

MORPHOLOGY OF YEMENI ARABIC: IBB VARIETY

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Award of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics**

By

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DECLARATION

I, Ehab Saleh Abdo Alnuzaili, hereby declare that this thesis entitled
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DEDICATION

*To the soul of my late father, my beloved mother
because of whom I have been what I am, I
dedicated this work*

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.	Anno Domini
accus	accusative
adj	adjective
alveo	alveolar
ant	anterior
BC	Before Christ (for dates and historical periods)
C	Century
C	consonant
C.A.	circa
CE	Common Era (for dates and historical periods)
cent	central
cons	consonantal
cont	continental
cor	coronal
Dir	Direct
dors	dorsal
F	Feminine
Ft	foot templatic
GNPA	gender, number, person, aspect
H	high
IA	Item and arrangement
IP	Item and Process
IPA	International Phonetic Association
IV	Ibb Variety
LA	Literary Arabic
lab	labial
M	Masculine

MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
N.T.M	nonconcatenative templatic morphology
N	noun
NP	Noun Phrase
neg	negative
P	Plural
Poss	possessive
Pr	Prosodic word
Pro	pronoun
Q	quadriliteral
S	Singular
son	sonorant
sup	superlative
Syll	syllable
V	verb
vs	versus
W	word
W.F	Word final
WP	Word Paradigm
α F	alfa
β	bita

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Introduction

Languages evolve. They hardly remain stable although language change does not happen overnight. When a language ceases to change, this is taken as a bad omen of its decreasing vitality which leads in some cases to language death. It is not easy to perceive such a dying language. It is like the person's death. (Crystal 2000).

“The phrase ‘language death’ sounds as stark and final as many other in which that word makes its unwelcome appearance. And it has similar implications and resonance. To say that language is dead is like saying that a person is dead. It could no other way-for languages have no existence without people”

Like Classical Latin and Greek, which, though found in the written form, are not spoken today. Language change and development takes decades and sometimes centuries to be manifested in a language, particularly in terms of its structural aspects (i.e. morphological, syntactic, phonetic, phonological, semantic and discourse). These changes testify to the fact that a language is a continuum through history. Linguists who probe through principles of historical linguistics detect, investigate and account for the language change and status normally following the diachronic approach.

As part of evolution every aspect of human life as a matter of course, languages, too succumb to this law of nature. A palpable example of language evolution and change can be seen as a tendency of a language to develop variation. Linguistically, the term ‘language variety’ is taken to refer to a manifestation of a language, in terms of a dialect, or an idiolect. It is a term which encompasses all of these.... [it] is a technical term used for any kind of language production, whether we are viewing it as being determined by region, by gender, by social class, by age or by

our own inimitable individual characteristics” (Bauer 2002: 3). The term ‘variety’ has therefore been taken in this research instead of the term dialect, which is “a kind of language which identifies you as belonging to a particular group of people” (ibid.: 3), because, it appears that the former is a more inclusive term and gives much more space to manoeuvre.

In some cases, language evolution leads to what is known in linguistic academia as ‘diglossia’, which according to Ferguson (1959) refers to “one particular kind of standardization where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play”. In his discussion of diglossia, Ferguson (ibid.) cites Arabic language as one of the prominent world languages with remarkable diglossic conditions.

The Arabic language belongs to the Semitic family of languages of whose attested history spans over three millennia (Chejne 1969: 25). Historically, this language itself is divided into two varieties, Southern Arabic (used formerly in Yemen, and had its written form well developed even by the sixth century B.C.) and Northern Arabic (used in the rest of the Arabian Peninsula). Little evidence do we have about the development of Standard Arabic (also known as Classical Arabic), which is the variety of Quraish Tribe. During the advent of Islam this variety has seemed to have reached its apex of poetic and linguistic sophistication. Its writing system achieved sophistication in later centuries, though. Even in the pre-Islamic era, Northern Arabic had seven recognised varieties, apart from the non-recognised ones.

The advent of Islam and the revelation of the Holy Quran in Quraish variety elevated this variety to the status of Standard Arabic, known as *fuṣḥa*, and imparted on it a spiritual value, even at the cost of marginalising other varieties, including the Southern Arabic. But this does not mean that a radical shift had taken and that the

Southern Arabic had been completely forsaken. Of course, the Northern Arabic writing system (*xaṭṭ ʿal-musnad*) was given away in favour of the Northern Arabic counterpart. But the spoken form of Southern Arabic seems to have retained some intrinsic aspects of its salient features. This retention of spoken characteristics of a variety seems to apply to almost all the varieties of Arabic, hence the case of diglossia. Therefore, while Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) can be traced back to the variety of Quraish (dominant therein in Makkah, Medinah and other adjacent areas), the non-Quraish varieties of Arabic interacted with the MSA with some reservations, especially at the spoken level.

The Ibb Variety (IV), as one of these varieties of Arabic, is no exception. In the presence a considerable amount of interaction with MSA it retains certain aspects peculiar to it at various levels. Perhaps due to neglect by academia, this variety, like most of the varieties of Arabic, is relegated to a lower status and even considered vulgar and “unliterary”, although vernacular poetry is composed in this variety. But, from a linguistic point of view, a study of this variety can provide us with ample examples of a wide range of concerns pertaining not only to this variety and its relation with MSA but also in terms of language development in general with specific reference to Arabic and its diglossic situation.

1.2. Aim and Scope:

The aim and scope of this study is to provide a descriptive synchronic analysis of the morphological structure of Yemeni Arabic as it is spoken by natives of the city of Ibb. Most of the Yemeni vernaculars have not been studied up till now, perhaps due to lack of initiative by academia and the concerned authorities. The study of these vernaculars is of immense value not only for the sake of these varieties and their relations with the MSA but also for linguistic studies in general. Therefore, this study

shall be considered as an attempt to investigate one of these vernaculars in order to document the governing rules and peculiarities of this variety which would otherwise remain in the dark side of academia. The discussion involves approaching this variety from different angles, viz. socially, linguistically and culturally.

Interestingly, Yemen abounds in varieties of Arabic to such an extent that one can recognise the speaker's region and tribe according to the variety s/he speaks. Within Ibb Governorate one can notice the existence of a myriad of accents which, alongside the accent used in Ibb City, form the variety investigated in this dissertation, i.e. IV. Generally, Ibb city is located in the south of the capital Sana'a, an agricultural society. The population of Ibb Governorate is approximately two and millions, and most of them belong to the rural agricultural community. Ibb Governorate has twenty two Directorates, each of which has its own remarkable accent within Ibb Variety, but one always notices that people from the various Directorates of Ibb Governorate tend to use IV as a "lingua franca" and a common denominator for social interactions – although all accents of IV are mutually intelligible. People regard the accent of Ibb City as a more sophisticated accent and as a way to avoid regionalism.

It has been mentioned above that although speakers of the different varieties of Arabic tend to prefer to keep their vernaculars outside the written form. However, it is probably a popular misconception that only the MSA is elevated to the status of the written language. In other words there exists a phobia that if vernaculars are used in the written form the status and prestige of MSA (the language with the "spiritual value" and a common denominator of all Arabs and Muslims) would diminish. However, these varieties tend also to retain certain phonological and morphological features and generally develop peculiar rules to respond to their speakers' needs

alongside the dictates of MSA. This description, therefore discusses the phonology of IV as it interplays with the morphological system. Of course, the native speakers of IV who have participated as subjects in this investigation have been under the influence of the variety standard to a great extent. Most of them are students in Ibb University and the rest include respondents ranging from scholars and teachers in the secondary schools to lay persons or common speakers (uneducated persons).

As most of the Yemeni vernaculars have not been studied from the linguistic point of view by date there is hardly anything that this thesis can draw upon. Hence this study stands as a challenging task and a fresh contribution to linguistics with a specific reference to Yemeni Arabic. The lack of existing studies on IV and other varieties in Yemen is a disadvantage especially as a point of departure from an existing academic opinion, and has necessitated the researcher start from scratch. Of course, materials were available with regard to MSA, but when the case came to IV. The data collected from native speakers alone has served as the backbone of the research reported here.

Modern concepts in linguistics and sociolinguistics have been resorted to in order to explain certain linguistic phenomena related to IV. It is noted that IV morphology operates according to a root-based structure, or ‘architecture’. Virtually all words in IV, with the exception of certain conjunctions, prepositions and articles, operate within this system. Even the loanwords, once adopted into IV, become adjusted into its root-based architecture. The insertion of the vocalic prosodies between the radicals, and the attachment of the affixes, creates and differentiates one morphological category from another. Certain patterns distinguish words into nouns, others into verbs; whereas they may mark a verb for its number, tense, aspect, gender, and model categories besides, and for another verbal categories. As will be

demonstrated and explained in subsequent chapters.¹ Finally this thesis may stand the chance of being model for the description of other varieties of Arabic. It can be used in pedagogy as well. Also, it can be used in machine translation.

1.3. Theoretical Models of Morphology

There are three principal models of morphology (cf. Hockett 1954), each of which tries to deal with the descriptions of various morphological phenomena. Various approaches to morphology have been based on one of these three principal models:

1. Item and Arrangement (IA) conceived as object oriented concatenation in which morphemes are not distinguished with basic and non basic allomorphs (No notion of basic allomorphs). In the following examples, the plural markers /s, z, iz/ are independent and have the same status where in each of these morphemes (viz, s, z, iz attached to book, bag, church respectively) carry tags indicating their address for concatenation. This model of Morphology is also largely unsuitable for describing Arabic which involves non linear order of concatenation.

book + s → books

bag +z → bagz

church +iz → churchiz

2. Item and process (IP) conceived as processing of abstract units of Lexicon. The notion of basic allomorph is at the centre of the concept and the variants are contextually derived. The IP model underlies the Lexeme-based approach to Morphology. In this model, instead of analyzing a word-form as a set of morphemes arranged in sequence, a word is said to be the result of applying rules that alter a given lexeme in order to produce a new word. An inflectional rule takes a lexeme, changes it as is required by the rule, and outputs a word-form. The Item-and-Process approach by passes the difficulties inherent in the Item-and-Arrangement approach. The plural

suffix formative /iz/ will have three allomorphs viz. [iz], [z] and [s], besides [en] and [ren]. Even the problematic cases like *men* can start with *man* and apply the rules of plural formation which automatically massage the form into a well-formed word-form.

Pl = /iz/ basic allomorph.

$$1. \quad \begin{array}{cc} \text{iz} \longrightarrow \text{z/ C_z\#} & \text{iz} \longrightarrow \text{s/ C_z\#} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ cont} \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ cont} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

Alternatively, $i \longrightarrow \emptyset / \text{C_z\#}$

2.

$$\begin{array}{c} z \longrightarrow \text{s/ C_ \#} \\ [-\text{vd}] \end{array}$$

$$\text{book+iz} \longrightarrow \text{bookz} \longrightarrow \text{books}$$

3. Word and Paradigm (WP) The assumption is, a morpho-syntactic Property (P) is associated with the root/stem X. Words (XP) are viewed as exponents of P. This model in its design does not involve concatenation of morphemes in linear instead involves stating fully blown (inflected/ derived) forms as projections of the corresponding morpho-syntactic categories. This model is better suited to be applied to the type of the Arabic language and its varieties. The following examples illustrate the WP in IV.

katab	write,	p.3.m.s.
tuktub	write,	p.2.f.s.
juktubu:	write,	p.3 m.p.
maktab	office,	m.s.
maka:tib	office,	m.p.
maktaba	library,	f.s.
kita:b	book,	m.s.
kutub	book,	m.p.

Since the WP model avoids concatenation of morphemes linear order it is in design better suited to describe Arabic Morphology. Particularly, refer the formation of plurals in Arabic. Under this model we may recognise Arabic words constitute word parts k-t-b and a-a where in the first part indicates the basic lexical meaning and the second part the grammatical function meaning

In other frame work of Morphology called Relational Morphology, non concatenation of morphemes are involved rather as in word basic morphology. Word forms are fully formed readily available in human mental lexicon and various morphological relationship are establishment by correspondence or operation (formal and semantic similarity) by the forms stated in 1

$$X_{wF} \leftrightarrow X'_{w\beta}$$

Where X is a word (w_F) and X' is another word (w_β). Both are related because they have formal similarity, $x::x'$, and semantic similarity $w_F::w_\beta$, where F versus β are distinct morpho-syntactic categories referring to the same lexical content. The morphological relations are appropriately expressed in Arabic using the notation scheme described above.

1.4. Research Methodology and Procurement of Data

Data collection in the field was performed by inviting native speakers of IV to engage in conversation and pronunciation of lexical items in IV. The data used in this dissertation was obtained by the following methods:

- 1) By discussing with the informants, either by speaking about specific topics, or from general, unguided sessions, and writing down relevant comments.

- 2) In order to elicit structural forms, the informants would be given lexical items which were frequent in their casual speech and were asked to use these items with affixes. This included the attachment of suffixes in general. The morphology of nouns, verbs and adjectives was also elicited. The formation of broken plural forms of nouns and participles was requested from the informants. The informants were also asked to provide participles from derived verbs and also to conjugate verbs with all subject personal pronouns.
- 3) Social gatherings with IV informants at the *Shab Ibb* Club, at my residence or at the campus of Ibb University has given the researcher a greater receptive facility in terms of understanding the grammar of the variety.

The data collected are then refined and tabulated along with their transcription and translation. IPA symbols have been used here for transcription of data. Examples of the processes under investigation are sorted in such a way as to illustrate and substantiate the mechanisms behind these processes.

1.5. Chapterisation

This thesis is divided into seven chapters each of which deals with a specific concern of the study.

Chapter One: This chapter comprises of Introduction in general and about the Arabic Language in a historical perspective in particular.

This chapter provides a historical background and shows how Arabic language existed in two forms, indicating the postulates of several descriptive models regarding the development of Arabic varieties. Based on Ferguson's (1959) point of view, this chapter also discusses diglossia in general and moves on to throw light on the situation in context of the Arabic speech communities, tracing it to the pre-Islamic

times. Besides, this chapter discusses the theoretical models of Morphology and the inflection as an overview of grammatical categories in Ibb Variety.

Chapter Two: The Phonology of IV

An inventory of vowels and consonants of IV are discussed. This chapter also concerns itself with the description of the phonological processes.

Chapter Three: The Morphology of IV Verbs

The Non-Concatenative Theoretic description is used as much as possible to account for morphological processes in IV. Different varieties of IV verbs are explored, showing how IV verbs are inflected and conjugated vis-à-vis MSA.

Chapter Four: The Morphology of IV Nouns

IV nouns are classified into various declensional classes in this chapter. In addition, the category of gender with relation to the mechanisms of NP inflection is explored with reference to IV. Besides, this chapter also includes an investigation of pluralisation and other noun forms which occur in IV.

Chapter Five: The Morphology of IV Adjectives

This chapter is concerned with the different classifications of IV adjectives, substantiating each type with examples.

Chapter Six: The Morphology of IV Pronouns

Special mention is made of the pronouns in both MSA and IV, indicating similarities and differences. This chapter also compares and contrasts IV and MSA in a general way, highlighting the points of convergence and divergence in such a way as to come up with formulas for each type of change.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This chapter concludes the study by summarising the main points made throughout the research. It also suggests areas where further research is required.

1.6. Inflection: An Overview of Grammatical Categories in Ibb Variety

The term ‘inflection’ generally refers to phonological changes, a word undergoes as it is being used in specific morpho-syntactic context . In English, some common inflectional categories are: number (singular and plural; case in case of pronouns), tense (e.g., past, present), and voice (active and passive). Generally speaking, Arabic as well as IV words are marked for more grammatical categories than are English words. Some of these categories are available in English (ex. aspect) while others, such as inflection for case or gender (in case of nouns) are not. There are eight morpho-syntactic categories in Arabic: aspect, voice, mood, person, gender, number, case and definiteness. Five of these apply to verbs in IV (aspect, person, voice, gender, number), Three apply to nouns and adjectives (gender, number and case), and Four apply to pronouns (person, gender, number and case). Here is a brief summary of these categories and their roles in Arabic with some clarification of the differences of IV variety.

Aspect

Aspect can be seen as of viewing of time. .Also, Aspect sees the completeness of an action or state as central: is the action over with and completed, ongoing, or yet to occur. The points of view, aspect focuses on when the action occurs and the other focuses on the action itself – whether it is complete or not. There are two basic morphological aspects in IV: past and present, also called perfective and imperfective, respectively. In dealing with the modern written language, many linguists find it more pragmatic to describe Arabic as well as, varieties in terms of aspect, to past/present (referring to time or and perfect/imperfect/ as well. There is

also a future, indicated by prefixing either *sa-* or *sawfa* to the present form in MSA but in IV by the use of /ʕa/.

Person

Arabic as well as, IV, verbs and personal pronouns inflect for three persons: person, number and gender, first person (I, we), second person (you), and third person (she, he, they). There are differences with English, however, in the gender and number of these persons. For the IV first person (*?ana*, *?ihni?*) there is no gender distinction. For the second person, there are two forms of 'you': masculine singular (*?inta*), feminine singular (*?inti*), we can find that the dual pronouns are not lost but associated with plural pronouns /*?intu*/ which means 2nd masculine, feminine plural and 3rd masculine feminine plural. This is difference in MSA, which has five forms of the 2nd person. For the third person, there are five verbal distinctions in IV and five pronoun distinctions: he (*hu*), she (*hi*), they-two masculine (*hum*), they-two feminine (*han*), they more than two masculine (*hum*) and they feminine (*han*).

Voice

The category of voice refers to whether an IV verb or participle is active or passive. Generally speaking, the passive is used in IV only if the agent or doer of the action is unknown or not to be mentioned for some reason.

Mood

'Mood' or 'mode' refers to verbal categories such as indicative, subjunctive, imperative, or (in Arabic) jussive. These categories reflect contextual modalities that condition the action of the verb. For example, whereas the indicative mood tends to be characteristic of straightforward statements or questions, the subjunctive indicates an attitude toward the action such as doubt, desire, wish, or necessity, and the imperative mood indicates an attitude of command or need for action on the part of the speaker.

The issue of mood marking is a central one in Arabic grammar (along with case marking). Moods fall under the topic of morphology because they are reflected in word structure; they are usually indicated by suffixes or modifications of suffixes attached to the present aspect verb stem, and the phonological nature of the verb stem determines what form the suffix will take. The mood markers are often short vowel suffixes, for example, /-u/ for indicative and /-a/ for subjunctive. In Arabic, mood marking is done only on the imperfective or present tense stem; there are no mode variants for the past tense. The Arabic moods are therefore non-finite; that is, they do not refer to specific points in time and are not differentiated by tense. Mood marking is determined either by particular particles which govern or require certain moods (e.g., the negative particle *lam* requires the jussive mood on the following verb) or by the narrative context in general, including attitude of the speaker and intended meaning. It is worth mentioning here that mood is not subject in most of Arabic varieties, Hofiz (1995) indicates that verbs of Dubai Dialect are not inflected for mood, as well as, IV the mood is lost (not inflected).

Gender

IV exhibits two genders: masculine and feminine. For the most part, gender is overtly marked, but there are words whose gender is covert and shows up only in agreement sequences. The gender category into which a noun falls is semantically arbitrary, except where nouns refer to human beings or other living creatures. Gender is marked on adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, as well, but is not inherent, as it is in nouns.

Number

IV has three number categories: singular, dual, and plural. Whereas singular and plural are familiar categories to most Western learners, the dual is less. A very

few nouns are both masculine and feminine, for example: ‘salt’ /*milḥ*/ and ‘spirit’ /*ruḥ*/. The dual in IV is used whenever the category of “two” applies, whether it be in nouns, adjectives, pronouns, or verbs. The concept of plural therefore applies to three or more entities. This category interacts in specific ways with the category of gender and also with a morphological category which is peculiar to Arabic and IV as well: humanness. Both gender and humanness affect the way in which a noun, participle, or adjective is pluralized. Numerals themselves, their structural features and the grammatical rules for counting and sequential ordering, constitute one of the most complex topics in Arabic. They are discussed in Chapter Four.

Case

Arabic nouns and adjectives normally inflect for three cases: nominative, genitive, and accusative. Cases fall under the topic of morphology because they are part of word structure; they are usually suffixes attached to the word stem, and the nature of the word stem determines what form the suffix will take. In general, the case markers are short vowel suffixes: /-u/ for nominative, /-i/ for genitive and /-a/ for accusative, but there are substantial exceptions to this. A case-marking paradigm is usually referred to as a declension. Cases also fall under the topic of syntax because they are determined by the syntactic role of a noun or adjective within a sentence or clause. The nominative case typically marks the subject role (most often the agent or doer of an action); the accusative marks the direct object of a transitive verb or it may mark an adverbial function; and the genitive is used mainly in two roles: marking the object of a preposition and marking the possessor in a possessive structure.

The crucial difference between the MSA and IV is the total lack of any morphological inflection of case on nouns (as in the other colloquial variants). When

case endings were indicated by short vowels MSA, the corresponding forms are simply not available in IV.

Definiteness: Determiners

Arabic as well as, most of Arabic varieties has both definite and indefinite markers. The definite marker is a word (*ʔal-*) which is not independent but is prefixed to nouns and adjectives; the indefiniteness marker is an affix (*-n*), normally in Arabic suffixed (only but not with the varieties) to the case-marked vowel on nouns and adjectives; thus, *ʔal-bet-u* ('the house' – nominative, definite), but *bet-u-n* ('a house' – nominative, indefinite). The suffixed */-n/* sound is not written with the letter */n/* (*nu:n*) but is indicated by modifying the short vowel case-marker. Whereas the definite article is visible in Arabic script, the indefinite marker normally is not.

1.7. Distribution of inflectional categories: paradigms

In terms of the distribution of the above eight categories of inflection, IV verbs inflect for the first five: aspect, voice, person, gender, number, but not for mood. Nouns and adjectives inflect for the last two: gender, number, but not for case and definiteness. Pronouns inflect for gender, number, and person respectively. Any verb, for example, can be analyzed as being marked for five categories; any noun can be analyzed for four categories and any pronoun for three. This means that word structure in IV is complex, and that verbs have the most complex structure of all².

Nouns and Adjectives

In the colloquial spoken varieties of Arabic, much of the inflectional and derivational grammar of Classical Arabic nouns and adjectives is unchanged. The colloquial varieties have all been affected by a change that deleted most final short vowels (also final short vowels followed by a nunation suffix *-n*), and shortened final long vowels.

Loss of Dual

The dual number is lost except on nouns, and even then its use is no longer functionally obligatory (i.e. the plural may also be used when referring to two objects, if the "two-ness" of the objects is not being emphasized). In addition, many varieties have two morphologically separate endings inherited from the Classical dual, one used with dual semantics and the other used for certain objects that normally come in pairs (e.g. eyes, ears) but with *plural* semantics (which IV follows).

Changes to Elative Adjectives

Elative adjectives (those adjectives having a comparative and superlative meaning) are no longer inflected; instead, the masculine singular serves for all genders and numbers. Note that the most common way of saying e.g. "the largest boy" is '*?akbar walad*', with the adjective in the construct state (rather than expected '*?al-walad ?al-akbar*', with the adjective in its normal position after the noun and agreeing with it in state).

Preservation of Remainder of System

Other than the above changes, the system is largely stable. The same system of two genders, sound and broken plurals, to complete the declension of some nouns and adjectives still exists, and is little changed in its particulars. The singular of feminine nouns is normally marked in */-a/* or */-ih/*. The masculine plural marked in */i:n* or *em/* whereas the feminine plural marked in */a:t/*.

1.8. The Arabic Language: A Historical Background

Since at least what is traditionally known as the pre-Islamic period (i.e. up to the sixth century in the Christian Calendar), the Arabic Language has existed in two forms, Literary Arabic, hereafter abbreviated LA, and regional or colloquial varieties,³. As is discussed later, LA is also known as 'Classical Arabic' and the 'Modern

Standard Arabic' is the language of contemporary writing. LA is called '/**al-luḡa ʔal-ʕarabija ʔal-fuṣḥa*/*'.

In most Arab countries there are several varieties; one is the high-prestige urban variety used by the elite,⁴ another is the variety used by the common people. Still there may exist an additional variety, i.e. the variety of Bedouins, or nomadic Arabs, in some Arab countries. Accordingly, these varieties can be described by the following variables or a combination of them: i. Region or Location, ii. Family and Tribal Affiliation, iii. Mode of Living, whether nomadic or sedentary. These variables are factors which may contribute either to the formation or continuation of a variety, or to its demise.⁵

Generally, these varieties vary widely from each other and from LA. However, LA as it is used in one Arab country does not significantly differ from LA as it is used in another Arab country in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. As was referred to above, the LA of the pre-modern period is sometimes called 'Classical Arabic', whereas contemporary LA is also known as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

LA first began to make its impact as the language of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. With the revelation of Quran, and the expansion of the Islamic State, LA made its full impact. Also written in LA (Classical Arabic) are the Holy Quran, the prophetic *ḥadiith* (traditions of the Prophet), and the literature of the early Islamic period, (beginning with *hijra*, the journey of the prophet from Mecca to Almadina, A.D. 622, until around the middle part of the *Abbasid* period). Over time, some of the vocabulary of older LA (i.e. Classical Arabic) has become anachronistic, whereas the recent Modern LA has acquired current shape with the advancement of scientific knowledge and technology.

Although, it is not empirically proven that LA and the Arabic varieties stem from the same early Arabic form, most scholars are opinion of that both LA and Arabic varieties have diverged from a common progenitor. This is paralleled by the general agreement among scholars that Arabic and the other Semitic languages, including Akkadian, Amharic, Aramaic, Hebrew, Maltese, Phoenician, South Arabic, Tigre, Tigrinya, etc., descended from the same proto-Semitic language.

However, whether or not the colloquial varieties of Arabic developed directly from old LA has not yet been settled. In terms of chronology, there is variance of opinion about the Arabic varieties which existed in the pre-Islamic era and the extent of their variation. Related to this is the phenomenon of the penetration of Arabic into the Fertile Crescent, which apparently had begun long before the *hijra*. How this issue relates to the spread and development of the varieties with the rise and expansion of Islam outside of Arabia proper must have played a significant role in the development of the precursors of today's modern Arabic varieties, including IV (Ibb variety). Well-known examples of Medieval Arabic literature, including *The Thousand and One Nights*,⁶ grammatical treatises, and other written sources testify that a number of Arabic varieties were extant by the mid-*Abbasid* period.⁷

Several descriptive models for the development of the Arabic varieties have been postulated. Many differing conjectures have emerged about the linguistic situation at the time of the Prophet and the inception of Islam. Each explanation attempts to describe the linguistic situation in the Arabian Peninsula just prior to the Islamic expansion.

The Arabic Koine,⁸ a theoretic model, was proposed by Johan Fieck and Charles Ferguson (1959). They postulate that a common colloquial form of Arabic arose with the spread of Islam outside the confines of Arabia proper. The Koine

model purports to explain why most sedentary Arabic varieties share certain linguistic features. It claims that while the Koine spread and developed along with the Arab-Islamic state, LA remained fundamentally unchanged over time and space.⁹

Teymour (1932: 635) proposes another theory, prevalent among Arabs, resembling the Koine model in some respects. It states that the modern varieties of Arabic diverged from each other owing to foreign occupation and colonization. It is generally agreed upon that this process started with the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in the CA 11 C, followed by Mongol invasion in the mid-12 C. The challenge to authority posed by Turkish troops within the still predominantly Arabic-speaking and Arab-ruled Islamic state was an important factor in this development. Outside the realm of Abbasid politico-military power, the colloquializing process in spoken Arabic began to take place. Perhaps, lack of education and the non-use of Arabic as the official language during the Turkish rule, along with the subsequent occupation of Arab land by imperialist powers (British, French, Italian), all aggravated the situation even more first by secluding Arabs from the world and from each other, and then by imposing their own languages and systems of education on the Arabs.

Versteegh (1984) argues that the Old Spoken Arabic and the Poetic Koine, which existed at the time of the Prophet and shortly thereafter, was a single language which he calls Old Arabic. Any variation which existed was not beyond the range of the normal linguistic variation found in any living language. His basic position is that the descriptions and conclusions of the early Arab grammarians about the Arabic language are reliable and should be used as real evidence for determining the state of early Classical Arabic. His strongest argument for the unity of Old Arabic is the evidence of the early grammarians. In his first chapter he does not state how quickly

the changes take place, but he does characterize these changes as radical and far-reaching. Versteegh asserts that the changes between Old Arabic and New Arabic (his terminology) are so deep that New Arabic constitutes a new language type.¹⁰

Blau (1965/1981 and 1966), as well, argues that Old Spoken Arabic and the Poetic Koine were in essence the same language. His evidence is the lack of pseudo-corrections in the Quran. He also argues that the poets would not have been able to correctly compose the *Jahiliyya* (i.e. a common term used to describe the pre-Islamic period) poetry if they were not comfortable using the features of the Poetic Koine.

Ziadeh (1986) uses the evidence of the multiple forms of broken plurals to argue that extensive cross-dialect borrowing occurred in *Jahiliyya* poetry. He also argues that sometimes the poet would just invent forms in order to get the correct rhyme and meter.¹¹ He seems to support Zwettler's argument that the Poetic Koine was a language that became increasingly artificial during the pre-Islamic period. Zwettler and Ziadeh both seem to be aiming their arguments at Blau, in an effort to show that the use of "correct" Poetic Koine does not mean that the Poetic Koine was the poets' native vernacular.

Combining the explanation of Versteegh with Ferguson explanation, it appears that the radical changes which occurred to Arabic took the form first of abrupt pidginization and creolization which was followed by a long period of gradual decreolization. The spoken language to which this process of pidginization, creolization and then gradual decreolization occurred was Ferguson's Koine II (a postulated common spoken language of unknown origin used by the conquering Arab armies during the Islamic expansion). I think this accounts for the features that are common to all dialects but differ from Old Arabic, which is what Ferguson was aiming at. It also accounts for those features where each dialect is different from Old

Arabic and is different from the other dialects as well, which is what Versteegh was aiming at. In fact Versteegh uses this anomaly to try to discredit Ferguson's theory. I differ with Versteegh's analysis where he wants to say that the dialects developed out of Old Arabic, and that this Old Arabic was the same language as the Quran.

Ferguson (1989) is more convincing when he points out that the only category for which duals exist in modern Arabic dialects is the noun, and that it invariably takes plural agreement. This is very different from Old Arabic and MSA which have dual categories in the verb, pronoun and adjective. In MSA and Old Arabic a dual noun takes dual agreement with the verb, pronoun and adjective which makes it a separate category from singular and plural. In MSA there is a complex set of rules for verbal agreement, and adjectival agreement with the noun. If the verb precedes the noun it takes gender but not number agreement. Non-human plurals take feminine agreement with adjectives. Dual nouns apparently break this rule by invariably taking dual agreement with adjectives regardless of their human/non-human status, but verbs which precede dual nouns only take gender agreement. In the New Spoken Arabic dialects adjectival agreement with non-human plurals can be plural or feminine. It is generally safe in the dialects to give feminine adjectival agreement to non-human plural nouns because even if this is not correct for that dialect it can be taken as a "classicism". However, in the modern dialects dual nouns mostly take plural agreement. It is hard to imagine that this exact feature could have developed independently in so many different places. Ferguson's argument is very persuasive that the New Spoken Arabic dialects have a common source and that this source is different from the Poetic Koine.

The above are mainly the most commonly held views regarding the emergence of Classical Arabic and the possibility of the existence of varieties in pre-Islamic

Arabia. Generally, with the advent of Islam and the fact that the Quran is written in the Arabic Koine, it is not until the 7th century that a crucial attempt at systematisation started to take place, particularly at the hands of Abu al-Aswad al-Du'ali (c.603 - 688), who is known in the Arab world as the first to put dots to mark different letters, and Sibawayh (c. 760-796), who is acclaimed as the first Arab distinguished grammarian. Their attempts pioneered the way of progress towards systematisation and standardisation.

1.9. Diglossia in Arabic

In western scholarly literature, a great deal of discussion has revolved around the pervasiveness of diglossia in Arabic. Beginning with Karl Krumbacher (in Zughloul 1980) in Germany around 1902, the discussion continued through the period of William Marçais (in Abboud-Haggar 2005) in France during the 1940's followed by Charles Ferguson in the U.S.A in the late 1950's (Ferguson 1959).¹²

According to *The Encyclopaedia of Language* (Crystal 1995/97), diglossia is a language situation in which two markedly divergent varieties each with its own sets of social functions co-exist as standards throughout the community. One of these varieties is used (in many localized variant forms) in ordinary conversations, the other variety is used for special purposes primarily in formal speech and writing. It has become conventional in linguistics to refer to the former variety as “Low” (L) and the later as “High” (H).

The term ‘diglossia’ was introduced into the English language literature on sociolinguistics by Ferguson (1959) in order to describe the Language High-Low Arabic, known as *ʔal-fuṣḥa* (classical) and *ʔal-ammijjah* (colloquial), Greek *Katharevousa* *Dhimotiki*, Swiss German *Hochdeutsch* (High German) and *Schwyzertütsch* (Swiss-German) – i.e. situations found in places like Greece, the Arab

world and the island of Haiti – a list which can easily be extended (Hudson 2002). In all these societies there are two distinct varieties, sufficiently distinct for lay people to call them separate languages, of which one is used only on formal and public occasions while the other is used by everybody under normal, everyday circumstances. The two varieties are normally called “high” and “low” or “standard” and “vernacular”. By way of definition, Ferguson (1959) states that ‘Diglossia’ is a relatively language situation in which in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety. Diglossia was later extended by Fishman (1972) to include the use of more than one language.

To some extent, Diglossia should be mentioned in any discussion of Arabic or at least a cursory discussion of Diglossia. Ferguson is credited with first using the term Diglossia in an article which he wrote in 1959 called *Diglossia*. He identified four languages, Arabic, Greek, Haitian Creole and Swiss German as being prime examples of languages which fit into his definition of Diglossia. Very simply stated, he said that diglossic speech communities have an ‘H’ variety that is very prestigious and an ‘L’ variety with no official status, which are in complementary distribution with each other, for instance, the ‘H’ variety might be used for literary discourse and the ‘L’ variety for ordinary conversation. His original definition of Diglossia was that the two varieties which are in a diglossic relationship with each other are closely related, and therefore Diglossia is not bilingualism. In his defining examples, he points out that the ‘H’ variety is always an acquired form, and that some educated native speakers might even deny that they ever use the ‘L’ variety.

There are many societies where the schooling language is usually an official language of the state and is significantly different from the home language often called a 'variety'. In fact, Arabic situation has been studied as an enriched and valuable example of Diglossia. Ferguson, (1959) refers to this superposed variety as the high variety or 'H', and to the 'primary dialects' as the low variety or 'L'. He applied the term, which he coined, to situations where the vernacular, which he called 'low' or 'L' and the formal language called 'high' or 'H', could be regarded as, in some sense, variants of the same language; the examples he gave were those of colloquial and classical Arabic, viz, his area of expertise, demotic and *Katharevousa* Greek, Creole and French in Haiti, and *Schwyzertütsch* (Swiss-German) and German in Switzerland. In the 1960s, however, research by Joan Rubin in Paraguay showed that the relation between the linguistically unrelated Guaraní and Spanish in that country was, socially, of the same nature, and so the use of term was expanded.

One point that Ferguson has insisted on was a distinction between Diglossia as he defined it and the more common "dialect-standard" dichotomy, the difference being that while in the latter situation, there are people who actually speak "standard" under Diglossia no one speaks 'H' colloquially. I firmly believe that no one really speaks "standard" as taught in school, especially as far as Arabic is concerned, with all the grammatical and syntactic rules that one is expected to follow in expository writing. People who think that they speak standard "incorrectly," they often believe, actually speak a dialect that is a colloquial, regionally coloured variant thereof.

Ferguson's hypothesis is that Diglossia generally occurs in situations where 1) there is large body of literature to which the community is much attached because it is culturally defining, 2) literacy rates are low and 3) the literature has been around for a number of centuries. He also posits that Diglossia tends to be relatively stable. He

wrote another article called *The Arabic Koine*. In this article, he argues that Diglossia was developed well at the time of the Islamic conquests but that the conquests caused a linguistic levelling or new Koine (Koine II). Koine II was used by the military for inter-tribal communication and/or for communicating with non-Arabs in the military camps in the newly conquered territories shortly after the Islamic conquests.

1.10. Linguistic Situation in Pre-Islamic Middle East

The origin of Arabic Diglossia lies in the fact that the situation for Arabic as it spread out from the Arabian Peninsula at the time of the Islamic conquests was quite complex. In addition, the linguistic situation of the conquered territories was if anything even more complex, especially in the core area of the Middle East, which is Egypt, the Levant and Mesopotamia. In Egypt, the common language was some form of Coptic, which was a direct descendant of the Egyptian language used by the Pharaohs. Corriente (1976) states that Coptic was also used as a liturgical language by the Egyptian Christian Orthodox Church. Egypt was also part of the Eastern Roman Empire or the Byzantine Empire as it is variously called. The Hellenistic culture in Egypt date back 900 years to the time Alexander the Great conquered Egypt (Corriente, 1976). What this means is that not only was Greek used as the language of administration, but there was also a Greek speaking population which lived in Egypt at the time of the Islamic conquest.

The situation in the Levant was even more complex. Ferguson (1959) has pointed out that the Jewish people spoke Aramaic as their native tongue, but used Hebrew as their liturgical language. In addition, some of the Christians had developed Syriac, a special form of Aramaic which served as both their literary and liturgical language, but spoke some dialect or other of common Aramaic and Greek was the language of the administration. In the areas which bordered on the desert in what is

now the Sinai Desert of Egypt, the Negev Desert and most of Jordan and the Golan region of Syria, the Ghassanids spoke Arabic. In Mesopotamia Pahlavi was spoken by the population and was also the official language of administration. Pahlavi is the ancestor of modern Persian. Hebrew was the liturgical language of the Jews, and Aramaic was spoken by some elements of the population. Syriac was used as a liturgical language by the Christians and Arabic was spoken by the Lakhmids (Dem, 1976). I think that it is very interesting that in both the Byzantine and the Sassanid empires in Iraq/Persia, there were Arabs gradually filtering in from the Arabian Peninsula.

1.11. Review of Literature

The material written on Arabic phonology and morphology falls into the following category: i) descriptive analysis of the only first study of a Yemeni variety, ii) descriptive analysis of Gulf Arabic, and iii) descriptive and prescriptive investigations of other dialects related to Gulf Arabic.

1.11.1. Yemeni Variety

The first study of a Yemeni variety is done in India on 2010, Hyderabad, EFLU by Tawfiiq Alshar'bi "Prosody and Morphology as Mutually Interacting System: The Case of Yemeni Arabic". This thesis is studied the interaction between prosody and morphology in Shar'bi variety of Arabic. On the prosody front, this thesis examines and accounts for the stress phenomenon in the variety and compared it with Yemeni and Cairene. On the morphology front, this thesis studies subject agreement and templatic morphology in Shar'bi variety and compares it with MSA. The subject agreement and the templatic morphology of Shar'bi variety exhibited a systematic process of restructuring and reduction compared to MSA. In this thesis, the researcher has used the term 'dialect' instead of 'variety'. According to Ferguson

(1959), diglossic speech communities have an ‘H’ variety that is very prestigious and an ‘L’ variety with no official status, which are in complementary distribution with each other. But for this dissertation the term “variety” is used instead of “dialect”.

Another study about Yemeni varieties is done by Najat Ahmed Busabaa (October to December 2011) about “The Impact of Y Replacement on the Phonological Structure of the Verb Form in the Hadhrami Dialect. This paper dealt with /y/ replacement /ɟ/, which results in a change in the phonological and morphological structure of the verb forms: past non past and imperative in Hadhrami variety. Moreover, /y/ replacing /ɟ/ results into establishing a syllable type unacceptable in MSA.

1.11.2. Gulf Arabic

Because this research focuses on IV as it is spoken in the city of Ibb, Republic of Yemen, it seems quite relevant to compare it with some other varieties spoken in Arabian Peninsula. Some work has been done with regard to Gulf Arabic and taking a look at this work can provide insights of a great benefit to this research.

Qafisheh has written on Gulf Arabic in some detail, e.g. *Basic Gulf Arabic* (1970) is based on the variety of Abu Dhabi. Loanwords from other varieties of Arabic (Palestinian, Egypt, Iraqi, etc.), are included in this text. The book was designed to enable speakers of English to communicate with the natives of Abu Dhabi on a mostly ‘work-related’ basis. One of the most significant attributes of this written work is that it analyzes Gulf Arabic in a linguistically systematic manner. Before the publication of this book in 1970, the variety of Arabic spoken in the Gulf region had not been treated with this degree of academic rigour. This is also a ‘pedagogically-sound text’; it contains substantial drills for grammar reinforcement, and dialogue and translations as comprehension activities. *A Short Reference Grammar of Gulf Arabic*

(1977), another book, is focused on the variety of Abu d^habi as it is modified by the varieties of Bahrain and Qatar. Arabic dialectologists use it as a source of information about Gulf Arabic. It systematically presents the linguistic sources of Gulf Arabic. It is invaluable not only for learning to speak the variety but also for the linguist specializing in Arabic Varieties. Other relevant books by Qafisheh include *Basic Course in Gulf Arabic and Gulf Arabic: Intermediate Level* (1976 & 1979) and *Advanced Gulf Arabic & Glossary* (1993), which also deal with the variety of Abu d^habi. In his study of affricates /c/ and /j/ in the variety of Abu d^habi in comparison with some other varieties of Gulf Arabic, Qafisheh (1975a) observes that the transformation of the voiceless velar stop /k/, into a fricative is shared by Latin and French, implying that this process seems to be the result of ‘a linguistic tendency’ because it has taken place into two unrelated languages.

Another book relevant to my dissertation is *ʔal-xaṣa:ʔiṣu ʔaṣuawtijja fi lahadʒati ʔalima:ratiji ʔalʔarabjia* (Abdur-Rahma:n, 1986), [The Phonological Features of Emirates Arabic Variety]. For the purposes of learning more about the phonology of U.A.E. variety, the author uses a huge number of secondary school and college students from all the emirates in the U.A.E., both males and females. To treat the data, the author uses what he calls a “comparative, historical (and) descriptive methodology” (ibid.: 16).

Other attempts include *A Handbook for the Spoken Arabic of Bahrain*, (no date or place) published by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, i.e. this is a workplace-oriented publication. *Spoken Arabic of Qatar*, (Dajani 1956) is somewhat similar to the above book. Three related books were published by Aramco some time ago. They are *Spoken Arabic* (1957), *Conversational Arabic*, and *English-Arabic Word-List*, (1958). Because these books are in and about the pan-Arabic Koine, none of them can

truly be said to be about Gulf Arabic. Johnstone's *Eastern Arabian Dialects* (1967) is also relatively old. A number of shortcomings appear in this text, among which are the inclusions of the variety of Kuwait into the category of Gulf Arabic, failure to represent any variety of Gulf Arabic accurately and lack of coherent organization. Holes' *Language Variation and Change in Modernising Arab State* (1987) compares the phonological systems of two major social groups in Bahrain i.e. that of high-prestige *Sunni* Muslims, to the speech of *ʔiʔi* neighbours. Concerning sociolinguistics, the author discusses code-switching on the part of the latter and how it relates to sociolinguistic strategies of Bahrainis of various backgrounds.

Another dissertation which is relevant to this dissertation is the work done by Hoffiz (1995) with regard to Dubai dialect. As a linguist for a sub-language that descends from the mother, it should have been called variety, not dialect. Through this dissertation the writer did not follow the International Phonetics Association (IPA) for the transcription words. In Chapter II he calls such sounds (t, d, d^h and ʕ) as emphatic whereas they are in fact velarized. In Chapter III, he shows that a triliteral verb in Dubai Dialect has ten derived forms. Further, he mentions in Chapter IV that the plural is classified into three types (i.e. masculine, feminine and broken), which is not systematic according to Arabic grammar nor logical since broken plural can be either masculine or feminine. Moreover, he shows that broken plural in Dubai dialect has twenty six types. Generally, the work, valuable as it is, has been written by a non-native who, like many others, sometimes fell in the trap of trying to 'bend' sounds to fit his rules and formulas. It does not follow any modern morphological theory either.

1.11.3. Related literature on other Arabic Varieties

Holes has also written *The Colloquial Arabic of the Gulf and Saudi Arabia* (1984) and *Gulf Arabic* (1990). Although these books seem to presume the existence

of one variety of Arabic in Saudi Arabia, the fact is that these books actually treat more than one variety because of the extensive geographical area they cover, from southern Iraq to Oman. Additionally, the form of Arabic used in them is that of educated speakers whose speech exhibits a considerable amount of literary Arabic (LA) and pan-Arabic characteristics in terms of phonology, syntax and vocabulary.

The effect of the influx of foreigners upon the Arabic of Alhasa, west of dhahran in eastern Saudi Arabia, is another area of interest to this dissertation. Smeaton (1973) points out the influence of Hindi, Urdu, Persian, Turkish, French and English upon the variety of Alhasa and shows the impact of this influence in terms of phonology, morphology and semantics. The author has divided the loanwords used by Arabs in the Arabic variety of Alhasa into three categories: a) words still intact from the language that loaned them, b) those words that have been partly modified in the direction of “an acceptable Arabic pattern” (ibid.: 61), and c) fully Arabized loanwords, from the standpoint of both phonology and morphology.

