Unified Guidelines and Resources for Arabic Dialect Orthography

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Abstract

We present a unified set of guidelines and resources for conventional orthography of dialectal Arabic. While Standard Arabic has well defined orthographic standards, none of the Arabic dialects do today. Previous efforts on conventionalizing the dialectal orthography have focused on specific dialects and made often ad hoc decisions. In this work, we present a common set of guidelines and meta-guidelines and apply them to 28 Arab city dialects from Rabat to Muscat. These guidelines and their connected resources are being used by three large Arabic dialect processing projects in three universities.

Keywords: Dialectal Arabic, Orthography, Phonology, Morphology, Conventions

1. Introduction

Arabic dialects are linguistic varieties that are historically related to classical Arabic and co-exist with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) in a diglossic relationship. While MSA, the official language of all Arab countries, has well-defined orthographic standards, Arabic dialects have no official orthographies. As such, besides unintentional typographic errors, no spelling of a dialectal word can be considered "incorrect." And since Arabic dialects vary from MSA and from each other in terms of phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax (Watson, 2007), using MSA orthographic standards cannot fully address the needs of the dialects. As an example of the degree of variety in dialectal spelling, Figure 1. presents the 27 actually attested spellings of one Egyptian Arabic word online. The large number of possibilities results from independent decisions such as whether the proclitic /ma/ should be written attached or separated $(+\infty m+1)$ or $(-\infty mA)$, or whether to write the stem in a way that reflects its phonology ($\mathring{\mathfrak{e}}$ \mathring{w}), or etymology ($\ddot{\mathfrak{e}}$ q).

Habash et al. (2012) introduced the concept of Conventional Orthography for Dialectal Arabic (CODA); and they proposed a set of guidelines and exception lists for Egyptian Arabic. Their conventions were used in the Linguistic Data Consortium for annotating Egyptian Arabic (Maamouri et al., 2014). Since then, a number of additional efforts followed suit for other dialects (Zribi et al., 2014; Saadane and Habash, 2015; Jarrar et al., 2016; Khalifa et al., 2016). While the original CODA guidelines aimed at being easy to adjust to new dialects and contained some

which is discussed in Section 5.

Arabic Orthography	Arabic Transliteration	Frequency
مبيقولهاش	mbyqwlhAš	≈ 26,000
ما بيقولهاش	mA byqwlhAš	≈ 13,000
مابقلهاش، مبقولهاش،	mAbqlhAš, mbqwlhAš,	≤ 10,000
مبقلهاش، ما بقلهاش،	mbqlhAš, mA bqlhAš,	
مابيقولهاش	mAbyqwlhAš	
مابقولهاش، ما بقولهاش،	mAbqwlhAš, mA bqwlhAš,	≤ 1,000
مبيقلهاش، ما بيقلهاش	mbyqlhAš, mA byqlhAš	
مبئلهاش، مابيئولهاش،	mbŷlhAš, mAbyŷwlhAš,	≤ 100
ما بيئولهاش، مابيؤلهاش	mA byŷwlhAš, mAbyŵlhAš	
ما بيؤلهاش، مابئلهاش،	mA byŵlhAš, mAbŷlhAš,	≤ 10
مبيئولهاش، ما بيئلهاش،	mbyŷwlhAš, mA byŷlhAš,	
مابئولهاش، ما بئلهاش،	mAbŷwlhAš, mA bŷlhAš,	
ما بؤلهاش، مبئولهاش،	mA bŵlhAš, mbŷwlhAš,	
مبيؤلهاش، مابؤلهاش،	mbyŵlhAš, mAbŵlhAš,	
مبؤلهاش	mbŵlhAš	

Figure 1: 27 encountered ways to write the Egyptian Arabic word /mabi?ulha: ʃ/ 'he does not say it' and their frequencies from Google Search (September 29, 2017).

dialect-independent components, the guidelines were not specific enough, and often open to interpretation. Furthermore, the resources supporting the process of extending CODA to new dialects were non-existent.

Previous CODA efforts approached the conventionalization problem with a focus processing Arabic dialect text as input only. They did not address the challenge of generating Arabic dialect text for human readability (e.g., as output of speech recognition, machine translation or chatbots). Considering both aspects (input and output) highlights the need of conventions that are accessible to Arabic readers.²

In this work, we present a common set of guidelines with enough specificity to help in creating dialect-specific conventions, and we apply them to 28 Arab city dialects.

¹Arabic script transliteration is presented in the Habash-Soudi-Buckwalter transliteration scheme (Habash et al., 2007):

\$\begin{align*} \tilde{\text{p}} \\ \tilde{\text{g}} \\ \tilde{\text{o}} \\ \tild

²Most recently, the Palestinian CODA conventions have been adopted by a website for teaching Colloquial Arabic: http://www.learnpalestinianarabic.com.

We call our new version of CODA: CODA* (pronounced CODA Star, as in, for any dialect). The contributions of this paper include: (a) the definition of a phonological representation inspired by Arpabet (Shoup, 1980) for Arabic and its dialects to be used for specifying the pronunciation in computational resources; (b) a clear separation between CODA general dialect-independent rules and specification rules for organizing and managing the numerous exceptional cases presented in previous work; (c) the introduction of the concept of a multidialectal Seed Lexicon that is used to allow users of CODA* to have access to previous decisions when identifying spellings for new words in new dialects; and finally, (d) a set of online pages that give users easy public access to all of these resources.

The CODA* guidelines and their connected resources are being used by three large Arabic dialect processing projects in three universities: The Multi-Arabic Dialect Applications and Resources at Carnegie Mellon University Qatar and New York University Abu Dhabi (NYUAD) (Bouamor et al., 2018), The Gulf Arabic Annotated Corpus (NYUAD) (Khalifa et al., 2018), and The Columbia Arabic Dialect Annotation project (Columbia University and NYUAD). The CODA* effort is large and ongoing; the goal of this paper is to introduce the effort and some of its important contributions on how to conceptualize and address the question of orthographic decisions in dialectal Arabic computational processing.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. We present common challenges to Arabic processing in Section 2. This is followed by related work in Section 3. We introduce CODA* in Section 4., and discuss its components in Section 5. (CAPHI), Section 6. (General Rules and Specifications), and Section 7. (Seed Lexicon).

