Language as roof of the communication system and dialect as small-scale communication are macerating. In the form of a recorded monologue in Żejtuni dialect, differences to Standard Maltese are highlighted such as the muffling and diphthongisation of the vowels, the pharyngealised realisation of ghV-combinations as well as phonotactic notes to vowels and consonants.

Maltesisch entwickelte sich aus einem arabischen Dialekt und der Aufnahme von Altsizilianisch, Italienisch und später Englisch in seine Phonologie und sein Vokabular. Maltesische Gelehrte bemerkten und versuchten früh die verschiedenen gesprochenen Varianten und die Unterteilung zwischen ländlichem und städtischem Dialekt zu unterscheiden. Die Forschung der letzten vierzig Jahre erkannte, dass die Grenzen der Standardsprache als Dach des Kommunikationssystems und Dialekt als kleinräumige Kommunikationsform aufweichen. In Form eines aufgezeichneten Monologs in Żejtunischem Dialekt werden Unterschiede zum Standardmaltesischen wie z. B. die Verdampfung und Diphthon-

gierung der Vokale, die pharyngalisierte Realisation der ghV-Verbindungen sowie phonotaktische Anmerkungen zu Vokalen und Konsonanten hervorgehoben.