The relationship between “Arabic authenticity” (*?alaṣa:la ?alʕarabia*) and the varieties of the Arabian Gulf is the subject dealt with in *?alaṣa:la ?alʕarabia fi Allahgati ?alxali:gi* by Matar (1985). It is apparent that the author wishes to demonstrate that, with the spread of education and mass media, the Arabic varieties are likely converge towards LA. In a different vein, the author claims that studying the Arabic varieties serves to benefit one’s command or understanding of Classical Arabic. Although this claim is not proved conclusively or empirically by the author, the point may be taken to imply that two neighbouring varieties differ in the features which they share with LA. Likewise, these same varieties may have different features that diverge from LA. In this book, the author also treats phonological features in two main Bahraini varieties, i.e. the variety of Muḥarraḡ, which is of a high prestige

because it is spoken by Sunni population (ibid.: 117). Another characteristic of this variety is that it uses the glide /j/ in the place of /dʒ/ of LA. In contrast, speakers of the Shitra variety, which is spoken by the Shiite minority, normally use the /j/ of LA in spontaneous conversation amongst each other. But, in speaking with speakers of Muḥarraq variety, a speaker of Shitra variety might pronounce the word /dʒami:l/ ‘beautiful’, ‘nice’, ‘attractive’, as /jami:l/, for example, which sounds as the verb /jami:l/ ‘to incline (towards)’, hence creating a homonymous effect.

Al-Wer and De Jong (2009) edited *Arabic Dialectology: In Honour of Clive Holes on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Here, Essa (2009) refers to Jeddah City as a melting pot of some Arabic Saudi varieties and outlines the consequences of the dialect contact between two varieties of Arabic: the Najdi variety and the urban Hijazi variety. Her analysis adopts methods of quantitative sociolinguistics to analyze the variation in the speech of Najdi speakers who live in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, in relation to the affrication of /k/ and /g/. Affrication in Najdi Arabic is manifested in two domains; in the stem where the velar stops /k/ and /g/ are realised as [ts] and [dz], respectively, in the environment of the front vowels most of the time and in the domain of the 2nd plural feminine suffix

With regards to ‘Issues in Arabic Morphology and Phonology’, by Khabir (1997), which is an attempt to address some problems in Arabic morphology and phonology, which have serious consequences for morphological and phonological theories. It consists of four chapters. Chapter one that Arabic (and Semitic) morphology is not root based as it has traditionally been assumed in Western grammars of Arabic and Structuralist and post-Structuralist morphological studies of this language. Chapter two deals with the phonological and morphological behaviour of MA nominal plurals. With regards to chapter three, several arguments have been

adduced to show that rules are problematic devices because of their arbitrariness and because of the difficulties involved in constraining their excessive power. Finally, chapter four has provided further support on the basis of phonological behaviour of nominal and verbal triliteral morphology.

Owaish (1982) in his dissertation 'Verbal Nouns in Language and Grammar' talked about the opinions that grammarians and linguists mentioned verbal nouns in their books. It divided into three chapters. Chapter one dealt with three points, which were the basis of nominative and verbal sentences in violation or disagreement. Then he showed the specifications and patterns in disagreement. Finally the writer tackled the changes in Arabic varieties. Second chapter clarified the types of disagreement. Syntax dealt with in chapter three.

Endnote

¹ This is supported by McCarthy (1981).

² In traditional Western grammars, there are two major divisions of paradigms: verbs and nominals (nouns, adjectives and pronouns). A verb paradigm is called a conjugation; a nominal paradigm is called a declension. Verbs are said to “conjugate” or inflect for verbal categories of aspect, person, number, gender, and voice. Nominals are said to “decline,” to inflect for , number, gender.

³ Although some linguists may refer to these varieties as dialects, which is a literal translation of the Arabic word *lahadzat* (pl. of *lahdzah*, i.e. dialect), it is preferred in this thesis to use the term ‘variety’ instead.

⁴ See Diglossia in this chapter.

⁵ The use of such variety dwindles once people shift from a village to a city as they start to adapt with the new certain variety used in city.

⁶ In *A Thousand and One Nights*, among other colloquialisms, the verb /ra:h/ ‘to go’ is often used instead of the LA /ðahaba/. This is highly unusual in a formal, written Arabic document or literary work from the era.

⁷ For a discussion on the influence or presence of colloquial Arabic upon certain LA manuscripts during the Abbasid period, read Blau, Joshua. 1994. “A Melkite Arabic Literary Lingua Franca from the Second Half of the First Millennium”. In: *Bulletin, School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. LVII, Part I, pp. 14-16. London, UK., Oxford University Press.

⁸ Some grammarians use KoinŽ instead of Koine. For matters of systematicity, the latter is used throughout this thesis, except for the bibliography where the title of the source is written as the author intended it to be.

⁹ Ferguson (1959/1997).

¹⁰ I do not agree with him here, though.

¹¹ It seems that Ziadeh, too, has derived his sources from “cheap” poetry. If only he had noticed the *mua'llaqat* and the great poetry of that period, he would have reconsidered his statement. These *mua'llaqat*, and the likes, are highly appreciated in Arabic because their poets managed to master both rhyme schemes and ideas. Even when they use seemingly nonsensical words, they seem to be driven by stylistic nuances.

¹² Ferguson, Charles A. 1959. “Diglossia”, *Word* 15: 325-340; also Kaye, Alan S. 1991. “Formal vs. Informal in Arabic: Diglossia, Triglossia, Quadriglossia, etc.”, p.6; also Zughloul, Op. Cit., p. 201.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PHONOLOGY OF IBB VARIETY

2.1. Preliminary Remarks

The founding father of Arabic grammatical studies, the Arabic grammarian, Amr ibn Uthman ibn Qanbar Sibawayh, has by the eighth-century CE studied the consonantal system of Classical Arabic. Classical Arabic had been said to have twenty-eight consonantal phonemes in nine places of articulation (Watson 2002/2007: 12). The most probable articulations of these phonemes are shown below. In all modern Arabic varieties, there has been a change in the number and articulation of the consonantal phonemes. It is impossible to provide a fully accurate description of Arabic sounds solely through written description and classification. Some sounds are very similar to English, some others slightly similar, and others quite different.

Semitic languages are marked by a limited vocalic system and a rich consonantal system. There are typically three basic vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, which are attested in both their short and long forms. Semitic languages are also marked by a rich inventory of ‘guttural consonants’, that include the pharyngeals /ħ/ and /ʕ/ and the uvular fricatives /χ/ and /ʁ/. The consonantal phonemes of Semitic languages usually constitute triads of voiceless, voiced and ‘velarised’ in certain sub-sets of the coronal set, and in a few languages, including varieties of Arabic spoken in parts of south-west Yemen, in the dorsal set. This section provides a phonemic chart and some general principles of articulation as well as descriptions of Arabic sounds. The descriptions given here are for Ibb Variety (IV).

2.2. Phonemic Chart of MSA Consonants

Table: Consonantal phoneme inventory for eighth-century (CE) Classical Arabic

	Bilabial	Dental	Interdental	Alveolar	Alveo Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	glottal
			Apicals						
Stop	b			t d t̤ d̤		k g	q		ʔ
Fricative		F	θ ð ðḥ	s z ṣ ẓ	ʃ	x ɣ		ħ ʕ	h
Nasal	m			n					
Lateral				l					
Flap				r					
Semi-vowels	w				j				

2.2.1. Description and distribution of Sounds in Ibb

With the exceptions noted below, almost all consonants, including two glides /w/ and /j/, can appear in all positions: word-initial, word-medial, and word-final. Additionally, all consonants and glides can be made geminate, e.g. [mm], [zz], and [gg].¹

1 /ʔ/ Voiceless glottal stop

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is a distinct phoneme occurring in IV in different word positions, i.e. the word-initial, the word-medial or word-final positions. Especially as far as word-medial and word-final positions, the glottal stop in IV is more prominent in

comparison with some other varieties of Yemen, such as ḥamar Variety or Sana'a Variety where the glottal stop is normally changed into /j/ sound.

$$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{voice} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{con} \end{pmatrix}$$

?ana 'I' (pro. 1 singular) انا

?algaza:?ir 'Algeria' الجزائر

ʂanʕa? 'the capital of Yemen Sana'a' صنعاء

2 /b/ Voiced bilabial stop

The sound /b/ is found in many words in IV, among which are the following

ba:rid 'cold' بارد

mu:bu 'what happened' موبو

harab 'ran away' هرب

$$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{voice} \\ +\text{lab} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$$

3 /t/ Voiceless alveolar stop

The voiceless alveolar stop /t/ is similar to that of the sound /t/ in English; for examples:

tannu:r	‘stove’	تنور
ductu:r	‘doctor’	دكتور
falat	‘fall down’	فلت

$$\begin{pmatrix} \text{-voice} \\ \text{+ant} \\ \text{-son} \\ \text{-cont} \end{pmatrix}$$

4 /θ/ Voiceless interdental fricative

IV has two different symbols for the two phonemes represented by ‘th’ in English, i.e. the voiceless, as in “think” (often transcribed as /θ/) and the voiced interdental as in “them” (often transcribed as /ð/). The voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ in Arabic in general (including IV) is similar to the sound /θ/ in English. Here are some examples:

ea:njih	‘second (f.)’	ثانية
?aθar	‘trace’	أثر
θalu:θ	‘Tuesday’	ثلاث

$$\begin{pmatrix} \text{-voice} \\ \text{+cor} \\ \text{-son} \\ \text{+cont} \\ \text{-ant} \end{pmatrix}$$

5 /g/ Voiced velar stop

The sound /g/ in IV can be said to be the counterpart of the sound /g/ as in “good” in English. However, it is not exactly the same. It is to be noted here that although the /g/ sound in IV is velar it is pronounced using the front part of the velum, unlike the /g/ in English, which is similar to the /g/ sound in Taizi Yemeni Variety. Moreover, speakers of ḍamari and Sana’ani Yemeni Varieties use the voiced alveolar palatal /dʒ/ sound as a counterpart for the IV /g/ sound. From the perspective of place of articulation, the pronunciation of IV /g/ occurs in the middle between the palato-alveolar position (of ḍamari Yemeni variety) and the velar position (Taizi Yemeni Variety). Interestingly, Ibb Governorate is geographically located between ḍamar and Taiz. That is to say, although the /g/ sound of IV is a distinct phoneme with its own qualities, one can see it as an admixture of both the /dʒ/ of ḍamari Yemeni Variety and the /g/ of Taizi Yemeni Variety.²

Example of /g/ in IV are as follows:

garaf	‘garage’	جَرَش
-------	----------	-------

ragam	‘throw’	رَجَم
-------	---------	-------

xarag	‘went out’	خَرَج
-------	------------	-------

$\left(\begin{array}{c} -\text{voice} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{cont} \\ +\text{dors} \end{array} \right)$
--

6 /ħ/ Voiceless pharyngeal fricative

Ryding (2005) states that /ħ/ of MSA is not present in English, which is produced deep in the throat using the muscles in the pharyngeal cavity. The same applies as far as IV is concerned. In order to pronounce this sound, the muscles in the pharyngeal cavity must be constricted while at the same time pushing breath through – as though one is trying to stage whisper “hey!”.³ Examples of this sound are listed below:

ħammam	‘bathroom’	حَمَّام
ħabħab	‘watermelon’	حَبْجَب
ru:ħ	‘go’(imperative mood)	روح
$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{-voice} \\ \text{-son} \\ \text{-cont} \end{array} \right)$		

7 /x/ Voiceless velar fricative

The pronunciation of /x/ is very similar to German, Scottish, and Polish unpalatalised “ch”, Russian x (Cyrillic *kha*), and Spanish “j”. This sound has no any humming or vowel sound (known as vocalization). It is like a whisper; which the vocal cords do not vibrate. The most common transliteration in English is “kh”, e.g. Khartoum (?*al-xarṭu:m; the capital of Sudan*), sheikh. This is a common sound in IV. Examples

xari:f	‘autumn’	خَرِيف
nuxra	‘nose’	نُخْرَة
jaṭbux	‘he is cooking’	يَطْبُخْ

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{-voice} \\ \text{-son} \\ \text{+cont} \\ \text{+dors} \end{array} \right)$$

8 /d/ Voiced alveolar stop

This phoneme is a voiced alveolar stop, resembling the English /d/ as in “door”. Here are some examples:

da:ri	‘I know’	داری
midri	‘I don’t know’	مدري
barad	‘became cold’	برَد

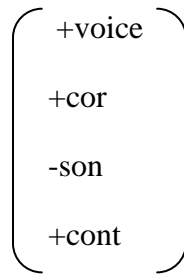
$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{+voice} \\ \text{+cor} \\ \text{+ant} \\ \text{-son} \\ \text{+cont} \end{array} \right)$$

9 /ð/ The voiced interdental fricative

In IV, the sound /ð/ is pronounced like /ð/ in English as in “leather” and “lathe”.

Examples:

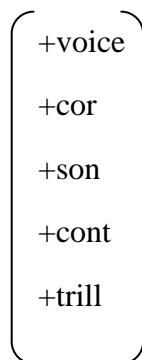
ðanb	‘sin; misdeed’	دَمَب
mu?aððin	‘muezzin’	مُؤَذِّن
laði:ð	‘delicious’	لَذِيذ



10 /r/ Voiced alveolar flap

The /r/ of IV is a tongue flap, produced by striking the tip of the tongue against the roof of the mouth. Accordingly, it slightly resembles the dark /ɾ/ in English in such words as ‘three’, ‘free’ and ‘agree’. Examples:

raṣda	‘asphalted road’	رَصْدَة
marāq	‘soup’	مَرَق
qa:r	‘plastic’	قار



11 /z/ Voiced alveolar fricative

The sound /z/ in IV is similar to the English counterpart /z/ as in ‘zip’. Here are some examples in IV:

zi:nih	‘decoration’	زِينَة
razi:n	‘heavy; sober-minded’	رَزِين
ruz	‘rice’	رُز

+voice
+cor
+ant
-son
+cont

12 /s/Voiceless alveolar fricative

This sound is similar to the sound /s/ in English as in ‘sang’.

sitti:n	‘sixty’	سِتِّينَ
sannib	‘stood up’	سَنَّبَ
bijas	‘money’	بَيْسَ

-voice
+cor
+ant
-son
+cont

13 /ʃ/ Voiceless Alveo palatal fricative

This sound is similar to the /ʃ/ in English as in ‘ship’, ‘sheen’ and ‘fish’. The following are some examples:

ʃaraf	‘honour’	شَرَفَ
miʃmiʃ	‘apricot’	مِشْمِشَ
maʃti:ʃ	‘I don’t want’	مَشْتَيْشَ

$$\begin{pmatrix} -\text{voice} \\ +\text{cor} \\ -\text{ant} \\ -\text{son} \end{pmatrix}$$

14 /ʕ/ Voiceless velarized alveolar fricative

This sound is pronounced further back in the mouth, with a raised and tensed tongue. The sound /ʕ/ is lower in pitch and deeper than the /s/. This sound exists in MSA as well as in IV as a phoneme and as a sound, unlike in English where a slightly similar pronunciation occurs especially for the initial-position /s/ sound in such words as ‘some’, ‘son’ and ‘sun’. Examples from IV are as follows:

ʕu:f	‘wool’	صوف
qaʕi:r	‘short’	قَصِير
maʕdu:m	‘shocked’	مصدوم

$$\begin{pmatrix} -\text{voice} \\ +\text{cor} \\ +\text{ant} \\ -\text{son} \\ +\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$$

15 /d/ Voiced velarized alveolar stop

The sound /d/ is pronounced further back in the mouth, with a raised and tensed tongue. It is pronounced as /d/ in IV. Consider the following:

da:q	‘to get fed up’	ضاق
dami:r	‘conscience’	ضمير
beiɖ	‘eggs’	بيض

-voice
+cor
+ant
-son
-cont

16 /t̤/ Voiceless velarized alveolar stop

Blanc (1978) says “The Yemenite /t̤/ is not voiced but voice-indifferent, i.e. it has both voice and voiceless allophones”, which in the variety of Sana’a it occurs in non-geminates and geminates respectively (Quoted in Watson 1995: 9). Sibawayh mentions that the sound /t̤/ is similar to the sound /t/, which Alnassir (1993) disagrees with and sees them as devoiced and voiceless, respectively. Ibn Sina’a describes a /t̤/ as ‘clearly voiceless’ (in Blanc 1978). It is agreed that it is currently produced without glottal closure or vocal fold vibration in the majority of MSA varieties as happens in IV. The sound /t̤/ is pronounced further back in the mouth, with a raised and tensed tongue. Examples:

ʔarah	‘(sb) put (sth)’	طَرَحَ
xart̤	‘telling lies’	خَرَطَ
qari:t̤	‘pain in ankles’	قَرِيطَ

-voice
+cor
+ant
-son
-cont

17 /d^h/ Voiced velarized interdental fricative

This sound is also pronounced further back in the mouth, with a raised and tensed tongue. Here are some examples:

d^ha:biḥ ‘angry’ ظَائِح

ad^hi:m ‘great’ عَظِيم

ḥad^h ‘luck’ حَظ

-voice
+cor
+ant
-son
-cont

18 /ʕ/ Voiced pharyngeal fricative

Ghazali (1987) mentions that sound is a “strangled” sound that comes from deep in the throat, using the muscles used in swallowing. Non-native Arabic speakers find it difficult to pronounce this sound as it is not available in many languages. Here are some words with /ʕ/ in them.

ummal ‘workers’ عُمَال

jilʕabu: ‘they play’ يَلْعَبُو

barraʕ ‘get lost’ بَرَّعْ

$$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{voice} \\ -\text{son} \\ +\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$$

19 /ɣ/ Voiced velar fricative

Hadj-Salah (1987) calls this sound a “gargled” sound, much like French /r/. It can be seen as the voiced counterpart of /x/. Here are some words with /ɣ/ in them:

kalatɣ ‘error’ غَلَطَ

luɣa ‘language’ لُغَة

mablakɣ ‘amount’ مَبْلَغ

$$\begin{pmatrix} -\text{voice} \\ -\text{son} \\ +\text{cont} \\ +\text{dors} \end{pmatrix}$$

20 /f/ Voiceless dental fricative

This sound is like /f/ in “fine”. The sound /f/ is quite similar to its English counterpart. In the production of the IV /f/, the lower lip interacts with upper teeth to obstruct the air stream. Consider to the following examples:

farʃ	‘mattress’	فَرْش
ʃuftahum	‘I saw them’	شَفَّهُمْ
malaf	‘file’	مَلَف

-voice
+lab
-son
-cont

In IV, the sound /v/ is not available by itself as phonemic sound. Rather, it is an allophone of the /f/ sound because no minimal pairs exist. The /v/ in borrowed words (e.g. ‘villa’ and ‘video’) is normally pronounced /f/. Moreover, if an IV speaker chooses to use /f/ instead of /v/, no change in meaning is obtained. Here are some examples of words containing /v/:

filla	‘western style residence, ‘villa’	فِيْلَا
fidiju:	‘video’	فِدِيُو
fu:lfu	‘Volvo’	فَلْفُوْسِيَاَرَة

21 /q/ Voiceless uvular stop

This sound is made by “clicking” the back of the tongue against the very back of the mouth, where the uvula is. Spoken mainly by speakers of Yemeni varieties in the southern and western parts of the country (cf. Watson, 2002/2007), the sound /q/ is a Voiceless Uvular Stop. While IV (and many other varieties, such as Taizi, Adeni, Abiyani etc. Varieties) follows MSA concerning this sound, some other Yemeni varieties, e.g. Sana’ani, ḍamari, Hadhrami etc., use the sound /g/ as a counterpart.

quzi:z	‘bad character’	فُزَيْرٌ
maqlaʕ	‘get lost’	مَقْلَعٌ
ʃaraq	‘too late’	شَرَقٌ

-voice
 -son
 -cont
 +dors

22 /k/ Voiceless velar stop

This sound is like /k/ as in “king”, very much similar to the /k/ in English. Here are some examples:

kundura	‘shoes’	كُنْدُرَةٌ
kuwakah	‘that’s him’	كُوَاكِهِ
?asek	‘did you see?’	أَسَيْكَ؟

-voice
 -son
 -cont

23 /l/ Voiced alveolar lateral

This sound has two pronunciations:

(a) /l/ as in “well” (back or “dark” /l/)

Examples:

/allah/ allah ‘God’ الله

(b) /l/ as in “lift” or “leaf” (fronted or “light” /l/)

/li:m/	‘lemon’	لِيم
/qalam/	‘pen’	قَلَم
/hul/	‘take off; answer’ (impv. 2 nd p.s.)	حُلْ

$$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{ant} \\ -\text{son} \\ +\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$$

24 /**m**/ Voiced bilabial nasal

This sound is similar to the /m/ sound in English, as in ‘moon’; e.g.:

midri	‘I have no idea’	مِدْرِي
tama:m	‘ok’	تَمَام
ʃamma:m	‘muskmelon’	شَمَام

$$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{voice} \\ +\text{cor} \\ +\text{lab} \\ +\text{cont} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{pmatrix}$$

25 /**n**/ Voiced interdental nasal

This sound resembles the /n/ sound in English, as in the word ‘nasal’. For example,

na:mis	‘mosquito’	نَامِس
--------	------------	--------

galan	‘galloon’	جَلْن
ḍalhi:n	‘now’	دَلْحِين

+voice
 +cor
 +ant
 +son
 +cont
 +nasal

26 /h/ Voiceless glottal fricative

It sounds like the English /h/ in words such as ‘hello’ and ‘had’. Examples:

hina:k	‘over there’	هِنَاكَ
hina	‘here’	هِنَا
lamuh	‘why’	لَمُه
sahl	‘easy’ ⁴	سَهْل

-voice
 -son
 +cont

27 /w/ Voiced bilabial semivowel

This sound is similar to the English sound /w/, as in ‘wind’, or the long vowel /u:/ as pronounced in words like “food”.

Examples:

wem	‘where’	وَيْن
qawwa	‘most welcome’	قَوَّا
hilwa	‘good (f.)’	حِلْوَه

+voice
 +lab
 +son
 +cont
 +dors

28 /j/ Voiced palatal semivowel.

This sound is pronounced like /j/ as in “yes” or long vowel /i:/ (long) /i/ in “machine.”

Examples:

ja:ba:nj	‘Japanese’	ياباني
jamanji:n	‘Yemeni guys’	يَمَنِيّ
ba:lj	‘old’	بالي

+cont
 +voice
 -ant
 +son

Table: The Phonological Features of IV Consonants

Phonetic representation	Stated Glottis	Place of Articulation	Manner of Articulation
b	Voiced	Bilabial	Stop
t	Voiceless	Alveolar	Stop
ɫ	Voiceless	velarized alveolar	Stop

d	Voiced	Alveolar	Stop
k	Voiceless	Velar	Stop
g	Voiced	Velar	Stop
q	Voiceless	Uvular	Stop
ʔ	Voiceless	Glottal	Stop
ɖ	Voiceless	velarized alveolar	Stop
f	Voiceless	Dental	Fricative
θ	Voiceless	Interdental	Fricative
ð	Voiced	Interdental	Fricative
dʰ	Voiced	velarized interdental	Fricative
s	Voiceless	Alveolar	Fricative
ʃ	Voiceless	velarized alveolar	Fricative
z	Voiced	Alveolar	Fricative
ʒ	Voiceless	Palatal	Fricative
x	Voiceless	Velar	Fricative
ɣ	Voiced	Velar	Fricative
h	Voiceless	Pharyngeal	Fricative
ʕ	Voiced	Pharyngeal	Fricative
ħ	Voiceless	Glottal	Fricative
m	Voiced	Bilabial	Nasal
n	Voiced	Interdental	Nasal
l	Voiced	Alveolar	Lateral
r	Voiced	Alveolar	Flap
w	Voiced	Bilabial	Glide
j	Voiced	Palatal	Glide

2.3. Vowels

Vowels in IV are of two types, short and long. The short vowels are /i/, /a/ and /u/. The short vowels have longer counterparts /i:/, /a:/ and /u:/, respectively as shown below.

2.3.1. IBB Variety Vowels

Table of IV Vowels

Position	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	/i/	/i:/			/u/	/u:/
Mid						
Low			/a/	/a:/		

2.3.2. Distribution of Vowels

McCarthy (2005) argued in Cairene Arabic, word-final vowels are short, but the same vowels sometimes are longer when followed by a suffix. His argumentation applied to IV as well. Here are some examples:

?abu	‘father of’	ابو	?abu:k	‘your father’	ابوك
?axu	‘brother of’	اخو	?axu:hum	‘their brother’	اخوهم
kunk	‘I were’	كُنْ	maku:nakf	‘I were not’	ماكوناكش

The /i:/ is the longer counterpart of /i/. It resembles the /i/ of the English word ‘machine’. It is a long high front vowel.

gadi:d	‘new’	جَدِيد
qaṣi:r	‘short’	قَصِير
ga:ri:	‘my neighbour; current’	جَارِي

The sound /a/ is a short low front, central vowel in IV.

Examples:

ḏakara	‘she studied’ (3 rd ps p.f.)	ذَاكِرَة
raqaṣ	‘he danced’ (3 rd ps p.m.)	رَقَصَ

The longer counterpart of /a/ in IV is the /a:/ sound. The long /a:/ is commonly found in open syllables or the word-final position, when it sometimes follows by pronominal suffix. e.g.,

ta:b	‘repented’	تَابَ		
rumma:n	‘pomegranate’	رُمَان		
ruxša	‘permission’	ruxša:tkum	‘permission’	رُخَصَّتْكُمْ
saja:	‘a name of girl’	سَجَى		
ħala:	‘sweet; ok’	حَلَا		

The /u/ is a short high back rounded vowel. It is close to the /u/ sound in the English words ‘book’ and ‘look’. This variant occurs in word-medial or final position; e.g.

muhu	‘what’	موهو
rumma:n	‘pomegranate’	رُمان
ʃul	‘imp. verb take’	شَلّ

The /u:/ is a long high back rounded vowel. It is similar to the English vowel sound in ‘spoon’. As with /i:/ and /a:/, the long /u:/ is commonly found in open syllables or in the word-final position. For example,

ħabbu:b	‘dear one’	حَبَّوب
ʔju:n	‘eyes’	عَيُون
ʃu:t	‘kick (imp verb)’	شَوْت
ʃallu:	‘they took’	شَلَّوْ
ʔalu:	‘hello’	الو

The semivowels /w/ and /j/ are called waw and ya:, respectively. The letters waw and ya: have two functions: they represent the consonant sounds /w/ and /j/, respectively, and they also represent the long vowels /u:/ and /i:/,

2.4. Sound combinations

2.4.1. Diphthongs

Diphthong is a complex vowel sound that begins with the sound of one vowel and ends with the sound of another vowel, in the same syllable. Alotaibi and Hussain (2010) indicate that MSA has thirty six phonemes, of which six are vowels, three diphthongs, and 28 are consonants. In IV there are thirty nine phonemes, six vowels and five diphthongs. The six vowels are /a, i, u, a: , i:, u:/.. It's argued that there are five diphthongs in IV.

/eɪ/	bert	'house'	بيت
/aɪ/	fam	'napkin'	فاين
/ij/	?ijdi	'my hand'	أيدي
/uw/	luwz	'almond'	لوز
/iw/	siwaqa	'driving'	سواقه

2.4.2. Consonant clusters

2.4.2.1. Geminates (Identical Segments)

IV consonants are classified as either short (single) or long (double). Geminate consonants are clusters of two identical consonants, and, by definition, are long or double. With certain exceptions, most double consonants can be found in all positions. The consonants /h/ is not normally doubled in the word-final position, and the glottal stop /ʔ/ is not normally doubled in the word-initial and word-final positions.

Word-Initial

In this context, it is clear that IV does not allow consonant gemination in the word-initial position. However, in case the ‘solar’ definite article *ʔal-* is attached to the word, then the word-initial consonant may reveal gemination.⁵ Here are some examples:

ʔarriga:l	‘the man’	الرِّجَال
ʔassabt	‘[the] Saturday’	السَّبْت

Word-Medial

Intervocalic germination of all consonants can occur in IV in the word-medial position. Examples:

ṣaddaʔtani	‘she bothered me’	صَدَّعْتَنِي
bakkar	‘he got up early’	بَكَرَ
bajjad ^h d ^h	‘whiten’	بَيَّضَ
fassar	‘explain; to daydream’	فَسَّرَ

Word-Final

It occurs with the Verbs involving that have identical second and third radicals.

Examples:

ʔamm	‘to spread’	عَمَّ
ṣadd	‘to prevent’	صَدَّ
radd	‘to return/respond’	رَدَّ

2.4.2.2. Two-consonant clusters

Standard Arabic calls this phenomenon */ʔiltiqa:sakni:n/* (i.e. adjacent two consonant sounds) but it is never allowed in MSA except, and even not preferred, in word-final position provided that one of the consonants is a liquid and the word exists at the end of the sentence or phrase, i.e. there must be a pause after the final consonant. IV, however, breaks this phenomenon and supports the co-occurrence of two-consonant clusters together. These are defined here as any combination of two or more different consonants. They fall into the following types:

Word-Initial

These are common in IV:

tfadḍal	‘Welcome’	تفضل
C1 /t/ =	$\begin{pmatrix} -\text{cont} \\ -\text{son} \end{pmatrix}$	C2 /f/ = $\begin{pmatrix} +\text{cont} \\ -\text{son} \end{pmatrix}$
ʔistaʔlim	‘(you, m.s.) ask’	استعلم
C1 /s/ =	$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{cont} \\ -\text{son} \end{pmatrix}$	C2 /t/ = $\begin{pmatrix} -\text{cont} \\ -\text{son} \end{pmatrix}$

Word-Medial

The following are some examples of word-medial two-consonant clusters:

ʔabṣirak	‘I see you’	أبصرك
C1 /b/ =	$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{voice} \\ -\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$	C2 /ṣ/ = $\begin{pmatrix} -\text{voice} \\ +\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$

nuxra 'nose' نُخْرَة

$$C1 /x/ = \begin{pmatrix} -\text{voice} \\ -\text{son} \end{pmatrix} \quad C2 /r/ = \begin{pmatrix} +\text{voice} \\ +\text{son} \end{pmatrix}$$

gum^ʕa/ 'Friday' جُمُعَة

$$C1 /m/ = \begin{pmatrix} +\text{cont} \\ +\text{son} \end{pmatrix} \quad C2 /ʕ/ = \begin{pmatrix} -\text{cont} \\ -\text{son} \end{pmatrix}$$

Word-Final

d^harb 'beating' ضَرَب

$$C1/r/ = \begin{pmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{cont} \end{pmatrix} \quad C2 /b/ = \begin{pmatrix} -\text{son} \\ -\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$$

ʕrafk 'you understood it?' عَرَفَكَ

$$C1 /f/ = \begin{pmatrix} -\text{voice} \\ +\text{cont} \end{pmatrix} \quad C2 /k/ = \begin{pmatrix} -\text{vice} \\ -\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$$

qirs 'tooth' ضِيرَس

$$C1 /r/ = \begin{pmatrix} +\text{voice} \\ +\text{son} \end{pmatrix} \quad C2 /s/ = \begin{pmatrix} -\text{voic} \\ -\text{son} \end{pmatrix}$$

ja^ʕb 'nation; people' شَعْب

$$C1 = /ʕ/ = \begin{pmatrix} -\text{son} \\ +\text{cont} \end{pmatrix} \quad C2 /b/ = \begin{pmatrix} -\text{son} \\ -\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$$

Consonant Sequences. Table of IV

	ʔ	b	t	θ	g	ħ	x	d	ð	r	Z	s	ʃ	ʒ	d ^h	t̪	d̪	ʕ	ʁ	f	q	k	h	l	m	n	w	y
ʔ	x	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
b	x	x	√	x	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	x	√	√	√	√	√	√	x	√	√	√	√	√	√	x	x
t	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	x	x	√	√	x	x
θ	√	√	√	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	√	x	x	x	√	√	x	x
g	x	x	√	x	√	x	x	√	x	√	√	x	√	x	x	x	x	x	√	x	x	x	x	x	√	x	x	
ħ	x	√	√	x	x	x	x	√	x	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	x	x	√	√	x	x	√	√	√	x	x
x	x	√	√	√	√	x	x	√	√	√	√	x	x	√	√	√	√	x	x	√	x	x	x	√	√	√	√	x
d	x	√	x	x	x	√	√	√	√	√	X	x	√	x	x	x	x	√	√	√	√	√	x	√	√	√	x	x
ð	x	√	x	x	√	√	x	x	x	√	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	√	x	x	x	√	√	x	x	√	x	x

Pertinent to the table above, it's found that IV clusters are rich in the second syllable and less in final syllable, whereas it shares only few sounds with the first syllable such as /t, ɐ, s, ʃ, d^h, and n/. Further, most of the velarized clusters can be occurred with such sound together eg. The sound /h/ can be clustered with the whole velarized sounds. Moreover, the sound /n/ had major occurrence in IV clustered, whereas the semi-vowels /w/and /j/ had minor occurrence in IV cluster. Finally each sound can be geminated except /ʔ/ /h/ /ʕ and /ɣ/

2.5.1. Anaptyxis

This term refers to the insertion of a vowel to break up an illegal consonant cluster, as in the common mispronunciation “tri-ath-a-lete.” This process (which is also called ‘epenthesis’), takes place when a speaker inserts a helping vowel in order to break up consonant clusters, namely the short vowel /i/. This anaptyctic vowel of

IV sometimes resembles the sound of the schwa of English to a certain extent. This process in IV is in harmony with MSA rules, i.e. in a combination of two words where consonants occupy the word-final position in the first word and the word-initial position in the next word. For example, if the words *?l-kita:b* (the book) and *?l-?axɖar* (the green) are made into one phrase, schwa is realised in-between, i.e. */?l-kita:b-ə-?l-?axɖar/*.

However, anaptyxis is not always used to break up two-consonant clusters.

Note that word-initial examples can include geminate consonants:

tfadɖal	‘Welcome’	تَفَضَّل
---------	-----------	----------

?ista?lim	‘(you, m.s.) ask’	اِسْتَعْلِم
-----------	-------------------	-------------

Word-medial two-consonant clusters (-cc-), including geminates are also acceptable in IV:

Fa:tma	‘Fatima’	فاطِمة
--------	----------	--------

?isla:m	‘Islam’	إِسْلَام
---------	---------	----------

ruwwah	‘to go’	رَوَّح
--------	---------	--------

Additionally, word-final two-consonant clusters (-cc), including geminates, are found:

ʂidq	‘truth’	صِدْق
------	---------	-------

kabʃ	‘ram’	كَبْش
------	-------	-------

Three consonant clusters of several types are commonly found in IV. Only the first two types discussed below are broken by Anaptyxis, the others are not:

- 1) A cluster formed by a word ending with a single consonant precedes a word beginning with a double consonant or a two-consonant cluster. In this case, the following are some examples of interlexical Anaptyxis:

?intixa:b-a-?ar-r?i:s ‘the election of the president’ إنتخاب الرئيس

bert-a-?ad-duktu:r ‘the doctor’s house’ بيت الدكتور

- 1) Anaptyxis also occurs with the attachment of the feminine dual suffix /ti:n/ to feminine singular words ending with the sequence CCV. These words end with the suffix /-a/ (the *ta: marbu:ta*; the bound ‘t’).⁶ This serves to break up a C1C2C3 sequence, thereby rendering it C1iC2C3. Moreover, we can find a vowel movement with the vowel of feminine marker /ih/. The sound /i/ moves from the second syllable to the first syllable after adding the suffix feminine marker, whereas the glottal stop /h/ is deleted. Examples:

qiblih ‘prayer axis’ قِبْلَة ?alqiblathi القِبْلَتَيْن ‘the two axes of prayer’

xa:dmih ‘lady servant’ خَادِمَة xadimti:n خَادِمَتَيْن ‘two lady servants’

gam^hih ‘university’ جَامِعَة gami^hti:n جَامِعَتَيْن ‘two universities’

The following formula summarises this process:

$h \rightarrow \emptyset / _ +t$

Three-consonant clusters are always prevented by anaptyxis in IV. If not for anaptyxis, such clusters would form crossword boundaries when a word ending with a geminate consonant or a two-consonant cluster

directly precedes another word starting with a geminate consonant or two-consonant cluster.

ruwwahk- ?s-sjara 'I; you (m.s.) park the car to the house' رَوَّحَكَ السَّيَّارَةَ

?arufk- ?al-mudi:r 'I knew the manager' عَرَفَكَ الْمُدِيرَ

2.5.2. Assimilation

2.5.2.1. Progressive Assimilation

A) Assimilation of the sound /h/ into /t/.

This feature, which is optional, covers the /h/ of pronominal suffixes when preceded by /t/:

bert بيت 'house' + -hum هُمْ 'their' (m.) berttum بيتهم

bint بنت 'daughter' + hum هُمْ 'your' (m.) binttum بنتهم

The -h- to -t- Assimilation Rule

$h \longrightarrow t \text{ /t+}_-$

$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{-son} \\ \text{+cont} \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{-son} \\ \text{-cont} \end{array} \right) \text{ /t-}$

B) /k-/ Concurrent Assimilation and Anaptyxis

The following examples show that the processes of /t-/ assimilation and anaptyxis can co-exist. In the examples.

?abšark 'saw' ابْصَرَكَ + hum 'them' هُمْ \longrightarrow bšarkkum 'I saw them' (m.) أَبْصَرَكَم

ħaluk 'solve' حَلَّوْكَ -hi هي 'it' \longrightarrow ħalukki 'I/you (m.s.) solved it' حَلَّوْكَى

The h to k Assimilation Rule

$$h \longrightarrow k / k+_{-}$$

$$\begin{pmatrix} -\text{son} \\ +\text{con} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} -\text{son} \\ -\text{cont} \end{pmatrix}$$

2.5.2.2. Regressive Assimilation

Several types of regressive assimilation occur in IV.

A) Nasal Assimilation

When the voiced alveolar nasal /n/ directly precedes /b/, it usually becomes a voiced bilabial nasal /m/:

?anba:? أنباء ?amba:? ‘news, news items’ أمباء

ðanb ذَنْب ðamb ‘sin; misdeed’ ذَمْب

$$n \longrightarrow m / b$$

$$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{nasal} \\ -\text{ant} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{-ant} \end{pmatrix} / b- \begin{pmatrix} -\text{nasal} \\ +\text{ant} \end{pmatrix}$$

B) Assimilation of lateral occurring in the definite article /ʔal/.

In IV, the lateral segment as part of the definite article /ʔal/ (which precedes the words it modifies), assimilates to, (or into), the following sound segments: /t/, /d/, /tʃ/, /dʃ/, /dʰ/, /θ/, /ð/, /s/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /z/, /l/, /n/, and /r/. The phonological feature that all of these sounds share is [+coronal]. The term ‘coronal’ refers to interdental alveolar palatal points of articulation. Actually, it exists in MSA (and also IV) as ‘sun letters’ (*ḥuru:f famsiyih* or solar letters). Certain sounds assimilate the sound of *la:m* /l/ in the

definite article. When a word begins with any of these sounds, /ʔal/ of the definite article is written, but the *la:m* /l/ is not pronounced; instead it is assimilated into the first sound of the word and that sound is geminated. The ‘sun letters’ (or sounds) that assimilate the definite article are as follows:

Definite	Indefinite	Definite	English gloss
ʔal +	tiga:ra	ʔattiga:ra	‘[the] commerce’
ʔal +	əaqa:fa	ʔaəəaqa:fa	‘[the] culture’
ʔal +	di:n	ʔaddi:n	‘[the] religion’
ʔal +	ðahab	ʔaððhab	‘[the] jewellery’
ʔal +	rab	ʔarrab	‘the Lord’
ʔal +	zuhu:r	ʔazzuhu:r	‘[the] flowers’
ʔal +	ʃams	ʔaʃʃams	‘the sun’
ʔal +	ʃu:f	ʔaʃʃu:f	‘[the] wool’
ʔal +	d ^h il	ʔad ^h d ^h il	‘the shadow’
ʔal +	ɖagga	ʔadɖagga	‘[the] noise’
ʔal +	ʈari:q	ʔaʈʈari:q	‘the road’
ʔal +	lu:n	ʔallu:n	‘the colour’
ʔal +	nu:r	ʔannu:r	‘the light’

The Definite Article /ʔl-/ Assimilation Rule

$$C \longrightarrow C / _ + C$$

$$\begin{pmatrix} +\text{cor} \\ -\text{lat} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} +\text{cor} \\ \alpha\text{F} \end{pmatrix} / \begin{pmatrix} +\text{cor} \\ \alpha\text{F} \end{pmatrix}$$

C) Regressive coronal interdental alveolar

These sounds are /t/, /s/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /d/, /t/, /θ/, /d/, /z/, and can (but not always) assimilate regressively into preceding /t/ undergone syncope:

t- + ḏa:kir	→	ḏḏa:kir	‘to remember’
t- + sallaf	→	ssallaf	‘to borrow’
ti- + ʃawwif	→	ʃʃawwif	‘you; she jams the broadcast’
ti- + ʃaḥḥih	→	ʃʃaḥḥih	‘you; she corrects’
ti- + tu:b	→	ttu:b	‘you (m.s.) repent’
ti- + darris	→	ddarris	‘you teach’
ti- + ʃu:f	→	ʃʃu:f	‘you see’
ti- + ga:wib	→	ggawib	‘you (m.s.) answer’ ⁷

The /t-/ Assimilation Rule

t- → /C /C

[+verbal prefix] → C

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} +\text{ant} \\ +\text{cor} \\ +\text{cons} \end{array} \right)$$

2.5.3. Elision (Vowel Elision or Syncope)

In IV, a verb ending with /-VC/, where /-V-/ is normally drops its /-V-/ when a vowel-initial suffix is added to it. McCarthy (2005) states that the closed vowel is elided when it occurs in word-initial position and preceded by a word ending with an open short syllable CV. This opinion is also supported by findings in Gairdner (1925) and Michell (1962/1978).

In the following examples of the imperfect form Two, Three Six and Seven verbs,⁸ when a suffix beginning with a vowel is attached, elision of the stem vowels,

/-i-/ and /-a-/, respectively, is shown to take place.⁹ Also notice that the second radical of the form Two and Five verbs degeminates in the process.

Form Two Verbs

jiʕawwir	+ u:	→	jiʕawru:	‘they (m.) injure/hurt (someone)’
tidarris	+ u:	→	tidarsu:	‘you (p.) teach’
tisallaf	+ u:	→	tisalfu:	‘you (p.) borrow’
jitwaṣṣaṭ	+ u:	→	jitwasu:	‘they mediate’

Geminate consonant → single consonant /

+long
+ back
+rounded
+final

The stem vowel (-i-) of form Three and Seven verbs in the imperfect, and the stem vowel (-a-) of form Six and Seven verbs undergoes vowel elision with the attachment of a vowel-initial suffix.

Form Three

jiqa: bil + u: → jiqa: blu: ‘they meet face-to-face’

tiha: qir + u: → tiha: qru: ‘you (pl.) lecture’

+front
+high
+rounded
+long
-final

→ 0 /

+back
+rounded
+long
+high
+final

(Archangeli 1981)

Form Six

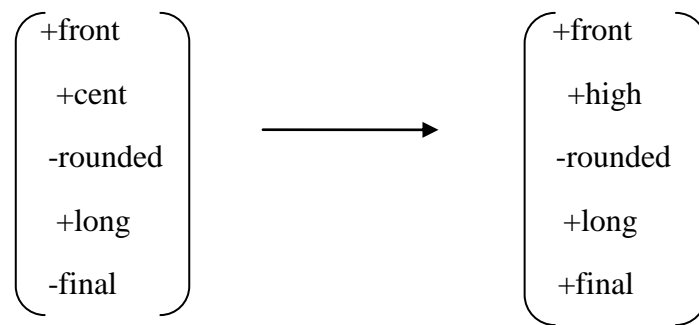
jitwa: faq + u: → jitwa: fqu: ‘two or more are in agreement’

tiʃʃa:war + u: → tiʃʃa:wru: 'you (pl.) are mutually consulting'

jitʕa:wan + u: → jitʕa:wnu: 'they (m.) are cooperating'

Form Seven

jigtirah + u: → jigtirhu: 'they are being injured'



(Archangeli 1981)

$V \longrightarrow \emptyset / \text{CC_C+V}$

$$\begin{pmatrix} -\text{long} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \alpha F \\ \beta F \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \alpha \delta F \\ \beta \gamma F \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} +h \\ -f \end{pmatrix}$$

2.5.4. Deletion

Brame (1970) and McCarthy (1979b) argue that the /h/ in MSA shows up overtly if a dative suffix follows the third person masculine singular object suffix, e.g. the /h/ in *rama+hu+laha* 'he threw it (m.) to her'. They argue that this morpheme is subject to metathesis rule. I assume that the /h/ sound is deleted in IV in this case. Here are some examples:

ragam+uh+ lih 'he threw it to her' ragam+u+ lih

?arsl+uh+lahum 'he sent it to them' ?arsl+u+lahum

$h \longrightarrow 0 / \overline{[+\text{suffix}]w} \quad w = \text{word}^{10}$

	ʔ	b	t	ə	g	h	x	d	ð	r	z	s	ʃ	ʒ	dʰ	ʈ	ɖ	ʕ	ɣ	f	q	k	h	l	m	n	w	j
	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Voice	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Cor			+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							+	+	+		
Ant			+	+				+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+							+			+		-
Lab		+																		-					-		-	
Son	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Cont	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nasal																									+	+		
Lateral																								+				
Dors					+		+												+		+	+						+
Trill										+																		

Distinctive Feature Matrix for Ibb Variety Consonant Phoneme

Table : Distinctive Feature Matrix for Ibb Variety Consonant Phoneme

2.6. Types of Syllables

Classified according to their length, there are short, medium and long syllables in IV:

1. A short syllable is composed of a consonant followed by a short vowel, in the form CV. Under most circumstances, there appears to be a phonological constraint against the sequence CVCVCV. The exception to this constraint applies to certain (*na:ʒiba*) relative and attributive adjectives,¹¹ which may originally have been borrowed from LA, and singular nouns with the sequence CVCVCV to which the first possessive suffix /-i/ has been attached.