2. Challenges to Arabic Processing

There are four distinct and orthogonal challenges to working on written Arabic natural language processing (NLP): morphological richness, orthographic ambiguity, dialectal variations, and orthographic inconsistency.

Morphological Richness Arabic words have a large number of forms. This results from a rich inflectional morphology that models gender, number, person, aspect, mood, case, state and voice, in addition to a large number of clitics such as conjunctions, negative particles, future particles, etc. The word featured in Figure 1. is only one of a few thousand forms (inflections and cliticizations) of the verbal lemma $\forall qAl$ 'to say'.

Orthographic Ambiguity Arabic orthography using the Arabic script employs optional diacritical marks for short vowels and consonantal gemination. The missing diacritics are not a major challenge to literate native adults. However, their absence is the main source of ambiguity in Arabic NLP. In MSA, the average ambiguity is 2.7 lemmas per word (Habash, 2010). For example, the MSA word $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$

Dialectal Variations Arabic dialects are often classified regionally (such as Egyptian, Levantine, Gulf, etc.) or subregionally (e.g., Lebanese, Syrian, Jordanian, etc.). These

classifications are generally problematic because of the continuous nature of language variation. In our work, we have opted to focus on specific cities that represent the different regions and sub-region, in an effort to control the degree of variation we study. Table 1 lists the names of the cities we cover in the work presented in this paper. Arabic dialects differ significantly in terms of their phonology, morphology and lexicon from one another and from MSA (Watson, 2007).

Orthographic Inconsistency Noise in written text is a common problem for NLP when working in social media and non-edited text (see Figure 1.). For MSA, Zaghouani et al. (2014) report that 32% of words in MSA comments online have spelling errors. Eskander et al. (2013) also report close to 24% of Egyptian Arabic words having non-CODA-compliant spelling. Dialectal Arabic text is also known to appear on social media in a non-standard romanization, often called Arabizi (Darwish, 2013).

The work presented in this paper focuses primarily on the issue of orthographic inconsistency although it is inseparable from all of the other challenges.

3. Related Work

Before Habash et al. (2012) introduced their Egyptian Arabic conventional orthography (CODA-Egyptian), there were many proposals such as the Asaakir system ('Asaakir, 1950) and Akl's system (Arkadiusz, 2006), neither of which are broadly used today. Various DA dictionaries used Arabic, Latin or mixed script orthographies (Badawi and Hinds, 1986). In the context of NLP, the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) guidelines for transcribing Levantine Arabic (Maamouri et al., 2004) and the COLABA project at Columbia University (Diab et al., 2010) were precursors to the work of Habash et al. (2012).

After the CODA-Egyptian guidelines were created and used for the creation of Egyptian Arabic resources (Maamouri et al., 2014; Diab et al., 2014; Pasha et al., 2014; Eskander et al., 2013; Al-Badrashiny et al., 2014), two additional sets of guidelines were created for CODA-Tunisian (Zribi et al., 2014) and CODA-Palestinian (Jarrar et al., 2014). These were part of projects involving morphology annotation (Palestinian) or speech recognition (Tunisian). A variant on CODA was proposed for speech recognition by Ali et al. (2014) and was shown to reduce OOV and perplexity. Since then, four more dialects followed: CODA-Algerian (Saadane and Habash, 2015), CODA-Gulf (Khalifa et al., 2016), CODA-Moroccan and CODA-Yemeni (Al-Shargi et al., 2016). The latter efforts were heavily based on earlier versions, modifying/extending the exception lists of the Egyptian and Palestinian versions while preserving the general CODA rules. These efforts focused on one dialect at a time, and a number of them were only interested in processing Arabic input - not considering the challenges of dialectal Arabic output. Some recent efforts have highlighted the value of generating Arabic dialect text in the context of speech recognition, chatbots, and machine translation (Ali et al., 2014; Meftouh et al., 2015; Abu Ali and Habash, 2016). Erdmann et al. (2017), for instance, evaluated translation output in DA, finding that 10% of tokens not found in the reference but

Maghreb Nile Basin			Basin	Fertile Crescent			Arabian Peninsula						
Morocco	Algeria	Tunisia	Libya	Egypt	Sudan	South Levant	North Levant	Iraq	Hijaz	Najd	Gulf	Oman	Yemen
Rabat	Algiers	Tunis	Tripoli	Cairo	Khartoum	Jerusalem	Beirut	Mosul	Jeddah	Riyadh	Abu Dhabi	Muscat	Sana'a
Fes		Sfax	Benghazi	Alexandria		Amman	Damascus	Baghdad			Manama		Taiz
				Aswan		Salt	Aleppo	Basra			Doha		

Table 1: The different region, sub-region, and city dialects covered in CODA*.

manually judged to be correct, were in fact orthographic variants of a corresponding reference token. Zalmout et al. (2018) trained a morphological disambiguator on a CODA-based version of the data to show the upper accuracy limit noise-wise.

4. CODA*: Conventional Orthography for Multiple Arabic Dialects

In this section, we review the design goals and principles of CODA and discuss how we extend the CODA guidelines to CODA*.

4.1. CODA Goals and Design Principles

The original CODA goals as outlined by (Habash et al., 2012) in their paper on CODA-Egyptian were that: (i) CODA is an internally consistent and coherent convention; (ii) CODA is created for computational purposes; (iii) CODA uses the Arabic script; (iv) CODA is intended as a unified framework for writing all DAs; and finally, (v) CODA aims to strike an optimal balance between maintaining a level of dialectal uniqueness and establishing conventions based on MSA-DA similarities. The authors also describe CODA design as a consistent *ad hoc* convention that balances being MSA-like with being generally phonemic, and morphologically and syntactically faithful to the dialect. Furthermore, it aims to be easily learnable and readable.

4.2. Extending CODA to other Dialects

Despite the stated goals and design principles, the final guidelines Habash et al. (2012) presented were for Egyptian Arabic only. They included general rules and an exception list, which is to be consulted before applying any rules. The contents of the exception list are a mix of frequent closed class words (e.g., pronouns, demonstratives), frequent adverbial expressions (e.g., today, tomorrow, etc.), number words and days of the week, with the occasional odd case or not-so obvious example that applies the general rules. The protocol of consulting the exception list before applying the general rules is clear; however, there were no guidelines on what to put on the exception list and how to write words in that list. For one dialect, this perhaps is not a problem, but as we expand to other dialects, we have no guidance for how to proceed. As such, different efforts since Habash et al. (2012) interpreted the general rules as dialect independent, and the exception list as dialect specific and translated the exception list, which only added more ad hoc decisions.

4.3. CODA*

What we propose in this paper is an extension of CODA, which we call CODA* (as in, for any dialect). CODA*

includes minor adjustments to the CODA general dialectindependent rules, and major clarifications of the structure of the exception list. CODA* replaces said list with a detailed set of dialect-independent specifications to guide the creation of all closed classes and other categories of expressions. Additionally, CODA* introduces the concept of a seed lexicon which contains dialect-specific examples of frequent words, closed classes, examples, etc. The seed lexicon can grow as more work on a dialect is done to become eventually a dictionary of the dialect. As part of the effort to make the rules and lexicons easily definable and usable across all dialects in CODA*, we introduce a phonological representation that can be used to discuss and compare different dialectal entries in their respective lexicons, as phonological information is often obscured or generalized by CODA orthography. We also created a website (see Section 8.) for listing the rules and specification, and an easy-to-use interface for the seed lexicon, which currently includes multiple dialects.

In the next three sections, we present a summary of the phonological representation, the general rules and specifications, and the seed lexicon.

5. CODA* Phonological Representation

In discussing the many dialects included in CODA*, it is necessary to distinguish CODA orthography from the actual phonological properties of an utterance. Because CODA may conflate some phonological variation for the sake of pan-Arabic consistency, it is not ideal for describing dialectal phonological variation. For this purpose, we present the CAMEL³ Arabic Phonetic Inventory (CAPHI).⁴ Inspired by the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and Arpabet (Shoup, 1980), CAPHI is an objective system for transcribing utterances in all dialects of Arabic in a simple, user-friendly fashion. The CAPHI inventory contains only ASCII symbols-avoiding the need to switch between multiple keyboard layouts-such that symbols intuitively correspond to the representative phone and are easily memorized. This makes it a far more attractive representation for our purposes than the otherwise popular IPA. Additionally, each transcribed phone is white space-separated with optional markers available for distinguishing morpheme (+) and word boundaries (#). This enables single phones to be written with multiple characters when it is intuitive to do so, as is the case for long vowels or affricates. The infrastructure is easily extendable to cover yet undiscovered phenomena.

³Computational Approaches to Modeling Language (CAMEL) Lab at New York University Abu Dhabi.

⁴The Arabic word کافی *kAfy* means 'sufficient'.