2. Medium syllables are composed either of a consonant followed by a short vowel preceding a consonant (CVC) or a consonant cluster followed by a short vowel (C1C2V).
3. Several structural patterns characterize the IV long syllables, including: CVV, CVVC, CVCC (or CVC1C2), CCVC (or C1C2VC), CCVVC (or C1C2VVC), and CCVV (or C1C2 VV).

With regard to word stress in MSA and its varieties, this area is one of the debatable issues. While certain studies have claimed that stress does exist in Arabic, others negate the whole claim. Below is a short outline of some of these views. Basically, stress can be defined in simple terms as the extra prominence attached to a specific syllable in a word when that word is pronounced. Kager (2007: 196-9) recognises four features of stress. In ‘culminative stress’, there is one and only one maximally prominent peak within a stress domain, especially with reference to content words (i.e. as opposed to function words such as articles, pronouns and prepositions, which normally are not stressed). While in culminative stress the function of a stressed syllable is to point for “intonational contours”, in ‘demarcative stress’ the function is to signal the beginning and/or end of morphological boundaries. The third feature of stress consists in the preference of stress languages for well-formed rhythmic patterns, where sound and weak syllables are spaced apart at regular intervals. The fourth feature of stress is a matter of quantity-sensitivity, i.e. Stress prefers to lodge on syllables which have a certain degree of intrinsic prominence, carry a high tone, or contain a vowel of high sonority.

Linguists normally differentiate between stress, tone and intonation. Tone, in the context of linguistics, is a property of certain languages in which the pitch of the

word can change the meaning of the word – not just its nuances, but its core meaning (Yip 2007: 229). Kager (ibid.: 195) maintains that stress is clearly different from tone in the sense that stress does not assimilate, neither locally between adjacent syllables, nor across longer distances. Finally, “Intonation refers to the structured variation in pitch which is not determined by lexical distinctions” (Gussenhoven 2007: 253), hence affecting the melodic and prosodic structure of a language.

“Cross-linguistically”, maintains Kager (ibid.: 196), “stress tends to be attracted to syllables located near the edges of grammatical units, especially the initial syllable. Since final syllables are exempted from stress in many languages, initial and prefinal syllables are, by far, the most favoured locations of stress, followed by stress on the second and final syllable.” McCarthy’s (1979: 443) view on stress and syllabification is based on three premises. First, in many languages the notion “heavy syllable” invokes a disjunction of syllables containing a long vowel or diphthong and syllables with a short vowel but closed by a consonant. Second, though heavy syllables often attract the stress, they sometimes reject it or attract it subject to some limitations of, say, distance from a boundary. Third, the weight of some syllables may itself vary in a particular language, perhaps again under some boundary conditions.

McCarthy (ibid.: 445-6) assumes that Classical Arabic, like many other languages, attracts stress onto a heavy syllable regardless of the remoteness of a boundary. Citing Harrell (1957), McCarthy refers to Cairene Arabic and supports three principal stress rules for this dialect, along with a few morphological exceptions:

- a. Stress the ultima if it is a superheavy syllable (CVCC or CVVC):

katábt ‘I wrote’, *sakakíin* ‘knives’

- b. Otherwise stress the antepenultimate syllable if the antepenult and penult are light syllables (CV), unless the preantepenult is also light:

búxala ‘misers’, *muxtálifa* ‘different (f. sg.)’

- c. Otherwise stress the penultimate syllable:

martába ‘mattress’, *Tamálti* ‘you (f. sing.) did’, *béetak* ‘your (m. sing.) house’,
katabítu ‘she wrote it (m.)’

McCarthy (2005: 9), thus, indicates that the Cairene stress system assigns moraic trochees from left to right.

McCarthy is not the only one to attach great significance to the role of stress in Arabic in general and its varieties in particular, although his application of the theoretical assumptions is based on the idea that since there is no pandialectal tradition for stressing Classical Arabic, in many regions the colloquial stress rule is applied to Classical Arabic forms (1975: 446). Ryding (2005: 36-37) suggests that stress in Classical Arabic depends on the length of the word. According to him, stress never comes on the final syllable, but normally on the penultimate syllable if that syllable is strong (CVC or CVV), and on the antepenultimate if the second syllable from the end of the word is weak.

In harmony with this line of reasoning, Watson (2002/2007) discusses stress in Arabic with specific reference to Cairene and Sanʿani varieties of Arabic. She (ibid.: 79) even claims that “Arabic is a language with word stress” and that while in words of more than two syllables in Sanʿani (optionally also in words of two syllables where the leftmost syllable is heavy and the rightmost syllable superheavy) one or more of the remaining syllables receives secondary stress, secondary stress is not perceived in

Cairene. Halpern (2009) indicates that word stress in both Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and the dialects is non-phonemic and sets rules for stress and vowel neutralisation in Arabic as follows:

1. If the last syllable is superheavy, it is stressed.
2. If not, stress the penultimate if it is heavy or if the word is disyllabic.
3. Otherwise, stress the antepenultimate.

As for the neutralisation rules, he sets the following rules:

1. Neutralize long vowels except for the one nearest the end.
2. Never neutralize stressed vowels.
3. Almost always neutralize final long vowels.

Apparently, all these arguments considered the pronunciation of Arabic, whether MSA or its varieties, from the point of view of a linguist who is a non-native speaker of Arabic. That is to say, most of these studies investigated the phonology of Arabic with presumptions generated either by the rules and ideas they have acquired through their study of linguistics or by trying to draw similarities between their mother-tongues (mostly English) and the way they ‘hear’ Arabic (both MSA and its varieties) pronounced. While English is a highly ‘stressed’ language, MSA in fact is not: Ferguson (1956: 384-5) aptly indicates that Classical Arabic has “no word stress at all, either phonologically significant or automatic as a function of the syllabic structure of the word”. MSA gives equal prominence to all syllables of a word. In terms of pronunciation, there is no difference in prominence between syllables in a content word or a function word. Of course, syllabification is an inherent process in Arabic phonology, where diacritics (represented phonetically by short vowel sounds)

play a major part, given the widely accepted fact that MSA does not allow the occurrence of two adjacent ‘motionless’ consonant sounds.

Regarding the relationship between stress and varieties of Arabic, the majority of these varieties do not attach great importance to stress either, and even if certain varieties (e.g. in Egypt or Hijaz or the North African countries) show what may be perceived by non-native speakers as stress, it is safe to claim that no two words in MSA or its various varieties are differentiated on the basis of stress. Differences between varieties lie in terms of tonality even when speakers of different varieties use MSA in the spoken mood; however, this difference in tone does not entail difference in meaning. Perhaps, it is for this reason that Arab grammarians did not discuss stress in their studies.¹² IV, as most of the other varieties of Arabic, does not show any evidence that stress can be found to differentiate between words on the phonemic level. This variety does, however, have its prosodic means which are manifest in terms of intonation and pitch. All syllables in an IV word, be it monosyllabic, disyllabic or polysyllabic, receive equal prominence by speakers and the melodic effects are realised in terms of intonation and pitch.

2.7. Summary

To sum up, this chapter has presented a descriptive study of the phonological phenomena in IV. It has documented various aspects of native comparison with LA and English. Pertinent to IV consonantal phonemes, it has been demonstrated that there are twenty eight consonantal phonemes distributed across nine places of articulation; nineteen of them exist in English, whereas the rest do not. Four of them are called ‘velarised’ (ɣ, ʈ, ɖ, dʰ). This chapter has pointed out that the phonemes /ɣ/ and /ʈ/ exist in IV while they are present as allophones – at least similar to a great

extent – in some languages such as English as in the words ‘son’ and ‘sun’ and ‘tall’ and ‘tub’, respectively. Further, each consonant is described by the phonological distinctive features.

With regard to vowels, these sounds are classified into two types: short and long. Besides, it has been indicated that long vowels only occur in word-medial positions in IV. Further, it’s worth mentioning here that all consonants (except *h*, *ʔ* and *ʕ*) can be doubled in all positions with certain exceptions. The glottal stop */ʔ/* is normally not doubled in any position and the sounds */h/* and */ʕ/* are not doubled in word-final position. Finally, it has been observed that IV is subjected to and is affected by the phonological processes of anaptyxes, assimilation (progressive and regressive) and elision.

Endnotes:

¹ The order of the sounds discussed here has been made to follow the Arabic alphabetical order. Besides, gemination is also made explicit in transcription instead of *fadda* symbol (^w).

² This point has several implications and repercussions with regard to learning English by IV speakers. Generally, Ibbi learners of English find it difficult to differentiate between the sounds /g/ and /dʒ/, especially at the initial stages of L2 learning.

³ The nature of the pharyngeal consonants /ħ/ and /ʕ/ is described in detail in McCarus and Rammuny (1974, 124–34) and in Gairdner (1925, 27–29).

⁴ Although in Standard Arabic, there should be a short vowel sound to separate the consonant /h/ from a subsequent consonant, IV, (as do some other varieties) allow for such cases as /sahl/, particularly in the final position, coda position.

⁵ The definite article *al-* in MSA, as well as in IV, is prefixed to nouns and adjectives. It has two pronunciations depending on the first sound of the word it is attached to. The ‘lunar’ definite *al-* is pronounced as /ʔl/ and is attached to words beginning with eighteen sounds, fifteen consonants including the glottal stop, and the three semi-vowels (ʔ, i.e. b, g, ħ, x, ʕ, ʁ, f, q, k, l, m, n, h, w, and j), whereas the ‘solar’ definite article *al-* is pronounced as /ʔ/ with geminating the next consonant sound (i.e. t, ʔ, d, ʔ, r, z, s, ʃ, ʒ, ʔ, ʔ, and d^h). They are termed as lunar and solar owing to their different pronunciation when attached to the Arabic words *qamar* (‘moon’) and *fams* (i.e. ‘sun’).

⁶ The bound ‘t’ is normally pronounced as /h/ in Standard Arabic and as /a/ in IV if not followed by another sound.

⁷ All these examples using the 2nd person masculine singular pronoun are statements, not in the imperative form.

⁸ Verbs and their classifications are discussed in Chapter Three.

⁹ This is dealt with in some detail later in Chapter Three.

¹⁰ This rule is taken from McCarthy 1976 a Doctoral dissertation

¹¹ For more details see Chapter Five Morphology of adjective *na:siba* adjective.

¹² cf. Watson 2002/2007: 79. She says in a footnote: “Although the classical Arab grammarians do not mention word stress, it is generally accepted that Classical Arabic had it”.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS IN IBB VARIETY

3.1. Theoretical Foundations

It is widely known that there are two well-known modern morphological theories: Concatenative Morphology and Nonconcatenative Morphology. The framework employed in this study is Nonconcatenative morphology, which depends on what is called *root* and *pattern* mechanisms in forming new words. In Nonconcatenative morphology, the words formed are generally not the result of linear concatenation of smaller units or words parts in that it involves appropriate patches inserted based on their matching requirements akin to the parring of various enzymes of nucleotides. Besides, as a matter of fact, even a single word can be formed by employing different patterns, as in *?umma:l* (workers) and *?amili:n* (workers). In fact, there are also words in MSA, for example, which can have three different plural forms, such as the word *ka:tib* (writer) thus having three plural forms: *ka:tibi:n*, *kataba* and, *kutta:b* (=writers).¹

3.2. Nonconcatenative Templatic Morphology

The issue of Nonconcatenative templatic morphology (henceforth, NTM) has received much attention in the literature of phonology and morphology. This word formation strategy is widespread in the Semitic languages family, and is illustrated below with a well-known representative example from Arabic (Wehr, 1976):

e.g. Arabic NTM: paradigm for the verb *katab*:

<i>katab</i>	‘he wrote’
<i>kutib</i>	‘it was written’

<i>?aktub</i>	‘I write’
<i>kattab</i>	‘he caused to write’
<i>ka:tab</i>	‘he corresponded’

At first glance, a morphological decomposition of such forms seems a daunting task. Unlike more familiar morphology, it is difficult in this case to isolate any recurring contiguous string of segments that could serve as the base of affixation in analyzing the relationship between these words. McCarthy (1981) has pointed out that this puzzling pattern leads to two potential analyses of Semitic morphology. One potential analysis involves a morphological element not found in any other language family. Semitic grammarians since at least the 9th century CE have analyzed such patterns using the *consonantal root* as the basis for NTM. In fact, the consonantal root plays a central role in the generative analyses of Semitic languages in modern linguistics, most notably in the work of Chomsky (1951), McCarthy (1979, 1981) and McCarthy and Prince (1986).

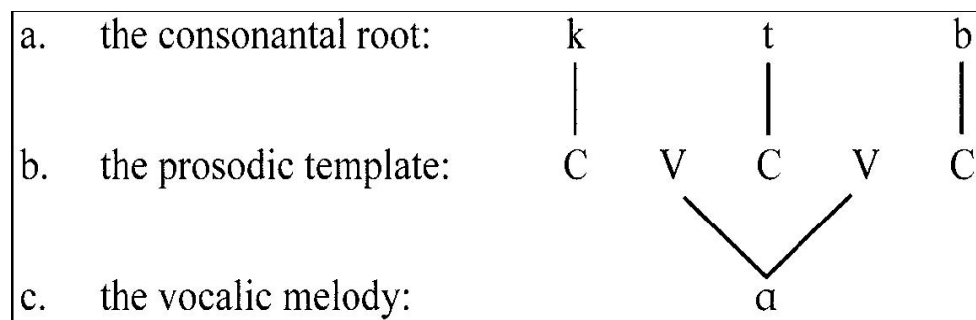
Following McCarthy’s (1979) influential study, many phonologists and morphologists assume the *consonantal root-based* approach as the only possible analysis of word formation in Semitic languages (Marantz 1982; Clements 1985; McCarthy and Prince 1990). In this view, the *consonantal root* is one of three morphemes that compose a word. The two other morphemes are the vocalic melody and the prosodic template.

The stem of a content word in Arabic has three discontinuous morphemes: the consonantal root which is the fundamental lexical units of the language ... the templatic pattern into which the consonantal root is inserted imposing an additional meaning to that of the root and the intercalated vowels – the vocalic melody.

(Watson 2002/2007: 126)

These morphemes occupy separate tiers, as an extension of the notion *tier* from Autosegmental Phonology (Goldsmith 1976), and are linearized according to a process of tier conflation prior to pronunciation. The representation of an IV verb, prior to tier conflation, can be illustrated with the verbal stem *katab* as follows:

Morphemic tier representation for *katab*

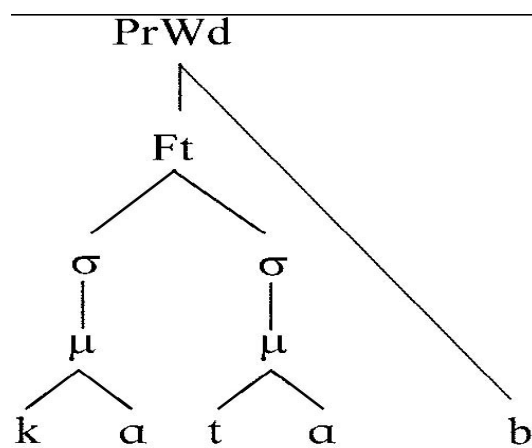


The second potential analysis of NTM involves *word-based* morphological relationships, rather than relationships that are based on the consonantal root. A number of researchers have proposed word-based analyses for both Arabic (including a range of Varieties) and Hebrew; these scholars include Heath (2003), Darden (1992), Bat-El (1994), McOmber (1995), and Ratcliffe (1998) among many others. The principal distinction between the word-based approach and the consonantal root-based approach concerns the nature of the base of affixation. Rather than the consonantal root, whole words or stems serve as the lexical item to which affixes attach.

An issue that remains pertinent to both the consonantal root-based and the word-based approaches is the prosodic template. Since the groundbreaking work on Semitic phonology and morphology of McCarthy (1979, 1981), languages of the Semitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family have served as a classic example of templatic effects. Further developments in template theory arise in the work of

McCarthy and Prince (1986), in the research programme known as prosodic morphology. The basic principle underlying prosodic morphology is that templates are defined in terms of “authentic prosodic units”. Therefore, rather than defining the Arabic verbal template for *katab* in terms of consonants and vowels (i.e., CV.CVC.), the template is defined as a “trochaic foot”, independently known to figure prominently in the metrical system of language. This prosodic structure is illustrated below:

Prosodic representation of *katab*



(McCarthy 1981)

The superiority of prosodic morphology over the earlier CV-template approach is that under prosodic morphology, templates are no longer viewed as extra-theoretical structures that the language happens to make use of under certain phonological or morphological circumstances. Rather, their existence is motivated by the fact that their prosodic make-up is independently necessary.

3.3. Introduction

This chapter attempts to explore the different kinds of IV Verbs, which is to some extent similar to MSA. As a matter of fact, IV Verbs are classified into biliteral,

triliteral and quadriliteral. Also, IV verbs are inflected for Gender, Number, Person and Aspects (GNPA). It is worth mentioning here that verbal derivations of IV are classified into two types: derived and non-derived. The derived ones are of two types, triliteral and quadriliteral, whereas the non-derived ones are of two types, sound and weak. The triliteral group has Nine Forms of verbs, unlike MSA. But, the quadriliteral group has only two types, derived and non-derived. In fact, it is argued here that MSA, as well as most of the other varieties, shows aspects like perfective and imperfective. For instance, the perfective aspect of IV is divided into three types, Sound Verb, Weak Verb and Geminate Verb. Through each part of the different types of the verbs that are so far mentioned, nonconcatenative morphology is clearly present with perfect or imperfect, inflection or derivation. With the amount of examples that is elaborated in this chapter it is easy to realize how the verb with the different pronouns is inflected.

Similar to the perfective aspect, the Imperfective aspect is realized by adding the Imperfect of Derived and Quadriliteral verb. Hence, when a verb changes from perfect to imperfect there are some changes that happen (for each part except Hollow Form One Verb) called stem vowel changes. Finally, Imperative Mood, which is used in giving command and order, is in most cases formed by adding /ʔi/ or /ʔu/ as a prefix to the verb.

Most verbs (and nouns and adjectives) in IV are built of, or based upon, triliteral roots (i.e., containing three consonants), as in /ktb/ ‘to write’, (act of) ‘writing’, and /fhm/ ‘to understand’, (act of) ‘understanding’. Other verbs are based on quadriliteral roots (i.e., with four consonants). Many of the latter are formed from repeating a sequence of two consonants, as in /taʔtaʔ/ ‘to stammer’. Other

quadrilaterals contain four different consonants as constituent radicals, as in /trgm/, ‘to translate’.

When radicals interact with vowels, they form stems. When affixes attach themselves to a stem a lexical item is formed. The root-based system of Arabic has been described as follows:

The root system of Arabic represents a basic morphological structure of nouns, verbs and some particles. The vast majority of morphemes... have a stem which consists of interlocking parts, a root consisting typically of three consonants and a pattern of vowels fitting around the consonant of the root. The root generally has fairly constant lexical meaning like ‘writing’ related to /ktb/ or ‘killing’ expressed by /qtl/. The vowel pattern has generally the function of specifying the grammatical role of the stem, past tense of verb, singular or plural of noun, active or passive participle, verbal noun and the like. This root and pattern structure of the stem is found in all verbs, most nouns and some particles.

(Al-Atoma 1969)

3.4. Verbal Inflection

IV verbs are inflected for aspect (‘perfect’ and ‘imperfect’), person (first, second and third), gender (feminine and masculine), and number (singular and plural). It is worth mentioning here that verbs are not inflected for mood.

Inflection of IV Verbs (suffix and prefix verb set)

Haak (1959: 128) states that in all contemporary varieties of Arabic as well as varieties which came originally from Arabic, there is a basic morphological opposition between two sets of verb forms. In the first set, inflection for person, number and gender is achieved by adding suffixes to a stem. The forms in the other set consist of a stem with a prefix. All verbs can be inflected in both ways.

3.5. Verbal Derivation

As will be elaborated below, IV verbs fall into two categories, none-derived and derived. In this variety, there are nine derived verb forms for trilateral roots. “The system of (Arabic verb system) triconsonantal verb is based on fifteen derivational categories” (McCarthy 1975) “Derived forms in colloquial Arabic are nine only, not II-XV [Form Two to Form Fifteen] as in Classical Arabic” (MacLoughlin 2002: 26).² For quadrilateral roots, two verb forms exist, non-derived and derived. In most cases, Form One is the basic verbal form upon which derived verb forms devolve. But this is not invariably the case; some derived verb forms may devolve from other derived verbs based on the same root, such as the Form Two verb /*ħarraʃ*/ ‘to distort’ and its Form Seven counterpart /*ʔaħtaraf*/ ‘to become professional in’. Derived verbs may also be derived from nouns, as /*qahwa*/ ‘to serve coffee or tea’, from /*qahwa*/ ‘coffee’.

Because derivation is an active process in IV, new derived forms not previously existing or known enter the variety on fairly frequent basis. (Whether or not these new forms become fully accepted within the variety is another issue, however). Some of these new derived forms enter IV via LA, others from other colloquial varieties of Arabic; still others are coined by native speakers.

In light of this, it should be mentioned that very few, if any, Form One verbs have derived counterparts in all nine derived categories. (At least no examples in point have been found). Moreover, many derived forms lack a Form One counterpart.

3.5.1. Form One Verbs

Verbs which are commonly called Form One verbs are also, less frequently, referred to as ‘Class One’ or ‘Measure One’ verbs. Form One verbs are generally non-derived.

3.5.2. Sound Verbs

The Arabic Morphology uses the term ‘sound’ vs. weak to indicate strong vs. weak. Sound which means in Arabic /sa:lim/. Sound verbs are formed of three consonants, neither of which is one of the semivowels (or glides), /w/ or /j/. The two patterns of sound verbs are /faʕal/ and /fiʕil/. The letter ‘f’ represents the first verbal radical, ‘ʕ’ represents the second, and ‘l’ represents the third radical.

Sound = sa:lim = regular = strong

Traditional Arab grammarians describe Arabic morphology in terms of patterns associated with the basic root *fʕl* (فعل “to do”) - where f, ʕ, and l are like wildcards in regular expressions: the letter f (“pronounced fa”) represents the first consonant (sometimes called radical), the letter ʕ (ع “pronounced ain”) represents the second and the l (ل “pronounced lam”) represents the third respectively.³

(Gowder 2005)

/faʕal/

Sound Verb	Gloss
d ^h arab	‘to multiply; to hit’
ḡahak	‘to laugh’
ʕaraf	‘to know’

/fiʕil/

Sound Verb	Gloss
ḡiliṭ	‘to err’
ʕirib	‘to drink’
giziʕ	‘to go’
simiʕ	‘to hear’

3.5.3. Geminate Word-Final Verb

Form One geminate verbs have identical second and third radicals. Examples:

ʿamm	‘to spread’
ṣadd	‘to prevent’
radd	‘to return/respond’

3.5.4. Weak Verbs

Åkesson (2009) indicates that the verb with initial /w/ or /j/ radical is generally termed weak verb (*muʿtal alfiʿl*). Wightwick and Gaafar (2008) indicate that Arabic has many irregular verbs (although some are more irregular than others!). These fall into three categories and include some of the most common, i. Verbs with /w/ or /j/ as one of the root letters, ii. verbs with *hamza* as one of the root letters, and iii. doubled verbs, where the second and third letters of the root are the same. As opposed to sound verbs, the ‘weak’ verbs contain at least one of the semivowels /w/ or /j/ as either the first, second or third radical. These radicals are considered unstable because they are not always realized phonologically at the surface level, and therefore called ‘weak’. The convention in Arabic linguistics is to classify weak verbs into two categories according to the location of the radical. This categorization applies to this variety as well.

The first category of the weak verbs is known as ‘hollow’, i.e., containing the medial long vowel /a:/ in the ‘perfect’ (simple past). In many cases, this medial vowel changes to either /i:/ or /u:/ in the ‘imperfect’ (simple present), depending on the verb. For instance, the verb /d^ha:q/ ‘got bored’, becomes /jid^hi:q/ in the imperfect, whereas /qa:l/ ‘(he) said’, becomes /jiqu:l/ in the imperfect. In other hollow verbs, the surface form of the medial long vowel remains /a:/ even in the imperfect. Here are further examples of IV hollow verbs:

Weak =/dʕaʕi:f/ =irregular

Citation Form (3 rd . m.s.) ⁴			Imperfect
d ^h a:q	‘to get bored’	→	jid ^h i:q
sa:r	‘to walk’	→	jisi:r
ka:n	‘to be’	→	jiku:n
ʃa:f	‘to see’	→	jiʃu:f
CV:C (v,3ms)		→	jiCi:C/ jiCVu:C ji C V: C [αF] [αF]

Below are some examples of hollow verbs whose imperfect forms retain the vowel /a:/:

xa:f	‘to get afraid’	→	/jixa:f/
ba:n	‘to appear’	→	/jiba:n/
na:m	‘to sleep’	→	/jina:m/

A verb whose final radical is weak or unstable is called a ‘defective’ verb. In the perfect, the word-final radical of defective verbs is manifested as /a/, but in the surface form in the imperfect it may be either as an /a/ or an /i/. Here are some examples:

gara	‘to run’	→	jigri
dara	‘to know’	→	jidri
kala	‘to hit’	→	jikla

Verbs containing the glottal stop (*hamza* in Arabic) are referred to as ‘hamzated’ in the scholarly literature. In word-initial hamzated radical verbs, the *hamza* is normally deleted in imperfect. Medial radical hamzated verbs usually retain the *hamza* in the imperfect:

?amar ‘to order’	→	ju?mur
si?l ‘to ask’	→	jis?al

3.5.5. Initial-Glide Verbs

In IV these verbs are not considered weak in the true sense of the word.

Although they begin with glide, the glide usually changes to the vowel towards which it is inclined after the onset of the verbal prefix. Examples:

wiʃil ‘to arrive’	→	ju:ʃal
waqaf ‘to stand’	→	ju:qaf
jibis ‘to dry up’	→	ji:bas

3.6. Derived Verbs with Triliteral Roots

Verbs Forms Two through Nine exist in the variety under investigation. Derived verbs are based on either a Form One verbal stem (or a paradigm of that stem, if the Form One verb is not extant) or a noun or adjective.

3.6.1. Form Two Verbs

A geminate second radical identifies a Form Two verb. Generally speaking, a Form Two verb is transitive and causative. The paradigm /faʕʕal/, which is CVCCVC, is operative for Form Two verbs derived from Form One Sound verbs. Consider the following:

Form One	Gloss	Form Two	Gloss
daras	‘to study’	darras	‘to teach sb’
qihik	‘to laugh’	qahhak	‘to cause sb to laugh’
ʔaraf	‘to know’	ʔarraf	‘to acquaint sb with sth’

If a Form One verb possessing a Form Two counterpart is transitive, then its Form Two counterpart maybe ditransitive. For example, in the verb phrase */darrashumʔad-dars/* [taught-them the-lesson] ‘he taught them the lesson’, the Form One verb is */darasʔad-dars/* [studied the-lesson] ‘he studied the lesson’.

Sometimes, the Form Two verb is an intensified version of its Form One counterpart. For example, the Form One verb */taras/* ‘to fill to the brim’, has */tarras/* as its Form Two derivation. Further examples:

Form One	Gloss	Form Two	Gloss
kasar	‘to break’	kassar	‘to smash’
qatal	‘to kill’	qattal	‘to massacre’

CVCV :: CVCCVC

Many Form Two verbs refer to a state or quality expressed by a cognate adjective. Consider the following examples.

Adjective	Gloss	Form Two	Gloss
naqī:f	‘clean’	naqḏaf	‘to clean’
wasix	‘dirty’	wassax	‘to soil, make dirty’
gadi:d	‘new’	gaddad	‘renew’

CVCV:C :: CVCCaC

A small amount of IV Form Two verbs are modified from foreign loanwords, including */ʔajjak/* ‘to check’, and */ʔawwat/* ‘to kick/shoot (the ball to the goal)’ from English. The Form Two verb */bannad/* ‘to close, shut’, is an ‘Arabized’ verbal

modification of the Persian noun /band/ ‘tie; cord; band’. The prosodic template of the form II is CVCCVC.

3.6.2. Form Three Verbs

A Form Three Verb is formed by the insertion of /a:/ between the first and second radicals of the trilateral root. Examples:

Form Three	Gloss
ba:rak	‘to bless’
wa:faq	‘to agree’
ga:wab	‘to answer’
ha:d ^h ar	‘to lecture’

Semantically speaking, Form Three verbs often but not always indicate activity shared in some manner by more than one individual. For example, the verb /ha:d^har/ ‘to lecture’, which is from the lexicon of LA, does not refer to a unidirectional activity but implies the existence of a recipient/affected. The prosodic template of the form III is CVVCVC.

3.6.3. Form Four Verbs

These verbs can be identified by the prefix /ʔa-/ in the perfect. The word-initial glottal stop in most verbs is rather uncommon in the variety under investigation. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that Form Four exists in verbs borrowed either from LA, including news broadcasts, quotations, etc. or another Arabic variety. Here are some examples:

Form Four	Gloss
ʔaʕlan	‘to announce’
ʔangaz	‘to finalize/achieve’

The prosodic template of the form IV is C(?)VCCVC. ʔaʕlan

3.6.4. Form Five Verbs

From the morphological perspective, Form Five verbs are made by the addition of the prefix /-ti/ to a Form Two verb. Form Five verbs are usually reflexive or passive in meaning. The following chart shows the relationship between certain Form Five verbs and their Form Two counterparts: The prosodic template of the form V is C(t)VCVCCVC.

Form Two	Gloss	Form Five	Gloss
ʕallam	‘to teach’	tiʕallam	‘to learn’
ɤajjar	‘to change’	tiɤajjar	‘to change’ ⁵
əamman	‘to estimate (a price)’	Tiəamman	‘to be set’ (a price)
banned	‘to close’	Tibannad	‘to get closed’

CVCCVC :: CiCVCCVC

3.6.5. Form Six Verbs

These verbs are formed by adding the prefix /t(a)-/ to Form Three verbs. In most cases, they indicate reciprocity of the action, although in certain instances Form Six verbs will refer to pretence. Examples of Form Six verbs preceded by their Form Three counterparts are shown in the following examples:

Form Three	Gloss	Form Six	Gloss
ʕa:fa	‘to forgive’	tiʕa:fa	‘to settle accounts’
ʃa:war	‘to consult sb’	tifʃa:war	‘to discuss collectively’
qa:bal	‘to meet sb’	tiqua:bal	‘to meet with each other’

The Form Six verbs shown above are frequently conjugated for a plural subject because they imply reciprocity, which of course refers to action engaged in by more than one. In contrast, the following Form Six verbs, which indicate pretence, are often singular:

tima:raḍ ‘to pretend to be ill’

tiḍa:har ‘to feign, pretend’

Other Form Six verbs include /*tiba:rak*/ ‘to increase (due to an external causer)’ as in /*tiba:rakʔar-rizq*/ ‘livelihood increased (by Allah)’, and /*tiqa:ʕad*/ ‘to retire.’ Pronunciation of the bracketed /a/ after the word-initial /t/ in /*tiba:rak*/ and /*tiqa:ʕad*/ indicates that the speaker is pronouncing the word according to LA phonology and morphology. Conversely, syncopation, or non-pronunciation, of the /a,i/ in the word-initial syllable is a characteristic feature of more spontaneous IV, somehow resulting in a consonant cluster composed of the sound /t/ along with another consonant. The prosodic template of the form VI is CVCVVCVC.

3.6.6. Form Seven Verbs

Prefixing the syllable /ʔa/ at the verb-initial position and inserting the infix /-t-/ between a Form One or Two verb’s first and second radicals make a Form Seven verb. Most Form Seven verbs have a reflexive meaning, i.e. the action they convey is that of doing something to or for oneself. Shown below are some Form Seven verbs common to IV with Form One or derived cognates

Form	Verb	Gloss	Form Seven	Gloss
One	hamm	‘to be burdened with’	ʔahtamm	‘to be concerned about sth/sb’
One	simiʕ	‘to hear’	ʔastamaʕ	‘to listen to something’
One	gamaʕ	‘to collect’	ʔagtamaʕ	‘to have a meeting’
Two	rajjaḥ	‘to make someone relax’	ʔarta:h	‘to rest, relax’
Two	ʃaḥkal	‘to operate’	ʔaʃtaḥal	‘to work’

CVC(C)(VC) :: CVCCVC(VC)

3.6.7. Form Eight Verbs

These verbs describe the physical characteristics of colours or defects. They are distinguished by a geminate final radical, and are considered to be derived from the adjective to which they refer. The adjectives for colours and defects shown in the table below are masculine singular.⁶

Adjective	Gloss	Form Eight V.	Gloss
?abjad	‘white’	bajjad	‘to turn white’
?axdar	‘green’	xaddarr	‘to turn green’
?ahmar	‘red’	hamarr	‘to turn red’
?aswad	‘black’	sawwadd	‘to turn black’
?aʕwar	‘one-eyed’	ʕawwarr	‘to hurt someone’ (synecdoche)

3.6.8. Form Nine Verbs

The prefix /ʔista/ identifies a verb to be Form Nine in its morphology. A Form Nine is derived from either a Form One verb (or another derived form), an adjective or a noun. The general meaning of a Form Nine verb is that of seeking or demanding for oneself what its derivational source expresses. Here are some examples:

Source	Gloss	Form Nine Verb	Gloss
ʕimil	‘to work’	ʔistaʕmal	‘to use’
ʕaʕʕab	‘to make sth difficult’	ʔistaʕʕab	‘to regard (sth) as difficult’
ga:wab	‘to answer’	ʔistagwab	‘to interrogate’
hazaʔ	‘to scold sb’	ʔistahzaʔ	‘make fun of sb’
?afa:d	‘to benefit’	?istafa:d	‘to avail oneself of’
ruxʕa	‘permission’	?istaraxaʕ	‘to obtain or seek permission’

CVC(C)V(:)(C) :: CVCCVC(C)VCVC

3.7. Quadriliteral Verbs

As their designation implies, quadriliteral verbs possess four radicals instead of the usual three. In IV, there are two types of quadriliteral verbs: i) None-derived and ii) Derived. Because both sound and derived quadriliteral verbs are regular, no stem changes occur in their conjugation.

3.7.1. Non-derived Quadriliteral Verb

This category of verbs is described as non-derived since the verbs falling under it do not allow for further derivation of the verb. It includes sound, reduplicated and weak verbs. Examples of sound none-derived quadriliteral verbs:

bahðal ‘to humiliate someone’

xarbaṭ ‘to mess up sth or sb’

Reduplicated quadriliteral verbs follow the pattern /falfal/:

taʔtaʔ ‘to stammer’

gaʕgaʕ ‘to make sb suffer’

Weak none-derived quadriliteral verbs contain word-medial vowels or glides:

qa:ʃwar ‘to talk; chatter’

3.7.2. Derived Quadrilaterals

These are formed by prefixing /ti-/ to a non-derived quadriliteral verb according to the pattern tiC1aC2C3aC4. In terms of structure, this verb form resembles the structure of a Form Five verb, whose pattern is tiC1aC2C2C3. In terms of meaning, a derived quadriliteral verb denotes the passive of its non-derived counterpart, which most Form Five verbs also do.

Quadriliteral

falfal ‘to fill the tank of the car’

Derived Quadriliteral

tifalfal ‘to be filled’

xarbat ‘to mess sth/sb up’

tixarbat ‘to be messed up’

3.8. The Perfective Aspect

Verbs in Arabic generally are inflected for two aspects, i.e. perfective and imperfective. Verbs in the perfective aspect are used to refer to cases somehow similar to the English simple past (e.g., ‘she ran’), the present perfect (‘she has run’) and the past perfect (‘she had run’). Verbs used here denote that the action or state took place in the past and are over by the time of speaking.

An interesting point here is the case of the hollow past verbs /ka:n/, similar to English ‘was’. It can precede the perfective verb of the sentence, after which case the form of the perfective is changed into the imperfective. However, the verb along with /ka:n/ are inflected for gender and number. For example:

?al-wileid **li :ab** korah ?ams ‘The boy played football yesterday’.

?al-wileid **ka:n jil :ab** korah ?ams ‘The boy was playing football yesterday’.

However, it is to be pointed out that /ka:n/ in IV is not necessarily followed by a verb. It may as well be followed by a noun in various forms or an adjective.

3.8.1. Sound Verbs

A. Form One Sound Verbs

All of the inflectional affixes of verbs in the perfective aspect are suffixes. The table below shows the complete perfective aspect conjugation for the verb /katab/ ‘to write’ as a paradigm for all sound Form One verbs. As it is shown later there are some differences between the conjugation of IV sound verbs and weak verbs.

Pronoun	Verb	meaning	Suffix
3 rd (p.m.s)	katab	‘write’	/-0/
3 rd (p.m.p.)	katabu:	‘they (m) wrote’	/-u:/
3 rd (p.f.s.)	kataba	‘she wrote’	/a/
3 rd (p.f.p.)	katabein	‘they (f) wrote’	/em/
2 nd (p.m.s)	katabk	‘you (m.s.) wrote,’	/-k/
2 nd (p.m.f.p.)	katabku:	‘you (m.f.p.) wrote’	/-ku:/

2 nd (p.f.s.)	katabki:	‘you (f.s.) wrote’	/-ki:/
1 st (p.m.f.s.)	katabk	‘I (m.s.) wrote’	/k/
1 st (p.m.f.p)	katabna:	‘we wrote’	/-na:/

It is observed that the conjugations of the 2nd person masculine singular and the 1st person masculine and feminine singular are similar. The differentiation between them is based on the context, i.e. who the speaker or the addressee is. This process is further supported by a feature of Arabic grammar called *?alfa: ?il ?almustatir* “the hidden agent/doer” whereby the agent or causer of an action, usually a pronoun, is implicit and not necessarily explicit in a sentence.⁷

B. Sound Form Two Verbs

Pronoun	Verb	Meaning	Suffix
3 rd (p.m.s)	darras	‘he taught’	/-0/
3 rd (p.m.p.)	darrasu:	‘they (m.) taught’	/-u:/
3 rd (p.f.s.)	darrassa	‘she taught’	/a/
3 rd (p.f.p.)	darrassein	‘they (f.) taught’	/em/
2 nd (p.m.s)	darrask	‘I (m.s.) taught’	/-k/
2 nd (p.m.f.p.)	darrasku:	‘I (f.s.) taught’	/-ku:/
2 nd (p.f.s.)	darraski:	‘you (m.s.) taught’	/-ki:/
1 st (p.m.f.s.)	darrask	‘you (p.s.) taught’	/k/
1 st (p.m.f.p)	darrasna:	‘we taught’	/-na:/

These have regular conjugation, i.e. there are no stem changes. The verb shown below is /darras/ ‘to teach’. The conjugations of other Forms are also regular. They are conjugated in the same way as Form Two verbs are.

3.8.2. Weak Verbs

A ‘weak’ verb has at least one unstable radical, which in its underlying structure is either the glide /w/ or /j/. In its surface form, however, the same radical is usually realized as vowel, hence the characterization ‘unstable’.

A. Defective Verbs

These are verbs whose final radical in the perfect is a vowel. Defective verbs have two stems. For the verb /gara/ ‘to run’, the first stem /gar-/ is used before the

third person suffixes /-a/, /-u/ and /-in/. The second stem, /gari/, comes before the other suffixes. Consider the conjugation chart below:

Pronoun	Verb	Meaning	Suffix
1 st (p.m. f. s.)	garuk	‘I (m.s.f.) ran’	/uk/
2 nd (p.m.s)	garik	‘you (m.s.) ran’	/ik/
2 nd (p.f.s.)	gariki:	‘you (f.s.) ran’	/iki:/
2 nd (p.m.f.p.)	garuku:	‘you (m.f.p.) ran’	/uku:/
3 rd (p.m.s)	gari:	‘he ran’	/i:/
3 rd (p.f.s.)	gara	‘she ran’	/a/
3 rd (p.m.p.)	garu	‘they (m.p.) ran’	/au/
3 rd (p.f.p.)	garem	‘they (f.p.) ran’	/ein/
1 st (p.m.f.p)	garina:	‘we ran’	/ina:/

The following is a brief list of some defective verbs from Forms Two through Nine, and quadrilaterals except those belonging to Form Three and Form Eight. Their inflectional suffixes in the perfective aspect are the same as the verb /gara/ ‘to run’.

Forms	Verbs	Gloss
Forms Two	xalla	‘to leave sth or sb or to let sb do sth’
	hajja	‘to greet someone’
	ṣalla	‘to pray’
Form Four	?afna	‘to spend’
	?axla	‘to vacate’
Form Five	tbadda	‘to have breakfast’
	tɾadda	‘to have lunch’
	tʕaʃʃa	‘to have dinner’
Form Six	tʂa:wa	‘to become equal’
Form Seven	?iʃtara	‘to buy’
Form Nine	?iʂtaʕla	‘to become proud, to ascend’

B. Hollow Verb

These are verbs whose medial radical is a glide, i.e. either /j/ or /w/. In manifestation, however, the surface form is /a:/, /i:/ or /u:/. As an example, the verb

/qa:l/ ‘to say’ has the underlying medial radical */w/*, which is manifested as */a:/*, */u:/* or */u/* depending on the conjugation. The underlying medial radical */j/* occurs in verbs including */ʃa:r/* ‘to become’, in which the surface form is manifested as */a:/* or */i:/*. Hollow verbs in IV occur in Form One verb as well as the derived Form Seven and Form Nine. As is the situation with the defective verbs, hollow verbs have two stems in the perfective aspect. For one class of hollow verbs, the third person inflection takes the stem */Ca:C-/*, while conjugations for other persons take either */CiC/* or */CuC/*. The following conjugation for the verb */qa:l/* ‘to say, tell’ shows variant forms:

m. sing.	m. pl.	f. sing.	f. pl.	
qa:l	qa:lu	qa:la	qa:lin	3 rd
qulk	qulku	qilki	qilkin	2 nd

For certain other hollow verbs the stem form */CuC/* is used in conjugation for the perfective aspect for first and second person. Among such verbs are */fa:f/* ‘to see’, */ka:n/* ‘to be’, and */d^ha:q/* ‘to get bored’.

The perfective stems */Cta:C-/* and */CtaC-/* are the perfective stems for ‘hollow’ Form Nine Verbs. The table below showing the conjugation of the verb */ʔarta:h/* ‘to rest’ shows the following:

m. sin.	m. pl.	f. sing.	f. pl.	
ʔarta:h	ʔarta:hu:	ʔarta:ha	ʔarta:hēm	3 rd
ʔartaḥk	ʔartaḥku:	ʔartaḥki:	ʔartaḥkem	2 nd
ʔartaḥk	ʔartaḥna:	ʔartaḥk	ʔartaḥna:	1 st

Hollow Form Nine Verbs follow a pattern similar to that of hollow Form Seven Verbs. The perfective stems of hollow Form Nine Verbs are /staCa:C-/ for the third person singular and /staCaC-/ for the first and the second persons. Here is a conjugation table for the Form Nine Verb /ʔastfa:d/ ‘to benefit’

m. sin.	m. pl.	f. sing.	f. pl.	
ʔastafa:d	ʔastafa:du:	ʔastafa:da	ʔastafa:dem	3 rd
ʔastafadk	ʔastafadku:	ʔastfadki:	ʔastafadkem	2 nd
ʔastafadk	ʔastafadna:	ʔastafadk	ʔastafadna:	1 st

3.8.3. Quadrilaterals

These verbs are generally defective and non-derived. The prefixed /t-/ is added to mark gender or number. The following is an example of this:

qahwa (non-derived) ‘to serve coffee/tea to sb’

tqahwa (derived) ‘to have tea or coffee’

The following is a conjugation table for another defective verb /gaʔ/ ‘to come’.