				Exa	ımple			Example			ample		
CAPHI	IPA	Letter	CODA	CAPHI	Gloss	Dialect	CAPHI	IPA	Letter	CODA	CAPHI	Gloss	Dialect
р	p	у <i>b</i>	بر ي	pri	price	Algiers	gy	gj	εi	جابز	gy aa y i z	possible	Khartoum
p.	ps	٠ <i>b</i>	بمب	p. a m. p.	pump	Baghdad	q	q	<i>و</i> ق	قطار	qit.aar	train	Fes
b	b	<i>b</i> ب	باب	b ee b	door	Sfax	qh	G	<i>q</i> ق	رقم	raqham	number	Khartoum
b.	þţ	<i>b</i> ب	ياباني	y aa b. aa n i	Japanese	Muscat	kh	х	żχ	تخت	takhit	bed	Aleppo
f	f	f ف	فردي	fardi	single	Tripoli	kh	х	ر غ	غسالة	kh a s s ee l a	washer	Tunis
f.	f ^r	ر f ف	هَاکَ	f. a k k	he opened	Baghdad	gh	Y	γغ	غاو ي	gh aa w i	beautiful	Muscat
v	v	fف	رونديفو	r oo n d ii v uu	appointment	Algiers	gh	Y	$\supset r$	اريد	2 a gh ii d	I want	Mosul
t	t	تt	تفاح	t i ffee 7	apple	Beirut	7	ħ	τ <i>H</i>	حب	7 a b b	he loved	Sfax
t	t	θ ث	ثامن	t aa m i n	eighth	Jeddah	3	ς	ء ع	عمّر	3 a m m a r	he filled	Rabat
t.	ť	<i>T</i> ط	طبق	t.abag	dish	Riyadh	2	3	٠ ء	غطاء	gh t. aa 2	blanket	Tunis
t.	t٩	t ت	فستان	f u s t. aa n	dress	Amman	2	3	\tilde{I} $ar{A}$	آمين	2 aa m ii n	amen	Abu Dhabi
d	d	ے d	جديد	j d ii d	new	Algiers	2	3	i Â	متأكد	mit2akkid	sure	Amman
d	d	ڻ t	اتدشدش	2 i d d a sh d a sh	he got smashed	Cairo	2	?	! Ă	إجازة	2 i dj aa z e	vacation	Sana'a
d	d	هٔ ذ	نيل	d ee l	tail	Beirut	2	3	û	تساؤل	t a s aa 2 u l	question	Muscat
d	d	D ض	ضحك	di7ik	he laughed	Cairo	2	3	ŷ ئ	جائز	jaa 2 i z	possible	Mosul
d.	ď	D ض	ضرس	d.irs	tooth	Jeddah	2	3	<i>و</i> ق	طريق	t.arii 2	road	Damascus
d.	d۶	ت t	اتضرب اتضرب	2 i d. d. arab	he got hit	Cairo	h	h	o h	مهم	m u h i m m	important	Aswan
d.	d۶	ے d	ر. ضفدعة	d. u f d. a 3 a	frog	Cairo	m	m	<i>m</i> م	مکن	makkan	he gave	Sana'a
d.	d۶	ن Ž ظ	ظهرية	d.uhriyya	shaddow	Jeddah	m	m	<i>n</i> ن	جنب	j a m b	besides	Jeddah
th	θ	ث θ	ثياب	th y aa b	clothes	Salt	m.	m ^ç	<i>m</i> م	می	m. a y y	water	Damascus
dh	ð	ة ذ	ء . نراع	dh r aa 3	arm	Muscat	n	n	ن n	فنّ	fann	art	Baghdad
dh.	ð٢	Ďظ	ظاهر	dh. aa h i r	appearing	Abu Dhabi	n	n	óã	فعلاً	fi3lan	indeed	Cairo
dh.	ðs	خ ذ	ر ذوق	dh. oo g	tasting	Baghdad	n	n	ื <i>น</i> ิ	جميلٌ	dj a m ii l u n	beautiful	MSA
dh.	ðs	ں D ض	ضغط	dh. a gh a t.	he pressed	Jerusalem	n	n	Q ĩ	. یی غصیب	gh a s. b i n	forcefly	Abu Dhabi
s	s	ی س	اساسىي	2 a s aa s i	main	Rabat	n.	ns	نn	نای	n. aa y	flute	Damascus
S	S	θ ث	ثورة	sawra	revolution	Cairo	r	r	J r	روج	ruu j	red	Tunis
s	s	ے ت	الزعيم الزعيم	2 a s s e 3 ii m	the boss	Sana'a	r.	rs	J r	فرنسی	far.ansi	french	Khartoum
S	S	ے ر S ص	مرحیم صایغ	s aa y e gh	jeweler	Cairo	1	1	31	عر <i>ـــــي</i> لازم	l aa z i m	necessary	Riyadh
s.	Sc	ج ص	قصّة	qis.s.a	story	Alexandria	1.	15	J 1	درم لطش	l. a t. a sh	he stole	Khartoum
S.	S ^ç	ی س	سلطة	s. a l. a t. a	salad	Khartoum	w	w	g w	و لد	wald	boy	Sana'a
z	z	jz	زورق	zawra2	boat	Aleppo	y	j	<u>ي</u> ي	ر هایِل	h aa y i l	great	Alexandria
z	z	٠ ð	نبيحة	zabii 7 a	meat	Muscat	y	j	پ پ i ج	جلس	valas	he sat down	Abu Dhabi
z	z	ر ای س	اسبو ع	2 i z b uu 3	week	Khartoum	i	i	$\circ i$	مرشِد	m u r sh i d	guide	Mosul
Z	z	ی س ک ص	صغير	zgh ii r	small	Beirut	i	i	δħ	سمكة	s a m a k i	fish	Beirut
z.	Z	j z	جزمة	tsh i z. m. a	boot	Baghdad	i	i	• h	فو اکه	f w ee k i	fruits	Beirut
Z.	Z	، ر D ض	جر ب مضبو ط	m a z. b uu t.	correct	Jeddah	i	i	<i>v</i> ي	نسی	nisi	he forgot	Sana'a
Z. Z.	Z ^c	D ک Ď ظ	مصبوط عظیم	3 a z. ii m	great	Damascus	ii	Ī	<i>y</i> ي	ىسى مزيكة	mazziika	music	Alexandria
sh	ſ	خ ش	شاذر	sh aa dh i r	blanket	Muscat	e	e	् i	باکِر	b aa k e r	tomorrow	Muscat
	J		سار جاب	i ee b	he brought	Beirut			iħ	بحر ستّة	sitte	six	Damascus
j	3	ز ج و ق	جب طريق	t. a r ii j	road	Baghdad	e e	e e	n ، ay کي	ست غيرهم	gherhom	other than them	Cairo
ts	ts	q ق ts تس	فرتس	frits	Fritz	MSA	ee	ē	نې ay ay کې	عبر هم سئيشن	s t ee sh a n	station	Muscat
ts	ts ts	ا کا س کا لا	فریس سمك	s i m a ts	fish	MSA Riyadh(B)		ē	<i>ay اي اي</i> ا⊘ iA	سىيس جاسب	7 ee s a b	he paid	Beirut
ts	ts ts	⊡ κ ₹ j	سمك كتابج	kit aa bits		Riyadh(B)	ee a	a,æ	○ <i>1A</i>	جاسب جَرِّب	djarrab	he tried	Sana'a
dz	dî	ر ج dz دز	سابج ایدز	2 ee dz	AIDS	Beirut		a,æ	\ \ \ A	جرب سما	s a m a	sky	Cairo
dz dz	d z d͡z		ايىر جز اير	dz aa y i r	Algeria	Algiers	a a	a, æ a, æ	i A	سم شبية	s a m a sh ee b a	old man	Jeddah
dz dz	dz dz	خ j a å a	جرابر طريق	t. a r ii dz	road	Riyadh(B)	a		∘ n ∘ h	سبیه شافته	sh ee b a sh aa f i t a	she saw him	Doha
tsh	tf	<i>q</i> ق ئٹ ئٹ س	طریق کتشب			Sana'a		a,æ	n ه ن ی	سالله حمّی	7 o m m a	fever	Dona Muscat
	3			k a tsh tsh a p 3 y uu n i tsh	ketchup	Sana a Doha	а аа	a, æ:	<i>y</i>	حمی دار	d aa r	house	Abu Dhabi
tsh	t∫	ē j	عيونج شاف	tsh aa f	your eyes [2fs]	Dona Doha		_		دار قُلت	2 o l t		
tsh	t∫	ش <u>ٽ</u> ط <i>لا</i>	ساف سمك		he saw fish	Dona Basra	0	0	о́и		201t iibto	I said	Cairo
tsh	t∫			s i m a tsh	available		0	0	• h	جيبته الو	jibto 2 a l o	I brought it	Damascus
dj	d3	εj	موجود الم	m a w dj uu d		Khartoum	0	0	w e	-		hello	Amman
dj	dʒ	<i>q</i> ق	طريق فائ	t. i r ii dj	road	Abu Dhabi	00	ō	9 W	دور	d oo r	turn	Damascus
k	k	⊴ k	فاكهة	f aa k h a	fruit	Doha	u	u	о́ и	جبن	djubin	cheese	Doha
k	k	<i>q</i> ق	رقم	rakam	number	Jerusalem(R)	u	u	• h	جبته	gibtu	I brought it	Cairo
g	g	ē j	جميل	g a m ii l	beautiful	Cairo	u	u	w e	كتابكو	k i t a b k u	your [2p] book	Cairo
g	g	<i>q</i> ق	قال	g aa l	he said	Aswan	u	u	wA وا	كنتوا	kintu	you [2p] were	Beirut
g	q	ك <i>k</i>	بنك	b.ang	bank	Baghdad	uu	ū	g w	بلوزة	b l uu z a	blouse	Jeddah
	J		•										

Figure 2: A detailed listing of possible pairings of CAPHI and IPA sounds with CODA letters. Each pairing is accompanied with an example in terms of CODA, CAPHI, English gloss and city dialect. The dialect chosen is not meant to be exclusionary of other city dialects. The order of presentation is based on phonological features, and it positions consonants > vowels, stops > fricatives > affricates > nasals > other, labials >> glottals, voiceless > voiced, and non-emphatic > emphatic. Highlighted cells indicate CAPHI-CODA default pairing. (B) and (R) refer to *Bedouin* and *Rural* sub-dialects.

CAPHI phones include all phonemes in any dialect and any allophones which are confusable with phonemes of another dialect. For example, the voiceless alveolar stop [t] and its pharyngealized counterpart [t^{Γ}], are both phonemes because they can be used to distinguish meaning, as demonstrated by the minimal pair, יבוֹ [taj:a:r] 'current' and עבוֹ [t^{Γ} aj:a:r] 'pilot'. Thus both phones exist in CAPHI as /t/ and /t./ respectively. Conversely, [a^{Γ}] and [a] are not separate phonemes despite the fact that pharyngealized vow-

els do occur near pharyngealized consonants. Pharyngealized vowels, however, do not distinguish meaning and are not confusable with any phonemes in any known dialect. Therefore, they are not included in CAPHI, as little descriptive power would be gained from their inclusion and annotators would be required to make a challenging, errorprone distinction. Some allophones though, are included in CAPHI, like the Iraqi $[p^{\Gamma}]$ from phoneme [p]. The pharyngealization on the voiceless bilabial stop causes this allophone to sound similar to the voiced bilabial stop [b] with

which it can be confused by speakers of dialects which do not have the phoneme [p]. Thus, p^{Γ} is included in CAPHI as /p./ as it is useful in describing the dialectal differences between Iraqi and other dialects. The complete CAPHI inventory is listed in Figure 2.

6. CODA* General Rules and Specifications

While the goals of the CODA* guidelines is to precisely define the CODA choices, it is unavoidable that different versions of the guidelines will need to be presented differently for specific annotators on specific tasks for specific dialects: e.g., conversion form Arabizi to Arabic script (Bies et al., 2014), or lexicon construction (Diab et al., 2014).

In this paper, we summarize and highlight specific contributions of the effort; but the full set of CODA* guidelines is described on its online page (See Section 8.). We start with a description of the technical terminology we use; then we discuss the various rules and how to use them. The border between the general rules and the specification rules is broadly drawn along the lines that general rules do not refer to any specific lexical items (morphemes or words) and pertain to the meta-mechanics of CODA; while the specification rules are lexically specific, and at times ad hoc.

6.1. Terminology

We define the various technical terms we use in the rest of this section. For more information on Arabic morphology, see (Habash et al., 2012).

Sounds, Letters and Diacritics The term *sounds* is used in the context of pronunciation (phonology), while letters and diacritics are used in the context of writing (orthography). Sounds can be consonants or vowels. They are represented using the CAPHI representation and are bounded by forward slashes. *Letters and diacritics* are symbols used in the Arabic script to write words. Letters in the Arabic language are always required to be written; while diacritics are optional.⁵

Roots, Patterns, and other Morphemes Arabic's templatic morphology makes common reference to the concept of the *root*, a typically tri-consonantal abstraction capturing a general meaning about the word. For example, the root بدان المعنوب المعنو

Words, Basewords, and Clitics We define an Arabic *baseword* to consist of a stem and the minimal number of concatenative affixes needed to specify the obligatory features for its POS. A stem can be non-templatic or it can be composed from the interdigitation of a root and a pattern. The pattern may specify the features fully, as in

broken plurals. Basewords are as such the smallest fully formed words. Examples include: איז kitAb+yn 'two books' and שליה y+ktb+wn 'they write'. Clitics are syntactically independent but phonologically dependent morphemes that are attached to the word phonologically. Words can be basewords or basewords with added clitics. We use the term word to refer to the phonological utterance or the orthographic string, and we specify as needed. In CODA, phonological words typically map one-to-one to orthographic words; but there are many exceptions, pertaining mostly to clitics that are spelled as separate orthographic words.

6.2. Determining CODA-Compliant Orthography

To construct the spelling of a word, one must first identify all of its components: from sounds to morphemes, basewords and clitics. The morphemes should not just be identified in terms of their form, but also in terms of their meaning and POS. Different rules, general and specific, will often apply to different parts of the word. In practice, we expect some users to try to identify the baseword and look it up in the seed lexicon first; otherwise, they should form the baseword then add the clitics and follow the rules of clitic attachment.

6.3. General Rules

The general CODA* rules are for the most part a subset of the original CODA rules (Habash et al., 2012) with minor simplifications. We summarize below some of the most important general rules.

6.3.1. Basic Phonology to Orthography Mapping

These rules cover the mapping from sounds to letters. The default mapping is indicated in Figure 2 (bolded sections). All other pairings in that table follow from other general and specification rules, some of which are discussed below.

Hamza Spelling Hamza (Glottal Stop) spelling follows from the same rules as those of MSA and the original CODA. The Hamza is represented in six letters that are conditioned on its phonological context. In previous versions of CODA, and in MSA spelling, baseword initial Hamza had complex rules for deciding its form. The rule is now simplified to A and considers the Hamzation A optional.

Diacritic Spelling While Arabic diacritics are optional in general, they can be required in certain contexts, e.g., lemmas in the work of Khalifa et al. (2018) are diacritized. In this paper, we generally omit the diacritics unless needed. Arabic diacritics are primarily used for representing short vowels, or absence of vowels. However, the Shadda diacritic is used to represent consonantal gemination, e.g., $\lambda tat \sim ab/k$ at t a b/ 'he dictated'. As such, using the Shadda interacts with the number of letters in a word. The Shadda general rule states that it is used within the baseword, but not across word-clitic boundaries. Any exceptions must be specified in the specification rules.