Pronoun	Verb	Meaning	Suffix
1 st (p.m.f.s.)	gu:k	‘I (m.s.) came’	/u:k/
2 nd (p.m.s.)	gerk	‘you (m.s.) came’	/ik/
2 nd (p.f.s.)	giki:	‘you (f.s.) came’	/iki:/
2 nd (p.m.f.p.)	guku:	‘you (m.f.p.) came’	/uku:/
3 rd (p.m.s.)	gaʔ	‘he came’	/0/
3 rd (p.f.s.)	gaʔa	‘she came’	/a/
3 rd (p.m.p.)	gaʔu:	‘they (m.s.) came’	/u:/

3 rd (p.f.p.)	gaʔem	‘they (f.s.) came’	/ein/
1 st (p.m.f.p)	giʔna:	‘we came’	/na:/

3.8.4. Word-Final Geminate Verbs

In the perfective aspect, the stems of geminate verbs end with a doubled word final, hence the term ‘geminate.’ In this variety geminate verbs are Form One, as well as the derived Forms Eight and Nine. It is essential to point out that word-final germination is one of the essential morphological features of all Form Eight Verbs. When preceding the inflectional suffixes for the first and the second person, the short vowels /u/ and /i/ are added, as the conjugation table for the Form One Verb /ħaʔt/ ‘to put’, illustrates:

m. sin.	m. pl.	f. sing.	f. pl.	
ħaʔt	ħaʔtu:	ħaʔta	ħaʔtem	3 rd
ħaʔtuk	ħaʔtuku:	ħaʔtiki:	ħaʔtem	2 nd
ħaʔtuk	ħaʔtina:	ħaʔtuk	ħaʔtema:	1 st

Other Form One geminate verbs include /qarr/ ‘to harm’, /famm/ ‘to smell’ and /ħabb/ ‘to love’. Derived word-final geminate verbs include the following:

Form Eight

As mentioned earlier that all Form Eight Verbs are word-final geminate. Examples:

bajjad ^h d ^h	‘to become white, to whiten’
zarraqq	‘to become blue, to make sth blue’
şaffarr	‘to become yellow, to make sth yellow’

Form Nine

ʔastaʕadd ‘to get ready’

3.9. The Imperfective Aspect

Either prefixes, or both prefixes and suffixes, serve as the inflectional affixes for IV verbs in the imperfective aspect. Imperfective aspect verbs (simple present) are made of a subject marker added to a stem.

3.9.1. The Imperfective Aspect of Sound Form One Verbs

The verb /*katab*/ ‘to write’ is a paradigmatic sound Form One verb. Generally, its imperfective stem is /-ktb-/. Depending on the context, the imperfective indicates the simple present (e.g. ‘she writes’), the progressive (e.g. ‘she is writing’), and the future (often with the word-initial prefix /ʕa/ as in /ʕatuktub kudwa/ ‘you, she will write tomorrow’). The imperfective conjugations of the verb are shown in the chart below.

Pronoun	Imperfective	Meaning	Affixes
1 st (p.m.f.s.)	ʔaktub	‘I (m.f.s.) write’	/ʔa-/
2 nd (p.m.s.)	tuktub	‘you (m.s.) write’	/tu-/
2 nd (p.f.s.)	tiktubi:	‘you (f.s.) write’	/ti-i:/
2 nd (p.m.f.p.)	tiktubu:	‘you (m.f.p.) write’	/ti-u:/
3 rd (p.m.s.)	jiktub	‘he writes’	/ji-/
3 rd (p.f.s.)	tuktub	‘she writes’	/tu-/
3 rd (p.m.p.)	jiktubu:	‘they (m.p.) write’	/ji-u:/
3 rd (p.f.p.)	jiktubein	‘they (f.p.) write’	/ji-em/
1 st (p.m.f.p.)	niktub	‘we write’	/ni-/

The following comments on the affixes used with the imperfective verb aspect have been observed:

- a) The prefix for the third person masculine is /ji-/, for the second person is /ti-/, for the first person singular is /ʔa/ , and for the first person plural is /ni/.

- b) The prefix for both the third person feminine singular and the second person masculine is /tu/.
- c) The suffix for the second and third person masculine and feminine plural is /u/. It is worth mentioning here that the second person plural form is used for both gender categories, masculine and feminine, in IV.

With regard to stem vowels of sound Form One verbs, the vowel preceding the last radical of a trilateral verb, either in the perfective or the imperfective aspect, is known as the stem vowel. Here are some general comments regarding the formation of imperfective aspect forms:

- 1) Perfective verbs of the type /faʕal/ follow the pattern /jifʕil/ in the imperfective. Moreover, there are phonological and morphological changes, i.e. /a/ becomes /i/ in the context of + imperfective and + trilateral

$$a \longrightarrow i \quad \left(\begin{array}{l} +\text{imperfective} \\ +\text{trilateral} \end{array} \right)$$

Perfective	Imperfective	English Gloss
ḥamal	jihmil	‘to carry’
d ^h arab	jid ^h rib	‘to hit’
ʕaraf	jiʕrif	‘to know’

- 2) Perfective Aspect verbs of the pattern /fiʕil/ follow the pattern /jifʕal/ in the imperfective. Here are some examples. It’s worth mentioning here there are also phonological and morphological changes with the sound /i/ only in penultimate.

$$\text{CaCaC} :: \text{CiCCiC}$$

Form One pattern fiʕil	Imperfective pattern jifʕal	Gloss
simiʕ	jismaʕ	‘to hear, to listen to’
ʕiliṭ	jiləṭ	‘to err’
ʕirib	jifrab	‘to drink’

- 3) Verbs with word-initial glides (or semi-vowels) in the perfective aspect are verbs with either word-initial /w/ or /j/. As has been shown earlier (see Initial Glide Verbs), if a word-initial glide is /w/ in the perfective, the imperfective pattern /ju:ʕal/ is followed whereas verbs with word-initial /j/ in the perfective follow the imperfective pattern /jiʕal/. It is obvious here that there are morphological and phonological changes in which /i/ and /a/ are transformed into long vowel /u:/.

CVCiC :: CVCCaC

Perfective	Imperfective	English Gloss
wiṣil	ju:ṣal	‘to arrive’
waqaf	ju:qaf	‘to stop, stand’

- 4) Hamzated verbs (those with word-initial glottal stop) lose the *hamza*. In the imperfective, they follow the pattern /jaʕul/. In nonconcatenative morphology the vocalism sound changes from one state to another depending on its function as in:

CVCVC :: Cu:CVC

Perfective Hamzated Verbs	Imperfective Hamzated Verbs	Gloss
ʔakal	jukul	‘to eat’
ʔaxaḏ	juxuḏ	‘to take’
ʔamar	jumur	‘to order’

3.9.2.2. The Imperfective Stems of Defective Form One Verbs

Depending on the verb, the imperfective stem of Form One defective verbs is /-fʕa-/ or /-fʕi-/. Depending on the conjugation, the imperfective prefix is /ji-/ or /ti-/ or /ʔa-/ or /ʔ-/. The following table shows the conjugation of the verb /gara/ ‘to run’ whose imperfective stem is /-fʕ-/ or /-gr-/, i.e. corresponding to /-gr-/:

Pronoun	Perfective	Imperfective	Meaning
1 st (p.m.f.s.)	garuk	ʔgri:	‘I (m.f.s.) run’
2 nd (p.m.s.)	garik	tigri:	‘you (m.s.) run’
2 nd (p.f.s.)	gariki:	tigri:	‘you (f.s.) run’
2 nd (p.m.f.p.)	garuku:	tigru:	‘you (m.f.p.) run’
3 rd (p.m.s.)	gari:	jigri:	‘he runs’
3 rd (p.f.s.)	gara	tigri:	‘she runs’
3 rd (p.m.p.)	garu:	jigru:	‘they (m.p.) run’
3 rd (p.f.p.)	garem	jigrem	‘they (f.p.) run’
1 st (p.m.f.p.)	gari:na:	nigri:	‘we run’

Again, the following table shows the conjugation of the verb /dara, jidri/ ‘to know; come to know’, whose imperfective stem is /-fʕi-/:

Pronoun	Perfective	Imperfective	Meaning
1 st (p.m.f.s.)	daruk	ʔadri:	‘I (m.f.s.) know’
2 nd (p.m.s.)	darik	tidri:	‘you (m.s.) know’
2 nd (p.f.s.)	dariki:	tidri:	‘you (f.s.) know’
2 nd (p.m.f.p.)	daruku:	tidru:	‘you (m.f.p.) know’
3 rd (p.m.s.)	dari:	jidri:	‘he knows’
3 rd (p.f.s.)	dara	tidri	‘she knows’
3 rd (p.m.p.)	daru:	jidru:	‘they (m.) know’
3 rd (p.f.p.)	darem	jidrem	‘they (f.) know’

1 st (p.m.f.p.)	darina:	nidri:	‘we know’
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According to the last two charts, it has been noticed that the imperfective of the second person masculine singular, second person feminine and the third person singular /tidri/, and /tigri/ are the same in defective Form Verb One /dara/.

3.9.3. The Imperfective Stem of Word-Final Geminate Form One Verbs

These verbs have the vowel /-u-/ in their stem in the imperfective. They include /laff, jiluff/ ‘to turn, revolve, wrap’; /fall, jifull/ ‘to carry; take away’, /daq, jidubb/ ‘to knock’, /garr, jigurr/ ‘to pull; to drop sb’, /hatt, jihutt/ ‘to put something’, /famm, jifumm/ ‘to smell’. The last is conjugated in the imperfective as shown below:

jifumm	‘he smells’	jifummu:	‘they (m.) smell’
tifumm	‘she smells’	tifummern	‘they (f.) smell’
tifumm	‘you smell’	tifummu:	‘you (m.p.) smell’
?afumm	‘I smell’	nifumm	‘we smell’

3.9.4. The Imperfective of Derived and Quadriliteral Verbs

A) The Imperfective of Sound Derived and Quadriliteral Verbs

Sound verbs of all forms have the stem vowel /-i-/. The imperfective prefixes are /ji-/ , /ti-/ , /ni-/ , and /?a-/. Use of the vowels in the prefixes for the imperfective is required if they precede a consonant cluster, otherwise their use is not usually obligatory. The following list shows verbs the stem vowel /-i-/ in the imperfective:

Types of Forms	Perfective	Gloss	Imperfective
Form Two	ʕarraḥ	‘to acquaint sb with sth/sb’	jiʕarriḥ
	darras	‘to teach’	jidarris
Form Three	wa:ḥaq	‘to agree’	jiwa:ḥiq
Form Four	?aʕlan	‘to announce’	jiʕlin

Form Five	tiʕallam	‘to learn’	jiʕallim
	tixajjar	‘to be changed’	jixajjir
Form Six	tiqa:bal	‘to meet with each other’	jiqa:bil
	tifa:war	‘to consult with sb’	jifa:wir
Form Seven	?iʕtaʕal	‘to operate, to work’	jiftaʕil
	?istamaʕ	‘to listen to something’	jistamiʕ
Form Eight	ʕaffarr	‘to become yellow’	jifaffir
	hamarr	‘to turn red’	jihamirr
Form Nine	?istaʕfar	‘to seek forgiveness’	jistaʕfir
	?istarxaʕ	‘to ask permission’	jistarxiʕ

The stem vowel for sound quadrilateral verbs is /-i/ after the third radical:

Perfective	English Gloss	Imperfective
laxbaʕ	‘to be confused’	jilaxbiʕ
targam	‘to translate’	Jitargim
taʕtaʕ	‘to stammer’	jitaʕtiʕ

The stem vowel for sound derived quadrilaterals is /a/ following the third radical.

Examples:

tlaxbaʕ ‘to be confused’ jitlaxbaʕ ‘he is confused’

B) The Imperfective of Defective Derived Verbs

The stem vowel for all forms is /-i-/, as is seen in the following table:

Types of Forms	Perfective	Gloss	Imperfective
Form Two	ʕalla	‘to pray’	jifalli
	xalla	‘to let sb do sth’	jixalli
Form Three	ʕa:fa	‘to make someone well’	jifafa:fi
Form Four	?ibda	‘to begin’	Jibdi

Form Five	tixadda	‘to have lunch’	jixaddi
Form Six	tila:qa	‘to face someone’	jitla:qi
Form Seven	?ixtaka	‘to complain’	jixtaki
Form Eight	ʕama	‘to be blind’	jiʕtami
Form Nine	staʕla	‘to consider one self superior’	jistaʕli

3.9.5. Hollow Derived Verbs

Derived hollow verbs are found in Forms Seven and Nine only. They include the following:

Form Seven

?arta:h ‘to rest, relax’ jirta:h

?ahta:g ‘to need sth’ jihta:g

Form Nine

The imperfective stem of these is /-stafi:l-/, as can be seen in the following conjugation of the verb /stara:h/ ‘to rest, relax’:

jistari:h	‘he rests’	jistari:hu:	‘they (m.) rest’
tistari:h	‘she rests’	jistari:hein	‘they (f.) rest’
tistari:h	‘you (m.s.) rest’	tistari:hu:	‘you (m.p.) rest’
tistari:hi:	‘you (f.s.) rest’	tistari:hein	‘you (f.p.) rest’
?astari:h	‘I rest’	nistari:h	‘we rest’

The imperfective stems of word-final geminate verb of Forms Seven and Eight verbs are the same as their perfective stems. Beginning with Form Seven, here are some typical examples:

Types of Forms		Gloss
Form Seven	-htamm- -htall-	‘to be concerned about/with’ ‘to occupy’
Form Eight	-ṣaffarr- -zarraqq- -ḥammarr- -ʿwwarr-	‘to turn yellow’ ‘to turn blue’ ‘to turn red’ ‘to hurt someone’

3.9.6. The Imperfective Stem Vowel of Form Nine Word-Final Geminate Verbs

For Form Nine word-final geminate verbs, the imperfective stem vowel is /-i-/, as in /ʔistamarr, jistamirr/ ‘to continue to do something’, /ʔistaradd, jistaridd/ ‘to reclaim, regain’, /ʔistaḥabb, jistaḥibb/ ‘to like’, and /ʔistaḥaqq, jistaḥiqq/ ‘to deserve’. To some extent, it has been noticed that the *hamza* in word-initial hamzated verbs disappears. Sometimes, it is a tendency to ignore *hamza* at word-initial position especially if the following sound is a plosive.

3.10. Imperative ‘Mood’

By definition, this mood is used in giving commands and orders. The imperative is normally formed from the imperfective stems of verbs and is conjugated for gender and number with the same suffixes of its state in the imperfective. The imperative mood is in most cases formed in IV by prefixing /ʔi/ to the verb. Here are some examples of Sound Form One Verbs:

Imperfective	English Gloss	Imperative
jid ^h rib (m.s.)	‘to hit’	ʔid ^h rib (m.s.)
tid ^h rib (f.s.)	‘to hit’	ʔid ^h ribi: (f.s.)
jid ^h ribu: (m.p.)	‘to hit’	ʔid ^h ribu: (m.p.)
tid ^h ribem (f.p.)	‘to hit’	ʔid ^h ribem (f.p.)

Verbs whose past begins with initial /w-/ have the imperative pattern /ʔu:ʕal/ and /ʔu:ʕil/ which resemble the imperfective aspect pattern /ju:ʕal/ and /ju:ʕil/. The examples are in the masculine singular form:

ʔu:ʕidni: ‘Promise me!’ (m. s.)

ʔu:qaf ‘Stand up!; Stop!’ (m.s.)

Word-initial hamzated verbs may retain the *hamza*, but more often lose it, as follows:

Perfective	English Gloss	Imperative	English Gloss
ʔaxað	‘to take’	xuð	‘Take!’ (m.s.)
ʔakal	‘to eat’	kul	‘Eat!’ (m.s.)

CaCaC :: CuC

3.10.1. The Imperative of Hollow Form One Verbs

As shown below, these are similar to their imperfective stems. Moreover, unlike many sound Form One imperative verbs, the anaptyctic prefix /ʔi/ is not prefixed. In fact, the imperative of hollow Form One verbs exists only with the long medial-vowel /u:/.

Examples:

Hollow Form one	Gloss
qu:m	‘Stand up!’ (m.s.)
qu:mu:	‘Stand up!’ (m.p.)
qu:mi:	‘Stand up!’ (f.s.)
qu:mem	‘Stand up!’ (f.p.)

ʔa → ø /

$\left(\begin{array}{l} + \text{ initial} \\ + \text{ long} \end{array} \right)$

3.10.2. The Imperative of Defective Form One Verbs

A. Imperfective Type /jaf^ʕa/

The prefix /ʔi/ is attached to the stem of these verbs, as in the verb /baqi, jibqi/ ‘to remain; stay’, which in the imperative always takes the second meaning.⁸

Defective Form One type jaf ^ʕ a	Gloss
ʔibqa	‘Stay!’ (m.s.)
ʔibqu:	‘Stay!’ (m.p.)
ʔibqi:	‘Stay!’ (f.s.)
ʔibqem	‘Stay!’ (f.p.)

B. Imperative of Imperfective Type /jaf^ʕi/

Defective Form One type jaf ^ʕ i	Gloss
ʔigri:	‘Run!’ (m.f.s.)
ʔigru:	‘Run!’ (m.p.)
ʔigrem	‘Run!’ (f.p.)

It has been noticed that the final vowel in defective verbs is lost once a pronominal suffix is added in the imperative. The sound /a/ or /i/ which is supposed to occupy the final position of the verbs /baqi, baqa/ and /gari, gara/ is replaced by the pronominal suffix in the imperative.

3.10.3. The Imperative Form One Word-Final Geminate Verbs

In word-final geminate Form One verbs, the short vowel in the medial position (normally /a/) is replaced by either /u/ or /i/. Other radicals remain unchanged. The examples below for the verbs /*hatt*/ ‘to put’ and /*qarr*/ ‘to sit/stand still’ illustrate this process. Moreover, unlike sound Form One imperative verbs, the anaptyctic prefix /ʔi/ is not prefixed. Examples:

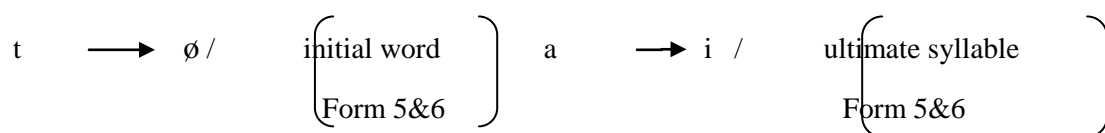
ħatt ‘to put’	qarr ‘to sit/stand still’
ħutt (m.s.)	qirr (m.s.)
ħuttu: (m.p.)	qirru: (m.p.)
ħutti: (f.s.)	qirri: (f.s.)
ħutten (f.p.)	qirrem (f.p.)

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 ?i \rightarrow \emptyset / & \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{initial} \\ \text{word. F. G} \\ -\text{voice} \end{array} \right) & a \rightarrow u \text{ or } i \quad / \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{medial vowel} \\ \text{word. F. G} \\ +\text{voice} \end{array} \right)
 \end{array}$$

3.10.4. Imperative Forms of Derived Verbs

The derived verbs of Forms Two, Three, Seven and Nine, as well as quadrilaterals, are somewhat similar to the imperfective stem of the verb. The prefix /ʔi-/ is attached to the verbal stem for Form Four verbs. Moreover, to constitute Form Five and Form Six the prefix /t-/ is deleted and the short vowel in the ultimate syllable (normally the sound /a/) is transformed into short /i/. Due to semantic constraints, verb Form Eight and derived quadrilaterals are seldom used in the imperative. This is because Form Eight verbs refer to the acquisition of outward characteristics, such as colour or physical defect. Here are some examples, all masculine singular.

Form	Perfective	Imperfective Stem	Imperative
Two	ʔawwar	-ʔawwir	ʔawwir ‘Injure!’
Three	ga:wab	-ga:wib-	ga:wib ‘Answer!’
Four	ʔaʕlan	-ʕlin-	ʔiʕlin ‘Announce!’
Five	tibannad	-tibannad-	bannid ‘Close!’
Six	tiqa:bal	-tiqa:bal-	qa:bal ‘Meet!’
Seven	ʃtaʕal	-ʃtaʕil-	ʃtaʕil ‘Work!’
Nine	straxaʃ	-straxiʃ-	straxiʃ ‘Ask permission!’



3.10.5. Imperative Quadrilaterals

A quadrilateral is a consonantal root containing a sequence of four consonants (instead of three consonants, as is more often the case). A quadrilateral form is a word derived from such a four-consonant root. There is no change in the imperative quadrilateral form.

karbal -karbil- karbil ‘Sieve!’ (s.o.)

3.10.6. The Imperative of Form Nine Hollow Verbs

These are also similar to their imperfective stems. Notice the verb /ʔistara:h/ ‘to take rest’ in the following example.

ʔistari:h (m.s.) ʔistari:hu: (m.p.)
 ʔistari:hi (f.s.) ʔistari:hēm (f.p.)

3.10.7. The Imperative of Form Nine Word-Final Geminate Verbs

In the imperative, these verbs use their imperfective stems with appropriate endings, as in the following examples:

ʔistaʕidd ‘Get ready!’ (m.s.) ʔistariddi: ‘Get (sth) back!’ (f.s.)
 ʔistamirru: ‘Carry on!’ (m.p.) ʔistamirrem ‘Carry on!’ (f.p.)

3.11. Negation

There are generally two main negation particles used in IV, /ma:/ and /muʃ/. Speakers of IV normally indicate negation in the perfective or imperfective by placing /ma:/ before the verb and adding the sound /ʃ/ after the gender suffix. Negation does not affect the status of the verb, i.e. whether in the perfective or imperfective. However, as discussed above, the negative marker /la:/ is used in the imperative instead of /ma:/. Except for the imperative, the negative

marker /ma:/ is normally used for negation and is generally placed right before the verb. The following are some examples of verbal negation in the perfective and imperfective, including the future (indicated by the marker /ʕa/ prefixed to the verb):⁹

Verbal Negated Form	Gloss
ma: fihimʃ	‘he didn’t understand’
ma: jikilatʃ	‘he doesn’t make mistakes’
ma: jifti:ʃ	‘he doesn’t want’
ma: takadduʃ	‘they didn’t have lunch’
ma: ʕa jisa:firʃ kudwa	‘he will not travel tomorrow’
hi:ma ʕa titaʃaliʃ ɗalhin	‘she is not going to call now’

It has been mentioned above that the defective past verb /ka:n/, i.e. ‘was’ or ‘were’, can precede a verb in the perfective form and transform it into perfective though the implication still refers to the perfective mood. In the case of negating a clause starting with /ka:n/, the negation marker /ma:/ precedes /ka:n/ and the /ʃ/ is attached to it immediately after the gender, person and number suffixes, and the following verb remains in the imperfective although the whole action or state points to the past. Examples of that are as follows:

ka:n jilʕab lwaḥdu ‘He was playing alone’.

ma: ka:nʃ jilʕab lwaḥdu ‘He was not playing alone’.

ka:na tilʕab lwaḥdih ‘She was playing alone’.

ma: ka:naʃ tilʕab lwaḥdih ‘She was not playing alone’.

Regarding the use of /muʃ/, McLoughlin (2003: 13) rightly points out that it is used as a negation marker in several Arabic varieties. Like other Arabic varieties which can use this marker before a predicate especially for future reference (e.g. Cairene or Levantine), speakers of IV use it before future predicates as well as nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. The time reference for /muʃ/ is either present or future. Quite probably, it seems that /muʃ/ is the assimilated form of combination containing three elements: the negative marker /ma:/, the

pronoun /hu:/ ‘he’ used in a generic way, and the /f/ associated with negation. That is why when IV speakers emphasise negation, they normally pronounce it as /ma:huf/, as in /ma:huf ra:qid/ ‘He is not asleep’, where in normal speech they would say /hu: muʃ ra:qid/.

‘Equational’ Negation	Gloss
muʃ həla	‘not well; not good’
hi:muʃ musafrih kudwa	‘she is not going to travel tomorrow’
?ana muʃʔaʃrab albi:rih	‘I will not drink beer’
mahumʃ dakatirih	‘they are not doctors’ (p.m.)
mahanʃ dakatirih	‘they are not doctors’ (p.f.)

Notice that in the final two examples, for the sake of emphasis the negation marker /muʃ/ is converted to its original (explained above), incorporating the necessary morphological and phonological changes associated with number, gender and person when a pronoun other than the generic /hu:/ ‘he’ is used.

3.11.1. Negation of the verb

Nonconcatenative morphology is also applied for negation. The vocalic melody changes from one sound to another according to which it is attached to. The negation marker /ma:/ is placed before the perfective and imperfective verb forms alike. While the verb affixes do not change, the verb always ends in /f/ sound if the negation marker /ma:/ is used, which is the other element of the negation process. Particularly with reference to future, it is noticed that both the negative /ma:/ and /muʃ/, can be used, but the use of each can affect the location of the marker /f/. That is, if /ma:/ is used, the /f/ is attached to the predicate. But if /muʃ/ is used, the predicate comes without a /f/ sound at its end. Notice also here that the future marker is always inserted between the negation marker and the predicate. The following three tables contain examples illustrating the process of verb negation in the perfective, the imperfective and the future, respectively.

The following examples illustrate negation of the verb in the perfective:

Negation of Verb (perfective)	Gloss
ma: katabf	‘he didn’t write’
ma: katabaf	‘she didn’t write’
ma: raqadf	‘he didn’t sleep’
ma: raqadaf	‘she didn’t write’
ma: ga?u:f	‘they did not come’ (m.p.)
ma: ga?inf	‘they didn’t come’ (f.p.)

Negation of the verb in the imperfective can be illustrated by the following examples:

Negation of Verb (Imperfective)	Gloss
ma: juktubf	‘he doesn’t write’
ma: tiktubf	‘she doesn’t write’
ma: jurqudf	‘he doesn’t sleep’
ma: tirqudf	‘she doesn’t write’
ma: jugu:f	‘they did not come’ (m.p.)
ma: tigi:f	‘they didn’t come’ (f.p.)

Negation of the verb in the future is as shown below:

Negated Future		Gloss
mufʔa juktubu:	ma: ʔa juktubu:f	‘they will not write’ (m.p.)
mufʔa juktubein	ma: ʔa juktubeinf	‘they will not write’ (f.p.)
mufʔa jurqudu:	ma: ʔa jurqudu:f	‘they will not sleep’ (m.p.)
mufʔa jurqudein	ma: ʔa jurqudeinf	‘they will not sleep’ (f.p.)
mufʔaj gu:?u:	ma: ʔaj gu:?u:f	‘they will not come’ (m.p.)
mufʔaj gi?ein	ma: ʔaj gi?einf	‘they will not come’ (f.p.)

3.11.2. The Negative Imperative

For negation of a command, the negative particle /la:/ precedes the verb and the verb is suffixed with /ʃ/ immediately after the gender suffix is added. The examples below are conjugated in the second person in the imperfective:

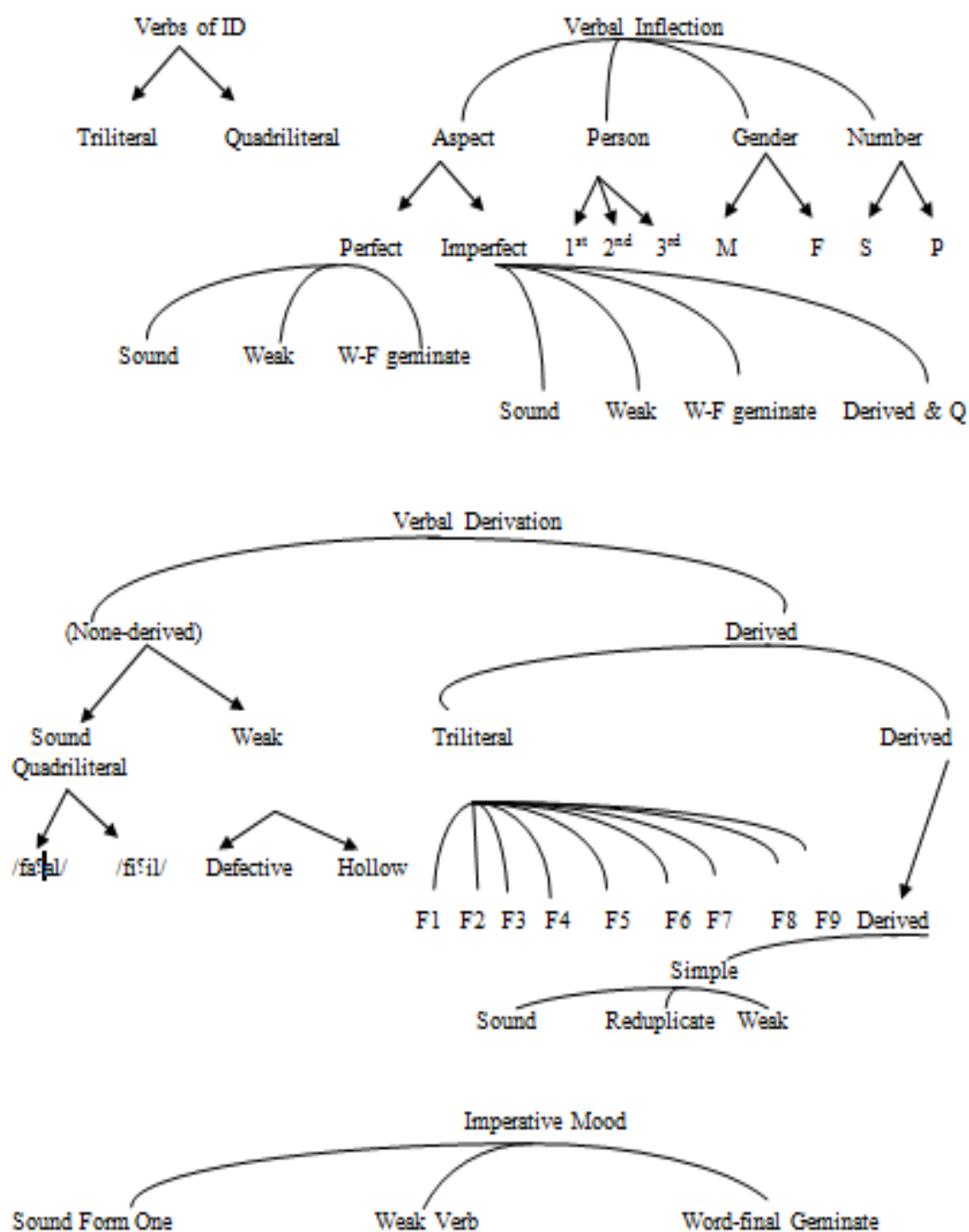
Negated Form	Imperative Mood
la: tigzaʕʃðalhin	‘Don’t go now’ (m.s.)
la: tigiʃ	‘Don’t come!’ (m.s.)
la: tigzaʕi:ʃ	‘Don’t go!’ (f.s.)
la: tigiʔi:ʃ	‘Don’t come!’ (f.s.)
la: tiʃtra:ʃ luba:n	‘Don’t buy chewing gum!’ (m.s.)

3.12. Summary

This chapter has presented a very brief summary of the different kinds of IV verbs. Based on non-concatenative templatic morphology, IV verbs have been classified into biliteral, trilateral and quadrilateral. It has been indicated that IV verbs are inflected for aspect (‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’), person (first, second and third), gender (feminine and masculine), and number (singular and plural). It is worth mentioning here that verbs are not inflected for mood. Moreover, IV verbal inflection in the second and third persons indicates gender. It has been mentioned that inflection for person, number and gender is achieved by adding suffixes to a stem, but the forms in the other set consist of a stem with a prefix. For perfective and imperfective, the verb is inflected for perfective by adding suffix whereas the inflected imperfective either by adding prefix and suffix. Verbal derivations are classified into two types: Non-derived (classified into weak and Form One) and derived (classified into nine forms, unlike MSA which has fifteen forms). Moreover, Quadrilateral verbs are of two types: non-derived and derived. Imperative Mood is used in giving commands and orders and these structures are formed to a great extent by adding /-ʔi/ or /-ʔu/ as a prefix to the verb.

Imperative mood can occur in sound Form One, Weak Verbs and Word-final Geminate Verbs.

Finally, this chapter has outlined the negation in IV, which is to some extent different from MSA. It has been noticed that there are generally two main negation particles used in IV, /ma:/ and /muf/. Speakers of IV normally indicate negation in the perfective or imperfective by placing /ma:/ before the verb and adding the sound /f/ after the gender suffix. Negation does not affect the status of the verb, i.e. whether in the perfective or imperfective. Further, in the case of negating a clause starting with /ka:n/, the negation marker /ma:/ precedes /ka:n/ and the /f/ is attached to it immediately after the gender, person and number suffixes, and the following verb remains in the imperfective although the whole action or state points to the past.



Endnotes

¹“The other type, nonconcatenative morphology has remained rather more mysterious until now” (McCarthy, 1981).

²It is strange that McLoughlin makes such a claim. On what variety of Arabic does she base her argument? In Dubai Variety, there are ten verb forms – see Benjamin T. Hoffiz III, (1995), Ph. D. Dissertation [where is the reference in the bibliography?].

³Gowder, 2005.

⁴The infinitive form of the verb in Arabic is indicated by the use of the past form (the radicals), unlike English, in which the present verb form is used.

⁵ Whereas the verb ‘change’ is ergative in English, the gloss here refers in Form Two to the transitive form while in Form Five it refers to the intransitive form, or the doer-patient (semantically speaking).

⁶For a more detailed discussion on adjectives of colours, see Chapter Five.

⁷ See Chapter Six for pronouns as agents.

⁸This is an interesting point, i.e. certain meanings of some polysemous words do not go with the imperative mood. Further research may reveal interesting findings.

⁹It is to be noted that what has been mentioned constitutes the general system of rules for negation in IV. However, since every rule has exceptions, there are indeed some exceptions in IV regarding negations. For example, in the conversational /midri/ ‘I don’t know’, which most probably comes from /ma ʔadri/, it seems that the short vowel of /ma/ along with the *hamza* and the /a/ sound of the verb have been all assimilated into the sound /i/.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS IN IBB VARIETY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to present an analysis of nouns in Ibb Variety (IV) and highlights points of convergence and divergence with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). A majority of the IV nouns are derived from verbs, but some are adjectival and based on other nouns. As the case with IV verbs, most nouns are based on trilateral roots.

Like the case in MSA, nouns in IV inflect for gender and number. IV has two gender forms, masculine and feminine, like MSA and the other varieties of Arabic language. Regarding the feminine in particular, feminine nouns in IV end either in /-a/ or /-ih/. Nouns ending in /-a/ are distinguished into six types as discussed further below.

The investigation of IV nouns with reference to number attempts to highlight similarities and differences with MSA. MSA recognises three number categories, i.e. singular, dual and plural. IV does the same but it can be observed that speakers of IV tend to use the dual category less than it is used in MSA and there is a general tendency to deal with the dual category much the same as plural – this is explained further in this chapter. Regarding the dual form, IV generally has four types. Moreover, in harmony with MSA, IV has two main types of nominal and adjectival plurals, i.e. Sound Plurals and Broken Plurals. Sound Plurals are those nouns which are inflected in a regular way while Broken Plurals are ‘inflected’ in an irregular way. Both Sound Plurals and Broken Plurals show distinction on the basis of gender. But

while in Sound Plurals it is easy to predict the inflectional manner, i.e. by adding /-i:n/ for the masculine and /-a:t/ for the feminine, it is not the case with Broken Plurals – this is discussed in some detail below. As for Broken Plurals, Wright (1978) lists forty four broken plural patterns which are in common use in MSA. This chapter shows that the types of Broken Plurals in IV are less than MSA Broken Plurals.

In addition to the above, the chapter also sheds light on the concept of (in) definiteness by investigating its mechanisms in IV alongside MSA.

As in MSA, most IV nouns embed the action associated with the verbs from which they stem. For example, /*katab; jaktub*/ ‘to write’ is the stem and root of /*kita:ba*/ ‘act of writing’, /*kita:b*/ “book”, /*ka:tib*/ “writer”, /*maktab*/ “office, desk”, /*maktabah*/ “library”, and /*maktu:b*/ “letter, something written”. Regarding Verbal Nouns, there are two types of Derived Verbs, Triliteral Verbal Nouns (eleven types) and Quadriliteral Verbal Nouns (nine types) each pattern has its own paradigm.

Other nouns that exist in IV include nouns of Instance, Unit nouns and Collective nouns, Occupational nouns, nouns of Instrument, nouns of Location and Diminutive nouns.

4.2. Noun Formation

As in MSA, most Arabic varieties(among IV) nouns are distinguished for gender and number.

4.2.1. Nominal Gender

In IV, as in MSA in general, nouns are marked for either masculine or feminine gender. Nouns in Arabic are considered either masculine and feminine (Socin 1922). Nouns, including personal names, referring to boys and men are masculine whereas those nouns or names that refer to girls or women are feminine. Animate as well as inanimate are also classified with reference to gender into

masculine and feminine. Similarly, abstract nouns are also marked for gender although in some cases it is difficult to see the logic behind the distinction.

Generally, the masculine noun form is the default in IV, as in MSA. Feminine nouns are in most cases formed by adding inflectional suffixes. In IV, the regular case of forming feminine nouns is by suffixing the feminine marker /-a/ and/or /-ih/ to the masculine form. Below is a discussion of the process of forming nouns in IV in some detail.

A. Feminine nouns deriving from, or directly corresponding to masculine nouns by the attachment of /-a/ or /ih/ are very common. The following examples illustrate

this point:	mumariḍih	‘nurse’
	?amirih	‘princess’
	ustaḏa	‘female teacher’
	wa:lidiḥ	‘mother’

B. In IV, there are feminine nouns without the corresponding masculine forms.

While in MSA feminine noun forms are formed by adding *ta:? marbu:ta* (pronounced as /t/) to the masculine form, IV does the same but uses the ending /-a/ or /-ih/ instead. Like MSA also, there are feminine nouns ending in /-a/ or /-ih/ without the corresponding masculine forms in IV.¹ Most of these words end in what is known as the *ta:? marbu:ta* in Arabic linguistics. In IV, this is realized as a short /a/ or /ih/ in unconnected form, i.e. when no suffix can be attached.² Here are some examples:

Feminine nouns ending in -a or -ih	Gloss
ga:miʕih	‘university’
qa:filih	‘caravan’
qahwa	‘coffee’

saija:ra	‘car’
ṣala	‘prayer’
madrasa	‘school’

However, it is to be noted that in IV when a feminine noun ending in /-a/ or /-ih/ is followed by another noun in a noun phrase where the feminine noun is the head word, the suffix /-a/ or /-ih/ is converted back into a *ta:ʔ marbu:ʔa*, as in MSA; e.g. /*sajjaratal-mudi:r*/ “the manager’s car”. This case of IV has a connection with MSA, for in MSA it is possible to pronounce the *ta:ʔ marbu:ʔa* at the end of a noun as /h/ instead of /t/ if the noun occurs at the end and is not followed by any other word, but otherwise it is obligatory and pronounced as /t/.

Generally, feminine loanwords fall into this category, such as:

la:mba	‘lamp’	(English)
ṣa:lu:na	‘mixture of vegetables with meat’	(Hindi-Urdu)
birdaja	‘curtain’	(Persian)

C. There are masculine nouns that end in /-a/, i.e. those whose third radical is weak.

The following glosses illustrate the point:

mustaffa	‘hospital’
ḵada	‘lunch’
ʔaʃa	‘dinner/supper’
hawa	‘air’
ʃita	‘winter’

It is to be noted here that in MSA, there are masculine as well as feminine nouns that end in a long vowel /a:/ (known in Arabic linguistics as *al-ʔismu al-maqsu:r* “the restricted noun”) or in the glottal stop *hamza* (known as *al-ʔiasmu al-*

manqu:s “detractive noun”). In IV, the final long vowel /a:/ as well as the glottal stop are transformed into a short vowel /a/.

A few masculine nouns ending in /-a/ or /-ih/ exhibit the normally feminine suffix /-a/ or /-ih/ but are still masculine. These nouns are used for functions or positions without an exact feminine counterpart. Examples:

xali:fiḥ	‘caliph’
ʔallama	‘learned (religious) scholar’

D. Likewise, there are certain feminine nouns for which an exact masculine counterpart does not obtain and which do not end in the /-a/ or /-ih/ suffix, as in:

ḥamil	‘a pregnant woman’
waḥim	‘a woman having pregnancy craving’

E. Nouns of “instance”, which are discussed further later in this chapter, also have the suffix /-a/ (attached in this case to the appropriate verbal noun), as in the following:

ʔakla	‘a meal’
galsa	‘a gathering, a come-together’
gazʔa	‘walking’
raqda	‘sleeping’

With reference to nouns, generally speaking, masculinity is considered the default in the morphology of IV, as well as MSA. This claim is based on the idea that in order for the formation of most feminine nouns to take place, the masculine form is the stem. However, such a generalisation is not without its exceptions and peculiar cases. The discussion of feminine nouns require more details here because of the

many challenges they pose in their formation and the varieties of feminine nouns play in IV as well as MSA.

It has been pointed out above that while all feminine nouns do not necessarily refer to feminine entities, they may as well refer to masculine entities, especially inanimate such as *murabbaʕ* ‘square’ and *murabbaʕa:t* ‘squares’ – both refer to masculine entities although the plural is formed by using the feminine plural suffix *-a:t*. This is referred to earlier as the feminine grammatical function (Holes 2004). In addition to this category of feminine nouns, the nouns below are inherently feminine, as opposed to inanimate objects and abstract nouns that are either grammatically feminine, or necessarily feminine due to lack of masculine counterparts such as */madrasa/* ‘school’, */ga:mʕih/* ‘university’, */umma/* ‘nation’, */fikrih/* ‘idea’.

The discussion below offers more details on the formation of feminine nouns in general from a morphological perspective.

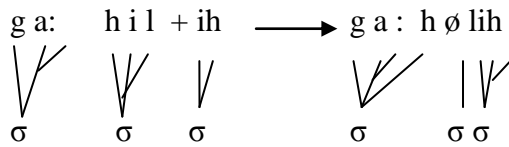
A. Feminine nouns formed by the simple attachment of */-a/* or */-ih/* to their masculine counterparts.

Masculine Noun	Gloss	Feminine Counterpart	Gloss
ʕamm	‘paternal uncle’	ʕamma	‘paternal aunt’
xa:l	‘maternal uncle’	xa:la	‘maternal aunt’
ʃeɪx	‘sheikh’ (m.)	ʃeɪxih	‘sheikh’ (f.)
ʃadi:q	‘friend’ (m.)	ʃadi:qih	‘friend’ (f.)

B. Feminine Nouns requiring dropping of the vowel */i/* before the feminine suffix *-ih*.

Masculine N.	Gloss	Feminine N.	Gloss
ga:hil	‘child; boy’	ga:hlih	‘child; girl’
xa:dim	‘servant; black gypsy’	xa:dmih	‘servant; black gypsy’ (f.)

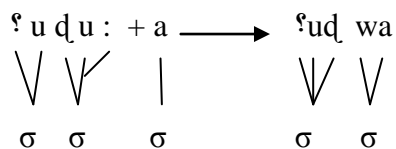
ṭa:lib	‘student’	ṭa:lbih	‘student’ (f.)
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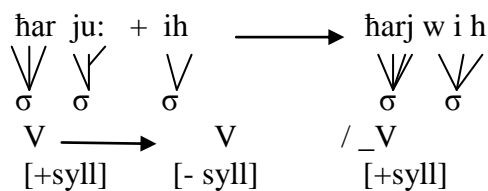
A syllable of the stem is deleted when the feminine suffix is added and syllabified

C. Masculine word-final syllable /-u:/ becomes /-w/ upon the attachment of feminine marker.

Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
ʕuḍu:	‘member’	ʕuḍwa	‘member’ (f.)
ḥarju:	‘bridegroom’	ḥarjwih	‘bride’

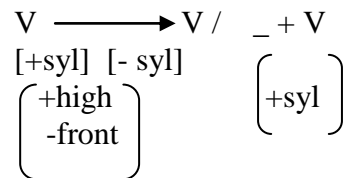
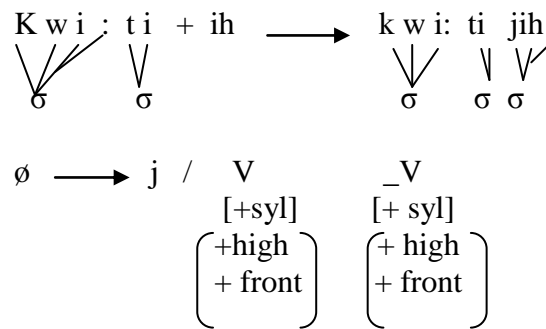


A long final vowel loses its syllabic feature before another feminine suffix with a bare syllable



C. *na:ṣba* (relative, attributive) nouns and other nouns with word-final /-i/ in the masculine singular are considered nouns as well as adjectives, as in /kwi:ti/ ‘Kuwaiti’ (m.s.), which even in English can be both a noun and adjective, depending on its function in the context. These nouns end with the vowel sound /-i/ in the masculine singular, and with /-ija/ in the feminine singular.

Masculine Noun	Gloss	Feminine Counterparts	Gloss
kwi:ti	‘Kuwaiti’	kwi:tijih	‘Kuwaiti’ (f.)
?ibbi	‘Ibbi’	?ibbijih	‘Ibbi’ (f.)
badwi	‘bedouin’	badwijih	‘bedouin’ (f.)



4.2.2. Nominal Number

Like MSA, IV countable nouns distinguished for three categories of number, i.e. singular, dual and plural. The d of nouns generally take into consideration the processes of number and gender at the same time. But while in MSA the dual number category occupies a similar position on par with the singular and the plural, there is a tendency in IV to use the quantifiers *?ienem* (masculine) or *ointem* (feminine) before a plural noun to indicate duality – see Chapter Four.

The discussion below will shed light on the declension of nouns in general. It is, however, important to point out here that as far as number category is concerned, the singular number is the default in IV, i.e. the other number categories (dual and plural) are formed by adding the relevant affixes to or modifying the lexemes

formally identical to singular. For the sake of avoiding redundancy, the singular number category will not be discussed in a separate category here but more details can be found in the discussion of noun derivation below.