Long-Short Vowel Spelling In many dialects, baseword long vowels may be shortened in certain contexts. Gener-

⁵While sounds are represented in CAPHI, letters and diacritics will be represented in Arabic script and supplemented with a romanized transliteration (Habash et al., 2007) for non-Arabic readers.

ally, the rule is to prefer the *long* letter-based spelling over the shortened diacritic spelling.

6.3.2. Baseword Spelling

Unlike the first set of general rules discussed above, the next three rules make reference to the root and pattern morphemes.

Root Radical Spelling

We expand the rule on etymologically spelled consonants discussed by Habash et al. (2012): dialectal word root radicals which have MSA cognates will be spelled using the MSA cognate radical if the dialectal radical sound and the MSA radical sounds are paired according to a specific set of common sound changes. Our expanded list of pairings is presented in Figure 3. Examples of specific words can be found in Figure 2.

			CAPHI
		MSA	Cognate Dialect
CO	DA	Sound	Variant Sound
ت	t	t	t.
ت ث	θ	th	t, t., s
<u>ج</u> د	j	dj, g	j, y, gy, tsh
د	d	d	t., d.
ذ	ð	dh	d, dh., z
ر	r	r	gh
ز	z	z	s, s.
س	S	s	s., z
س ش ص ض ط	š	sh	tsh
ص	S	s.	s, z
ض	D	d.	d, dh., z.
ط	T	t.	t
ظ	Ď	dh.	d., z.
ق	q	q	j, dz, dj, k,
			g, qh, 2
ك	k	k	ts, tsh, g
ن	n	n	m

Figure 3: Root Radical Map

Pattern Spelling Dialectal words with patterns that are cognates of MSA patterns will retain the spelling choice of the MSA pattern if the difference in pronunciation can be expressed using diacritics (for vowel change or absence), or if the pronunciation is a shortened form of the MSA pattern yowels.

Alif Maqsura The MSA rules for spelling the Alif-Maqsura ($\mathcal{S}(\hat{y})$), which are sometimes based on roots and sometimes on patterns, apply in CODA*.

6.3.3. Clitic Spelling

The general rule on phonological clitic spelling is that clitics that are mapped into single letters (with possible diacritics) will be spelled attached to the word, and will not interact with the spelling of the word. The specification rules identify the exceptions to this rule.

6.4. Specification Rules

The CODA* specification rules are organized along the different POS tags, such as pronouns, conjunctions, demonstratives, etc.; and other word classes, such as number words and vocative familial expressions. We present next a few iconic examples of such specification rules. The full listing is part of the online CODA* guidelines. While in this section we use examples from specific dialects, the rules are dialect-independent. They, however, make specific reference to the morpheme POS, meaning, and pronunciation as the main determinants of how it is written in CODA.

6.4.1. The Definite Article

The Arabic definite article is always written as a proclitic $+_{i}$ || Al+, regardless of how it is pronounced. Table 2

presents a number of example cases with the definite article pronunciations bolded. As with MSA spelling, general cliticization rules apply except when following the proclitic +Jl+, where the article is spelled without its lA. The Shadda rule is overridden in the specific context of +Jl+Jl+Al+ followed by an l-initial baseword (see last row in Table 2).

CODA	САРНІ	Gloss	Dialect
Alqmr القمر	2 i 1 2 a m a r	'the moon'	Cairo
Alšms الشمس	2 i sh sh a m e s	'the sun'	Jerusalem
AlktAb الكتاب	2 i k k i t aa b	'the book'	Cairo
<i>Albyt</i> البيت	l b ee t	'the house'	Jerusalem
Albyt البيوت	lebyuu t	'the houses'	Jerusalem
bAlbyt بالبيت	b e l b ee t	'at home'	Jerusalem
bAlbywt بالبيوت	bleby uu t	'at the houses'	Jerusalem
llbyt للبيت	lalbee t	'for the house'	Jerusalem
llbywt للبيوت	laleby uu t	'for the houses'	Jerusalem
llšms للشمس	l a sh sh a m e s	'to the sun'	Jerusalem
llšmws للشموس	laleshmuus	'to the suns'	Jerusalem
Alljnħ اللجنة	2 ellagna	'the committee'	Cairo
للجنة $lljn\hbar$	lellagna	'for the committee'	Cairo

Table 2: Definite Article examples.

6.4.2. The Ta-Marbuta

The Ta-Marbuta ($\eth\hbar$) is a secondary letter of the Arabic alphabet used to represent a particular suffix morpheme that is often (but not exclusively) associated with the feminine-singular feature (Alkuhlani and Habash, 2011). This morpheme has a number of allomorphs with differing pronunciations. Most notably, it appears as a vowel at the end of nominals, and changes to a \sim /t/ when followed by possessive pronominal enclitics. The Ta-Marbuta should be written as $\eth\hbar$ in word-final positions, regardless of its pronunciation, and following general CODA rules in non-word-final positions. See Table 3 for example cases.

CODA	САРНІ	Gloss	Dialect
حاجة $HAj\hbar$	7 aa g a	something	Cairo
HAjty حاجتي	7 aa g t i	my thing	Cairo
HAjthA حاجتها	7 aa g i t h a	her thing	Cairo
طاولة $TAwl\hbar$	t. aa w l e	table	Jerusalem
غزالة $\gamma zAl\hbar$	gh a z ee l i	gazelle	Beirut
معلمة مدرسة	m 3 a 1 m i t # m a d r a s e	school teacher	Jerusalem
mςlmħ mdrsħ	m 3 a l m e # m a d r a s e	she taught a school	Jerusalem
معلمتهم $m \varsigma lm th m$	m 3 a 1 m i t h u m	their teacher	Jerusalem
معلماهم $m \varsigma lm A h m$	m 3 a l m aa h u m	she taught them	Jerusalem

Table 3: Ta-Marbuta examples.

6.4.3. The Plural Waw

Verbal suffixes that indicate the feature *plural subject* and end with the sounds (/u/, /uu/, /o/, /oo/, and /aw/) will represent those sounds as $b_0 wA$ ($b_0 = b_0 = b_0$) 'Waw of Plurality') in word-final positions, and as $b_0 w$ when followed by other attached clitics. This rule is similar to the MSA rule, except for expanding the phonetic definition. See Table 4 for example cases.