4.3. The Dual Form

In MSA, the dual noun form is normally formed by adding to the base form of the noun form, whether masculine or feminine, the suffix /-a:n/ in the nominative case or /-i:n/ in the accusative and genitive cases. In IV the dual form is used in which case the inflection takes place by adding the suffix /-i:n/ to the singular noun form irrespective of gender or grammatical case. In addition, in IV, just like MSA, “[O]ne feature of the dual suffix is that it shows no distinction between definite and indefinite” (Ryding 2005: 130).

Alternatively, instead of forming the dual noun by adding the suffix /-i:n/ to the base, there is a tendency in IV to form the dual noun by placing the word /ʔiənem/ ‘two’ (for masculine) or /əintem/ ‘two’ (for feminine) before a plural noun form. Both ways are used alternatively without any change of meaning, but where emphasis on number is required, the latter case is preferred.

Dual Form	English Gloss
ʔiənem mudarisi:n	‘two teachers’ (m.pl.)
alʔiənem almudarisi:n	‘the two teachers’ (m.pl.)
maʕ alʔiənem almudarisi:n	‘with the two teachers’ (m.pl.)
əintem mudarisa:t	‘two teachers’ (f.pl.)
ʔaəəintem almudarisa:t	‘the two teachers’ (f.pl.)
maʕ aəəintem almudarisa:t	‘with the two teachers’ (f.pl.)

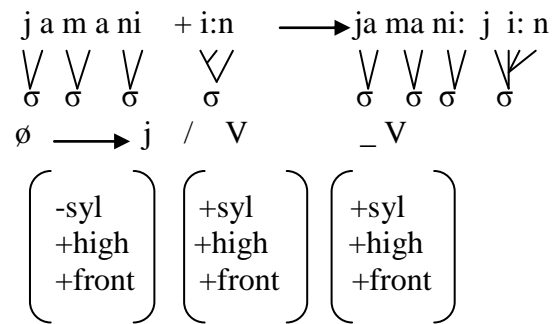
Masculine nouns with the dual /-i:n/:

Singular	Gloss	Dual Form	Gloss
qalam	‘pen’	qalami:n	‘two pens’

bab	‘door’	babi:n	‘two doors’
qalaş	‘cup’	qalaşi:n	‘two cups’

There are masculine nouns which end in /i/ sound, most of which are classified under *na:şba* [Relativity] nouns category. To make the dual form here, the suffix /-i:n/ is added to the singular masculine form. The examples below illustrate this point:

Singular	English Gloss	Dual Form
jamani	jamaniji:n	‘two Yemeni citizens’
?ibbi	?ibbiji:n	‘two persons from Ibb’
?amriki	?amrikiji:n	‘two American citizens’



Whereas the masculine dual form is obtained by adding the suffix /-i:n/ to the singular noun form, the dual suffix /-ti:n/ is used instead with regard to dual feminine nouns. But in this case, a few phonological and morphological changes take place. As already mentioned earlier, the singular form of these nouns ends in the short /a/ or /ih/ (or *ta:? marbuʔa:* in specific cases mentioned above). The examples below illustrate the point.

Singular	Gloss	Fem. Plural	Dual	Gloss
?ami:rih	‘princess’	?ami:ra:t	?ami:rati:n	‘two princesses’
?ustaḍa	‘female teacher’	?ustaḍa:t	?ustaḍati:n	‘two teachers’
sa:ʕa	‘watch; hour’	sa:ʕa:t	sa:ʕati:n	‘two watches; hours’

4.4. Pluralization

Sound (regular, predictable) masculine are formed by adding the suffix /-i:n/, with appropriate stem changes to human nouns (or adjectives, including participles). Notice that nouns referring to jobs normally done by males tend to fall in this group. In harmony with Modern Standard Arabic, IV also has two main types of nominal (and adjectival) plurals, Sound Plural and Broken Plural. Sound Plurals are further subdivided into:

Aquaviva (2008) indicated that most Arabic nouns and many adjectives form a plural that is called sound plural (*gamʕ saalim*), and it consists of adding a plural marker to the singular stem, which normally remains unchanged or ‘sound’; for example, *taʕriif* ‘definition’ *taʕriifaat* ‘definitions’.

- 1) Sound masculine: What is meant by sound plural is that type of plural which is derived in a regular way. It is akin to be regular English plurals. What is meant by this is the fact that IV sound plurals are derived by means of suffixation processes. In MSA, sound plural nouns are formed by suffixing the singular noun form with /-u:n/ in the nominative case and /-i:n/ in the accusative and genitive. In IV, however, only the latter suffix is used in all grammatical cases.
- 2) Sound feminine: The sound feminine plural is formed by adding /-at/ at the end of a singular noun in lieu of the feminine singular ending marker /-ih/ or /-a:/. In a sense, this appears to be exactly similar to the pluralisation of feminine nouns in MSA, i.e. by adding /-at/ to the singular and removing the feminine suffix marker /t/ (*ta:ʔ marbuʔa:ʔ*) if attached to the singular noun. But there is a difference between MSA and IV in this regard. In MSA, the phonological representation of the

feminine plural suffix is either /-a:tu/ in the nominative case or /-a:ti/ in the accusative and genitive case. By contrast, whatever the grammatical case may be, the phonological representation of the regular feminine plural suffix in IV is always /-a:t/.

As far as MSA is concerned, it has been pointed out by scholars that the use of the plural feminine suffix is extended to some masculine nouns; however, even with such formations it becomes hard in certain cases to judge with certainty whether a masculine singular noun has become feminine in the plural or has retained its ‘masculinity’ (Moulana, Abuleil, Alsamra, Evens, Shaykh V Abdur-Raheem). This case normally occurs to specific nouns, e.g. *muθallaθ/muθallaθa:t* ‘triangle(s)’, *gawa:z/gawa:za:t* ‘passport(s)’. Regarding this case, Holes (2004) maintains that the suffix /-a:t/ can be involved in deriving sound plural feminine nominals which he refers to as “grammatically feminine” or “grammatically masculine” in the singular form. In this connection, IV seems to have retained this feature, but the range of nouns that are affected by this process may differ from that of MSA. That is, some nouns in IV are affected by this rule although in MSA they are not, and vice versa.

The sense of regularity cannot be found to help in terms of predictability in the formation of Broken Plurals in which, as the name suggests, “broken” means that the derivation of such nominals ‘breaks’ the conventions which are followed to form plural nominals. However, again the ‘breaking’ varies from one pattern to another. This ‘breaking’ involves the shape of the singular noun through various morphological processes such as long vowel insertion, consonant gemination, semivowel insertion and the affixation of some consonants additional to those of the roots (Holes 2004). Recognising each individual case depends on knowledge of the language and its vocabulary rather than on its system of pluralisation *per se*. This

process richly involves nonconcatenative morphology discussed so far. In Holes' own words: "... lies at the heart of Arabic morphology ... the superimposition of templatic consonant-vowel patterns onto triradical roots" (ibid.: 168).

What Holes means by saying so is the fact that it is not clear how a particular noun forms its plural form. Even some nouns may have both sound as well as broken plurals at the same time as will be seen below. Not only that but also a noun in IV may have more than one broken plural nominal. For instance, /bert/ is an IV (as well as MSA) polysemic noun: when it means "house or shelter", its plural nominal is /biju:t/, thus of the pattern /fju:l/. However, when it means 'verse of poetry', its plural will be /ʔabja:t/, hence, corresponding to the pattern /afja:l/. Thus, in contrast to MSA which has forty four broken plural patterns (Wright 1874/1996), it has been noticed that IV has only twenty four broken plural patterns.

A relevant point here is the relationship between nouns and adjectives – discussed in some details later in Chapter Five. Adjectives are generally inflected for gender and number in harmony with the nouns they describe. Therefore, whenever a noun is inflected for number or gender, all the adjectives (including the participles) describing it are affected by the same processes.

4.4.1. Sound Masculine Plurals

Sound (regular, predictable) masculine plurals are formed by adding the suffix /-i:n/, with appropriate stem changes, to human nouns (or adjectives, including participles). Notice that nouns referring to jobs normally done by males tend to fall in this group. Examples:

Singular Sound	Gloss	Plural Sound	Gloss
gazza:r	'butcher' (m.)	gazza:ri:n	'butchers' (m.)
halla:q	'barber' (m.)	halla:qi:n	'barbers' (m.)

sawwa:q	‘driver’ (m.)	sawwa:qi:n	‘drivers’ (m.)
rassa:m	draftsman (m.)	rassa:mi:n	‘draftsman’ (m.)
mumarriḍ	‘nurse’ (m.)	mumarriḍi:n	‘nurses’ (m.)

4.4.2. Sound Feminine Plurals

Sound feminine plurals are formed by adding /-at/, with appropriate stem changes, to feminine nouns and adjectives, including *na:ṣba* adjectives and participles. This is shown in the following table:

Singular Sound	Gloss	Plural Sound	Gloss
ṭa:libih	‘student’	ṭa:liba:t	‘students’ (f.)
mudi:rih	‘principal’ (f.)	mudi:ra:t	‘principal’ (f.)
ṭaba:xa	‘cook’ (f.)	ṭaba:xa:t	‘cooks’ (f.)
?usta:ḍa	‘teacher’ (f.)	?ustaḍa:t	‘Egyptians’ (f.)
mumarriḍih	‘nurse’ (f.)	mumarriḍa:t	‘nurses’ (f.)

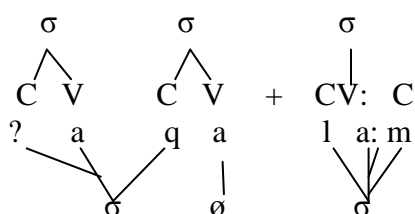
mudi:rih CVCV:C(ih) :: CVC:CV:C

ṭ a b a : x a CVCV:C(a) :: CVCV:CV:C

Most inanimate masculine nouns use the sound feminine plural suffix /-a:t/ for their pluralisation form; else, they tend to take a ‘broken’ form.

Examples:

Masculine Nouns	Gloss	Feminine Plural
maṭa:r	‘airport’	maṭa:ra:t
gawa:z	‘passport’	gawa:za:t
qalaṣ	‘cup’	qalaṣa:t
ṭalab	‘request; application’	ṭalaba:t



Other inanimate masculine nouns with word-final /-a/ or /-ih/ also take the sound feminine plural suffix. In situations like this, either the glide /j/ or /w/ precedes the suffix /-a:t/, according to the underlying radical. Among such words are the following:

mustaffa ‘hospital’ mustafja:t

4.4.3. Broken Plurals

These are formed by changes and additions to the vowel and consonant patterns of words. If the singular stem is hollow, i.e. if its second radical is underlying a glide (/w/ or /j/), then most of the glides will be made manifest in the broken plural nouns. This may be true even if the singular form of the word does not show the glide, as in /qawl/ ‘act of saying’, which has the broken plural /ʔaqwa:l/.

Many patterns of broken plurals exist in IV. Most are for non-human things and objects, but there are broken plurals for humans as well. Most, but not all of the human broken plurals, are masculine.

Examples:

Singular Nouns	Gloss	Broken Plural
qalam (m.)	‘pen’	?aqla:m
daftar (m.)	‘notebook’	dafa:tir
ʃamṭa (f.)	‘bag’	ʃima:t
ṭabiʕih (f.)	‘printer’	ṭawa:biʕ

The Predictability of Broken Plural Patterns for Nouns (and Adjectives)

The patterns of broken plurals are somewhat, but not completely, predictable on the basis of the pattern of the singular word. Native speakers of a language (hence, a variety) internalize the patterns and rules of plural formations at a young age (Chomsky 1986). Initially, when learning the plural, most children probably attempt to form plurals by following the regular system, i.e. suffixing /-i:n/, -ji:n/ and /-at/ to all masculine and feminine nouns, respectively. Later, after having gradually learned the broken plural patterns, they are able to reproduce the correct broken plural forms when new words are encountered by analogy. To argue, it is worth mentioning here that IV has only twenty four types of broken plurals, unlike MSA. In fact, some words that take the broken plural can also be made plural by attaching /-(j)i:n/ or /-at/ as an option, but sometimes there is a difference in meaning. Here are some examples of broken words:

i. The Broken Plural Pattern /fʕu:l/

This pattern is for humans and inanimate objects. Common singular patterns for words that take this plural form is /feil/. It is noticed that the plural form of both is /fʕu:l/. Nouns whose plural forms follow this pattern are generally monosyllabic with a diphthong as their nucleus. Examples:

	ei		u:
lexeme	Singular	English Gloss	Plural
bt	beit	'house/verse line'	bju:t/?abja:t
ʃx	ʃeix	'elder'	ʃju:x/maʃa:ʔx

ii. The Broken Plural Pattern /fiʕa:l/

It has been indicated that adjectives follow the nouns they refer to in terms of inflection for gender and number. In fact, adjectives in Arabic in general can take the

role of a noun especially as subject complements in nominal sentences (where there is no verb). In this connection, it appears relevant to include adjectives in this context. Here, many adjectives of the pattern /faʕi:l/ have this pattern form. There are phonological and morphological changes once such singular adjectives inflect for plural. The front low unrounded vowel /a/ becomes front high unrounded vowel /i/ and the final syllable includes a long vowel. Most of these words are used for measurement. Examples:

	a-i:		i-a:
lexeme	Singular	English Gloss	Plural
qsr	qaʕi:r	‘short’	qiʕa:r
kbr	kabi:r	‘big; old’	kiba:r
ʕsr	ʕaʕi:r	‘small; young’	ʕiʕa:r
ʔwl	ʔawi:l	‘long; tall’	ʔiwa:l

iii. The Broken Plural Pattern /ʔafʕa:l/

Nouns under this plural pattern have the singular patterns /faʕ/, /fa:l/ or /faʕal/.

It is observed that most, but not all, masculine relation terms fall in this patterns.

However, this pattern also includes terms which do not express relation. Examples:

lexeme	a		ʔa-a:
gd	gad	‘grandfather’	ʔagda:d
xl	xa:l	‘maternal uncle’	ʔaxwa:l
wld	walad	‘boy’	ʔawla:d
ʕm	ʕam	‘paternal uncle’	ʔaʕma:m
rqm	raqam	‘number’	ʔarqa:m

xa:l CV(:)C(VC) :: CVCCV:C

iv. The Broken Plural Pattern /fawa:ʕil/ and its Variant /fawa:ʕi:l/

Most words that use this plural pattern are feminine nouns, often inanimate, with the pattern /fa:ʕilih/ in the singular. It is noticed that the singular form is

composed of a few bisyllabic nouns with a long vowel after the consonant in the first syllable followed by syllables with short vowel sounds. Examples:

lexeme	a:-i		a-a:-i
	Singular	English Gloss	Plural
qfl	qa:filih (f.)	‘caravan’	qawa:fil
xṭr	xa:ṭirih (f.)	‘short speech in mosque’	xawa:ṭir
fṣl	fa:ṣilih (f.)	‘comma/separator’	fawa:ṣil

qa:filih CV:CVCVC :: CVCV:CVC

v. The Broken Plural Pattern /fuʕa:l/

As the following illustrates, these are usually inflected from singular nouns that fall under the pattern /fa:ʕil/, all of which are masculine. The phonological and morphological changes that take place include a) change of the long vowel of the initial syllable into a short rounded vowel, b) gemmination, and c) the ultimate syllable includes a long vowel. Some examples are listed below.

lexeme	Singular	English Gloss	Plural
kfr	ka:fir	‘infidel; heathen’	kuffa:r
ḥa:g	ḥa:g	‘pilgrim’	ḥugga:g
skn	sa:kin	‘inhabitant’	sukka:n

CV:CaC :: CuCCa:C

vi. The Broken Plural Pattern /fuʕa/

This pattern is used for certain nouns and participial adjectives with defective word-final radicals (glides or vowels). In the singular, these nouns are of the /fa:ʕi/ pattern. Unlike the examples shown immediately above, no gemmination of the second radical /ʕ/ occurs in plural formation.

	a:-i		u_a
lexeme	Singular	English Gloss	Plural
qɒ	qa:ɒi	‘judge’ (m.)	quɒa
ħf	ħa:fi	‘barefooted’ (m.s.)	ħufa

vii. The Broken Plural Pattern /mafa:ʕi:l/

Most nouns and adjectives that use this broken plural pattern are of the patterns /miʕa:l/, as in the following:

lexeme	i-a:,u:		a-a:-i:
mftħ	mifta:ħ	‘key’	mafa:ti:ħ
msmr	misma:r	‘nail, tack’	masa:mi:r
mwɒʕ	mawɒu:ʕ	‘subject/topic’	mawa:ɒi:ʕ

mifta:ħ CVCCV:C :: CaCa:Ca:C

viii. The Broken Plural Pattern /faʕa:jil/ ³

Most nouns that use this pattern are feminine nouns of the singular patterns /fiʕa:la/.

lexeme	i-a:-a, a-u:, a-i:-i	English Gloss	a-a:-ji
ʃħd	ʃħa:da	‘certificate’	ʃaha:jid
ʕrs	ʕaru:s	‘bride’	ʕara:jis
qblħ	qabi:lih	‘tribe; family’	qaba:jil

CVC(u:)V:CCV (C) :: CaCV:jVC

ix. The Broken Plural Pattern /fiʕal/ and its Variant /fuʕal/

This broken plural pattern is manifest in nouns with patterns /fi:la/ and /fuʕla/.

The variant /fuʕal/ is used if the noun contains short vowel /u/ in the singular.

lexeme	u-a-a, i-a,i:-a,ʔu-a	English Gloss	u-a;i-a,ʔu
ʃgr	ʃugara	‘tree’	ʃugar

ḥqq	ḥiqqa	‘flat’	ḥiqaq
fz	fi:za	‘visa’	fijaz
bqf	buqfa	‘bundle’	buqaf
?mm	?umma	‘nation’	?umam
brm	burma	‘bowel’	buram

x. The Broken Plural Pattern /faʕa:lil/

As can be seen from examination of the examples cited, most of the nouns under this pattern in the plural have quadriliteral roots:

lexeme	a-a,u-u	English Gloss	a-a:-i
dfr	daftar	‘notebook’	dafa:tir
fndq	funduq	‘hotel’	fana:diq
kwkb	kawkab	‘star’	kawa:kib

CV(u) CCVC :: CVCVVCVC

In /daftar/ ‘notebook’ the short vowel /a/ in second syllable of the singular broken becomes long vowels in plural broken as in /dafa:tir/. Further, it can be found that the short vowel /i/ in plural broken in this type turned to whether /a/ or /u/. Finally, the long vowel /a:/ of the plural broken /faʕa:lil/ is deleted in second syllable of the singular form.

xi. The Broken Plural Pattern /mafa:ʕil/

This pattern is used for singular nouns of location with the patterns /mafʕal/ and /mafʕil/ for masculine and /mafʕala/ or /mafʕilih/ for feminine.

lexeme	a-a-,a-i-	English Gloss	a-a:-i
mqbr	maqbara (f.)	‘cemetery’	maqa:bir
mantqh	mantqih (f.)	‘region; district’	mana:tiq

mʃnʕ	maʃnaʕ (m.)	‘factory’	maʃa:niʕ
mgls	maglis (m.)	‘living room’	maga:lis

CVCCVC(V)(VC) :: CVCV:CVC

xii. The Broken Plural Pattern /fiʕla:n/ and its Variant /fiʕa:n/

Words of many different singular patterns follow this plural pattern, including the following:

lexeme	a:,a-i:		i-a:
gr	ga:r	‘neighbour’	gira:n
ʃmz	ʃami:z	‘shirt’	ʃimza:n

CV:C :: CiC(C)V:C

xiii. The Broken Plural Pattern /fuʕl/

Most colour adjectives, which have the singular patterns /ʔafʕal/ and /faʕal/ use this broken plural pattern. Examples:

	a-a		u
lexeme		English Gloss	Plural
ʔʃfr	ʔaʃfar	‘yellow’	ʃufr
ʔzrq	ʔazraq	‘blue’	zurq
ʔhmr	ʔahmar	‘red’	humr
ʔxdʀ	ʔaxdʀ	‘green’	xudʀ

a-a ↔ u-

xiv. The Broken Plural Pattern /faʕi:l/

Nouns of several singular patterns use this broken plural pattern as well. For example:

lexeme	i-a:,a-a		a-i:
ħmr	ħima:r	‘donkey; stupid’	ħami:r
nɣla	naxla	‘palm tree’	naxi:l

xv. The Broken Plural Pattern /ʔafa:ʕil/ or /ʔafa:ʕi/

A variety of nouns fall under this pattern.

lexeme	a-a:,a-a-i,i		a-a:-i
mkn	maka:n	‘place; room’	ʔama:kin
ʔgnb	ʔagnabi	‘foreigner’	ʔaga:nib
ʔsm	ʔism	‘name’	ʔasa:mi

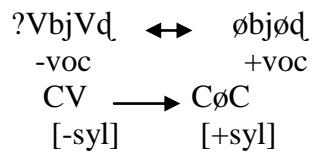
CVC(C)(V:)C(V) :: CVCV:CV(C)

xvi. The Broken Plural Pattern /fi:l/ and its variant /fu:l/

This pattern is rare, yet the following example shows that there are nouns/adjectives that fall under it.

lexeme	ʔa-a	English Gloss	i:; u:
ʔbjɖ	ʔabjaɖ	‘white’	bi:ɖ
ʔʕwr	ʔaʕwar	‘one-eyed man’	ʕu:r

This is an example where singular does not seem to be root for the derivation of plural, since plural is the reduced form hence the direction of derivation is questioned.



xvii. The Broken Plural Pattern /ʔfʕul/

lexeme	a	English Gloss	ʔa-u
ʃhr	ʃahr	‘month’	ʔaʃhur
nhr	nahr	‘river’	ʔanhur

CVCC :: CVCCuC

xviii. The Broken Plural Pattern /ʔafʕilaʔ/

This pattern is used for nouns and adjectives with the singular pattern /faʕi/, and nouns with the singular pattern /fiʕa:l/. Examples:

lexeme	a-i	English Gloss	a-i-a
ʔn	ʔani	‘rich, wealthy’	ʔaʔnijaʔ
qʷ	qawi	‘sound’	ʔaqwijaʔ
nb	nabi	‘prophet’	ʔanbijaʔ

CVCV :: CVCCVjaC

xix. The Broken Plural Pattern /ʔafʕilih/

lexeme	u-ʔa:,a-a:,i-i:		ʔa-i-i
sʔl	suʔa:l (m.)	‘question’	ʔasʔilih
gwb	gawa:b (m.)	‘answer’	ʔagwibih
nqm	niqa:m (m.)	‘system, regime’	ʔanqimih

CVCV:C :: CVCCVCVC

Many of the broken plural patterns in the following two subsections have quadrilateral roots.

xx. The Broken Plural Pattern /faʕa:li:l/

A. Certain nouns that use this pattern for the plural are of the singular pattern /fiʕla:l/, such as:

lexeme	i-a:	English Gloss	a-a:-i:
srwl	sirwa:l	‘pants’	sara:wi:l
ʕnwn	ʕinwa:n	‘address, title’	ʕana:wi:n

B) Other nouns taking this form have the pattern /faʕlu:l/ in the singular, including:

lexeme	a-u:		a-a-i:
ʕndq	ʕandu:q (m.)	‘box’	ʕanadi:q
mktb	maktu:b (m.)	‘kismet; letter’	makati:b
mgmʕ	magmu:ʕ (m.)	‘total’	magami:ʕ

C) The following nouns are of various patterns in the singular.

lexeme	a-u:-a		a-a:-i:
qrra	qaru:ra (f.)	‘bottle’	qawa:ri:r
gms	gamu:s (f.)	‘buffalo’	gawa:mi:s
qms	qamu:s (m.)	‘dictionary’	qawa:mi:s

xxi. The Broken Plural Pattern /faʕa:lla/ or /faʕa:llih/

It is noticed that nouns that fall under this pattern are generally masculine in the singular. Hence, the feminine plural form is merely grammatical.

lexeme	u-u:, ?u-a		a-a:-i
dktr	duktu:r (m.)	‘doctor’	daka:trih
?stð	?ustað (m.)	‘teacher’	?asa:tðih

xxii. Some Paired Body Parts

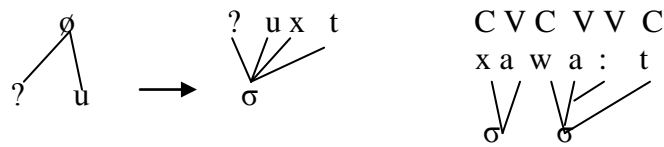
IV uses the dual morphological number + plural form. The following are some examples:

lexeme	i-a; a-i		i-?i-ei-, a-u, a:
rgl	rigl (f.s.)	‘leg’	øintem ?argul
jd	jad (f.s.)	‘hand’	øintem ?aja:d
ktf	katif (m.s.)	‘shoulder’	?ienem ?akta:f

xxiii. Terms of Kinship

The broken plural patterns for these terms are of various types and are not easily predictable

lexeme	?a, ?u, a-a, i		a:-a:, u-a-a:, a-a, u-a-a:
?b	?ab	‘father’	?a:ba:?
?m	?um	‘mother’	?ummaha:t
?x	?ax	‘brother’	?axwa
?xt	?uxt	‘sister’	xawa:t
wld	walad	‘son’	?awla:d
bnt	bint	‘daughter, girl’	bana:t



xxiv. Lexical Pluralisation

Certain singular nouns do not form their plural forms through inflection. Instead, lexical replacement takes place. In MSA, there are quite a few examples, like *?imra?ah* ‘woman’ and *niswah/nisa:?* ‘women’, *baʕi:r* ‘camel’ and *ʕi:r* ‘camels (unaccountable)’. IV still holds this characteristic but it is very rare: e.g. *marah* ‘woman’ versus *niswa:n* ‘women’.

4.4.3.1 Prosodies Formation of Broken Plural

I	ei/j-u:, j-a:
II	a-i:/ i-a:
III	a/?a-a:
IV	a:-i/a-a:-i
V	a:-i/u-a:
VI	a:-i/u-a
VII	i-a:,u:/a-a:-i:
VIII	i-a:-a,a-u:,a-i:-i/a-a:-ji
IX	u-a-a,i,a,i:,:?u-a/u-a,i-a,?u
X	a-a,u-u/a-a:-i
XI	a-a,a-i/a-a:i
XII	a:,a-i:/i-a:
XIII	a-a/u
XIV	i-a:,a-a/a-i:

XV	a-a:,a-a-i,i/a-a:-i
XVI	?a-a/i:,u:
XVII	a/?a-u
XVIII	a-i/?a-i-a
XIX	u-?a:,a-a:,i-i:/?a-i-i
XX	a-u:,i-a:,a-u-a/a-a:-i:
XXI	a-a:-i/ a-a:-i
XXII	i-a:,a-i/i-ei,a-u,a:
XXIII	?a,?u,a-a,i/a:-a:,u-a-a:,a-a,u-a-a:
XXIV	a-a,a-i/a-i-a:

4.5. Verbal Nouns

Like MSA, IV nouns express or describe the action associated with the verbs from which they stem.⁴ For example, the verbal noun */liʕb/* [playing] refers to the action of playing, and is derived from the verb */liʕib, jiʕab/* ‘to play’. As shown below, verbal nouns may refer to an event, a function, a state or a characteristic of the underlying verbs. Generally speaking, the verbal nouns of derived verbs in Arabic varieties are mostly predictable. Except for Form Five verbs, IV adheres to this convention. Jiyad (2003) aptly indicates the general idea that the form of verbal nouns is of the action, activity or state expressed by verbs and verbal nouns. Like other languages, the verbal nouns of Arabic indicate action, activity or state, and behave like regular nouns.

4.5.1. Triliteral Verbal Nouns

Form One Derived Verbal Nouns

Unlike the case with most verbal nouns of derived verbs of other forms, which are generally predictable (discussed below), verbal nouns derived from Form One verbs are not easily predictable. Further, unlike MSA in Form One Verb which is not derived, the case with noun Form One is derived. As a matter of fact, Form One verbal nouns come in eleven patterns in IV.

Pattern 1. /fiʕu:l/

As it is noticed in the table below, certain phonological and morphological processes take place due to derivation. In this pattern, verbal nouns are derived by replacing the short vowel in the second syllable of the stem by /u:/. It is also noticed that the front low vowel /a/ in the first syllable of stems having it is replaced by front high /i/.

lexeme	i-i;a-a	Gloss	i-u:	Gloss
rgʕ	rigiʕ	‘to return; go back’	rigu:ʕ	‘returning’
wʕl	wiʕil	‘to arrive’	wiʕu:l	‘arriving’
dxl	daxal	‘to enter’	dixu:l	‘entering’

CVCVC :: CVCu:C

Pattern 2. /faʕl/

Pattern 2 verbal nouns are derived by deleting the vowel /a/ of the second syllable.

lexeme	a-a	Gloss	a-a; a	Gloss
qrb	qarab	‘to hit’	qarb	‘hitting’

raqş	raqaş	‘to dance’	raqş	‘dancing’
fth	fatah	‘to open’	fath	‘opening’
kðb	kaðab	‘to tell a lie’	kaðb	‘lying’

CVCVC :: CVCC

Pattern 3. /fiʕl/

This pattern shows a certain measure of similarity with the above pattern (2). The difference lies in terms of vowel deletion. While in the previous pattern the /a/ of the second syllable is deleted from the verb to form the verbal noun, here the /i/ of the final syllable is deleted instead. Like the previous pattern, the /a/ vowel found in the first syllable of some verbs is replaced by the vowel sound /i/ to form verbal nouns.

lexeme	i-i; a-a	Gloss	i	Gloss
ʕlm	ʕilim	‘to know’	ʕilm	‘knowledge’
hlm	hilim	‘to dream’	hilm	‘dreaming’
şdq	şadaq	‘to tell the truth’	şidq	‘(telling) truth’

Pattern 4. /faʕa:l/

In this pattern, normally the verbal noun is derived by substituting the /i/ and /i:/ with /a/ and /a:/, respectively.

lexeme	i-i	Gloss	a-a:	Gloss
smʕ	simiʕ	‘to hear’	sama:ʕ	‘hearing’
hlk	hilik	‘to perish’	hala:k	‘death/demise’

Pattern 5. /fʕa:la/⁵

Verbal nouns derived from hollow verbs reveal specific phonological and morphological changes. The /a:/ sound/radical⁶ is turned into either /w/ or /j/

followed by /a:/, and the feminine marker /a/ is then attached to the stem. It is noticed that all verbal nouns derived in this way are feminine.

Verb	Gloss	Verbal Noun	Gloss
za:r	‘to visit’	zja:ra	‘a visit, visiting’
sa:q	‘to drive’	swa:qa	‘driving’
za:d	‘to increase’	zja:da	‘increase’

CV:C :: CCV:Ca

Pattern 6. /mufa:ʕala/

In deriving such verbal nouns, the system goes as follows. The stem is prefixed by the nominal derivational prefix /mu-/ and the feminine marker morpheme is then suffixed. Generally, verbal nouns following this pattern are feminine.

lexeme	a:-a	Gloss	u-a:-a	Gloss
ʃrħ	ʃa:raħ	‘to be frank’	muʃa:raħa	‘the act of speaking frankly’
raqb	ra:qab	‘to watch’	mura:qaba	‘the act of watching’
hgm	ha:gam	‘to attack’	muha:gama	‘the act of attacking’

CV:CVC :: muCV:CVCa

Pattern 7. /faʕi/

As in the following examples, this pattern is used for Form One defective verbs.⁷ It is noticed that the change takes place in the final syllable, i.e. the semi-vowel (liquid) /j/ sound of the verb is replaced by a vowel sound /i/.

lexeme	a-j	Gloss	a-i	Gloss
gr	garj	‘he ran’	gari	‘running’
mʃ	maʃj	‘to walk’	maʃi	‘walking’

CVCj :: CVCi

Pattern 8. /fu:l/ and its variant /fi:l/

The first variant of this pattern is used for Form One hollow verbs whose stem is either /-fu:l- / or /-fa:l-/, whereas the second belongs to Form One hollow verbs whose stem is /-fi:l-/. This feature is an indication that, like MSA, IV does not consider the sound /a:/ in hollow verbs as a stable sound, for this sound is ‘reverted to its original’ (i.e. either /w/ or /j/) if further derivation takes place.

A) /fu:l/

lexeme	a:	Gloss	u:	Gloss
gʕ	ga:ʕ	‘to starve’	gu:ʕ	‘hunger’
xf	xa:f	‘to be afraid’	xu:f	‘fear’
nm	na:m	‘to sleep’	nu:m	‘sleeping’

Ca:C :: Cu:C

B) /fi:l/

a:	Gloss	i:	Gloss
ḍa:q	‘to get bored’	ḍi:q	‘boredom’
ṣa:d	‘he hunt’	ṣi:d	‘hunting’

Ca:C :: Ci:C

Pattern 9. /fuʕl/

This pattern reflects some measure of predictability in deriving verbal nouns. The first and second examples show that the verbal noun is formed by deleting the short vowels of the verb and using the vowel /u/ instead. Seemingly, the verbal noun appears to contain one syllable instead of two in the stem, but it is noticed that the final part of the verbal noun contains a liquid.

lexeme	i-i;a-a	Gloss	u	Gloss
ʃrb	ʃirib	‘to drink’	ʃurb	‘drinking’
qrb	qarab	‘to come close’	qurb	‘being in proximity’
gbr	gabar	‘support’	gubr	‘bone-setting’

CVCVC :: CuCC

Pattern 10. /fuʕu:l/

In this pattern, verbal nouns are derived by replacing the vowels in the first and second syllables of the verb by /u/ and /u:/, respectively.

lexeme	a-a;i-i	Gloss	u-u:	Gloss
nzl	nazal	‘to go down’	nuzu:l	‘going down’
ʔliʕ	ʔiliʕ	‘to go up’	ʔulu:ʕ	‘going up’
hrb	harab	‘to flee’	huru:b	‘fleeing’

CVCVC :: CuCu:C

Pattern 11. /fiʕa:l/ and its Variant /faʕa:l/

The verbal noun in this pattern is formed by modifying the vowel sounds of the verb. It is noticed that the length of vowels in the verb is alternated or switched, i.e. the long vowel in the first syllable of the verb becomes short in the verbal noun and vice versa. What is not predictable, however, is whether the first syllable of the verbal noun is an /i/ (which is the dominant case) or an /a/.

lexeme	a:-a	Gloss	i-a:: a-a:	Gloss
gmʕ	ga:maʕ	‘to copulate’	gima:ʕ	‘copulating’
dfʕ	da:faʕ	‘to defend’	difa:ʕ	‘defending’
smh	sa:mah	‘to forgive’	sama:h	‘forgiving’

Form Two Verbal Nouns

The verbal nouns of sound Form Two verbs follow the paradigm /tafʕi:l/. Actually, it is argued here that Forms from Pattern Two through Nine have their own paradigms or patterns as shown below. The following table contains examples illustrating this case with reference to nouns derived from Form Two verbs:

lexeme	a-a	Gloss	a-i:	Gloss
drrs	darras	‘to teach’	tadri:s	‘teaching’
fḍḍl	faḍḍal	‘to prefer’	tafḍi:l	‘preferring’
ʃjjk	ʃajjak	‘to check’	taʃji:k	‘act of checking’
bnnd	bannad	‘to close’	tabni:d	‘act of closing’

In the table above, it has been noticed that verbal nouns are formed according to this formula: *ta+1st radical+2nd radical+/i:/+4th radical*. The third radical, usually the same as the second radical together responsible for gemmination, is deleted.

CVCCaC :: CVCCi:C

Defective Form Two verbs follow the paradigms /tafiʕih/ or /tafʕilih/, as in:

lexeme	a--i	Gloss	a-i-i	Gloss
ḥjj	ḥajji	‘to greet someone’	tahijih	‘greeting’
rbb	rabbi	‘to keep up (family), rear (cattle)’	tarbijih	‘sustaining; rearing’
smm	sammi	‘to name; appellate’	tasmijih	‘naming; appellation’

Geminate → ∅ / h

Form Three Verbal Nouns

Sound Form Three verbs make their verbal nouns using either the paradigm /miʕʕala/ or /mufa:ʕala/. Defective Form Three verbs use the paradigm /mufa:ʕa/ for their verbal nouns. Examples:

lexeme	a:-a	Gloss	u-a:-a	Gloss
wfq	wa:faq	‘to agree’	muwa:faqa	‘agreement’
sw	sa:wa	‘to divide equally; level’	musa:wa	‘equality, levelling’
qrb	qa:rab	‘to fight with sb’	miqra:ba	‘fighting’

CV:CV (C) :: CVCCa:CV(CV)

Form Four Verbal Nouns.

These verbal nouns are of the pattern /ʔifʕa:l/. As has been stated previously, in Chapter Three, speakers of the variety normally use Form Four verbs in harmony with LA as well as some other Arabic varieties. The gerundial paradigm for Form Four verbs is /ʔifʕa:l/:

lexeme	a-a	Gloss	i-a:	Gloss
ʔʕln	ʔaʕlan	‘to announce’	ʔiʕla:n	‘announcement’
ʔslm	ʔaslam	‘to get converted to Islam’	ʔisla:m	‘act of conversion to Islam’
ʔqrb	ʔaqrab	‘to go on a strike’	ʔiqra:b	‘striking’

a → a: / labial

What is noticed here is that the derivation of verbal nouns entails two vowel modifications, i.e. the /a/ in the first syllable of the verb becomes /i/ in the noun, and the /a/ in the ultimate syllable becomes /a:/.

Form Five Verbal Nouns

In IV, Form Five verbs normally produce verbal nouns according to paradigms from other verb forms. This is probably because most Form Five verbs are passive or reflexive. To state it somewhat differently, the meanings of the verbal

nouns used indicate something slightly different from the Form Five verbs. The examples shown below reflect this semantic distinction.

lexeme	i-a-a	Gloss	a-a-u	Gloss
tʃllm	tiʃallam	‘to learn, study’	taʃallum	‘learning’
tzwwg	tizawwag	‘to get married’	tazawwug	‘coupling’

a → u / _C

In spite of the fact that these verbs can have subjects, the subjects are, semantically speaking, not completely the sole source and controller of the action. In the first example, the learner cannot do the action unless there is an educator to fulfil the action. The second example, which reflects cultural aspects, implies that a man cannot get married unless other parties participate in the fulfilment of the action, i.e. consent of the bride’s sponsor, consent of his family, etc.

Form Six Verbal Nouns

Sound Form Six verbs use the paradigm /t(a)fa:ʃul/ for their verbal nouns, whereas weak verbs (defective and hollow verbs) are not used in Form Six verbs.

Examples:

lexeme	i-a:-a	Gloss	a-a:-u	Gloss
tʃwn	tiʃa:wan	‘to cooperate’	taʃa:wun	‘cooperation’
tʃdm	tiʃa:dam	‘to crash’	taʃa:dum	‘crash’

a → u/ nasal

The examples in this table show that the vowels in the initial and ultimate syllables undergo modifications to form the verbal nouns.

Form Seven Verbal Nouns

These verbal nouns follow the paradigm /ʔiftiʃa:l/.

lexeme	a-a-a	Gloss	i-i-a:	Gloss
?htfl	?ahtafal	‘to celebrate’	?ihtifa:l	‘celebration’
?stmʕ	?astamaʕ	‘to listen’	?istima:ʕ	‘listening’
?gtmʕ	?agtamaʕ	‘to meet with sb’	?igtima:ʕ	‘meeting’

The examples above reveal that for verbal nouns to be derived from Form Seven verbs, all vowels of the verb undergo change. While the /a/ in the first two syllables turns into /i/, the final /a/ of the ultimate syllable of the verb is elongated.

a → i / lab

Form Eight Verbal Nouns

Unlike Form Eight verbs, IV Form Eight verbal nouns are used to refer to colours and corporeal defects only, (see more on Form Eight adjectives, in Chapter Five). Examples:

lexeme	a-a	Gloss	i-a:-a	Gloss
smmr	sammar	‘to become brown’	simma:ra	‘turning brown’
xqḍr	xadḍar	‘to become green’	xidḍa:ra	‘turning green’
ṣffr	ṣaffar	‘to become yellow’	ṣiffa:ra	‘turning yellow’
ʕwwr	ʕawwar	‘to injure’	ʕiwwa:ra	‘hurting’

Morphologically, verbal nouns here are derived by modifying the vowel sounds (the /a/ of the first syllable is changed into /i/ and the /a/ of the ultimate syllable is elongated) and attaching the feminine suffix to the verb.

Form Nine Verbal Nouns

The verbal nouns of sound and doubled Form Nine verbs follow the paradigmatic pattern /ʔistifʕa:l/, whereas defective verbs use /ʔistifʕa/. Hollow verbs use the paradigm /ʔistifa:la/. The following examples illustrate this:

A) Sound Form Nine verbs and their verbal nouns:

lexeme	i-a-a	English Gloss	i-i-a:	English Gloss
?stkʃf	?istakʃaf	‘to explore’	?istikʃa:f	‘exploring’
?sthdf	?istahdaf	‘to target’	?istihda:f	‘targeting’
?stfsr	?istafsar	‘to enquire’	?istifsa:r	‘enquiring’

What is noticed here is that verbal nouns here are formed by turning the /a/ in the second syllable of the verb into /i/ and elongating the vowel /a/ in the ultimate syllable.

B) Defective Form Nine verbs and verbal nouns

lexeme	i-a-a	English Gloss	i-i-a:	English Gloss
?stʁn	?istakna	‘to do without sth’	?istikna:ʔ	‘state of doing without sth’
?stqw	?istaqwa	‘to take support’	?istiqwa:ʔ	‘state of taking support from sb/sth’

CVCCVCCV :: CVCCVCCa:C

It is noticed here that besides the change of the vowel /a/ in the second and third syllables, the glottal stop is added at the end. Generally, these words reflect the influence of Literary Arabic (LA).

C) Hollow Form Nine verbs and verbal nouns.

lexeme	a-a-a:	Gloss	i-i-a:-a	Gloss
?stʕn	?astaʕa:n	‘to seek help’	?istiʕa:na	‘seeking help’
?strh	?astara:h	‘to relax; rest’	?istira:ha	‘relaxation; rest’
?stfd	?astafa:d	‘to benefit from’	?istifa:da	‘benefiting from’

Here, the /a/ in the first and second syllables of the verb is transformed into /i/, and the feminine marker is suffixed.

4.5.2. Quadriliteral Verbal Nouns

It is appropriate to indicate that the morphological paradigm for quadriliteral verbal nouns is C1aC2C3aC4a. With the attachment of word-final /-a/, an additional syllable is formed. Examples of this include the following:

lexeme	a-a	Gloss	a-a-a	Gloss
lxbṭ	laxbaṭ	‘to confuse’	laxbaṭa	‘confusion’
slkʕ	salkaʕ	‘to slap’	salkaʕa	‘slapping’
ṭrbl	ṭarbal	‘to cover sth’	ṭarbala	‘covering’

Derived quadrilaterals are passive or reflexive counterparts of their non-derived siblings. They typically use a verbal noun made from the related simple quadriliteral verb, as the examples below demonstrate:

Lexeme	i-a-a	Gloss	a-a-a	Gloss
tlxbṭ	tilaxbaṭ	‘to be confused’	laxbaṭa	‘bothering’
tslkʕ	tisalkaʕ	‘to be slapped’	salkaʕa	‘slapping’

4.6. Nouns of “Instance”

The meaning that this category of nouns expresses is the occurrence of a particular action, state or event. Nouns of “instance” are formed by the attachment of word-final /-a/ to a Form One Verbal Noun. In terms of morphology, they usually follow the patterns /faʕla/ and /faʕi:l/:

lexeme	a-a	Gloss	a	Gloss	a-a; ai:	Gloss
rqṣ	raqaṣ	‘to dance’	raqṣ	‘dancing’	raqṣa	‘a dance’
ḥrq	Ḥaraq	‘to burn’	ḥarq	‘burning’	ḥarqa; ḥari:q	‘a burn’ ‘fire’
?kl	?akal	‘to eat’	?akl	‘eating’	?akla	‘a meal’

4.7. Unit Nouns and Collective Nouns

A unit noun refers to a single unit or item of foodstuff; certain group of animals, or non-edibles, whereas a collective noun is used to refer to the same item as a group in quantity. Formation of unit nouns is made by the attachment of the /-a/ or /-ih/ to the appropriate collective noun, sometimes with the accompanying stem changes. By definition, stem changes usually involve changes in CV sequences. This is reminiscent of the formation of nouns of instance (in the immediately preceding subsection) except that nouns of instance are derived from verbal nouns whereas collective and unit nouns normally have no verbal origin. Here are some examples:

/faʕl/ → /faʕla/

Collective Noun	Gloss	Unit Noun	Gloss
ʃaʕr	‘hair’	ʃaʕra	‘a single hair’
naxl	‘palm trees’	naxla	‘a palm tree’
baqar	‘cows’	baqara	‘a cow’
baʃal	‘onions’	baʃala	‘a onion’
ʃamʕ	‘candles’	ʃamʕa	‘a candle’
baʕti:x	‘muskmelon’	baʕti:xih	‘a muskmelon’
berq	‘eggs’	berqih	‘an egg’

4.8. Occupational Nouns and Nouns of Habituality

These are actually verbal participles used to designate an individual’s job or habit. They are of several patterns, including:

A. /faʕʕil/ (Derived from one verbs)

Verb	Gloss	Occupational (n.m.)	Gloss	Occupational (n.f.)
katab	‘to write’	ka:tib	‘clerk’	ka:tbiḥ
xadam	‘to serve’	xa:dim	‘servant’	xa:dmih
qaḍaʕ	‘to judge’	qa:ḍi	‘judge’	qa:ḍih
siriq	‘to steal’	sa:riq	‘thief’	sa:rqiḥ

It observed here that for the formation of feminine nouns the /i/ in the ultimate syllable of the masculine form is removed.

B. /faʕa:l/

Depending on the particular lexeme, occupational or habitual nouns of this type can be derived from Sound Verb One. Examples are as follows:

Verb	Gloss	Occupational (n.m.)	Gloss	Occupational (n.f.)
zanaʔ	‘to brag’	zanna:t	‘boaster’	zanna:ʔa
xaraʔ	‘to lie’	xarra:t	‘liar’	xarra:ʔa

CVCVC :: CVCCV:C(a)

The formation of the feminine form is as simple as adding the feminine marker /-a/ to the masculine form or, in other words, by geminating the ultimate syllable and adding the feminine marker.

In Arabic linguistics, nouns derived in this way are known as *ism-ul-faʕil* ‘doer’s noun’, since the noun derived refers to the doer or agent of an action. As somehow opposite to this group of nouns, there is also *ism-ul-mafʕul* ‘participial noun’, implying the person or entity upon whom the action occurs. These are discussed below.

4.9. Participial Nouns

Generally, in MSA these nouns come in the pattern of /mafʕu:l/ or /mufaʕʕal/ for masculine singular or /mafʕu:la/ or /mufaʕʕala/ for the feminine counterpart. In IV, the case is the same except for the feminine marker, as it comes either as /-a/ or /-ih/. The examples below illustrate the point.

Verb	Gloss	Participial N. (m.)	Participial N. (f.)
katab	‘to write’	maktu:b	maktu:ba
shirib	‘to drink’	mashru:b	mashru:ba

garah	‘to hurt’	magru:h	magru:aħa
qatal	‘to kill’	maqtu:l ‘murdered man’	maqtu:la ‘murdered woman’
gamaʕ	‘to collect’	magmu:ʕ ‘total’	magmu:ʕa ‘group’

It is important to point out here that such nouns carry a sense of the passive voice, and most of them can function as nouns as well as adjectives. But in Arabic linguistics in general, they are subsumed under nouns. Besides, it appears that some participial nouns can have a different meaning in each gender.

a and i → u: /+voice

4.10. Nouns of Instrument

These nouns (also known as instrumental nouns) imply the actual mechanism which facilitates a certain action (Wightwick and Gaafar 1998/2008). Morphologically, the derivation of such nouns depends mainly on changing the quality of vowels, although in some cases derivational morphemes are also added.

Here are some examples:

A. /mifʕa:l/

Verb	Gloss	Noun of Instrument	Gloss
fataħ	‘to open’	mifṭa:h	‘key’
naḡar	‘to saw’	minḡa:r	‘saw’

CVCVC :: CVCCV:C

B. /mafʕal/

Verb	Gloss	Noun of Instrument	Gloss
naxal	‘to sift’	manxal	‘sieve’
sanad	‘to support/cushion’	masnad	‘cushion’

C. /faʕʕa:la/

Verb	Gloss	Noun of Instrument	Gloss
sa:r	‘to walk; to leave’	sajja:ra	‘car’
ʔa:r	‘to fly’	ʔajja:ra	‘airplane’
ʕassal	‘to wash’	ʕassa:la	‘washing machine’
ʕaʕar	‘to mix; blend’	ʕaʕsa:ra	‘mixer, blender’

4.11. Nouns of Location

These nouns, also called locative nouns, resemble nouns of instrument except that they refer to the place where the action of the underlying verb occurs (and not to the instrument which facilitates the action indicated by the underlying verb).

Examples:

A. /mafʕala/ maccaca

Underlying word

Nouns of Locative

Verb	Gloss	Noun of location ma-- a- a	Gloss
katab	‘to write’	maktaba	‘library, bookstore’
qabar	‘grave’	maqbara	‘cemetery’
daras	‘to study’	madrasa	‘school’

B. /mafʕal/ macc-c

Verb	Gloss	Noun of location	Gloss
katab	‘to write’	maktab	‘office’
ʔa:r	‘to fly’	maʔa:r	‘airport’
sabaḥ	‘to swim’	masbaḥ	‘swimming pool’
liʕib	‘to play’	malʕab	‘stadium’
ʕassal	‘to wash’	maʕsal	‘sink’
ʔabax	‘to cook’	maʔbax	‘kitchen’

C /mafʕil/

Verb	Gloss	Noun of location	Gloss
galas	‘to sit’	maglis	‘living room’
xabaʔ	‘to hide’	maxbaʔ	‘hiding place; hide out’

4.12. Diminutive Nouns

Native speakers normally make a word diminutive to indicate affection toward a particular persons or objects. Unlike MSA and some other Arabic varieties that use diminutive nouns made by internal modification through changes in vowel structure, IV has a feature of simplicity and clarification by using the word ‘small’ /aṣṣaʕi:r/ after the noun it describes. Of course, by definition, the English term ‘diminutive’ means ‘small’. Here are some Examples:

Noun	Gloss	Diminutive Nouns	Gloss
kita:b	‘book’	?alkita:b aṣṣaʕi:r	‘the small book’
xadim	‘servant; black gypsy’	?alxadim aṣṣaʕi:r	‘the small servant’
kursi	‘chair’	?alkursi aṣṣaʕi:r	‘the small chair’
bert	‘house’	?albert aṣṣaʕi:r	‘the small house’
fi:l	‘elephant’	?alfi:l aṣṣaʕi:r	‘the small elephant’

Further, among other functions of the diminutive form in IV include spoiling or humiliation. Some people use the diminutive masculine noun /soʕannini/ for the word ‘small’. Such nouns can be used for spoiling as in:

?alwileid as-soʕanini ‘the small boy’

Some nouns in IV still reflect aspects of their diminutive form in MSA. But these words in IV do not have another non-diminutive forms, e.g. /bunijih/ ‘girl’ and /wileid/ ‘boy’.

An aspect that appears peculiar to IV in this context is the way of forming certain nouns to reflect the speaker likes. It cannot be designated with certainty as a diminutive form, but it seems to have one of its functions, i.e. expressing speaker's linking for something. Some examples are below:

Original Form	Endearment Form	Gloss
kabʃ	kubba:ʃi	A (good) male sheep
mwza	mwwa:zi	A (good) banana
ʃa:m	ʃwwa:mi	A (good) ear of corn

CaCC :: CuCCV:Ci

The pattern /miʃʕi:l/ can occur in IV to imply humiliation. For example,

mixri:t	‘lair’
miqli:ʃ	‘cup’
minxi:t	‘boaster’

The word /*sinih*/ ‘small piece’ (literally means ‘teeth’) is used as a diminutive quantifier in IV. It is not used in this sense in MSA, nor in most Arabic varieties. Here are some examples:

sinih luqma	‘asmall piece of bread’
sinih lahma	‘small piece of meat’

4.13. Summary

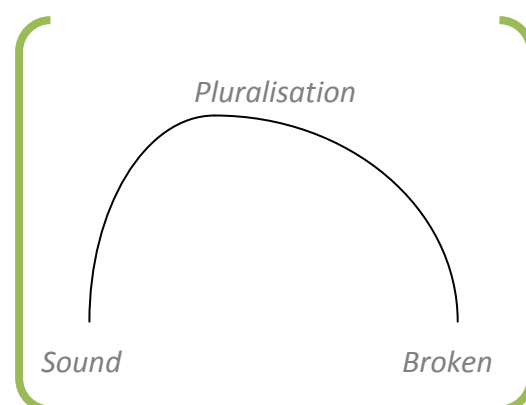
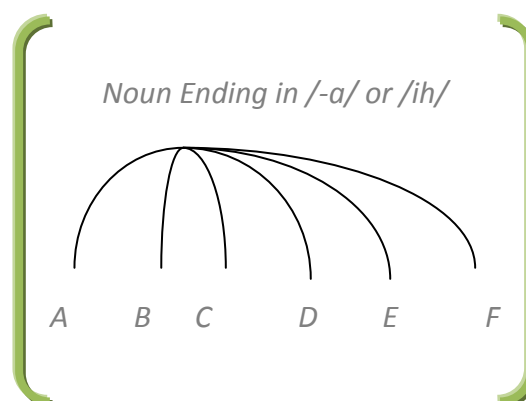
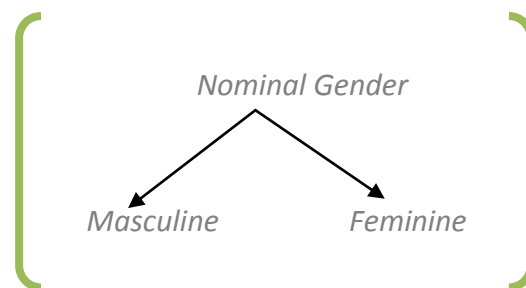
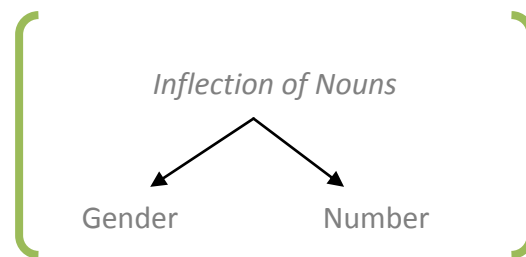
This chapter has outlined the formation of nouns in IV. It has indicated that, in harmony with MSA system, most nouns in IV are derived from verbs which are mainly based on trilateral roots. Further, the discussion has shown that nouns are inflected for gender and number. Inflection for gender involves the masculine-feminine dichotomy. It has also been pointed out that the feminine plural inflection can serve two functions, i.e. authentic feminine sound plural and grammatical

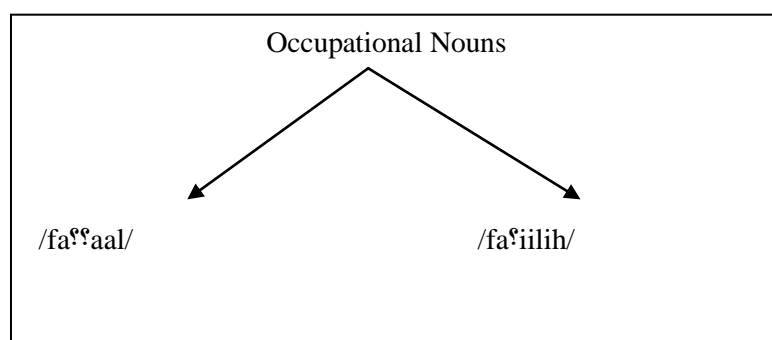
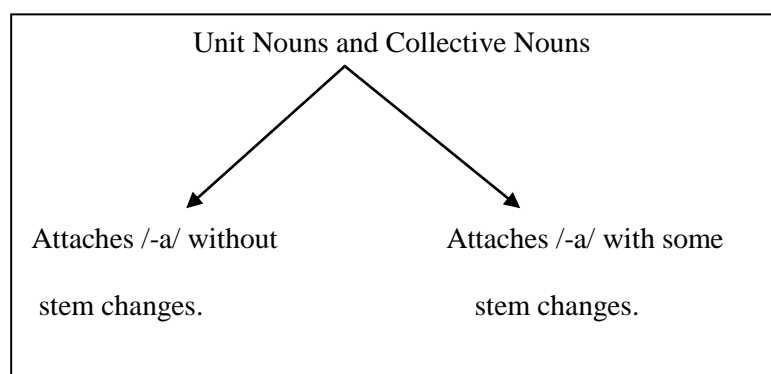
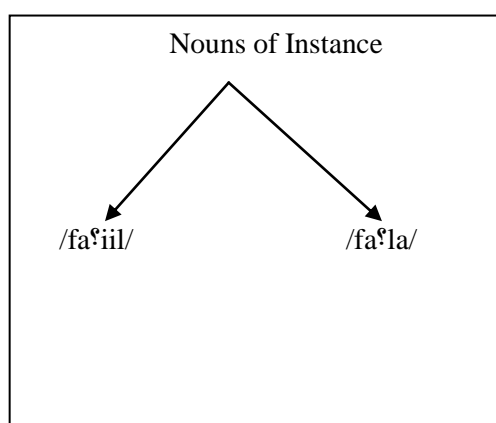
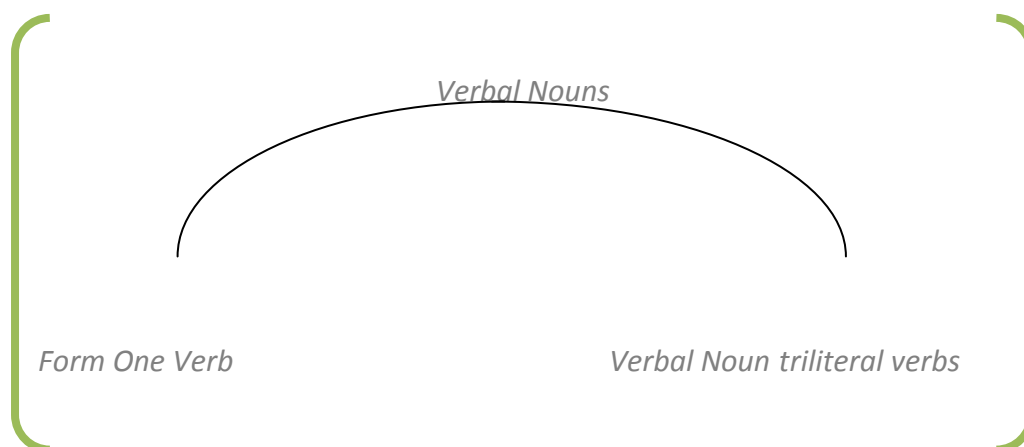
feminine sound plural. In the same vein, number in MSA as well as IV subsumes countable and uncountable nouns. The focus has been placed on the inflection of countable nouns, the derivation and inflection of which involve three categories, i.e. singular, dual and plural. However, the discussion of number and gender in separate sections is only a matter of convenience since both cannot be isolated while forming nouns.

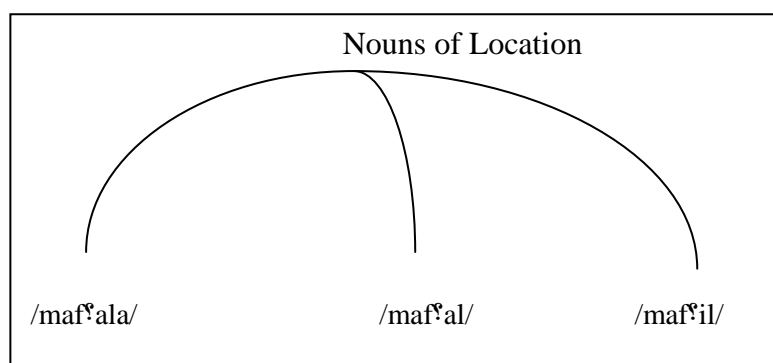
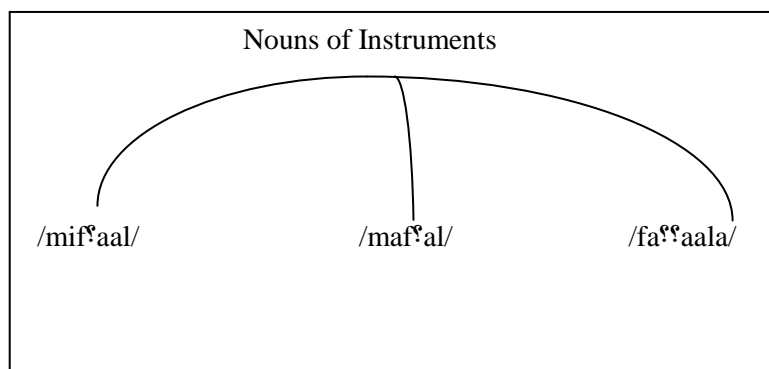
Generally, singular nouns have been discussed with regard to their derivation. Regarding dual form, it has been indicated that IV, partly like MSA, uses the nominal dual suffixes /-i:n/ for dual masculine and /-ti:n/ for dual feminine. But unlike MSA, IV uses both the suffixes in all grammatical cases while MSA uses /-a:n/ (m.) and /-ta:n/ (f.) in the nominative and /-em/ (m.) and /-tem/ (f.) in the accusative and genitive. Moreover, it has been noticed that IV shows a tendency to use a dual quantifier, /ʔionem/ (m.) and /əintem/ (f.), before a plural noun to indicate duality. Finally, the discussion of plural nouns has revealed that pluralisation in IV is based on whether the noun can take a sound (regular) plural form or a broken (irregular) plural form. It has been observed that while MSA has 44 patterns of broken plurals, IV uses only 24. These 24 patterns have been discussed and illustrated with relevant examples with an emphasis on predictability.

The discussion then focuses on the derivation of some other noun forms. In this connection, verbal nouns have been investigated and illustrated with examples under three categories, i.e. Form One Verbal Nouns (11 patterns), Triliteral Verbal Nouns (8 patterns), and Quadriliteral Verbal Nouns. Finally, the chapter has briefly touched upon some other noun forms, namely Nouns of Instance, Unit Nouns and Collective Nouns, Occupational Nouns and Nouns of Habituality, Participial Nouns (and Adjectives), Nouns of Instrument, Nouns of Location, and Diminutive Nouns.

Regarding Participial Nouns (and Adjectives), it has been pointed out that in Arabic linguistics, both nouns and adjectives derived on the basis of participial grounds are considered as nouns – this point will be investigated later in the next chapter. As for Diminutive nouns, a brief comparative study between IV and MSA in this regard has been presented, showing points of convergence as well as divergence.







Endnotes

¹ Although grammatically there are cases where the masculine form of a feminine noun does exist, the entity the masculine noun refers to cannot be associated with the feminine counterpart. For example, /ga:miʕh/ “university” is in no way associated with /ga:miʕ/ “masjid”; /sajjara/ “car” is absolutely unconnected with /sajjar/ “mobile phone”.

² Notice that in MSA as well as IV, the *ta:ʔ marbu:ʔa* (/t/) comes only at the end of the noun and cannot be attached to any further inflections or derivations. In case the noun with a *ta:ʔ marbu:ʔa* has to succumb to further inflection or derivation, the *ta:ʔ marbu:ʔa* is transformed into *ta:ʔ maftu:ħah* “regular/open ‘t’”.

³ There is phonological and morphological change in the vowel of the first or second syllable. It normally turns into /a/ when the plural is formed.

⁴ As far as MSA is concerned, Abd Allatif, ‘Umar and Zahran (1994, 83-86) give an extensive list (in Arabic) with examples and some explanation. To some extent, particular verbal noun patterns may be associated with particular Form I verb stem types.

⁵ In harmony with MSA, where the long vowel /a/ changes into either /j/ or /w/, based on its infinitive verb form, IV follows the same system during derivation of verbal nouns.

⁶ Arabic grammarians generally consider the /a:/ radical in hollow verbs ‘unauthentic’, because when such verbs are used as stems for further inflections the /a:/ is normally replaced by /j/ or /w/.

⁷ See Chapter Three.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MORPHOLOGY OF ADJECTIVES AND NOUN MODIFIERS IN IBB VARIETY

5.1. Introduction

While previous chapters (Three and Four) have dealt with verbs and nouns in IV, this chapter attempts to highlight the different classifications and features of IV adjectives. It should be taken into consideration that, like the case in MSA, where adjectives follow the nouns they describe in many respects including number and gender (and grammatical function), IV adjectives too respond to the nouns they describe in terms of number and gender.

For the purposes of argument here, adjectives in IV fall into eight categories: positive adjectives, participial adjectives, *na:šba* (relative or attributive) adjectives, *?id^ha:fa* (annexation) constructions, the possessive marker *haqq* ‘belonging to’, relative adjectives, quantifiers and adjectives of colour (and physical defects).

As has already been stated,¹ the productive morphological system of triliteral roots available in verbs and nouns is also operative in most adjectives. The discussion below sheds light on each of these types of adjectives and presents examples for each for the sake of illustration.

5.2. Classification of Adjectives

5.2.1. Positive Adjectives

In IV, as in MSA and English and many other languages, adjectives can take three forms, i.e. positive, comparative and superlative. The latter two forms are discussed later in this chapter and the focus here is placed on the positive form since it

is considered the default or the basic form. Generally, positive adjectives are those adjectives which exist in the simple adjectival form without a grammatical indication of any increase or decrease in the ‘quality’ they express. As far as IV is concerned, the discussion below touches upon some features of these adjectives, i.e. derivation, number agreement, gender agreement, and the definite article *ʔal-*.

A. Derivation

Positive adjectives can be derived from verbs, nouns and adjectives.

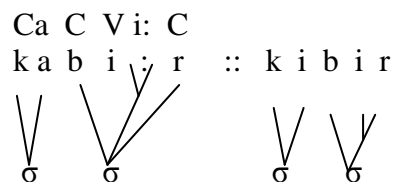
i. Deverbal Adjectives

Many positive adjectives are derived from verbs. With regard to MSA, Wright (1974/1996, I: 131-40) gives an extensive description of these adjective patterns and their uses. He refers to them all as “deverbal adjectives,” since he considers them derived from Form One verbs. In IV, adjectives formed in this manner prevail, mainly with the pattern /f(a)ʕi:l/.

Examples:

Adjective	Gloss	Verbal participle	Gloss
raxi:ʕ	‘cheap’	rixīʕ	‘to become cheap’
nad ^h i:f	‘clean’	nid ^h īf	‘to become clean’
kabi:r	‘big; old’	kibir	‘to become big/old’

a-V: > i-V



Positive adjectives are also derived from hollow Form One verbs. In terms of morphology, they follow the pattern /faʕʕil/. Some examples are shown in the table below:

Adjective	Gloss	Hollow Form One	Gloss
d ^h ajjiq	‘fed up’	d ^h a:q	‘to become fed up’
hajjin	‘menial’	ha:n	‘to humiliate sb’

CV:C → C1VjjiC

Positive adjectives can also be formed from derived verbs. The following table shows some relevant examples of adjectives derived from Form Four derived verbs.

Positive Adjective	Gloss	Derived verb	Gloss
muhtam	‘important’	?ahtam	‘to be concerned about sth’
murta:h	‘comfortable’	?arta:h	‘to rest; relax’

?ahtam → muhtam

CV(:)CiVC → CVCCV(C)

Some more examples of positive adjectives formed from Form Two derived verbs are given below.

wasix	‘dirty’	wassax	‘dirt’
hala?	‘good’	halla	‘sweeten’
da:bih	‘upset’	qabbah	‘upset’ (v.)

ii. Denominal Adjectives

Like the case with MSA, some adjectives can be derived from nouns. The following table shows some examples.

Positive Adjective	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
ʁani:	‘rich’	ʁina	‘wealth’
gami:l	‘beautiful’	gama:l	Beauty
ʃari:f	‘honest; honourable’	ʃaraf	‘honesty; honour’
sari:ʕ	‘fast’	surʕa	‘speed’

CVCi::((c) :: CVCa(C)

The examples above show that it is easy to predict the formation of such adjectives from nouns, i.e. the nuclei of the bisyllabic words are /a/ and /i:/, respectively, except for adjectives derived from defective nouns.

iii. Adjectives Derived from Adjectives

Normally, IV does not derive adjectives from adjectives. But there are certain adjectives that are borrowed from Literary Arabic or MSA which IV speakers use on specific occasions. For example, there is a tendency in MSA to create the antonyms of adjectives by adding the prefix (?al)la:- to the adjective, e.g. *mahdu:d* ‘limited’ versus *la:mahdu:d* ‘unlimited’. But, generally speaking, this is not a rule in IV and IV speakers seldom use such formations.

B. Number Agreement

It is one of the basic features of adjectives to reveal agreement with the noun they describe. In IV, the inflectional suffixes added to a noun are normally added to the adjectives describing the noun. If the noun is singular, so is the adjective. If dual or plural, then the adjective(s) must follow the number agreement principle. IV shows this aspect, but with certain modifications as is shown below.

In the singular form, it is safe to say that IV follows the number agreement principle prescribed in MSA. For example,

walad ḍaki ‘smart boy’

‘boy smart’

The adjective in the example above follows the noun not only in terms of number but also in word order (unlike English), in gender and in indefiniteness (as will be seen later).

If the example above is set for duality instead of singularity, the result in MSA is as follows:

MSA waladem ḏakjem

‘boy-dual smart-dual’

‘two smart boys’

IV ‘?awla:d ?aḏkja:?’

‘two smart boys’

In IV, however, speakers tend to leave this rule in favour of another rule, i.e. +plural n.+ plural adj. Therefore, the example above would normally appear as follows:

?awla:d ?aḏkja:?

‘two (m.) boys smart pl.’

‘two smart boys’.

Regarding pluralisation, adjectives too display number agreement if the nouns they describe are in the plural form. Like nouns, adjectives can have sound plurals and broken plurals. In IV, sound plural adjectives use the suffixes /-i:n/ if the noun described is masculine and /-a:t/ if feminine. It is, however, important to point out that it is not obligatory for the plural form of an adjective to be sound or broken simply because the plural noun it describes is sound or broken. Notice the following examples: ?awla:d ?aḏkja:?

‘boys smart pl.’

‘smart boys’ (both n. and adj. are broken plurals)

?ama:?ir ṭawi:la:t

‘Buildings (f.pl.). high/tall.(f.pl.)’

‘tall buildings’ (n. broken; adj. sound)

Below are some more examples of broken plural positive adjectives.

Adjective (s.m.)	Gloss	Broken Plural
qaṣi:r	‘short’	qiṣa:r
ṣaṣi:r	‘small; young’	ṣiṣa:r
kabi:r	‘big; old; large’	kiba:r
ṭawi:l	‘tall; long’	ṭiwa:l

CaCi:C ↔ CiCa:C

C. Gender Agreement

In IV, as in MSA, it is obligatory that an adjective agree with the noun it describes not only in terms of number but gender as well. If the noun is masculine/feminine, so must the adjective(s). A point worth mentioning here is that certain adjectives may break this grammatical rule due to semantic or conceptual reasons. For example,

walad gami:l ‘beautiful boy’

boy beautiful (m.)

bint gami:lih (f.) ‘beautiful girl’

girl beautiful (f.p.) ‘beautiful girls’

bana:t gami:la:t

‘girls beautiful+fem.’

It is observed here that the adjective ‘beautiful’ can be used for both masculine and feminine nouns in the singular, but only for the feminine in the plural.

D. The Definite Article ?al-

In MSA, as well as all other varieties of Arabic, definiteness is expressed grammatically by the addition of the prefix ?al- to the nouns. However, adjectives in both MSA and IV display the grammatical rules of the nouns they describe, an adjective takes the definite article if the noun it describes is definite. Examples:

laʕib mawhu:b ‘a talented player’ (indefinite N. and adj.)

player (m.s.) talented (m.s.)

?al-laʕib ?al mawhu:b ‘the talented player’ (definite N. and adj.)

‘The player (m.s.) the talented (m.s.)’

Consider the following examples, in case the definite article before the (Head) is dropped when it is used as nominalized form of the class

?al-laʕib al- mawhu:b

the player (m.s.) the talented (m.s.)

?al- laʕib mawhu:b

the player (m.s.) (is) talented (m.s.)

More details regarding the use of the definite article in MSA and IV are mentioned later in this chapter.

5.2.2. Participial Adjectives

These adjectives are the active and passive participles of verbs of all forms, and they modify nouns. Nonetheless, many of them appear to be somewhat verbal in English. For the purposes of this discussion, participles will be treated in their role as post-nominal modifiers, i.e. in their function as adjectives.

Participial adjectives in MSA and IV are generally divided into two types: active participial adjectives and passive participial adjectives. The former type refers to those adjectives whose derivation implies the aspect(s) of an agent of an action, such as *na:ʕir* ‘supportive of others to achieve victory’ (derived from the verb *naʕar* ‘to aid sb to achieve victory’). By contrast, the latter type relates to adjectives whose derivation implies the aspect(s) of the patient/beneficiary of an action, such as *maʕu:r* ‘triumphant (with an aid of sb)’ which is also derived from the verb *naʕar* ‘to aid sb to achieve victory’.

By default, these adjectives are generally derived from verbs. That is why their derivation implies aspects of the agent or patient/beneficiary of an action. In Arabic linguistics, such adjectives are normally subsumed under nouns, i.e. *ism-ul-fa:ʕil*

(active verbal nouns, normally following the nominal pattern /fa:ʕil/) and *ism-ul-mafʕu:l* (passive verbal nouns, normally following the nominal pattern /mafʕu:l/). These are investigated in some detail below.

Active Participles (AP)

El-Bakry (1990), Mitchell (1962/1978), Mitchell and El-Hassan (1994), and Eisele (1999) agree that sentences with active participles derived from ‘stative’ and ‘inchoative’ verbs have present simple interpretations, which describe the doer of the action and agree with the noun, whereas those with participles derived from non-inchoative accomplishment and achievement verbs, so-called ‘resultatives’, have present perfect or past simple interpretations.

Active participles as adjectives describe the doer of an action. In context, they agree with the modified noun in gender, number, definiteness, and case. When used as adjectives modifying nouns referring to human beings in the plural, the sound feminine or the sound masculine plural is used.

(Ryding 2005: 259)

I. Dimensions of Meaning

With regard to their meaning, active participles reveal two dimensions of meaning in IV, i.e. grammatical dimension and aspectual dimension, discussed below. Both categories are subsumed under the dimension of meaning because they act inseparably towards the formation of meaning.

i. Grammatical Dimension

Concerning the grammatical dimension, consider the following data samples of noun phrases containing active participles. For ease of analytical reference, both the individual AP and its English equivalent are underlined:

riga:l <u>na:giḥ</u>	‘a <u>successful</u> man’
ṣafqa <u>ra:biḥih</u>	‘a <u>profitable</u> (business) deal’

Adjectives here occur after the nouns they describe, unlike in English where the norm is that adjectives occur before nouns.

ii. The Aspectual Dimension

There are four categories of aspectual meaning in the Ibb variety, i.e. Progressive, Present/Stative and Habitual, Future, and Perfective.

- a. **Progressive Meaning:** The aspectual reference of the adjectives in the table below is an action in progress.

?ihni? <u>mustamirri:n</u> bi-ʕamalna We <u>continuing(pl.)</u> in-work-our	‘we have a <u>continuing</u> work of us’
?inti <u>ra:qdih?</u> You (f.s.) <u>sleep (f.s.)</u> ?	‘Are you (f.s.) <u>sleepy</u> ?’

- b. **Present/Stative and Habitual Meaning:** The AP’s of stative verbs are usually used to express the present aspect. Normally, in the absence of aspectual marking referring to time points other than the present, these adjectives refer to an action at present, either progressive (discussed above) or simple. Examples:

hu ʕa:rif almuʕkilih tamam he <u>knowing (m.s.)</u> def. problem (f.s.). well	‘He is in the state of <u>knowing</u> the problem well.’
hum <u>ka:ʒbi:n</u> they (m.) <u>absent (m.pl.)</u>	‘They (m.) are <u>absent</u> ’
han <u>ha:dʰra:t</u> they (f.) <u>present (f.pl.)</u>	‘They are (f.) <u>present</u> ’

With regard to habitual meaning, such adjectives have the potential to express habits and habitual actions, as shown in the examples below.

murasilih <u>gari:hih</u> correspondent (f.s.) <u>candid (f.s.)</u>	‘a <u>candid</u> correspondent; reporter’ (f.)
hi <u>mwa:dʰibih</u> kul ju:m she <u>punctual (f.s.)</u> every day	‘she is <u>punctual</u> every day’
<u>muwadʰafi.nhaʃʃa:ʃi:n</u> employees (m.pl.) <u>talkative(m.pl.)</u>	‘ <u>talkative</u> employees’

Notice that the last example contains two underlined words. This means that both are regarded as nouns as well as adjectives in IV (as in MSA). But here while the first word (/muwad^hafi:n/) functions as the NP head, the second takes the role of an adjective only.

c. Future Reference Meaning

infa?-Allah <u>musa:fri:n</u> kudwa God-willing <u>travelling</u> (m.pl.) tomorrow	‘God willing, we are <u>travelling</u> tomorrow.’
han <u>ga:lsa:t^f</u> indana liba ^f da they(f.) <u>sitting</u> (f.pl.) with-us to-later	‘they are <u>staying</u> with us till later.’ (f.)

The examples above show that participial adjectives can be used to indicate future. It is, however, difficult to conceive the future reference without a time reference word. Without the time reference word in the examples above, the meaning would refer to an action in progress.

d. Perfective Meaning

Abdullah <u>qa:hu ga:j?</u> la ^f indakum Abdullah <u>qa:</u> he coming he to with you(m pl.)	‘Abdullah <u>has moved</u> towards you (m.pl.).’
<u>qa:higa:lsih</u> bil-maktab <u>qa: shesitting</u> (f.s.) in def. office	‘She is <u>already</u> in the office’
?intu <u>naghi:n</u> bil-?ixtiba:r ? You(m. pl.) <u>successful</u> (m.pl.) in def. exam?	‘Have you <u>passed</u> the examination?’

In the first two examples, the perfective aspect is determined by the use of the corresponding adjective along with the perfective particle /qa:/ (a deviation from MSA *qad* or *laqad*, which imply the completion of an action or the initiation of an action in progress, but in IV it can be used as a prefix).² In the last example, the perfective aspect is aspectually deduced as the result of an action that took place in the past. The adjective implies this result of the past action.

II. Derivation of Active Participial Adjectives

The derivation of active participle adjectives involves two types, sound active participles and non-sound active participles. These are discussed below with examples for illustration.

i. Sound Active Participles

Regarding the derivation of active participles (AP) in IV, Form One AP's of the pattern /fa:ʕil/ are derived by the insertion of /a:/ after the first radical, and by inserting /i/ after the second radical. AP's made from derived verbs and quadrilaterals have the prefix /m(u)-/ attached to them. They also contain an /-i-/ immediately preceding the word-final consonant. The AP's shown in the table below are masculine singular.

a) Sound Active Participles from Trilaterals

Verb. Form and Source Verb	Paradigm	Example	Gloss
One ʃirib 'to drink'	fa:ʕil	ʃa:rib	'drunk'
Two ʔajjar 'to change'	mufa:ʕil	muʔajjir	'inducing change'
Three ga:had 'to strive'	mufa:ʕil	muga:hid	'striving'
Four ʔamʔar 'to rain'	mufʕil	mumʔir	'rainy/raining'
Five tilaxbaʔ 'to get confused'	mutfa:ʕil	mutlaxbiʔ	'confused'
Six tiʕa:wan 'to cooperate'	mut(a)fa:ʕil	mutʕa:win	'cooperative'
Seven ʔagtamaʕ 'to meet with'	mufta:ʕil	mugtamiʕ	'having a meeting'
Eight xad ^h arr 'to turn green'	mufa:ʕill	muxad ^h d ^h irr	'green'
Nine ʔastafad 'to benefit'	muftaʔi:l	mustafi:d	'beneficiary' (adj.)

2) CV:CiC :: muCV:CiC

4) CVC1C2aC2 :: muøø

5) C1VC2VC3C4ac5 :: muC1C2VCCiC

b) **Sound Active Participles from Quadriliteral**

Quadriliteral	Paradigm	Example	Gloss
bahðal	mufaʔlal	Mubahðal	‘humiliated’
falfal	mufaʔlal	Mufalfal	‘filled-up’

c) **The /fa:ʕil/ Adjectives**

Wehr (1979: 969) pointed out that MSA adjectives such as /zaʕla:n/ ‘angry’ /ʕaɾfa:n/ ‘thirsty’, /taʕba:n/ ‘tired’ and /gawʕa:n/ ‘hungry’ are diptotes. In Arabic, a diptote (known in Arabic linguistics as *mamnu:ʕ min ʔaṣṣarf*, i.e. ‘forbidden grammatical endings’) is a noun or adjective that reflects the nominative case with vowel /u/ at the end of the noun or adjective, and both accusative and genitive cases with the vowel /a/ at a diptote’s end. Moreover, such a noun or adjective does not receive type of nunation, i.e. adding the sound /-n/ to the word for emphasis. In Arabic, therefore, a diptote is a noun or adjective with a ‘change restricted’ nature. Diptotes are not always change restricted, but there are cases where the last letter receives a vowel /i/ in order to reflect the genitive state. MSA adjectives ending in /-a:n/, like /ʕaɾfa:n/ ‘thirsty’ and /gawʕa:n/ ‘hungry’, which are diptotes, are rendered in IV as /ʕa:ɾiʃ/ and /ga:wiʕ/, respectively, i.e. according to the pattern /fa:ʕil/, itself being an active voice participial adjective. Haywood and Nahmad (1962: 86) state that this pattern is “without nunation”, and Cowan (1964: 40) puts it in the diptote declension. Unlike in MSA, it is good to argue that all adjectives (and nouns) in IV are not diptote.³ Normally derived from Form One Verbs Pattern /fiʕil/, the /fa:ʕil/ adjectives describe a state or condition reflecting the meaning of the verb from which they are derived. The examples shown are in the masculine singular:

Source Verb	Gloss	Faʕil Adjectives	Gloss
tiʕib	‘to get tired’	ta:ʕib	‘tired’
dʰibih	‘to get angry’	dʰa:bih	‘angry’
ʕiɾj	‘to get thirsty’	ʕa:ɾj	‘thirsty’
giwiʕ	‘to get hungry’	ga:wiʕ	‘hungry’
ʕiriq	‘to sweat’	ʕa:riq	‘sweaty’
ziʕil	‘to get sad’	za:ʕil	‘sad’

CiCiC ↔ Ca:CiC

ii. Non-Sound Active Participles

These are further divided into those formed from defective and hollow verbs and those formed from derived verbs.

a) Non-Sound AP's of Hollow and Defective Verbs

While the active participles of sound verbs reveal predictable derivation according to specific patterns, non-sound verbs pose a challenge. Since non-sound verbs are classified into defective and hollow, active participial adjectives follow the system accordingly. Below are examples illustrating each type, starting with AP derived from defective Form One verbs.

i. Adjective Participles Derived from Defective Verbs

These participles follow the pattern /fa:ʕi/ in which the morphological strategy is CaCa :: Ca:Ci

Source Verb	Gloss	Defective AP	Gloss
dara	‘to know’	da:ri	‘knowing’
maʕa	‘to walk’	ma:ʕi	‘walking’

Here, the verb pattern is /faʕa/ and the pattern of the AP is /fa:ʕi/, i.e. the derivation involves change of vowels. Looking at the defective Form One AP's, /d/, the first radical in /dara/, is followed by /-a:-/ and the second radical /-r-/ is followed by /-i/.

The final radical, which by definition is a vowel in a defective verb, is replaced by the second vowel /-i/. Since word-final long vowels do not normally obtain, the surface form of the assimilated vowel is /-i/.

Feminine singular and both feminine and masculine plural AP's of defective verbs have the glide /-j-/ preceding their suffixes, instead of /-i/. This is because the suffixes are vowel initial:

ma:ʃi 'walking' (m.s.) + -a → ma:ʃjih 'walking' (f.s.)

ma:ʃi 'walking' (m.s.) + -a:t → ma:ʃja:t 'walking' (f.p.)

ma:ʃi 'walking' (m.s.) + -i:n → ma:ʃji:n 'walking' (m.p.)

ii. Adjective Participles Derived from Hollow Verbs

Hollow Form One AP's follow the paradigmatic pattern /fa:jiʕ/. The following table shows some examples.

Hollow AP	English Gloss	Source Verb	English Gloss
d ^h a:jiq	'bored'	d ^h a:q	'to get bored'
za:jid	'increasing'	za:d	'to increase'
d ^h a:jiʕ	'lost'	d ^h a:ʔ	'to be lost'
ha:jig	'agitated'	ha:g	'to get agitated'
fa:jiz	'winning'	fa:z	'to win'

Ca:C :: Ca:jiC

In the AP's of Form One hollow verbs with the stem vowel /-i:/, the glide /j/ is the underlying form of the second radical although this form is represented as /a:/. The long vowel /-i:/ can be noticed as the stem vowel in the imperfect conjugations of /d^ha:q/ and /za:d/, which are /jid^hi:q/ and /jizi:d/, respectively. For those verbs with

stem vowel /-u:-/, such as /fa:z/, the glide /w/ is the underlying form of the second radical, which is phonologically realised as /a:/. This accounts for the conjugation /jifu:z/.

b) Non-Sound AP's of Derived Verbs

These AP's are formed by attaching the prefix /mu/ to derived verbs, with appropriate internal vowel changes. In the table below, we can observe that the verbal word-final /-a/ changes to /-i/ in AP's of defective derived verbs, whereas the verbal word-final /-a/ does not change in passive participles.⁴ Here are some examples for defective derived AP including the whole forms. The following morphological strategies can account for the correspondences

CVCCa	→	muCACCi
CV:Ca	→	muCV:Ci
C1VC2C3C4a	→	muC1C2VC3C4i
CVCV:Ca	→	muC1C1V:Ci

Forms	Defective D. AP	Gloss	Source Verb	Gloss
Two	muṣalli	'praying' (adj.)	ṣalla	'to pray'
Three	muwa:si	'condoling'	wa:sa	'to condole'
Four	mukri	'enticing'	?akra	'to entice'
Five	muthaddi	'defying'	tiḥadda	'to defy'
Six	mutla:qi	'having a meeting'	tila:qa	'to meet'
Seven	muṣṭari	'buying' (adj)	?iṣṭara	'to buy'
Nine	Mustaḥi	'shy'	?istaḥa	'to be shy'

A. Passive Participles

Like active participles, passive participles are also studied in Arabic linguistics under nouns. Passive participles are known as *ism-ul-maf'u:l* 'name of the

patient/affected’, i.e. the noun on which the action occurs or the noun which implies the semantic role of the patient or affected.

I. Dimensions of Meaning

As illustrated below, do active participles, passive participles have both grammatical and aspectual meanings.

a. Grammatical Meaning:

In the following examples, the referent is the recipient of the action (the patient, the affected) expressed in the passive participle. As with the AP’s shown and described earlier, the passive participles and their English equivalents are underlined for clarity and ease. Examples:

Passive Participles	Gloss
ta:ʔir <u>mubanʃir</u> tyre <u>punctured</u> (m.s.)	‘a <u>punctured</u> tyre’
kalam <u>manqu:l</u> talk <u>reported</u> (m.s.)	‘ <u>reported</u> speech’
fikrih <u>maqbulu</u> idea <u>acceptable</u> (f. s.)	‘ <u>acceptable</u> idea’

b. Aspectual Meaning:

AP’s, passive participles can express a number of aspectual meanings, i.e. perfective, present, progressive, and future.

i. Perfective

ʔijd <u>maksu:ra</u> hand <u>broken</u> (f.)	‘a <u>broken</u> hand’
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qara:r <u>mahtu:m</u> decision <u>inevitable</u> (m.s.)	‘ <u>inevitable</u> decision/fate’
--	------------------------------------

In the above examples, the passive adjective implies the result of an action that took place sometime in the past by (unidentified) agent.

ii. Present

?albahara:t <u>almustawrada</u> min ?alhind def. spices (f.pl.) <u>def. Imported</u> (f.pl.) from def. India	‘the spices <u>imported</u> from India
?albad ^{ha:ʕa} <u>almuharraba</u> hi al?arxaş def.goods (f.s.) <u>def.smuggled</u> (f.s.) she def. cheap (f.s.) sup.adj.	‘the <u>smuggled</u> goods are the cheapest’
haða ?almawd ^{hu:ʕa} <u>maʃku:k</u> buh this(m.s.) def.matter (m.s.) <u>doubtful</u> (m.s.) in gen.pron. (m.s.)	‘this matter is <u>doubtful</u> .’

Depending on the context and the intended meaning, passive adjectives have the capacity to refer to states relevant to present situations and factual statements. For instance, the first example can be used to refer to a present or immediate situation where the passive adjective relates to certain ?albahara:t ‘spices’ imported from India. Notice the change if the definite article is removed from the adjective; that is, the sentence would turn into a factual statement indicating that the India is the main source of exporting spices in general.

iii. Progressive

For passive adjectives to refer to a progressive action, there must be a progressive time reference inclusive of a time span longer than the time of speaking because, by default, the inherent meaning of these adjectives implies the completion

of the action. The existence of progressive time reference can somehow employ the concept of completion of action and make it subservient to the progressive aspect being expressed. For example, in the sentence *Ali min ?a tulla:b ?almura(ahi:n lis-safar ha:ði as-sana* ‘Ali is one of the students nominated for scholarships this year’, the passive adjective implies an action that still holds true at the time of speaking and is valid for a limited period of time.

iv. Future

As is the case with the progressive regarding the necessity of a progressive time reference, so is it with passive adjectives used for future. Passive adjectives with future reference in IV in this context would be equivalent to English perfective future expressions, i.e. the implication of the passive adjective is an action that will be completed at a point of time in the future. See the following expression *?attulla:b ?almutxarrigi:n ?alʕa:m ?alqa:dim* ‘the students graduating next year’.

II. Derivation of Passive Participial Adjectives

Passive Participles formed from derived verbs contain an /-a-/ preceding the word-final consonant, instead of an /-i-/ as in derived AP’s (see Sound Active Participles). Form Five and Form Six passive participles, however, violate this constraint by having an /-i-/ instead of the /-a-/ , which makes them appear active. It can be argued here that passive participles in IV are almost formed from transitive verbs. Besides, it can be noticed that passive participles begin with the derivational prefix *mu-*, except for Form One, which begins with *ma-*. The table below gives examples of sound passive participles derived from nine verb forms in IV.