CODA	САРНІ	Gloss	Dialect	
qAlwA قالوا	2 aa 1 u	they said	Cairo	
byqwlwA بيقولوا	b i y 2 uu 1 u	they say	Cairo	
nqwlwA نقولوا	n q uu 1 u	we say	Tunis	
qAlwA قالوا	g aa l a w	they said	Abu Dhabi	
qAlwhA قالوها	2 a 1 uu h a	they said it	Cairo	
mA qAlwš ما قالوش	m a # 2 a 1 uu sh	they did not say	Cairo	
qAlwA lh قالوا له	2 a l uu # l u	they said to him	Cairo	

Table 4: The Plural Waw examples.

6.4.4. Negation Clitics

The negation particle (/m a/, /m aa/) has phonologically become a proclitic in many dialects. However, it is always written as a separate particle $\[\]$ mA except when overridden by another specification rule. One example of such a rule is the case of negated pronouns, which require the $\[\]$ mA to be attached to the pronoun stem and does not allow repeated Alif letters. Table 5 presents a number of example cases.

CODA	САРНІ	Gloss	Dialect
ما قال	m aa # 2 aa l	he did not say	Damascus
ما قالش	m a # 2 a l sh	he did not say	Cairo
ما بدناش	m a # b i d d n aa sh	we do not want	Amman
مانیش	m a n ii sh	I am not	Cairo
ماهياش	mahiyyaa sh	she is not	Cairo

Table 5: Negation clitic examples.

6.4.5. Prepositional Enclitics

Post-verbal and post-nominal prepositions that have phonologically become enclitics will nonetheless be spelled separately from the words they follow. The most prominent such case is the preposition $+ \bigcup l +$ 'to, for' which introduces indirect verb objects in a number of dialects. Table 6 shows are a number of example cases from the dialect of Cairo.

CODA	САРНІ	Gloss	
qAlwhA ly قالوها لي	2 a 1 u h aa # 1 i	they said it to me	
mA qAlwA lyš ما قالوا ليش	m a # 2 a 1 u # 1 ii sh	they did not say it to me	
bAlnsbħ lh بالنسبة له	binnisbaa#l u	as for him	

Table 6: Prepositional enclitic examples.

6.4.6. Numbers

The words for numbers in Arabic dialects are amongst the most rich in phonological variety. The rules of writing number words in CODA* add the following exceptions to the general rules:

- The sometimes reduced historical Ta-Marbuta in the middle of the teens (11-19) is always written as $\because t$ regardless of its pronunciation as /t/ or /t./. It is never reduced to a Shadda diacritic.
- The sometimes reduced historical $\varepsilon \zeta /3/$ in numbers such as such as $\zeta \check{s}r$ 'ten, -teen', and $\zeta \check{s}r$ 'nine' will always be spelled as $\zeta \check{s}r$ even if completely elided or turned into a vowel.
- The sometimes reduced or altered final letter of $S\tilde{s}r$ 'ten, -teen' will be written as pronounced. The

- variation in this form marks different syntactic construction in some dialects.
- The hundreds will be written as a single word only if the *hundred* part is singular in form.
- The remnant /t/ of the historical Ta-Marbuta appearing only before Alif-initial words after number words will not be written.

The above rules apply to all number words, whether ordinal, cardinal, or fractions. Number words sometimes have different masculine and feminine forms that are used according to different dialect-specific rules. CODA guidelines do not interact with these dialect-specific decisions. Table 7 presents example cases, some of which involve interactions with other specification rules and general rules.

CODA	САРНІ	Gloss	Dialect
ثمانية $\theta m A n y \hbar$	th a m a n y e	eight	Salt
ثمانية $\theta m A n y \hbar$	tamanye	eight	Amman
ثمانة $ heta mAn\hbar$	t a m aa n e	eight	Damascus
ثمان θ mAn	taman	eight X	Amman
ثمان θmAn	t m aa n	eight X	Damascus
أثمانتعش $\theta m Ant \varsigma \check{s}$	tamanta3 sh	eighteen	Amman
مانتعش $\theta mAnt \varsigma \check{s}$	t m a n t a 3 sh	eighteen	Damascus
θmntςš ثمنتعش	th m u n t. a 3 i sh	eighteen	Baghdad
θmAntςšr ثمانتعشر	t a m a n t aa sh a r	eighteen	Cairo
θmAntςšr ثمانتعشر	tamanta3 shar	eighteen X	Amman
θmAntςšn ثمانتعشن	th m a n t. aa sh e n	eighteen X	Tunis
Arbςmyħ ار بعمية	2 ar b a 3 m i y y e	400	Amman
Arbςmyħ ار بعمية	2 a r b a 3 m ii t	400 X	Amman
ربعمية $rb\varsigma my\hbar$	ru b 3 u m i y y a	400	Cairo
Arbς AlAf اربع الاف	2 a r b a 3 # t a l aa f	4,000	Cairo
xms ArbAç خمس ارباع	kh a m a s # t i r b aa 3	five-fourths	Cairo

Table 7: Number examples.

6.4.7. Pronominal Enclitics

The set of specifications for the pronominal clitics which can serve as possessive pronouns, direct objects or indirect objects are presented in Table 8. Some of the decisions follow from the general rules, but for the most part they are intended to normalize the spelling as close as possible to the MSA variety without adding unnecessary and unresolvable ambiguity (e.g., using diacritics). It is important to point out again that this list is not dialect specific, but rather, it lists all the phonological forms of the pronominal morphemes in all dialects. The CODA* spelling for a dialect will depend on the phonology-morphology pair it corresponds to. Some of these pronouns have a large number of variants that can be ambiguous cross-dialectally. An interesting example is the case of the morpheme pronunciation /a/ which can be 3rd masculine singular in Gulf Arabic, but 3rd feminine singular in North Levantine: / k t aa b + a / can correspond to کتابه ktAb+h 'his book' (Abu Dhabi) or to کتا مل ktAb+hA 'her book' (Damascus). The CODA* specification does not address how a particular dialect may organize the use of the different forms in terms of morphotactics, e.g., the possessive 2nd person singular feminine pronominal clitic is always $\triangle + +k$ in Tunis, and always + +ky in Mosul; however, in Amman, it is + +ky post-vocalically, and $\triangle + +k$ otherwise. The underspecification of some features is intentional as some pronominal clitics may be used with different associated genders in different dialects, e.g., +kn is 2nd person plural feminine in Doha, but its is gender ambiguous in Beirut.

CO	DA	САРНІ	Morpheme Features
ني	ny	n i, n e, n ii, n ee	1st Person Singular
ي	у	i, ii, e, ee, y, y a, y e	1st Person Singular
<u>ك</u>	k	k, i k, e k, k a	2nd Person Singular
کي	ky	k i, k e, k ii, k ee	2nd Person Singular Feminine
ج	j	tsh, i tsh, ts, i ts	2nd Person Singular Feminine
٥	h	h, h u, u, o, a, a h, u h, length	3rd Person Singular Masculine
ها	hA	h a, h aa, a, aa, h e, h ee	3rd Person Singular Feminine
نا	nΑ	n a, n aa, n e, n ee	1st Person Plural
3	km	k u m, k o m	2nd Person Plural
كن	kn	k u n, k o n, tsh i n	2nd Person Plural
هم	hm	h u m, h o m, u m, o m	3rd Person Plural
هن	hn	h u n, h o n, u n, o n	3rd Person Plural

Table 8: CODA* specifications for pronominal clitics.

6.4.8. Vocative Familial Expressions

Some of the vocative expressions used primarily for familial reference have vocalic endings that are homophonous with pronominal suffixes. These endings are spelled following the general phonology-to-orthography rules. For example, the word /3 a m m o/ in the dialect of Amman can mean 'uncle!' (spelled in CODA as ςmw) or 'his uncle' (spelled in CODA as ςmh).

7. CODA* Seed Lexicon

The CODA* seed lexicon is a large and growing database containing verified examples of CODA* spelling for dialectal words. The seed lexicon started, as per its namesake, as a starter kit for defining CODA for new dialects by considering earlier decisions. It minimally contains the closed class words from any dialect in it, in addition to any number of examples that come out of the specification rules (e.g., numbers, familial expressions, etc.). The current CODA* lexicon has 4,819 entries from 19 cities (average 253 per city). Some city dialects have more entries than others. As part of the work on the MADAR project, we are adding all the entries from MADAR's 25 cities, which are over 47,000 entries. Table 9 shows a few examples of the CODA* seed lexicon. The different columns in the table are as follows.

- **Category** identifies the type of the entry, as phrase, word, prefix, suffix, proclitic, or enclitic.
- Lemma is a dialect specific lemma that abstracts over the inflectional variants of the word.
- **CODA** is the spelling of the entry according to the CODA spelling guidelines.
- **CAPHI** is the phonological transliteration of the entry following the CAPHI guidelines in Section 5.
- English provides the lemmatized form of the English gloss for each entry.
- **POS** identifies the entry's part-of-speech tag following the CAMEL POS guidelines (Khalifa et al., 2018).
- **Dialect** identifies the city-based dialect for each entry.

Category	Lemma	CODA	CAPHI	English	POS	Dialect
WORD	bršA برشا	bršA برشا	b a r sh a	very	ADV	Tunis
WORD	qwy قوي	qwy قوي	2 a w i	very	ADV	Alexandria
WORD	qwy قوي	qwy قوي	2 a w i	very	ADV	Cairo
WORD	qwy قوي	qwy قوي	gawi	very	ADV	Sanaa
WORD	kθyr كثير	kθyr کثیر	katiir	very	ADV	Aswan
WORD	kθyr کثیر	kθyr کثیر	kitiir	very	ADV	Cairo
WORD	kθyr کثیر	kθyr کثیر	k th ii gh	very	ADV	Mosul
WORD	kθyr كثير	kθyr کثیر	k th ii r	very	ADV	Salt
WORD	kθyr كثير	kθyr كثير	k t ii r	very	ADV	Beirut
WORD	wAjd واجد	واجد $wAjd$	w aa y i d	very	ADV	Abu Dhabi
WORD	wAjd واجد	wAjd واجد	w aa g i d	very	ADV	Muscat
WORD	wAjd واجد	واجد $wAjd$	w aa j i d	very	ADV	Benghazi
WORD	قال qAl	قال qAl	g aa l	he said	VERB.P3MS	Abu Dhabi
WORD	قال qAl	nqwl نقول	n g uu l	we say	VERB.I1P	Abu Dhabi
WORD	قال qAl	nqwl نقول	n q uu l	I say	VERB.I1S	Tunis
ENC	ط+ +k	±++k	i k	you	PRON.2FS	Jerusalem
ENC	ط+ +k	+ +ky	k i	you	PRON.2FS	Jerusalem
ENC	++j		tsh	you	PRON.2FS	Abu Dhabi
PROC	+š شـ+	+ڏ شـ+	sh a	will	PART_FUT	Sanaa
PROC	+> H+	+> H+	7 a	will	PART_FUT	Amman
PROC	+ه h+	+ه h+	h a	will	PART_FUT	Cairo
PROC	+خ +	+خ +	gh a	will	PART_FUT	Rabat
PROC	++ b+	++ b+	b	will	PART_FUT	Manama

Table 9: Examples from the CODA* seed lexicon.

The table also shows how the same word, with the same lemma and CODA representation, can be mapped to multiple phonological representations from different dialects. For example, the word $\lambda k\theta yr$ 'very' is mapped to five different phonological representations. In the online browsable version of the seed lexicon there are extra comments and notes indicating which rules were used.

8. Conclusion and Outlook

We presented a unified set of guidelines and resources for conventional orthography of dialectal Arabic. These guidelines and their connected resources are being used by three large Arabic dialect processing projects in three universities working on dialects from 28 Arab cities.

The resources are all available online at the project website: http://resources.camel-lab.com/.

In the future, we plan to continue expanding our guidelines and resources for the Arabic dialects we are working with and add new dialects. We also plan to annotate collections of text in their CODA forms to train and benchmark systems for automatic spelling conventionalization.

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