Based on their derivation, passive participles can be divided into sound and defective (non-sound).

i. Sound Passive Participles

Verb Form Paradigm	Source Verb	Example	English Gloss
One	ʕaraf	maʕru:f	‘well-known’
Two	ʕallam	muʕa:llam	‘goaded’
Three	ba:rak	muba:rak	‘blessed’
Four	?aʕlan	muʕlan	‘announced’
Five	tiʕajjar	mutʕajjir	‘changed’
Six	tiqa:bal	mutqa:bil	‘opposite’
Seven	?antaxab	muntaxab	‘elected’
Eight	ħammarr	muħammarr	‘red-like; blushing’
Nine	?istaʕmal	mustaʕmal	‘used’

CVCVC ↔ maCV:C/ form One

CVCVCCaC ↔ muCVCV(CC)iC

ii. Defective Passive Participles

As is the case with the sound passive participles (PP), defective PP's are formed by attaching the prefix /mu-/ to derived verbs. The verbal word-final /-a/ is also found in the word-final in PP's of defective derived verbs. According to the table below, we can find out that only Form Two breaks the rule and appears to be a noun after the derivation. That is, while PP's derived from other defective verb forms are necessarily adjectives, Form Two defective verbs yield nouns only. Hence, it can be argued that IV defective passive participles occur in Forms Two, Three, and Nine. Examples:

Verb Form	Source Verb	Gloss	Example	Gloss
Form Two	ṣalla	‘to pray’	muṣalla	‘prayers place’
Form Three	wa:sa	‘to fill’	muwa:sa	‘filled’
Form Nine	ʔistaʕna	‘to except’	mustaʕna	‘expected’

5.2.3. Na:ṣba Adjectives

Na:ṣba adjectives are those adjectives which express relation or pertinence to a particular place, quality, ideology, size, etc. They can be derived from nouns, participles, sound adjectives, and even borrowed words. The derivation of such adjectives is marked for gender and number. This point has been discussed in some detail with reference to MSA (Jiyad 2006; Ryding 2005; McLoughin 1982). In MSA, the suffix /-ijah/ is attached in the feminine singular, /-iji:n/ or /-iju:n/ is attached in the masculine plural, and /-ija:t/ is attached in the feminine plural. In IV, by contrast, most *na:ṣba* (relative and attributive) adjectives are based on nouns to which /-i/ is suffixed in the masculine singular, /-ijih/ in the feminine singular, /-iji:n/ in the masculine plural and /-ija:t/ in the feminine plural. The *na:ṣba* adjective either refers to the noun itself, or to a characteristic of the noun upon which it is based.

Here are some examples of *na:ṣba* adjectives:

Source of <i>Na:ṣba</i> Adj.	Gloss	<i>Na:ṣba</i> Adj.	Gloss
ʔisla:m	‘islam’	ʔisla:mi	‘Islamic’ (m.s.)
waṭan	‘country’	waṭaniji:n	‘patriots’ (m.p.)
jaman	‘Yemen’	jamanijih	‘Yemeni’ (f.s.)
maṣr	‘Egypt’	maṣrija:t	‘Egyptian’ (f.p.)
ʔiṣla:h	‘reform’	ʔiṣla:hiji:n	‘reformists’ (m.s.)

There is a particular relationship between *na:šba* adjectives and the singular possessive marker, i.e. homophonic and sometimes homonymic, which may result in potential ambiguity as to whether the word is a *na:šba* (relative) adjective or is composed of a singular noun suffixed by the genitive marker /-i/. Phonetic and semantic restrictions are imposed on many words to which the singular possessive marker (the suffix/-i/) is attached. Normally, the singular form of the base noun needs to end in a consonant for this phonetic ambiguity to obtain.⁵ As has been indicated earlier, these are words with the sequence CVCVCV.

Phonetic Form	<i>Na:šba</i> Meaning	Singular Possessive Meaning
di:ni	‘religious’ (action/matter)	‘my religion’
ħa:li ⁶	‘sweet; contemporary’ (adj.)	‘my condition’
waṭani	‘nationalist(ic)’	‘my homeland’
baladi	‘indigenous, rustic’	‘my countryside’
ʕamali	‘practical’	‘my job/work’
?axla:qi	‘moral; ethical’	‘my morals/ethics’

5.2.4. Adjectival Modification of a Noun or Noun Phrase by Means of the

?Id^ha:fa Construction, or Construct Phrase

The construct phrase, which is known as *?al?id^ha:fa* ‘annexation’ in Arabic, is a syntactic form binding at least two nouns or NP’s. The first term of a construct is a noun that must appear indefinite in form. The second term of construct, which can be definite, is a noun phrase but takes an adjectival functions as it somehow defines or restricts the possibilities of meanings of the first term.

1 st Noun Head	2 nd Noun Modifier	?id ^h a:fa Construction.	Gloss
zawga wife	?alqa:d ^h i the-judge	zawgat ?alqa:d ^h i	‘wife of the judge’
sajjara:t cars	?alwazi:r the-minister	sajjara:t ?alwazi:r	‘cars of the minister’
muwad ^h iafi:n employees	?albaladijih the-municipality	muwad ^h iafi:n ?albaladijih	The employees of municipality

The construct phrase is phonologically significant under one circumstance, i.e. when the first word has the feminine suffix known as the *ta:ʔ marbuʔa* ‘the tied /t/’. The *ta:ʔ marbuʔa*, /-a/ or /-ih/ in pausal form becomes /-at/ in construct or possessive forms – this is the feminine singular marker for most nouns and adjectives that can be marked and used for both genders. Some examples of nouns differentiated for gender by the mechanism of suffixing the *ta:ʔ marbuʔa* include /ʔustað/ ‘teacher’ (m.), /ʔustaða/ ‘teacher’ (f.), and /ħa:ðiq/ ‘smart’ (m.s.) and /ħa:ðiqih/ ‘smart’ (f.s.).⁷ Most adjectives also use the *ta:ʔ marbuʔa* to show the gender differentiation, which accounts for the existence of pairs such as /maʃhu:r/ ‘famous’ (m.s.) /maʃhu:ra/ ‘famous’ (f.s.), /qadi:m/ ‘old’ (m.s.) and /qadi:mih/ ‘old’ (f.s.), etc.

When a word that ends in *ta:ʔ marbuʔa* becomes the first term of an ?id^ha:fa, its word final sound changes from either /-ih/ or /-a/ to /-at/. Here are some examples:

1 st Noun	2 nd Noun	?id ^h a:fa Construction	Gloss
?amirih princess	?albalad the-country	?amirat ?albalad	‘the princess of the country’
ša:ħbih friend (f.s.)	?uxti sister-my	ša:ħbat ?uxti	‘my sister’s friend’
madinih	Ibb	madinat Ibb	‘Ibb city’

city	Ibb		
?ustaḏa teacher (f.s.)	Faṛma Faṛma	?ustaḏat Faṛma	‘Fatima’s teacher’
ʃuʕla ⁸ active person	?alfari:q the-team	ʃuʕlat ?alfari:q	‘most active team member’

Another function which construct phrases can hold is that of possession – more details of possession are provided in the next subheading below. One can but notice the alternative relation between the two terms of *id^ha:fa* constructs, that is, while the second term functions as an adjective for the first term, the first term can serve as the object/entity possessed or controlled by the second term.

bijas almada:m	‘wife’s money’	bijas ‘money’	?almada:m ‘wife’
bert ?abi	‘my father’s house’	bert ‘house’	?abi ‘my father’
?ada:t ?axi	‘my brother’s clothes’	?ada:t ‘clothes’	?axi ‘my brother’

5.2.5. The Possessive Marker /haqq/ ‘belonging to’

Speakers of IV frequently use the possessive marker /haqq/ ‘belonging to; under/in the possession of’ instead of ‘*id^ha:fa* Construction’ to show the possession or belonging, especially if the possessed object is inanimate noun.

In terms of syntax, the possessed object or thing is marked with the definite article ?al-, preceding the possessive marker. The latter then precedes the possessor. When the possessive is used, the possessor is usually is made definite, as is the possessor in most second terms of an *?id^ha:fa* Construction, except if the possessor is a given name, city, company, etc. Examples:

‘The man’s villa’, one could say either

A) The Possessive Marker Construction ?alfilla haqq ?arriga:l

B) The *?id^ha:fa* Construction fillat ?arrigal

For more clarification and additional illustration, here are some more examples of possessive marker constructions compared to *?id^ha:fa* Construction.

Possessive Marker	Gloss	<i>?Id^ha:fa</i> Construction
?assajjara haqq ?alwazi:r	‘the minister’s car’	sajjarat ?alwazi:r
?al?ard ^h jih haqq ?alhaku:ma	‘the government’s land’	?ard ^h jat ?alhaku:ma

5.2.6. Elative Adjectives

The elative is used for evaluation or comparison. Elative adjectives include the comparative, as in ‘older than’, as well as the superlative, as in ‘the oldest’. For the comparative, the pattern /?af^ʕal/ is the paradigm of most elative adjectives formed from positive adjectives with ‘triliteral’ roots. The superlative degree is formed by using the pattern /?al?af^ʕal/, i.e. by adding the definite article *?al-* to the comparative form.

A. The Comparative Elative

Comparison can be made using adjectives or comparison particles such as *?akəar* ‘more’ or *?azjad* ‘more’, etc. For the comparative, the preposition /*min*/ ‘than’ follows the elative adjective. Like English, IV prepositional object is the object of comparison. Below are examples showing the formation of elative comparative adjectives from various adjectival forms.

i. Sound Roots

Base Adj.	Gloss	Inflected form of Adj for comparison	Gloss
kabi:r	‘big; large’	?akbar min X _n	‘bigger/larger than’
nad ^h i:f	‘clean’	?and ^h af min X _n	‘cleaner than’
kaøi:r	‘many; much’	?akøar min X _n	‘more than’
na:ʃif	‘dry’	?anʃaf min X _n	‘drier than’
sahl	‘easy’	?ashal min	‘easier than’

Apart from the preposition *min* ‘than’, preceding a noun X, it is observed here that the comparative is formed by inserting a glottal stop morpheme in the word-initial position and applying necessary vocalic modifications IN THE ADJECTIVE. It is noticed that the vowel of the first syllable of the positive form is deleted.

ii. Weak Middle Radicals

Regarding these, in some elative adjectives the second consonant becomes either /j/ or /w/, depending on the roots of the base adjective, which in turn depends on the root verb, as in the following:

Base Adj.	Gloss	Elative Adj.	Gloss
d ^h ajjiq	‘narrow’	?ad ^h jaq min	‘narrower than’
ga:wiʕ	‘hungry’	?agwaʕ min	‘hungrier than’

iii. Weak Final Radicals

The base adjectives in this category end in /-i/, change to /-a/ in elative form, which is the pattern /ʔafʕa/. Here are some examples:

qawi	‘sound’	ʔaqwa min	‘sounder than’
ḏaki	‘intelligent’	ʔaḏka min	‘more intelligent than’
naqi	‘pure’	ʔanqa min	‘purer than’

iv. Word Final Geminate

These are formed from positive adjectives which end either with a doubled second radical, or with identical second and third radicals. The patterns followed are either /ʔafaʕʕ/ or /ʔafʕaʕ/. Examples:

Base Adjective	Gloss	Elative Adjective	Gloss
ḥudi:d	‘sharp’	ʔaḥadd min	‘sharper than’
ʃadi:d	‘tough’	ʔaʃadd min	‘tougher than’

B. The Superlative Elative

These are formed the same way as the comparative elatives, but immediately precede the word they modify. Notice that in MSA as well as IV, the adjective usually follows the noun it describes, but in the case of superlative adjectives the noun comes after the adjective. Notice also that this form of adjectives (as well as the comparatives) do not inflect for number or gender differences. Here are some examples:

Superlative Adjective	Gloss
ʔakbar ʕima:ra big est building(f.s.).	‘the biggest building’

?aḥsan waḥid good est one(m.s.)	‘the best one’
?afdḥal mustafḥa good est hospital(m.s.)	‘the best hospital’
?andḥaf ja:riʕ clean est street (m.s.).	‘the cleanest street’
?adḥjaq ʕari:q narrow est street (f.s.).	‘the narrowest road’
?aqwa geiʕ sound est army (m.s.)/collective	‘the soundest army’
?agmal bunijih beautiful+est girl(f.s.)	‘the most beautiful girl’

5.2.7. Quantifiers (Cardinal and Ordinal)

By definition, these are modifiers or adjectives that describe quantity. They are divided here into cardinal and ordinal, and are discussed with reference to IV below.

A. Cardinal

It is argued here that it is necessary for a cardinal number to modify a noun that possesses the attribute of singularity, duality, or plurality. In terms of morphology, the large variety of Arabic broken plural forms are complex and not easily predictable.⁹

- i. Type One of cardinals (called ‘One’, implying that it is only applied to number one) follows the noun it modifies and agrees with the noun in number and gender. Examples:

Cardinal Type One	Gloss
ʕa:lib wa:ḥid	‘one student’ (m.s.)
bunijih wa:ḥdih	‘one girl’

kita:b wa:ħid	‘one book’
sajja:ra wa:ħdih	‘one car’ (f.s.)

- ii. As opposed to the case in MSA, where regular cardinals start from 3 up to 10, the cardinals in IV start from 2 to 10. These cardinals precede the noun they modify. The noun must normally be made overtly plural.

Cardinal Type (2-10)	Gloss
?iənem mudarrisi:n	‘two teachers’ (m.)
əala:ə niswa:n	‘three ladies’
?arbaʕ ma:sa:t	‘four tables’
xams ʕibara:t	‘five phrases’
sit ʕimara:t	‘six buildings’
sabʕ marra:t	‘seven times’
əama:n saʕa:t	‘eight hours’
tisiʕʕalama:t	‘nine marks’
ʕaʕr rubjjat	‘ten rupees’

An interesting point to be mentioned here is related to the gender of the cardinal quantifier and the number it describes. While in the singular and dual forms the cardinal number usually agrees with the modified noun in terms of gender, the case turns upside down with numbers from 3 up to 10. That is, if the noun is masculine, the cardinal quantifier is suffixed by the feminine marker *ta:? marbu:ʔa* (tied /t/ realised in IV as /h/ in this case), and vice versa.

On the other hand, if a cardinal higher than ten directly precedes a noun, then the noun modified by it will stay morphologically singular. But unlike MSA, where

there is distinction in the cardinal form in terms of gender differences, IV post-10 cardinals do not show such distinction.

Cardinal Type (10- endless)	Gloss
hidaʕʕīr qalam eleven pen (s.)	‘eleven pens’
?iənaʕʕīr qalaʕ twelve cup(s.)	‘twelve cups’
əalataʕʕīr kursi thirteen chair (s.).	‘thirteen chairs’
?arbaʕʕtaʕʕīr kitab fourteen book (s.)	‘fourteen books’
xamsi:n ʕalib fifty student (s.)	‘fifty students’
mijat rubijih hundred rupees(f.s.)	‘hundred rupees’
?alf dola:r thousand+dollar (m.s.)	‘thousand dollars’
malju:n rijal million+man	‘million rials’

B. Ordinals

The derivation of ordinals is according to the pattern /fa:ʕil(ih)/, except for /ʔawwal/ (first. m.) and /ʔawwala/ (‘first’ f.), which follow the pattern /ʔaffaʕ(a)/. While in anaptyxis¹⁰ a vowel is inserted to ease pronunciation, what happens here is quite the opposite. In the feminine ordinals in IV the sound /-i/ in word-final position disappears with the additional feminine suffix /-ih/, except for the first ordinal.

Cardinal	Gloss	Ordinal (m.)	Ordinal (f.)
wa:hid	‘one’	?awwal	?awwala

ʔienem	‘two’	əa:ni	əa:njih
əala:əa	‘three’	əa:liə	əa:ləih
ʔarbaʕa	‘four’	ra:biʕ	ra:bʕih
xamsa	‘five’	xa:mis	xa:msih
sitih	‘six’	sa:dis	sa:dsih
sabʕa	‘seven’	sa:biʕ	sa:bʕih
əma:nih	‘eight’	əa:min	əa:mnih
tisʕih	‘nine’	ta:siʕ	ta:sʕih
ʕafara	‘ten’	ʕa:ʃir	ʕa:ʃrih

a. Ordinals as Postmodifiers

We can note in the following table how ordinals modify the nouns they follow.

Besides, there is agreement with the noun in terms of gender and definiteness.

ʔalkita:b ʔalʔawwal def. book(m.s.) def. first(m. s.)	‘the first book’
ʔaffahr ʔaəəa:liə def. month (ms.) def. second (m.s.)	‘the third month’
ʔalbunijih ʔalxa:msih def. girl (f.s.) def fifth (f.s.).	‘the fifth girl’
ʔalfaʕal ʔassa:dis def. chapter(m.s.) def. sixth (m.s.)	‘the sixth chapter; season; class’
ʔassana ʔassa:bʕih def. year (m.s.) def. seventh(ms.).	‘the seventh year’

Notice that, unlike the cardinal quantifiers, ordinal quantifiers show agreement with noun on the basis of gender category.

b. Ordinal as Premodifiers

When an ordinal comes before a noun it modifies, the ordinal is normally masculine, even if the noun is feminine. Both the ordinal and the noun are indefinite in form.

Ordinal Adjective	Gloss
?awal mara	‘first woman’
əa:liə bunijih	‘third girl’
xa:mis sana	‘fifth year’ (f.)
sa:biʕ usta:ða	‘seventh teacher’ (f.)
ta:siʕ duktura	‘ninth doctor’ (f.)

5.2.8. Adjective of Colour (and Physical Defects)

The adjectives of colour are discussed separately here due to the conceptual and grammatical uniqueness of the colour system in IV (as well as MSA). These adjectives cannot have comparative and superlative forms, particularly if the reference is the colour per se, because any modifications made to a colour would naturally lead to the creation of another colour. They may take the comparative and superlative forms if other semantic connotations are intended to be added by the speakers. And even in that case, these adjectives tend to use mechanisms different from those used by positive adjectives. To explain this case a little more, look at the following example:

ha:ða ?alhāfi:sh muxad^hd^hirr ?azjad min ha:ðak

this (m.) def. clover made-green(m.s.) more than that.

This clover is greener than that one.

A close inspection of this example would reveal that the colour is not the intended message itself, but colour is used here as a yardstick for freshness. Besides, the colour adjectival form used here is not the basic one *?axd^harr* ‘green’, but the passive participial form *muxad^hd^hirr* ‘made-green’. Again, the insertion of the comparative particle *?azjad min* ‘more than’ is the real tool of comparison here, i.e. the adjective itself does not inflect for comparison.

The adjectives of colour are classified into two categories in IV, i.e. i) adjectives of colour or physical defect with the pattern */ʔafʕal/* and its variant */faʕal/*, and ii) *na:ʕba* adjective of colour.

i. Adjectives of colour or physical defect with the pattern */ʔafʕal/* and its variant */faʕal/*

These adjectives describe the physical characteristics of colours or defects in humans and non-humans (as indicated in details in Chapter Three, especially with regard to Form Eight verbs, which are derived from these adjectives). Adjective of colours and defect are of two patterns in the masculine singular: a) the pattern */ʔafʕal/* and b) the pattern */mufaʕʕil/*. The pattern for the feminine singular is either */faʕla/* or */mufaʕʕilih/*. It can be noticed that the second pattern follows the passive participial mechanisms.

Regarding pluralisation, both masculine and feminine with the patterns */ʔafʕal/* (m.) and */faʕla/* use the same form for plural adjectives of colour or physical defect */fuʕl/*. However, if the second radical is not a consonant, the adjectives themselves have various plural patterns: */fu:l/* (if the second radical is */w/*), and */fi:l/* (if the second radical is */j/*).

The pattern /fuʕla:n/ is used for some masculine adjectives of physical defect, such as /ʕumja:n/, which is the plural form of /ʔaʕmi/ ‘blind (man)’. Notice that the feminine plural of these adjectives always follows either the pattern /fuʕl/ (and its variants) or the regular feminine pluralisation pattern (i.e. /-a:t/). Using the preceding example, the IV feminine is formed by shifting the initial sound /ʔa-/ to word-final /-a/, i.e. /ʕamja/ ‘blind (woman)’ and /ʕumi/ ‘blind (women)’. Semi-vowels /j/ and /w/ are transformed into long vowels (/j/ becomes /i:/ whereas /w/ becomes /u:/). Examples:

Masculine	Feminine	MP & FP	English Gloss
ʔaswad	swda	su:d	‘black’
ʔabjad ^h	bjd ^h a	bi:d ^h	‘white’
ʔazraq	zarqa	zurq	‘blue’
ʔaşfar	şafra	şufr	‘yellow’
ʔaḥmar	ḥamra	ḥumr	‘red’
ʔaxd ^h ar	xad ^h ra	xu d ^h r	‘green’
ʔaḵbar	ḵabra	ḵubr	‘dusty; greyish’
ʔasmar	samra	sumr	‘brown; tawny’
ʔaʃqar	ʃaqra	ʃuqr	‘blonde’
ʔaʕmi	ʕamja	ʕumja:n	‘blind’
ʔaʕrag	ʕarga	ʕurga:n; ʕurg	‘lame’
ʔdran	darna	durn	‘deaf’

ii. *Na:şba* Adjectives of Colours

These are formed from nouns by the addition of word-final /-i/ in the masculine singular to a noun and /-ijih/ in the feminine singular. A *na:şba* adjective of colour refers to the characteristic colour of the noun upon which is based.¹¹

Examples:

Masculine	Feminine	Gloss
bunni	bunnijih	‘brown’
burtuqali	burtuqalijih	‘orange’
rama:di	rama:dijih	‘brown’
banafsagi	banafsagijih	‘purple’
fid ^h d ^h i	fid ^h d ^h ijih	‘silver’
ḏahabi	ḏahabijih	‘golden’
wardi	wardijih	‘pink’

5.3. Summary

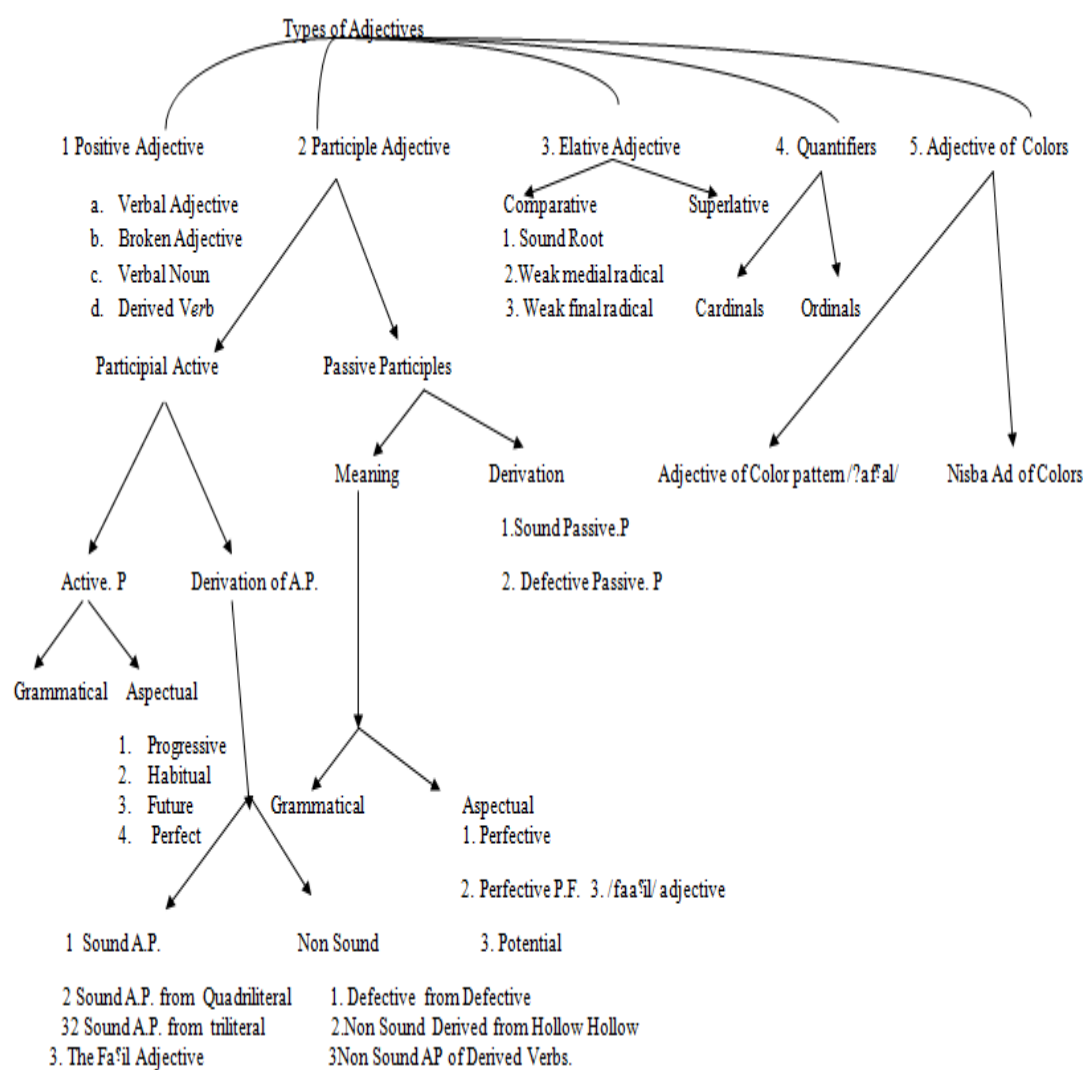
This chapter has examined the morphological classification of IV adjectives. It has indicated the various aspects of each type with examples. Moreover, it has been noted that the same productive morphological system of trilateral roots used in verbs and nouns is also operative for most adjectives. Coming back to the first type of IV adjectives, which is Positive Adjective, it has been noted that Positive Adjective is classified into three types: a. Deverbal Adjective, b. Denominal Adjective, and c. Adjective derived from adjective. Regarding Participle Adjectives, there are active and passive participles each of which is discussed with reference to meaning and derivation. The discussion of meaning for both has two dimensions, grammatical and aspectual. The adjective of *?id^ha:fa* may take the definite article if it modifies a definite noun, which is known in Arabic as */?id^ha:fa/* [i.e. annexation]. *?id^ha:fa* Adjective is a syntactic form binding at least two nouns or NP's. The first term of an *?id^ha:fa* construct is a noun that must appear indefinite in form, whereas the second term of the construct can be definite or a single noun or noun phrase.

Like English Adjectives, Elative Adjective has comparative and superlative forms. Elative adjective is used for evaluation or comparison. The pattern /ʔafʕal/ is the paradigm of most elative adjectives followed by the preposition /min/ ‘than’ and formed from positive adjectives with triliteral roots. Like comparative adjectives, superlative adjectives are formed in the same way, but immediately followed the word they modify.

Quantifiers (numerical modifiers or adjectives) are divided into two types, cardinal and ordinal. The cardinals modify a noun that possesses the attribute of singularity, duality, or plurality. The First Type Cardinal (one) follows the noun it modifies and agrees with the noun in number and gender, as well as definiteness. IV differs from MSA in this respect since this case applies to cardinals in MSA from 3 to 10, but in IV cardinals it begins from 2 to 10. In IV, if the cardinals (from 2 to 10) precede the noun they modify, the noun must be overtly plural. On the other hand, if a cardinal higher than ten directly precedes a noun then the noun modified by it will stay morphologically singular. Contrastively, ordinal quantifiers are derived according to the pattern /fa:ʕil/(ih) except for the irregular form /ʔawwal/ ‘first m.’ and /ʔawwala/ ‘first f.’ and /əa:ni/ ‘second .m’, respectively. It is worth mentioning here that anaptyxis occurs here with ordinals (f.), particularly as the sound /-i/ in the word-final disappears with the additional feminine suffix /-ih/. Thus, pertinent to the paradigms shown above, it is noticed that the prosodic theory of non-concatenative morphology is active both inside and outside the boundary.

Finally, Adjectives of Colour have two categories: adjective of colours or physical defect with the pattern /ʔfʕal/ and its variant /faʕl/, and *Na:ʕba* adjectives of colour. The latter are formed by the addition of word-final /-i/ in the masculine

singular to noun, whereas feminine singular by adding the word-final /jih/ to masculine singular.



Endnotes:

¹See Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

² Notice that the perfective particle /qa:/ is a prefix in IV in most cases. However, it can be used as a separate word, in which case the pronoun is deleted (rather as an implied agent). It can also be used as a separate word if the agent is not a pronoun.

³Again in IV, speakers of the variety never use nunations and diacritics at word-final position.

⁴More details about defective passive participles are discussed below.

⁵Refer to Chapter Two, Types of Syllables.

⁶ Ambiguity here has a polysemous basis and works on two levels: phonetic and grammatical. While the adjectival form is equivalent to ‘sweet’ (adj.) or ‘contemporary’ (adj.) in English, the Arabic (including IV) noun form means ‘my condition’.

⁷ Please, refer to Chapter Four Nominal Gender

⁸ This term literally means ‘flame’ but it is also used as a dead metaphor to refer to a person/team with excessive activity.

⁹See Chapter Four for Broken Plural.

¹⁰For more elaboration on anaptyxis, see Chapter Two.

¹¹See above for further details on *na:ṣiba* adjectives.

CHAPTER SIX

The Morphology of IV Pronouns

6.1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to deal with the types of pronouns in IV. Here, pronouns in IV are classified into Personal Pronouns, Demonstrative Pronouns, Interrogative Participles and Relative Pronouns. Further, it tries to show a descriptive model to clarify how IV pronouns descended from MSA. Moreover, this chapter attempts to frame formulae to illustrate the minor changes that have occurred in IV pronominal system.

6.2. Definition of Pronouns

Pronoun is a word that takes the place of a noun. It can occupy any one of the three cases, subject, object or possessive. Alexander (1988) defines a pronoun as “a word that can be used in place of a noun or a noun phrase”. Pronouns belong to the category of nouns, but they are considered as a closed system. Therefore, pronouns in Arabic undergo almost all the grammatical processes as nouns, e.g. they are marked for number, gender, and case. In a sense, pronouns are always definite nouns.

6.3. Pronouns in MSA

Arabic pronominal system can be described as more sophisticated and more specific than that of many other languages. In addition to its categorization into four groups of pronouns (above), Arabic pronominal system shows variation in terms of person, number, gender, and grammatical category. For instance, the second person in Arabic is expressed in different ways depending on the number and gender of the addressee(s). In order to address one person, two persons, or more than two the

addresser uses a specific subject pronoun in each case not only in terms of number but also gender. In other words, Arabic is possessed of a highly refined pronominal system that shows more particularity and specificity than languages, such as English, do.¹ Like MSA, IV does not have a neutral pronoun for inanimate objects or abstractions, like the English 'it'. Arabic uses 3rd personal pronouns instead. In harmony with the gender-based classification of nouns in Arabic, IV pronouns tally with this classification. Inanimate referents are thus referred to by the use of third person pronouns, depending on whether the inanimate referent is classified as masculine or feminine.²

The four categories of pronouns in Arabic are discussed below, starting with personal pronouns and their different types according to number, gender and grammatical category.

Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns refer to persons or entities that stand on their own as substitutes for nouns or noun phrases. This word class fills a wide range of roles in Arabic and consists of three groups: subject, object, and possessive pronouns. The first group, subject pronouns, may come as independent, separate words or as morphemes suffixed to verbs and are regarded as the subject of the predicate; the other two groups can only take the form of suffixes. Arabic personal pronouns show differences in gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular, dual, plural), and person (first, second, and third). The number of categories of personal pronouns in Arabic is larger than in English (12 as opposed to 8) because it includes both masculine and feminine forms of the second and third person, includes the dual pronouns category, and also has dependent pronouns (subject and object).

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(Ryding 2005: 298)

I. Arabic Subject Pronouns:

In Arabic the subject pronouns are divided into two groups, Independent and Dependent. Independent Pronouns, known in Arabic as *ḍamaʿir munfaṣilah* ‘unaffixed pronouns’, are considered as words, while Dependent Pronouns (known as *ḍamaʿir muttaṣilah* ‘affixed pronouns or enclitics’) are always affixed to verbs. The table below shows the different forms of subject pronouns in Arabic.

Person	Number	Gender	MSA Subject Pronouns		Gloss
			Nominative Pronouns	Verb Agreement	
1 st Person	Sing.	any	?ana:	katab <u>t</u> <u>u</u>	I
	Pl.	any	naḥnu	katab <u>na</u> :	We
2 nd Person	Sing.	M.	?anta	katab <u>t</u> <u>a</u>	You
		F.	?anti	katab <u>t</u> <u>i</u>	You
	Dual	any.	?antuma:	katab <u>t</u> <u>uma</u> :	You
	Pl.	M.	?antum	katab <u>t</u> <u>um</u>	You
		F.	?antunna	katab <u>t</u> <u>unna</u>	You
3 rd Person	Sing.	M.	huwa	katab+ø	He
		F.	hija	katabat ³ + ø	She
	Dual	any	huma:	katab <u>a</u> :	They
			huma:	katabat <u>a</u> :	They
	Pl.	M.	hum	katab <u>u</u> :	They
		F.	hunna	katab <u>na</u>	They

II. Arabic Object Pronouns:

Object pronouns (which are pronominal suffixes that always come as *ḍama:ʔir muttaṣilah*, i.e. affixed pronouns or pronominal enclitics) in Arabic are ‘me, you, him, her, them, us, you (plural)’ and are suffixed to the verb. They are normally used in the accusative and genitive cases. Providing a list of these pronouns, the following table uses the verb phrase *fa:hada*+object pronoun ‘watch+past+he+object pronoun’ for verb object pronouns, and the noun phrase *kita:bu*+preposition object pronoun “book+object pronoun” for the genitive case pronouns.

Person	Number	Gender	Verbs marked for Pronominal enclitics in MSA		Gloss
			Verb + Object	Preposition . Object	
1 st Person	Sing.	any	<i>fa:hadani</i>	<i>kita:bi</i>	me, my
	Pl.	any	<i>fa:hadana:</i>	<i>kita:buna:</i>	us, our
2 nd Person	Sing.	M.	<i>fa:hadaka</i>	<i>kita:buka</i>	you, your
		F.	<i>fa:hadaki</i>	<i>kita:buki</i>	you, your
	Dual	any	<i>fa:hadakuma:</i>	<i>kita:bukuma:</i>	you, your
	Pl.	M.	<i>fa:hadakum</i>	<i>kita:bukum</i>	you, your
		F.	<i>fa:hadakunna</i>	<i>kita:bukunna</i>	you, your
3 rd Person	Sing.	M.	<i>fa:hadahu</i>	<i>kita:buhu</i>	him, his
		F.	<i>fa:hadaha:</i>	<i>kita:buha:</i>	her, her
	Dual	any	<i>fa:hadahuma:</i>	<i>kita:buhuma:</i>	them, their
	Pl.	M.	<i>fa:hadahum</i>	<i>kita:buhum</i>	them, their
		F.	<i>fa:hadahunna</i>	<i>kita:buhunna</i>	them, their

There are two sets of suffix pronouns. One set indicates object of possession (possessive pronouns) and is suffixed to nouns, and the other set indicates the object of a verb. Although the two sets are different in their distribution and in their meanings, in form they are almost exactly alike. The only formal difference between them is in the first person singular pronoun ('my' or 'me'), which when it indicates possession and is suffixed to a noun, is /-i/, but when it indicates the object of a verb it is *-ni*.

$$\phi \longrightarrow n / -i \left(\begin{array}{c} + 1^{st} \\ +S \\ +accus \end{array} \right)$$

6.4. Ibb Variety Pronouns

The pronominal system of IV shares most of the characteristics of that of MSA. Some variations, however, do exist. The pronominal of IV is discussed below, and the differences with MSA are pointed out as well. We start with IV subject pronouns.

6.4.1. Subject Pronouns

In harmony with MSA and many other varieties of Arabic (Mitchell 1962), two classes of subject pronominal forms have to be distinguished in Ibb Variety: (i) independent pronouns (known in Arabic as *qama:?ir munfa?ilah*, i.e. unaffixed pronouns), (ii) pronominal suffixes (known as *qama:?ir mutta?ilah*, i.e. affixed pronouns). The term personal, when used to describe pronouns, refers to both the independent and suffixed type.

Syntactically, independent pronouns are the forms used in the nominative case, i.e., for a subject of a sentence. Independent pronouns precede the predicate directly in most sentences. Notice the following examples,

hu: ma ?i-gi:f ?alju:m

he no will come neg.(m.s.) the-day

‘He isn’t coming today.’

han xaragem la ?assu:q.

they (f.) went (f.pl). to def market

‘They (f.) went to the market.’

Dependent subject pronouns are suffixed to sentence predicate and function as the subject of the sentence, e.g.

mu: ʕimilku?

What do past you (m.pl.).?

‘What did you do?’

risibu bi-l-ʔimtiḥa:n.

fail past they (m.) in def. exam(m.)

‘ They failed in the exam’.

As it is clearly seen in the examples above, it is argued here that pronouns in IV (like MSA) are inflected to indicate number and gender. Moreover, unlike MSA, which has twelve personal pronouns, the table below reflects that there are only ten types of personal pronoun in IV.

Person	Number	Gender	Subject Pronouns		Gloss
			IV	MSA	
1 st Person	Sing.	M.	?ana	?ana:	I
		F.	?ani		
	Pl.	any	?ihni?	nahnu	We
2 nd Person	Sing.	any	?inta	?anta	You
			?inti	?anti	You
	Dual		?intu(m)	?antuma:	
			?intu(m)		You
	Pl.		?intu(m)	?antum	You
			?intu(m)	?antunna	You
3 rd Person	Sing.	M.	hu:	huwa	He
		F.	hi:	hija	She
		F.	han	huma	They
	Pl.	M.	hum		They
		F.	han	hunna	They

nahnu → ʔihni?

na → ʔi / 1st P

m → / ∅ $\left(\begin{array}{l} 2^{\text{nd}} \text{ dual} \\ +\text{plural} \end{array} \right)$

Here are some sentences and NP's containing independent pronouns:

<u>hum</u> bi-l-maktab ðalhi:n <u>they (m.)</u> in def. Office (m.) this time	They are in the office right now.
?iħni? ma nifhamf ?allahga ?assudanijih <u>we</u> no understand neg.(pl.) def. variety (f.s.).	We don't understand Sudan's variety.
<u>hi:</u> bi-l-bett? <u>she</u> at def. home (m.)?	Is she at home?
?ana katabk ?arrisa:la I (m.) wrote pron (s.) def. letter (f.)	I wrote the letter.

As for the dependent pronouns, the following table presents a list of IV subject dependent pronouns in comparison with their MSA counterparts, using the verb *katab* 'write'.

Person	Number	Gender	Subject Agreement		Gloss
			IV	MSA	
1 st Person	Sing.	any	katab <u>k</u>	katab <u>tu</u>	I
					I
	Pl.	any	katab <u>na:</u>	katab <u>na:</u>	We
					We
2 nd Person	Sing.	M.	katab <u>k</u>	katab <u>ta</u>	You
		F.	katab <u>ki</u>	katab <u>ti</u>	You
	Dual	M.	katab <u>ku:</u>	katab <u>tuma:</u>	You
		F.	katab <u>ke:n</u>	katab <u>tuma:</u>	You
	Pl.	M.	katab <u>ku:</u>	katab <u>tum</u>	You
		F.	katab <u>ke:n</u>	katab <u>tunna</u>	You
3 rd Person	Sing.	M.	katab+ø	katab+ø	He
		F.	kataba ⁴ + ø	katabat+ ø	She
	Dual	M.	katab <u>u:</u>	katab <u>a:</u>	They
		F.	katab <u>em</u>	katabat <u>a:</u>	They
	Pl.	M.	katab <u>u:</u>	katab <u>u:</u>	They
		F.	katab <u>em</u>	katab <u>na</u>	They

Because in Arabic as well as its other varieties verbs incorporate the subject or features of it into their inflections, the independent personal pronoun is not necessary to mark the subject of a verb phrase.⁵ This pronoun in this case is called '*qami:r*

mustatir'. However, the pronoun can be used along with the verb as a prefix or a suffix to emphasize the subject.

qami:r mustatir	English equivalence
maqdirf no can (m.s.)+1 st per.+neg	'I cannot.'
?akalk ate (ms.) 1 st per.	'I ate.'
qa:la said (f.s.) 3 rd per.	'she said'
katabu: wrote (m.pl.)3 rd per.	'they (3.m.pl.) wrote'
daras <u>em</u> studied (f.pl.)3 rd per.	'they (3.f.pl.) studied'

6.4.2. Object Pronouns

Like MSA, IV pronouns (pronominal suffixes that usually come as *qama:?ir muttaşilah*, i.e. affixed/enclitic pronouns) can be attached to verbs (as direct objects), to nouns and to prepositions (for the genitive case). Pronouns can also be attached to active participles as either direct object or as possessive adjective suffix normally preceded by the word /*haqq*/ 'belonging to; under possession of' – possessive pronouns are discussed later in this chapter although they are mentioned here, given the fact that despite their similarity in form with object pronouns, their grammatical function is different.⁶ Pronouns can also be suffixed to particles, where they are

usually prepositional objects. The following table presents a list of the pronouns as used in MSA and IV in the subject and object positions.

Person	Number	Gender	Object Pronouns		Gloss
			IV	MSA	
1 st Person	Singular	any	-ni:/i:	-ni:/-i:	me, my
			-ni/i	-ni:	me, my
	Plural	any	-na:	-na:	us, our
			-na:	-na:	us, our
2 nd Person	Singular	M.	-ak	-ka:	you, your
		F.	-ik	-ki	you, your
	Dual	M.	-kum	-kuma:	you, your
		F.	-kan	-kuma:	you, your
	Plural	M.	-kum	-kum	you, your
		F.	-kan	-kunna	you, your
3 rd Person	Singular	M.	-uh	-hu	him, his
		F.	-ih	-ha:	her, her
	Dual	M.	-hum	-huma:	them, their
		F.	-han	-huma:	them, their
	Plural	M.	-hum	-hum	them, their
		F.	-han	-hunna	them, their

It is clearly obvious that there are morphological and phonological changes in IV to inflect the pronouns either with noun or verb. Except for the 1st person singular masculine subject pronoun, all IV pronouns reveal variation, at least phonologically

and at most paradigmatically (e.g. the dual), with their MSA counterparts. Phonological changes involve not only vowels but also consonants. For example, the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ becomes voiceless velar stop /k/ in the environment of verb; that is, the MSA verb phrase /katabtuha:/ ‘write+past+I+ obj.her, I wrote it’ becomes /katabkih/ in IV, and so among the changes in IV we can notice that the /t/ is changed into /k/ and the back rounded vowel is deleted.⁷ Further, as has been mentioned earlier (See Chapter Four and Chapter Five), there is a tendency in IV to make minimal use of the dual form. This is a paradigmatic change. Here, it is observed that the MSA dual form pronouns are replaced by plural forms in IV.

In an attempt to capture some of the changes taking place in this context, the following rules reflect how some IV pronouns are formed. Regarding the dependent subject pronouns, it is observed that the /t/ sound in MSA is changed into /k/ in IV. This rule is formulated as follows:

$$/t/ \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{alveo} \\ -\text{final} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{velar} \\ +\text{final} \end{array} \right) /1^{\text{st}} \text{ person}$$

Faber (1997:11) indicates that in Central Semitic languages and varieties (including most varieties of Arabic), the -k of the first person singular suffix is replaced by a -t, while the -t of the second person suffixes is replaced by a -k in South Semitic. This point raises a big question in terms of IV genealogy, i.e. while MSA and almost all varieties of Arabic in Yemen (and in the whole Arab world) the -k is supposed to have been replaced by -t, why does IV retain the -k? Or, if we are to generalise the varieties of Arabic in Yemen, why did IV break the norm and revert from /-t/ to /-k/? In other words, is this an indication that IV has been influenced by

the South Semitic at some point of history? Or is it originally South Semitic in origin or descended from a South Semitic language? The answer to these questions, however, lies beyond the purview of this research.

Another example of the changes in IV pronominal system can be seen in the use of the 2nd person singular object pronoun. While MSA uses /-ka/ for the masculine singular and /-ik/ for the feminine singular, IV uses /-ak/ and /-ik/, respectively.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} /ki/ \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{final} \\ +\text{front} \end{array} \right) & \longrightarrow & /ik/ \left(\begin{array}{c} -\text{final} \\ +\text{front} \end{array} \right) \quad / (2^{\text{nd}} \text{ f.s.}) \\ & & \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{long} \\ +\text{final} \end{array} \right) \\ /a/ & \longrightarrow & / \phi / \end{array}$$

The MSA suffix pronoun /kun/ becomes /han/ in IV in context of 2nd feminine plural.

$$k \longrightarrow h / 2^{\text{nd}} (\text{f.p.})$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} /u/ \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{back} \\ +\text{rounded} \\ +\text{high} \end{array} \right) & \longrightarrow & /a/ \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{front} \\ -\text{rounded} \\ +\text{cent} \end{array} \right) \quad / 2^{\text{nd}} (\text{f.p.}) \\ & & \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{initial} \\ +\text{glottal} \\ +\text{stop} \\ -1^{\text{st}} \text{ p.s.} \end{array} \right) \\ /a/ & \longrightarrow & /i/ \end{array}$$

Generally speaking, pronouns and functional words are considered among the weak forms (compared to lexical words) and closed systems in a language. Since pronouns refer to nouns, which in the context of speaking are already defined, pronouns do not carry a heavy weight semantically. That is why in their pronunciation

during speech, they are hardly prominent, unless otherwise emphasis is required in certain contexts. It has been noticed so far that most of the variation between MSA and IV has occurred in the pronominal system. The brunt of the impact has occurred on vowels and the /t/ sound. The changes that have taken place with reference to nouns may be construed given the nature of the role played by vowels and semi-vowels in Arabic in general. Except for the semi-vowels, i.e. /a:/, /j/ and /w/, Arabic linguistics does not seem to pay much attention to variations in the vocalic system of the language or its varieties because, as it seems, vowels are considered merely as lubricants to ease the pronunciation of and movement between consonants. Perhaps, that is also why when the verb in Arabic is investigated, it is described in terms of its radicals, and when any of the radicals is a semi-vowel, the verb is considered defective or hollow. This point is relevant to the investigation of pronouns here considering the somehow subordinate position pronouns occupy in the study of a language. Combining this with the ideas above, one can come to a reasonable explanation of why pronouns are the fastest to divert in a language such as Arabic.

A relevant example is discussed below. As far as Arabic pronouns are concerned, it seems that the sound /h/ in a pronoun is among the fastest sounds prone to lose their vitality, especially if the pronoun is to unite with another functional word to form a new functional matrix. It is argued here that the sound /h/ of the (third person) independent pronoun is not realized when the pronoun is cliticized to the particle *qad* ‘already’, which is realised in IV as /qa/. Examples:

qa:u ga:ziʕ ðalhi:n

already he going this moment

‘He is already going right now’

qa + hu: qahu: → quw → ‘he’

qa + hi:	qahi:.	→	qai	→	‘she’
qa + hum	qahum	→	qaum	→	‘they’ (m.)
qa + han	qahan	→	qa:n	→	‘they’ (f.)

The same applies if the pronoun is combined with the negative marker /muʃ/ in IV. The /h/ sound of the pronoun disappears.

muʃ + hi:muʃi ‘not she’

In Watson’s (1993: 211) words:

In a number of modern [Arabic] dialects, /h/ of the {third person} dependent pronouns is not realized post-consonantly. This is exemplified in Central Sudanese *bi-yd^h ruba* ‘he hits her’ versus *nadaha* ‘he calls her’ (Persson and Persson 1979: 165). In the Libyan dialect of Siirt, the original initial *h of the independent pronouns is not realized in any phonological environment; thus, ‘he’ and ‘she’ are realized as *we* and *.ye* (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 53). In San’ani, in common with a number of other Yemeni dialects (Watson 1989: 140–1), /h/ of the {third person} independent pronoun is not realized when the pronoun is cliticized to the particles *gad* [copula], *cfd* ‘still, yet (in negative)’ or *miš* ‘not’.⁸

Ryding (2005: 301) also supports this point:

There are two sets of suffix pronouns, one set indicates possession (possessive pronouns) and is suffixed to nouns, and the other set indicates the object of a verb or object of a preposition(object pronouns). Although the two sets are different in their distribution and in their meanings, in form they are almost exactly alike. The only formal difference between them is in the first person singular pronoun (‘my’ or ‘me’), which when it indicates possession and is suffixed to a noun, is /-ii/, but when it indicates the object of a verb is -nii نِي.

6.4.3. Pronouns as Possessive Suffixes

These suffixes are attached at the end of a noun, after the “case-marking vowel”, except for the suffix -i ‘my’. A noun with a pronoun suffix is considered definite, the suffix acting like the second term of an annexation structure to define the noun. As in MSA, the possessive suffixed pronouns in IV stand as the same direct object suffixed pronouns, except for the first person pronoun singular with transitive

verbs. It is argued here that possessive pronouns and affixed pronouns of IV are homophonous except in the 1st person singular.

$\phi \longrightarrow n / -i$

$\left(\begin{array}{l} +\text{sing.} \\ +\text{accus.} \end{array} \right)$

Examples of pronouns as direct object and pronouns as possessive suffixes are as follows:

Poss. Pron. Suffixes	Gloss	Pron. as Dir. Object	Gloss
kita:bi:	‘my book’	bazzani:	‘he took me’
kita:bik	‘your book’ (f.s.)	bazzik	‘he took you’ (f.s.)
kita:bak	‘your book’ (m.s.)	bazzak	‘he took you’ (m.s.)
kita:bana:	‘our book’	bazzana:	‘he took us’
kita:buh	‘his book’	bazzuh	‘he took him’
kita:bih	‘her book’	bazzih	‘he took her’
kita:ba(h)um	‘their book’	bazza(h)um	‘he took them’ (m.p.)
kita:ba(h)an	‘their book’	bazza(h)an	‘he took them’ (f.p.)
kita:bana:	‘our book’	bazzana:	‘he took us’

6.4.4. Emphatic and Reflexive Forms

Regarding the emphatic possessive case, IV tends to use the possessive marker *haqq*+pron.+def.+noun. The pronoun tends to agree in number and gender with the owner irrespective of the number and gender of the following definite noun. This structure is equivalent in meaning to the English emphatic pronouns, e.g. ‘This book is mine’. The following table illustrates this point.

Person	Poss. Pron.	<i>haqq</i> +pron.	Example	Gloss
1 st	any	ħaqqi:	ħaqqi: ?addaraga:t possession my(m.) def. mark(f.pl.)	My marks
		ħaqqi:	ħaqqi: ?addaraga:t possession my (f.) def. mark (f.pl.).	
	any	ħaqqana:	ħaqqana ?addaraga:t possession our (m.). def. mark (f.pl.)	Our marks
		ħaqqana:	ħaqqana ?addaraga:t possession our (f.) def. mark (f.pl.)	
2 nd	m.s.	ħaqqak	ħaqqak ?alkursi possession your (m.s.) def. chair (m.s.)	Your chair
	f.s.	ħaqqik	ħaqqik ?alkursi possession your(f.s.) def. chair (m.s.).	
	m. dual	ħaqqakum	ħaqqakum ?alkursi possession your (m.pl.) def. chair (m.s.)	Your chair
	f. dual	ħaqqakan	ħaqqakan ?alkursi possession your (f.pl.). def. chair (m.s.)	
	m.pl.	ħaqqakum	ħaqqakum ?alkursi possession your (m.pl.) def. chair (m.s.)	
	f.pl.	ħaqqakan	ħaqqakan ?alkursi possession your (f.pl.). def. chair (m.s.)	
3 rd	m.s.	ħaqquh	ħaqquh ?assjja:ra possession his def.+car (f.s.)	His car
	f.s.	ħaqqih	ħaqqih ?assjja:ra possession her def.+car (f.s.)	Her car
	m.dual	ħaqqahum	ħaqqahum ?assjja:ra possession their dua l(m.) def.+car (f.s.)	Their car
	f.dual	ħaqqahan	ħaqqahan ?assjja:ra possession their dual (f.) def (f.s.)	
	m.pl.	ħaqqahum	ħaqqahum ?assjja:ra possession their dual (m.) def. car(f.s.)	
	f.pl.	ħaqqahan	ħaqqahan ?assjja:ra possession their dua l(f.) def. car (f.s.)	

Used for the sake of emphasis in MSA, the reflexive form can be expressed by repeating the noun in some cases, but the general rule indicates that the emphatic reflexive form is made by inserting a reflexive pronoun after the noun suffixed by an object pronoun referring to the noun, i.e. *naḥs-* (self), *ḍa:t-* (self), or *ʿein* (self).⁹ These three are generally nouns and are still used as such in most cases, i.e. lexical forms that have the capacity to be used as subject or object of a predicate, but when used for emphatic purposes, they function as pronouns (cf. the possession particle *ħaqq* ‘possession’). In IV, however, the first pronoun of these three tends to occur

frequently, the other two occur only in certain contexts echoing literary Arabic. Reflexive expressions in IV follow the same system of MSA, i.e. the main noun of the NP is immediately followed by the noun *nafs* ‘self’ suffixed by a pronoun, but with phonological modulations. However, if the reflexive pronoun is separated from the head noun by an intransitive verb, then the preposition *bi-* ‘by, in’ is prefixed to the reflexive pronoun. But in this case, slight ambiguity of meaning can be noticed. See the following example

- i. *?rriga:l nafsuh ga:? ʕindana*

Def. man *nafs* 3rd per (m.s.) come past(m.s.) at us

The man himself came to us.

- ii. *?rriga:l ga:? binafsuh ʕindana*

Def. man come past (m.s.) by-*nafs* 3rd per. (m.s.) at us

The man came to us by himself.

In the first example, it is clear that the reflexive pronoun is only used for emphatic reason, implying that it was the right man (not anyone else) who came to us. In the second example, it may imply in addition to this meaning that the man himself did the action.

Additionally, a reflexive pronoun can function as the object of a transitive verb. See the following table in which the reflexive pronoun is used as the object of the verb *?aəbat* ‘prove’.

Per	No.	Gen.	<i>Nafs</i> as Object	Gloss
1 st	S.	any	?aëbit nafsî:	I prove myself.
	Pl.	any	niëbit ?anfusna:	We prove ourselves.
2 nd	S.	M.	?iëbit nafsak	Prove yourself.
		F.	?iëbiti nafsik	Prove yourself.
	D.	M.	?iëbitu: ?anfuskum	Prove yourselves.
		F.	?iëbitu: ?anfuskan	
	Pl.	M.	?iëbitu: ?anfuskum	Prove yourselves.
		F.	?iëbitu: ?anfuskan	Prove yourselves.
3 rd	S.	M.	jiëbit nafsuh	He proves himself.
		F.	tiëbit nafsih	She proves herself.
	D.	M.	jiëbitu: ?anfushum	They prove themselves.
		F.	jiëbitem ?anfushan	
	Pl.	M.	jiëbitu: ?anfushum	
		F.	jiëbitem ?anfushan	

6.4.5. Pronouns as Objects of Prepositions

As in MSA, pronouns can occur as objects of prepositions. Different prepositions express different attitudes pertinent to the pronoun after the preposition. These attitudes reveal the pronoun, for example, as the beneficiary, the object, the patient, the location, etc. Those prepositions ending in vowel sounds have their word-final vowels affected by the addition of a pronominal suffix. In the defective ‘one

letter' /la/ 'for, at', the final sound /a/ is deleted when it attaches to the pronominal pronouns. Here are some examples:

	Singular	Gloss	Plural
1 st person	ʔimil li	'he did something for me'	ʔimil lana
2 nd person masculine	ʔimil lak	'he did something for you'	ʔimil lakum
2 nd person feminine	ʔimil lik	'he did something for you'	ʔimil lik
3 rd person masculine	ʔimilluh	'he did something for him'	ʔimil lahum
3 rd person feminine	ʔimil lih	'he did something for her'	ʔimil lahan

Similarly, the final sound /a/ in the defective 'two letter' preposition /ʔala/ 'upon' turns into /j/ (or /i/) or /u/ whenever it receives a singular or plural pronoun suffix. The table below provides some examples of /ʔala/ + pronoun suffix:

	Singular	Gloss	Plural
1 st person	ʔalja	'upon me'	ʔalina
2 nd person masculine	ʔalik	'upon you'	ʔalikum
2 nd person feminine	ʔalik	'upon her'	ʔalihan
3 rd person masculine	ʔaluh	'upon him'	ʔalihum
3 rd person feminine	ʔalih	'upon her'	ʔalihan

6.4.6. Demonstrative Pronouns

As in MSA, IV has demonstrative pronouns but with variation in pronunciation and categories. These are divided on basis of proximity into 'near' and 'distant' demonstratives. They are inflected for number and gender. The following are near/close demonstratives.

	MSA	IV	Gloss
Masculine Singular	ha:ða:	ha:ða	‘this’ (m.)
Feminine Singular	ha:ðihi	ha:ði	‘this’ (f.)
Masculine dual	ha:ða:n/ha:ðein	ha:ðu:	‘these’
Feminine dual	ha:ta:n/ha:tein	ha:ðu:	
Masculine plural	ha:ʔula:ʔi	ha:ðu:	
Feminine plural	ha:ʔula:ʔi	ha:ðu:	

Notice that the structure of IV near demonstratives is composed of the particle ha:+ð+pron.¹⁰ While MSA has three categories of near demonstratives, i.e. singular, dual, and plural, IV has two only, singular and plural. MSA dual near demonstratives also reveal that they are inflected for grammatical case. By contrast, IV near demonstratives do not inflect for case. Besides, IV dual-cum-plural near demonstratives do not inflect for gender.

On the other hand, while MSA has six distant demonstratives, IV has only four. The following table shows distant demonstratives in MSA and IV.

	MSA	IV	Gloss
Masculine Singular	ða:lika/ða:likum(u) ¹¹	ha:ðak	‘that’
Feminine Singular	tilka/tilkum(u)	ha:ðik	‘that’
Masculine dual	ða:nika	ha:ðuk(u:)	‘those’
Feminine dual	ta:nika	ha:ðuk(u:)	
Masculine plural	ʔula:ʔika	ha:ðuk(u:)	
Feminine plural	tilkum(u)	ha:ðuk(u:)	

Similar to the case with near demonstratives in MSA and IV, there is no dual category demonstratives in IV. Besides, IV distant demonstratives paradigm tends to be easier and less complex than that of MSA, which further uses specific demonstratives for near-distant and far-distant entities or for stylistic reasons.

Like English, demonstratives in Arabic (MSA or IV) can function as objects of predicates or prepositions. Otherwise, they generally occur before the noun they refer to. But in IV, they can also be used predicatively and occur immediately after the noun they refer to. In IV or MSA, the noun referred to by a demonstrative can be definite or indefinite depending on the context, but the grammatical function can change. Here are some examples of the use of demonstratives in IV.

ha:ða ʔalla: ʕib hirri:f

this (m.s.) def. player (m.s.) skilful (m.s.) ‘This player is skilful’.

ʔalla: ʕib ha:ða hirri:f

def.’player (m.s.) this (m.s.) skilful (m.s.) ‘This player is skilful’

ha:ða la: ʕib hirri:f

This (m.s.) player(m.s.) skilful (m.s.). ‘This is a skilful player’.

In the first two sentences, the demonstrative is used with definite nouns, attributively in the former and predicatively in the latter. The meaning is the same, and the only difference between them is based on stylistic grounds in terms of focus. In both sentences, the noun and the demonstrative represent one NP. In the last example, while the demonstrative serves as a single NP (*mubtadaʔ* ‘sentence initiator/starter’), the indefinite noun (and the adjective) stands as the other part of the nominal sentence (*xabar* ‘sentence completer/informer’).

6.4.7. Interrogative Particles

MSA uses a number of tools called *?asma:ʔu-l-ʔistifha:m* ‘nouns of interrogations. These are reproduced in the table below.

ma: / ma:ða:	What	Inanimate
man	Who	Animate
mata:	When	Time
?ajja:na	When	Time (literary)
?ajna	Where	Location
kajfa	How	Situation/Condition
Kam	How many/much	Quantity
?anna:	How	Situation/Condition (literary)
?ajju	Which of	Choice (animate/inanimate)
lima:ða:	Why	Reason

IV interrogation system can be said to show differences with that of MSA. In IV, it is argued that interrogative particles are subject to gender in IV. The tables below show interrogative particles in IV.

	Interrogative Particles	Gloss
Masculine Singular	manuh	‘who’
Feminine Singular	manih	
Masculine plural	manhum	
Feminine plural	manhan	

	Interrogative Particles	Gloss
Masculine Singular	?ijanuh	
Feminine Singular	?ijanih	

Masculine plural	?ijanhum	‘which one’
Feminine plural	?ijanhan	

Other interrogative particles are also attached with the pronominal suffixes in same way of /manuh/ and /?ijanuh/ to indicate number and gender, unlike those of MSA.

mu	‘what’, inanimate
kam	‘how’ quantity
?em	‘where’
lamuh	‘why’
keif	‘how’ (to solicit details/description)

As the tables above reveal, the number of interrogative particles in IV are less than those of MSA. Besides, although they can be used independently as words, IV interrogative particles are also combined with pronouns, unlike those of MSA.

6.4.8. Relative Pronouns

Unlike MSA, which has five inflected forms of relative pronouns depending on number and gender, IV has only one relative pronoun, /?alli/, used for all situations, i.e. for ‘which, that, who, and whom’. By definition, /?alli/ can introduce a relative or subordinate clause. Unlike English, the relative pronoun in IV cannot be used for indefinite referents. The example which is following clarifies this point.

mudaris ‘araffkuh qahu mudi:r.

Teacher (m.s.) know past 1stsubj.pro (s.) 3rdobj.pron.(m.s.) already 3rdsubj.pro (m.s.). principal (m.s.).

‘A teacher (m.) I know has become a principal.’

In a sentence like the example above, English speakers have the option to use or delete the relativizer ‘who (m)’ (also ‘that’ or even ‘which’). But where the referent /*mudaris*/ ‘teacher’ (m.) is indefinite, the use of a relativizer is not grammatical in IV, as in:

**mudaris ?alli ?araffkuh qahu mudir.*

Teacher (m.s.) whom know past 1stsubj.pron (s.) 3rdobj.pron (m.s.) already 3rdsubj.pron (m.s.), principal (m.s.).

‘A teacher (m.) whom I know has become a principal’.

The correct way to put this sentence is by adding the definite article *?al-* to the subject.

?almudaris ?alli ?araffkuh qahu mudi:r

‘The teacher (m.) whom I know has become a principal’.

6.5. Summary

IV pronouns have been categorised into Personal Pronouns, Demonstrative Pronouns, Interrogative Participles and Relative Pronouns. In harmony with Arabic linguistics, Personal Pronouns are classified into (a) Independent (known in Arabic and in IV as *qama:ʔir munfaṣilah* i.e. unaffixed pronouns) and (b) Pronominal Suffixes (known as *qama:ʔir muttaṣilah* i.e. affixed pronouns). Unlike MSA, IV has only ten categories of personal pronouns. Like MSA, IV dependent pronouns can be attached to verbs (as a direct object) and to nouns (to indicate possession). Pronouns can also be attached to active participles, as either direct object or a possessive adjective suffix. It has been argued that the possessive pronouns and suffixed pronouns are homophonous except in the 1st person singular. There are morphological and phonological changes in each change and some movement sounds according to these features. The number of pronouns in IV varies from that in MSA. The MSA

dual pronouns are not found in IV. Instead, IV uses plural pronouns to refer to dual entities. It has been found in IV that the sound /h/ of the 3rd person independent pronoun is not realized when it is cliticized to particles, such as *qa:* ‘already’ + *hum* ‘they (m.)’ becoming *qa:wm*. Unlike MSA, where independent pronouns are not attached to other words, IV pronouns allow this feature, as in the previous example and in the construction *ħaqq-* ‘possession of’ + independent personal pronoun to indicate possession or emphatic possession.

Regarding reflexive expressions in IV, it has been observed that these pronouns follow the same system of MSA with some phonological modulations. In order to form a reflexive pronoun, IV suffixes the dependent pronoun to the term *nafs* ‘self’, which is originally a noun and is used as one of three reflexive terms in MSA. But IV can also use the reflexive pronominal form as an object of a transitive verb, depending on the context. In addition, the reflexive pronoun in IV does not always have to follow the noun it refers to immediately, but can come at the end of the clause. In this case, if the reflexive pronoun is separated from its referent by an intransitive verb, the preposition /bi/ is prefixed to it, sometimes inducing a potential ambiguity.

Demonstrative pronouns have been divided into near/close and distant demonstrative. It has been observed that the number of IV demonstratives is much less than that of MSA. Besides, while MSA demonstrative pronouns systems show variations not only in terms of number and gender, but also for stylistic purposes, IV tends to adopt a more simplified system of demonstratives.

Interrogative pronouns in IV show many differences from those in MSA. Some IV interrogative pronouns inflect for gender and number, and some

accommodate the attachment of certain dependent pronouns, unlike MSA in which interrogative pronouns are not marked for number and gender and do not accept pronominal affixation. Finally, the relative pronominal system of IV varies greatly from that of MSA. While MSA has various relative pronouns each of which reflects the number and gender of the referent, IV uses only one relative pronoun, /ʔilli/, to refer to one and all. Generally speaking, the pronominal system of IV reveal the most conspicuous deviation of IV from MSA.

Endnotes

¹ Yet, English has the pronoun ‘it’ which has no equivalent in Arabic. This point is discussed later.

² There is no neutral pronoun “it”, since there is no neutral gender in Arabic. Everything is referred to as either masculine or feminine. Note that the third person feminine singular pronoun, in keeping with the agreement rules of Arabic, is used to refer to non-human plurals.

³ In Arabic linguistics, the /-t/ attached to verbs to indicate feminine gender is not considered the subject of the verb. It is only a gender marker.

⁴ In line with Arabic linguistics, the particle /-a/ at the end of the verb will be considered as a feminine marker and not as a dependent subject pronoun.

⁵ Arabic is a “pro-drop” language; i.e., it is a language that allows a separate pronominal subject to be left unexpressed. This feature results in the verb inflectional paradigm distinguishing all persons uniquely.

⁶ Refer to Chapter Five, Morphology of Adjective, namely the Possessive Marker /*haqq*/ ‘belonging to’.

⁷ Notice that some IV speakers may pronounce it as /kata^ubk/, where one can perceive the existence of a /u/ vowel sound, no matter how minimal it might be, making the combination of /a^u/ sound like /ɒ/ in English as in the word ‘got’. Notice also that the sound /a/ here is considered the default while the /u/ is considered subordinate because in the conjugation of this verb in Arabic and IV, the /a/ is more prevalent. This point also raises a question, i.e. did the insertion of this light /u/ in IV happen as a compensation of the deleted /u/ in MSA equivalent /katabtu/?

⁸ Watson, Janet C.E. (2002/2007) *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic*. New York: Oxford University of Press. p. 211

⁹ These reflexive forms all refer to self, either explicitly or by dint of a synecdoche, as in *nafs* ‘breath’ or *‘ayn* ‘eye’.

¹⁰ In Arabic linguistics, the particle *ha:* is more or less a sound to attract listener’s attention. That is to say, the weight of the signalling function lies on the particle -*hā*-, to which the pronoun attaches. Hence, IV near demonstratives can be said to be formed by the suffixation of the pronoun to this particle.

¹¹ Distant demonstratives in Arabic (MSA) show more implications than it appears here. Besides the two demonstratives mentioned here, the masculine singular can also be referred to using *ḥa:nika* and *ḥa:ka*, depending on the proximity to the speaker. A lot more stylistic features could be pointed but this lies outside the purview of this research as the concern here is IV demonstratives.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This research has basically emanated to respond to the fact that in spite of the much talk of diglossia in Arabic, and also the fact that there is diglossia in Arabic, little has been done to seriously investigate the reasons or the outcome of this situation. Arabic speakers' tenacity of their 'pure' and 'holy' language is perhaps the main cause for the marginalisation of varieties, which exist nonetheless, perhaps to the majority as a looming danger and a source of variation to the dearly held Arabic 'pure' form. A wise move would be to study the varieties of Arabic, account for linguistic development, which is an inevitable fact of every living language, and only then can scholars come up with authentic data as to how such varieties developed and how to account for the diglossic situation.

This dissertation is an attempt in this line, opening up a new horizon for the study of varieties of Arabic in Yemen, particularly Ibb Variety (IV), Yemen, which is used by two million speakers approximately. Its utmost significance lies in the fact that no study so far has addressed the features of IV at all and, therefore, it is the first to tread an untrodden path, hoping that more studies will follow in the near future.

The study has depended mainly on pointing out and accounting the differences between Ibb Variety (IV) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is considered unanimously as the only 'legitimate' representative of Classical or Literary Arabic (CA or LA). Features existing in MSA and lacking in IV have been marked out and discussed with the premise that differences and variations are not to be considered as a defect (as some hard-line Arabic grammarians would) but as a natural outcome of linguistic evolution and social, cultural, etc. interaction.

It cannot be claimed that this dissertation has presented everything pertinent to IV, but it is the first to give IV its due status of a variety worth investigating. It focuses only on the morphological side of the variety. But this does not mean the isolation of morphology from other branches of language study, nor belittling their importance. Basically, all branches of language study are interrelated and complementary to one another. Secondly, while the focus of this study has been formed on the morphology of IV, the researcher has had to resort to other branches of language study to explain some data whenever required, especially in Chapter Two. The researcher's interest in studying the morphology of IV rather than other branches is the result of the belief that through morphological investigation, one can come up with rules and formulae that can account for the formal matrices of the variety which can function as the basis for further understanding of the other features.

For purposes of investigation, the dissertation has been divided into seven chapters in addition to the Introduction, which shows the layout and the major objectives and scope of the research. Chapter One, entitled "The Arabic Language: A Historical Background", provides necessary data and details related to the research. It can be seen to contain three major parts, i.e. a historical account of Arabic and its varieties, diglossia in Arabic, and review of the literature related to this dissertation. It begins with a historical background of Arabic language, pointing out the most important views regarding the emergence of Arabic in its Classical form and the evidence of the existence of varieties in the pre-Islamic period in Arabia. The concept of the Koine, a theoretical model proposed by Fueck and Ferguson (1959), is discussed in some detail, following which some views pertinent to the emergence and status of Arabic (and its varieties) in the pre-Islamic period are elicited. Among these

views, Teymour (1932) states that the modern varieties of Arabic emerged from one common language and diverged from each other owing to foreign occupation and colonization, a process which started with the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in the 1100's, followed by Mongol invasion in the mid-1200's, the Turkish occupation which lasted up to the beginning of the 20th century in some areas, and finally the occupation by western colonialist powers. The predominant illiteracy and the lack of official status for Arabic throughout that period aggravated the situation and escalated the colloquializing process in spoken Arabic. Versteegh (1984) argues that the Old Spoken Arabic and the Poetic Koine, which existed at the time of the Prophet and shortly thereafter, both refer to a single language which he calls Old Arabic. Blau (1965/1981 and 1966) argues that Old Spoken Arabic and the Poetic Koine were in essence the same language. Ziadeh (1986) uses the evidence of the multiple forms of broken plurals to argue that alongside poets' innovativeness in deriving forms to suit the strict meter of Arabic poetry, extensive cross-dialect borrowing occurred in *Jahiliyya* poetry.

By juxtaposing the explanation of Versteegh with Ferguson explanation, it appears that the radical changes which occurred to Arabic took the form first of abrupt pidginization and creolization which was followed by a long period of gradual decreolization. The spoken language to which this process of pidginization, creolization and then gradual decreolization occurred was Ferguson's Koine II. I think this accounts for the features that are common to all dialects but differ from Old Arabic, which is what Ferguson was aiming at. It also accounts for those features where each dialect is different from Old Arabic and is different from the other dialects as well, which is what Versteegh was aiming at. In fact Versteegh uses this anomaly

to try to discredit Ferguson's theory. I differ with Versteegh's analysis where he wants to say that the dialects developed out of Old Arabic, and that this Old Arabic was the same language as the Quran. Ferguson's (1989) argument appears more plausible when he indicates that the only category for which duals exist in modern Arabic dialects is the noun, and that it invariably takes plural agreement. This is very different from Old Arabic and MSA which have dual categories in the verb, pronoun and adjective. In MSA and Old Arabic a dual noun requires dual agreement with the verb, pronoun and adjective, which makes it a separate category from singular and plural. Generally, it is not until the 7th century that a crucial attempt at systematisation of Arabic started to take place.

Having briefly dealt with Arabic from a historical perspective, the chapter then deals with diglossia in Arabic as proposed by Ferguson (1959) in order to describe the Language High-Low Arabic, known as *ʔal-fuṣḥa* (classical) and *Al-ammijjah* (colloquial). By tracing the linguistic situation from pre-Islamic Middle East up to present, the discussion attempts to shed light on the concept of code-mixing and code-switching in Arabic on basis on the frequency model (Holes 1987). Finally, the chapter offers a brief review of literature, summing up most of the work carried out on a number of Arabic varieties so far. Finally, this chapter presents the theoretical models of morphology as well as, the inflection categories of IV

Chapter Two is entitled 'The Phonology of Ibb Variety'. Although the primary aim of this study is to investigate the main morphological components of IV, certain phonological features were presented and accounted for herein. This was to achieve a comprehensive analysis of IV morphology across the interface between these two related linguistic aspects. Having pointed out the real start-point of Arabic linguistics,

represented by Sibawayh, whose pioneering work initiated the study of Arabic grammar in the eighth century, the chapter sheds light on the role of consonantal systems in Semitic languages, including Arabic, pointing out that Semitic languages are marked by a limited vocalic system and a rich consonantal system. It has been indicated that Arabic has 28 consonants, 2 semi-vowels, and 3 vowel sounds represented phonologically by dint of the Arabic diacritic system. These sounds have been presented in the phonetic chart of MSA consonants incorporated in this chapter. The discussion then swerves towards IV sound system and the distribution of consonants in IV, indicating that, like MSA, IV has 28 consonant sounds (19 of which have equivalents in English while the rest of them do not). Each consonant sound in IV is then described briefly.

The final part of the chapter is concerned with the study of IV vowel sounds, including vowels and diphthongs. One final remark in this regard is the observation that IV is subject to phonological processes, such as anaptyxis, assimilation, deletion. In terms of phonological development, it seems that Arabic vowel system in particular shows the most clear proof of linguistic change. Certain features retained by MSA have disappeared or changed in IV, as is the case with many other contemporary varieties of Arabic. For example, it has been indicated that IV has dropped the word-ending vocalic movements that represent grammatical cases in MSA. That is to say, while in MSA the subject, object, and genitive for example are typically marked by *d^hammah*, *fathah* and *kasrah* (a.u and e) respectively, this feature holds no more in IV as all word-end sounds tend to use *suku:n* 'motionlessness'. Besides, the nunation (i.e. adding an /n/ sound after the word-end movement vowel) does not exist in IV any more. Again, the rule of the tied 't' (*ta:ʔ marbu:tah*, a /t/ that at the end of a noun,

mostly feminine, that is pronounced as /t/ if followed by another sound and as a /h/ if no sound follows it) is hardly effective in IV, as IV speakers tend to use /h/ sound more frequently. In addition, certain phonological rules of MSA are also violated. While MSA does not allow the co-occurrence of two ‘*suku:n-ed*’ consonants (i.e. ?iltiqa:? sa:kinain), IV seems to entertain this feature. IV consonant clusters are are rich in the second syllable and less in final syllable, whereas it shares only few sounds with the first syllable such as /t, ʊ, s, ʃ, d^h, and n/. Further, most of the velarized clusters can be occurred with such sound together, which is illustrated and discussed with examples and table of consonant clusters of each sound.

Chapter Three, entitled ‘The Morphology of Verbs in Ibb Variety’, has dealt with the morphological rules pertinent to verbs in IV. The theoretical ground on which the whole study is based derives from the theory of non-concatenative morphology, with a particular reference to its notable proponent, McCarthy (1979, 1981, and 2005). Using the non-concatenative templatic morphology, which is common and in and is held by many as the most effect way to deal with Semitic languages, the different types of IV verbs have been classified in terms of their the number of radicals (usually consonants in the case of sound verbs, or including a semi-vowel in the case of non-sound verbs) into trilateral and quadrilateral. Generally, IV verbs inflected for gender, number, person and aspects, like MSA but with significant variations. It has been indicated that in IV, just as the case in Semitic languages and their varieties in general, it is not always easy to predict the formation of a verb. Verbal derivations of IV are classified into two types: derived and non-derived. The derived ones are of two types, trilateral and quadrilateral, whereas the non derived ones are of two types, sound and weak. While the trilateral group has nine

forms of verbs, unlike MSA (which has fifteen), the quadrilateral group has only two types, derived and non-derived.

Having provided the theoretical framework for discussion, represented by the theory of non-concatenative morphology and the module of verb derivation patterns used in Arabic linguistics (i.e. /faʕala/), this chapter investigates IV verbs with reference to inflection, derivation, the perfective versus imperfective aspect, the imperative mood and verb negation. Regarding inflection, it has been pointed out that IV verbs inflect for aspect, gender, person and number, but unlike MSA, the dual category is treated as plural. The derivation of IV verbs depends mainly on two major considerations, i.e. the pattern of the verb, and the fact whether the verb is sound or non-sound. Broadly speaking, IV verbs are considered to belong to either one of nine verb forms derived from trilateral roots. Each of the nine forms, the formation of which involves either a change/addition of a vowel or a morpheme to the stem, has been discussed, highlighting the process of its derivation and providing illustrative examples to substantiate the argument. While sound verbs have been shown to reveal a considerable number of consistency and predictability with regard to derivation, non-sound verbs (subdivided into hollow and defective) have been observed to pose a derivational challenge. The main reason behind this difficulty is the existence of a glide as one of the radicals of the verb whereby, any further derivation (or inflection) necessitates special treatment of this radical. The case is more difficult if the radical is /a:/, as further derivation entails a change of this radical into one of the glides /w/ or /j/.

As for aspect, it has been indicated that in IV, as well as MSA, there are two aspects of the verb, perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect indicate the use

of the verb to refer to an action etc., that took place in the past, while the imperfective refers to present, future, and sometimes the past-form-for-present-action/state. The discussion of these two aspects has involved elaboration of various verb forms with examples drawn from IV. The argument then is focussed on the imperative mood in IV, illustrating the morphological processes that take place in various verb forms in IV during the formation of the imperative mood. Finally, prior to the summary of the chapter, the last part presented the major features of negation in IV, indicating the modifications taking place while negating a verb in the present, past, future, perfective, imperfective, and imperative.

The next chapter, entitled “The Morphology of Nouns in Ibb Variety”, concentrates on the morphological processes involved in the formation of nouns in this variety. This chapter has outlined the formation of nouns in IV. It has indicated that, in harmony with MSA system, most nouns in IV are derived from verbs which are mainly based on trilateral roots. But there are also nouns derived from adjectives and from other nouns as well. Further, the discussion has shown that nouns are inflected for gender and number. Based on the premise that nouns in Arabic are either gender-based, inflection of nouns for gender therefore involves the masculine-feminine dichotomy. While the sound feminine nouns in MSA are marked by *ta:ʔ marbu:ʔah* ‘tied /t/’ at the end of the noun, IV sound feminine nouns end in either /a/ or /ih/. However, this is not always the case with feminine or masculine nouns, as some feminine nouns can end in any sound when they are as a matter of fact feminine, whereas some masculine nouns may end in *ta:ʔ marbu:ʔah* ‘tied /t/’ but are not feminine.

It has also been pointed out that the feminine plural inflection can serve two functions, i.e. authentic feminine sound plural and grammatical feminine sound plural. The latter category refers to nouns considered masculine and have a masculine form in the singular, i.e. ending in sounds other than *ta:ʔ marbu:ṭah* ‘tied /t/’, but take the feminine marker /a:t/ when they are inflected for plural. In the same vein, number in MSA as well as IV subsumes countable and uncountable nouns. The focus has been placed on countable nouns, the derivation and inflection of which involve three categories, i.e. number (singular, dual and plural) and gender (feminine and masculine).

Generally, singular nouns have been discussed with regard to their derivation. Regarding dual form, it has been indicated that IV, partly like MSA, uses the nominal dual suffixes /-i:n/ for dual masculine and /-ti:n/ for dual feminine. But unlike MSA, IV uses both the suffixes in all grammatical cases while MSA uses /-a:n/ (m.) and /-ta:n/ (f.) in the nominative and /-en/ (m.) and /-tem/ (f.) in the accusative and genitive. Moreover, it has been noticed that IV shows a tendency to use a dual quantifier, /ʔionem/ (m.) and /θintem/ (f.), before a plural noun to indicate duality more than the affixation system deployed for dual noun formation in MSA. Besides, when it comes to noun-verb agreement, IV considers dual nouns along with plural nouns. That is, dual nouns take verbs inflected for plural, unlike MSA which has special suffixes for verbs to indicate dual noun subjects. Finally, the discussion of plural nouns has revealed that pluralisation in IV is based on whether the noun can take a sound (regular) plural form or a broken (irregular) plural form. It has been observed that while MSA has 44 patterns of broken plurals, IV uses only 24. These 24

patterns have been discussed and illustrated with relevant examples with an emphasis on predictability.

The discussion then focuses on the derivation of some other noun forms. In this connection, verbal nouns have been investigated and illustrated with examples under three categories, i.e. Form One Verbal Nouns (11 patterns), Triliteral Verbal Nouns (8 patterns), and Quadriliteral Verbal Nouns. Finally, the chapter has briefly touched upon some other noun forms, namely Nouns of Instance, Unit Nouns and Collective Nouns, Occupational Nouns and Nouns of Habituality, Participial Nouns (and Adjectives), Nouns of Instrument, Nouns of Location, and Diminutive Nouns. Regarding Participial Nouns (and Adjectives), it has been pointed out that in Arabic linguistics, both nouns and adjectives derived on the basis of participial grounds are considered as nouns, a point investigated in Chapter Four. As for Diminutive nouns, a brief comparative study between IV and MSA in this regard has been presented, revealing that IV does not retain much of the diminutive formation seen in MSA but instead use lexical words and sometimes forms not used in MSA.

Chapter Five is entitled “The Morphology of Adjectives and Noun Modifiers in Ibb Variety”. It deals with adjectives and noun modifiers as used in Ibb variety. This chapter has examined the morphological classification of IV adjectives. IV adjectives have been classified into positive adjectives, participial adjectives, *nisba* (relative or attributive) adjectives, *?id^ha:fa* (annexation) constructions, the possessive marker *haqq* ‘belonging to’, relative adjectives, quantifiers and adjectives of colour (and physical defects). The chapter has indicated the various aspects of each type with examples. It has been noted that the same productive morphological system of triliteral roots used in verbs and nouns is also operative for most adjectives. While

adjectives in both MSA and IV inflect for number and gender, it has been pointed out that IV does not reflect the dual category in the inflection of adjectives. Coming back to the first type of IV adjectives, which is Positive Adjectives, it has been noted that these adjectives can be classified into three types: a) Deverbal Adjectives, b) Denominal Adjectives and c) Adjective derived from adjective. Regarding participle adjectives, there are active and passive participles each of which is investigated in terms of two properties which are meaning and derivation. The property of meaning for both has two dimensions, grammatical and aspectual. The adjective of *?id^ha:fa* may take the definite article if it modifies a definite noun, which is known in Arabic as */?id^ha:fa/* [i.e. annexation]. *?id^ha:fa* Adjective is a syntactic form binding at least two nouns or NP's. The first term of an *?id^ha:fa* construct is a noun that must appear indefinite in form, whereas the second term of the construct can be definite or a single noun or noun phrase.

Like English Adjectives, Elative Adjective has comparative and superlative forms. Elative adjective is used for evaluation or comparison. The pattern */?af^ʕal/* is the paradigm of most elative adjectives followed by the preposition */min/* 'than' and formed from positive adjectives with triliteral roots. Like comparative adjectives, superlative adjectives are formed in the same way, but immediately followed the word they modify.

Quantifiers (numerical modifiers or adjectives) have been divided into two types, cardinal and ordinal. The cardinals modify a noun that possesses the attribute of singularity, duality, or plurality. The First Type Cardinal (one) follows the noun it modifies and agrees with the noun in number and gender, as well as definiteness. IV differs from MSA in this respect since this case applies to cardinals in MSA from 3

to 10, but in IV cardinals it begins from 2 to 10. In IV, if the cardinals (from 2 to 10) precede the noun they modify, the noun must be overtly plural. On the other hand, if a cardinal higher than ten directly precedes a noun then the noun modified by it will stay morphologically singular. Contrastively, ordinal quantifiers are derived according to the pattern /fa:ʕl/(ih) except for the irregular form /ʔawwal/ ‘first m.’ and /ʔawwala/ ‘first f.’ and /θa:ni/ ‘second .m’, respectively. It is worth mentioning here that anaptyxis occurs here with ordinals (f.), particularly as the sound /-i/ in the word-final disappears with the additional feminine suffix /-ih/. Thus, pertinent to the paradigms shown above, it is noticed that the prosodic theory of non-concatenative morphology is active both inside and outside the boundary.

Finally, Adjectives of Colour and Physical Defects have been included together since their morphological processes are identical. They have two categories: adjective of colours or physical defect with the pattern /ʔfʕal/ and its variant /faʕl/, and *Nisba* adjectives of colour. The latter adjectives are formed by the addition of word-final /-i/ in the masculine singular to noun, whereas feminine singular by adding the word-final /-jih/ to masculine singular.

The focus of Chapter Six, entitled “The Morphology of Pronouns in Ibb Variety”, is on the pronominal system of IV. For purposes of discussion, IV pronouns have been categorised into Personal Pronouns, Demonstrative Pronouns, Interrogative Participles and Relative Pronouns. In harmony with Arabic linguistics, Personal Pronouns are classified into (a) Independent (known in Arabic and in IV as *qama:ʔir munfaṣilah* i.e. unaffixed pronouns) and (b) Pronominal Suffixes (known as *qama:ʔir muttaṣilah* i.e. affixed pronouns). Unlike MSA, IV has only ten categories of personal pronouns. Like MSA, IV dependent pronouns can be attached to verbs (as a direct

object) and to nouns (to indicate possession). Pronouns can also be attached to active participles, as either direct object or a possessive adjective suffix. It has been argued that the possessive pronouns and suffixed pronouns are homophonous except in the 1st person singular. There are morphological and phonological changes in each change and some movement sounds according to these features. The number of pronouns in IV varies from that in MSA. The MSA dual pronouns are not found in IV. Instead, IV uses plural pronouns to refer to dual entities. It has been found in IV that the sound /h/ of the 3rd person independent pronoun is not realized when it is cliticized to particles, such as *qa*: ‘already’ + *hum* ‘they (m.)’ becoming *qa:wm*. Unlike MSA, where independent pronouns are not attached to other words, IV pronouns allow this feature, as in the previous example and in the construction *haqq*- ‘possession of’ + independent personal pronoun to indicate possession or emphatic possession.

Regarding reflexive expressions in IV, it has been observed that these pronouns follow the same system of MSA with some phonological modulations. In order to form a reflexive pronoun, IV suffixes the dependent pronoun to the term *nafs* ‘self’, which is originally a noun and is used as one of three reflexive terms in MSA. But IV can also use the reflexive pronominal form as an object of a transitive verb, depending on the context. In addition, the reflexive pronoun in IV does not always have to follow the noun it refers to immediately, but can come at the end of the clause. In this case, if the reflexive pronoun is separated from its referent by an intransitive verb, the preposition /bi/ is prefixed to it, sometimes inducing a potential ambiguity.

Demonstrative pronouns have been divided into near/close and distant demonstrative. It has been observed that the number of IV demonstratives is much

less than that of MSA. Besides, while MSA demonstrative pronouns systems show variations not only in terms of number and gender, but also for stylistic purposes, IV tends to adopt a more simplified system of demonstratives.

Interrogative pronouns in IV show many differences from those in MSA. Some IV interrogative pronouns inflect for gender and number, and some accommodate the attachment of certain dependent pronouns, unlike MSA in which interrogative pronouns are not marked for number and gender and do not accept pronominal affixation. Finally, the relative pronominal system of IV varies greatly from that of MSA. While MSA has various relative pronouns each of which reflects the number and gender of the referent, IV uses only one relative pronoun, /ʔilli/, to refer to one and all. Generally speaking, the pronominal system of IV reveal the most conspicuous deviation of IV from MSA.

Despite its limitations, it is hoped that this research can be considered as a foundation stone for the study of Ibb Variety in particular and all varieties of Arabic in general. A comprehensive study of Ibb Variety would not be possible within the confines of this dissertation, but it has been the main concern here to tackle at least one side of this variety, the morphological side, no matter how introductory in nature this research is. Other word classes, such as prepositions and adverbs, have been left out not because they are less important but because these two word classes reveal less morphological activities and deviations from MSA. Ultimately, every aspect of Ibb Variety (and other varieties of Arabic) requires attention and further investigation.

Below are some recommendations that the researcher deems important which covers IV and other topics related to diglossia and other varieties of Arabic.

1. It is recommended that IV receive more attention from the linguistic academia in order to investigate all the linguistic (morphological, syntactic, phonological and semantic) and sociolinguistic aspects of this variety. More work entails more understanding not only of the variety but also of the diglossic situation of IV speakers.
2. Although some attempts have been made to study some Yemeni Arabic varieties, such as the syntax of Sana'ani Variety (Watson 1993) and the prosody and morphology of Shar'abi Variety in Taiz, Yemen (Shar'abi 2010), too much is still in store, given the linguistic richness of Yemen in terms of varieties. More studies of more Yemeni Arabic varieties would lead to a better understanding of the linguistic features of the situation of MSA in Yemen and how these varieties interact with and derive from one another and also MSA.
3. Certain areas of IV have not been covered here. Therefore, it is recommended that further research be done to make up for what has been missed out.
4. It is recommended that synchronic and diachronic studies of IV be carried out in the future. Such studies would make it possible to trace linguistic evolution and development as well as interaction with other varieties.
5. It is recommended that comparative linguistic studies be made between IV and other varieties of Arabic spoken in or outside Yemen.
6. It is recommended that the pronominal system of IV be studied from a genealogical perspective individually or in comparison with other varieties.

7. More academic attention should be made to account for the reasons behind the dwindling significance of diacritics and word-ending vowels.
8. Finally, it is recommended that diglossia in Arabic receive much more attention and practical investigation than what has happened so far. Pathetically little has been done in this regard, and most of the studies in this field have been carried out by non-native Arabic scholars.

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